

THE EFFECTS OF COMMODIFICATION ON CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE: TWO AFRICAN FORTIFICATIONS



Mini-dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of Engineering & Built Environment:
School of Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
University of Cape Town

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in
CONSERVATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

ADRÉ AGGENBACH
JUNE 2017

Supervisors: Associate Professor André van Graan
Associate Professor Alta Steenkamp

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

'[C]ultural heritage is much in vogue ... '[I]t is also in serious trouble. The two conditions are conjoined; the salience of cultural heritage as a concept, as a cause, as a generator of cash and kudos aggravates the difficulties it now faces.'¹

DAVID LOWENTHAL

¹ David Lowenthal, 'Stewarding the Past in a Perplexing Present,' in *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), 18.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I declare that *The Effects of Commodification on Cultural Significance: Two African Fortifications* is my work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by using the Chicago Style Referencing method.

I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone, to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her work.

Signed by candidate

JUNE 2017

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee: submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za; Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791). Students must include a copy of the completed form with the thesis when it is submitted for examination.

Name of Principal Researcher/Student:

Department: *School of Architecture*

Adrie Appenbach
If a Student: Degree: *M Phil*

Supervisor:

If a Research Contract indicate source of funding/sponsorship: *Department of Defence*

Research Project Title: *The effects of commodification on cultural significance: two African fortifications*

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)?	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3.	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO
Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4.	YES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate.

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

Signed by:

	Full name and signature	Date
Principal Researcher/Student:	<i>Adrie Appenbach</i>	<i>23 July 2016</i>

This application is approved by:

Supervisor (if applicable):	<i>A. STEENKAMP</i>	<i>29. July '16</i>
HOD (or delegated nominee): Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.		
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.		

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT & KEYWORDS	vi
GLOSSARY OF TERMS	viii
ACRONYMS	xi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xii
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	1
Rationale	1
Research Question	2
Selection of the Two Cases	3
Methodology	7
Limitations and Assumptions	10
CHAPTER 2 – CONCEPTUALISATION OF TERMINOLOGY AND PHRASEOLOGY	11
Cultural Significance/Valorisation of Heritage	11
Commodification through Cultural Tourism	23
The Marx and Appadurai Theories of Commodification	25
Defining Cultural and Heritage Tourism	27
The Origin of Cultural Tourism	29
The Cultural Tourism Industry Today	30
The Cultural Tourist	33
CHAPTER 3 – FORTIFICATIONS IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT	35
Fortified Architecture	35
European Influence on the African Culture	42
Cultural/Heritage Tourism in Africa	48
CHAPTER 4 – CASTELO SÃO JORGE DA MINA	51
Europeans on the Gold Coast	51
Elmina Castle as World Heritage	65
Description and Analysis - Commodification through Heritage Tourism	69
CHAPTER 5 – CASTEEL DE GOEDE HOOP	93
The Castle in the Dutch Colonial Landscape	93
Castle of Good Hope as National Heritage	100
Description and Analysis - Commodification through Heritage Tourism and Events	105
CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION	121
REFERENCES	124
APPENDICES – Appendix 1: Charters and International Conventions	137

ABSTRACT

'... [t]oday, from the sites of oppression they once were, they [fortifications] have become sites of tourism and national power ...'

COLEMAN A. JORDAN

This study is specifically concerned with the impact of cultural tourism on the valorisation of two African fortifications; *Castelo São Jorge da Mina* (Elmina Castle) in Elmina, Ghana and *Casteel de Goede Hoop* (Castle of Good Hope) in Cape Town, South Africa. The commodification of national and world heritage, primarily within the context of cultural tourism, is the process by which tangible and intangible heritage are transformed into cultural commodities to be bought, sold and profited from in the heritage and tourism industry. The perception, however, that these commodified heritage sites are *contaminated*, and less authentic, is based on an outmoded discourse.

The South African government has placed a fair amount of focus on redressing highly emotive colonial or dissonant heritage sites with the intent of correcting misinterpreted Eurocentric histories or present non-represented pre-colonial history.

The study is structured around addressing the issue of commodification and its impact on the understanding and interpretation of heritage both as an emotive commodity and as a means of providing economic benefit to a community. The literature review locates the research in Marx's theories on commodities together with Urry's *tourist gaze*. It furthermore includes an analysis on valorisation, with the focus on associative value, in the context of national and world heritage.

Fortifications as fortified military architecture in an African context are considered; as is the European influence on African culture and fortifications as colonial structures. Elmina Castle, as a much-researched heritage site, is explored in detail. It includes a legislative analysis; the perspectives and interpretations of the two largest stakeholders groups, the Akan-speaking Fanti population and the African American Diaspora tourists is key to the analysis of the impact of commodification. A detailed history of Europeans on the Gold Coast, the development of Elmina Castle and the impact of trans-Atlantic slavery on the consumption of heritage is studied. The commodification of the Castle of Good

Hope is written within the context of the prevailing South African heritage discourse. Much has been written on the commodification of Elmina Castle, while very little has been said about the Castle of Good Hope as a commodity. The prevailing authorised commodification of the Castle of Good Hope necessitated the analysis and comparison of the Castle with the selected comparative case and the study draws comparisons between the powerful emotive significance and contestations attached to Elmina and the contrast that this poses to the Castle of God Hope as a place of heritage significance despite the fact that it has been seen to symbolise the introduction of repressive European influence and control in South Africa.

The research supports the notion that cultural tourism and events have impacted on the valorisation of cultural heritage and, in particular, the associative and emotive values. However, the cultural significance of the two African fortifications as important heritage sites are not at risk.

KEYWORDS

Commodification, cultural tourism, heritage, cultural significance, valorisation
African fortifications

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aesthetic Value

The sensory and perceptual experience of a place. Aesthetic qualities may include the concept of beauty and formal aesthetic ideals.

Archaeology

The study of historic or prehistoric peoples and their cultures by analysis of their artefacts, monuments and other remains.

Associative Value

The significance of materials (fabric) based on its relationship to an individual, organisation, place or event.

Atlantic Triangular Slave Trade

Triangular trade is a historical term signifying trade among three regions with the best-known example the trans-Atlantic slave trade between the continents of Africa, Europe and the Americas, which operated from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries carrying slaves, crops and manufactured goods between West Africa, American colonies and the European colonial powers.²

Castle

I refer to 'Castle' which depending on the context; I might refer to either the Castle of Good Hope or Elmina Castle.

Conservation

Includes all the processes of looking after a place to retain its cultural significance.³

Colonialism

Colonialism is the colonial power policy or system pursued by European powers from the second half of the nineteenth century to the period after World War II. The term is furthermore used to describe an unequal relationship between the European powers and the indigenous people.

Cultural Tourism

In my study, I refer to cultural tourism as the overarching special interest tourism, however, when I refer specifically to the type of tourism applicable to the two cases, I will refer to heritage tourism.

Diaspora

The term Diaspora has been associated with three conceptualisations: original, classical and contemporary. The African Diaspora is a form of classical Diaspora and refers to the practice of forcibly removing people from their homelands to places of exile.⁴

² Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. africanhistory.about.com/od/slavery/tp/TransAtlantic001.htm. Felix Nguah, and Robert Kugbey, *Shackles in Darkness* (Ghana: NYAKOD Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, 2015), 43.

³ ICOMOS, The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (Australia: ICOMOS, 1999), 2.

⁴ Paul Ankomah et al., 'A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana,' *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 43, no. 4 (May 2012): 386.

Emotive Value

Values aroused by intense feelings. Emotive and spiritual values are used interchangeably in this study.

Fortification

Fortifications are military buildings or constructions designed for the defence of land in times of conflict, and to solidify rule in a region during peacetime.

Heritage tourism

I refer to both cultural tourism and heritage tourism; however, heritage tourism, as a type of cultural tourism, applies to Elmina Castle and the Castle of Good Hope.

Historic Value

Is intended to include all aspects of history – the history of aesthetics, art, architecture, science, spirituality and society.

Khoikhoi

The *Khoikhoi* were hunter-gatherers as the first pastoralists in Southern Africa and were the first people to come into contact with the Dutch settlers in the mid 17th century. The *Khoikhoi* is also referred to as the *Khoe* or *Quena*.

Middle Passage

The sea journey was undertaken by slave's ships from West Africa to the Americas or West Indies.

Non-use Value

Economic values that are not traded in markets and are therefore difficult to express regarding monetary value. Many socio-cultural values are therefore also classified as non-use values.

Scientific Value

The information content of a place and its ability to reveal more about an aspect of the past through an analysis of the place.

Slavery

Slavery is a legal or economic system in which principles of property law are applied to humans allowing them to be owned, bought and sold.⁵

Social Value

The associations that a place has a particular community or cultural group and the social and cultural meaning it holds for them.

Spiritual Value

The intangible value and meaning embodied in or evoked by a place, which gives it importance in the spiritual identity. The spiritual value may also be reflected in the intensity of aesthetic and emotional responses.

⁵ Laura Brace, *The Politics of Property: Labour, Freedom and Belonging* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 162.

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The slave trade took place across the Atlantic Ocean from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries where other Africans sold Africans from the central and western parts of the continent to European slave traders and transported to the New World.

Use Value

Use values are market values – the ones most easily assigned a monetary value. Use values of heritage refer to the goods and services that flow from it that are tradable in an existing market.

ACRONYMS

CCB	Castle Control Board
GMMB	Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
NHRA	National Heritage Resources Act
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VOC	<i>Generale Vereenighde G'octroÿeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Cover page (<i>left</i>) entrance to Casteel de Goede Hoop and (<i>right</i>) entrance to Castelo São Jorge da Mina	
Figure 1. Table of Fortification, c. 1728	36
Figure 2. Drawing of <i>Fort de Goede Hoop</i> , c. 1652	37
Figure 3. Development of Elmina Castle during the 15th, 17th and 19th centuries as interpreted by Van Dantzig	39
Figure 4. <i>Fort de Goede Hoop</i> as a square fortification, comparable to the 15th century Elmina Castle	39
Figure 5. Plan of the Fort and the Company Garden, c. 1654	41
Figure 6. Filming of <i>Roots</i> at the Castle of Good Hope	50
Figure 7. Portuguese map <i>Cantino Planisphere</i> of 1502	51
Figure 8. Illustration of European forts along the Gold Coast of Africa, c. 1707	52
Figure 9. Sixteenth-century Portuguese map of West Africa Elmina Castle	53
Figure 10. Floor plan of Elmina Castle, c. 1637	54
Figure 11. View of Elmina Castle on the north-western side, seen from the river, c. 1665 – 1668	55
Figure 12. Two floor plans of Elmina Castle, c. 1774.	56
Figure 13. View of the fortifications (<i>top left</i>) Elmina Castle	57
Figure 14. View of church at Elmina in Portuguese hands, c. 1668.	58
Figure 15. Entrance to Elmina Castle	59
Figure 16. Illustration of Elmina Castle by Willem Bosman, c. 1704	60
Figure 17. Plan of Elmina Castle and view of surrounding landscape	61
Figure 18. Inscription above the church door	61
Figure 19. Bird's eye view of Elmina and <i>Fort St Jago</i> , c. 1665 – 1668	62
Figure 20. British bombing of Elmina Castle, 13 June 1873	63
Figure 21. The original Portuguese church	64
Figure 22. Diagram of a slave ship from the Atlantic slave trade, c. 1790 - 1791	72
Figure 23. A neglected, ruin-like Elmina Castle	73
Figure 24. A 'gift' from one of the local entrepreneurs, a shell inscribed with: 'To my new South African friend, Adre, from Seth. Have a nice trip at Elmina Castle, 05-08-2016'	75
Figure 25. Elmina Castle – Cell of the Condemned (<i>left</i>). Visible scratches left by condemned prisoners (<i>right</i>)	78
Figure 26. View of the curio shop and restaurant in the <i>Kattenplatz</i> courtyard	79
Figure 27. Female (<i>left</i>) and male (<i>right</i>) slave dungeons	81
Figure 28. Wooden bars in openings of female slave dungeons	81
Figure 29. Wreaths left by visitors to the dungeons	82
Figure 30. Guided tours	83
Figure 31. Door of no return	84
Figure 32. Signage indicating bookshop	85
Figure 33. Visit to the craft shop interrupt the tour	86
Figure 34. Reproduction of a pamphlet advertising a slave auction in Charleston, South California, in 1769	87
Figure 35. Living conditions in Elmina – a view from my guesthouse	88
Figure 36. Slave trade display board in the Elmina Museum	90
Figure 37. The dominating Castle within the landscape	91
Figure 38. <i>Cabo da Boa Esperanza</i> , Jacob van Meurs, c. 1668	93
Figure 39. Charles Davidson Bell's version of Jan van Riebeeck's landing in Table Bay in April 1652	94
Figure 40. Plan of <i>Fort de Goede Hoop</i> – 1653	97
Figure 41. Plan of the Castle, c. 1718	97
Figure 42. <i>Casteel de Goede Hoop, in het perspectief van die waterkantafstesien</i> , c. 1690 – 1743	98
Figure 43. 350th Commemoration brochure depicting the four kings	108

Figure 44. Cape Town Flower Show, 2016	111
Figure 45. Traditional <i>Afrikaner</i> <i>Volkspele</i>	112
Figure 46. Traditional <i>Khoi Riel</i> dance	112
Figure 47. Traditional <i>Khoisan</i> ceremonial dance	112
Figure 48. Cape Town Military Tattoo at the Castle of Good Hope	113
Figure 49. Restored room in the Castle of Good Hope showing the different layers of fabric	117
Figure 50. Elmina Castle in neglect	117
Figure 51. Recently placed statues of the four kings in the front courtyard of the Castle	119

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I thank my supervisors, Associate Professor André van Graan for his guidance and easy manner; also Associate Professor Alta Steenkamp for her direction in concluding this research project. I also thank my CBE classmates for their support and camaraderie; and Associate Professor Stephen Townsend for opening up an entirely new world of *academia* and conservation.

I would like to thank the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board for hosting me in Ghana; the museum educators of Elmina Castle; the Castle Control Board and the Chief Executive Officer, Calvyn Gilfellan for supporting both my research and the memorable visit to the Ghanaian *Castelo São Jorge da Mina* in August 2016; also my sister, Ilse de Wet, for being a true explorer in every sense of the word in accompanying me to the west coast of Africa.

I wish to thank my mother, for bestowing onto me her love of all things regarded as 'heritage'; my siblings and friends for their endless encouragement; my friend, Lieutenant General Justice T. Nkonyane for being of the same mind and supporting my studies after a 23-year absence from the academic world; also my work colleagues who carried the burden while on study leave.

Lastly, my husband, Izak van der Westhuizen for believing in me, for that I am truly grateful.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

RATIONALE

The study of cultural significance and commodification in respect to national and world heritage is complex. Pertinent to this study is the concept of the commodification of heritage, primarily within the context of cultural tourism as the process by which tangible heritage (as cultural matter); and intangible heritage (as cultural activities) come to be evaluated regarding their trade value. They are therefore transformed into commodities to be bought, sold and profited from in the heritage and tourism industry.⁶

Sabine Marschall has identified the role of the state in the post-*apartheid* era with the 'identification, celebration, evaluation, reassessment and, not least, the commodification of heritage.'⁷ The South African government has placed some focus on redressing highly emotive and associative colonial or dissonant heritage sites with the intent of correcting misinterpreted Eurocentric histories or presenting non-represented pre-colonial histories. Examples of these commemorative places, museums and monuments are Robben Island Museum, the *Apartheid* Museum, Constitution Hill, Red Location Museum, the Castle of Good Hope, and several more.

However, these sites are being re-presented to reflect the changed perceptions of their history and, as part of their significance, are commodified and promoted as meaningful tourist attractions. There is a danger that these South African sites might be commodified to such an extent that they appear sanitised and stripped bare of emotive values.

The values attributed to fortifications as colonial, dissonant place; and the consumption of these heritage places by tourists are the focus of this study, through which I will investigate the transformation of places of significance for tourist consumption and, finally, draw parallels and highlight differences in the

⁶ E. Cohen, 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 15 (1988).

⁷ Sabine Marschall, 'Making money with memories: The fusion of heritage, tourism and identity formation in South Africa,' *Historia* vol. 1 (2005): 103.

effects commodification may have on the cultural significance of two African fortifications.

Manipulation through commodification can cause irreversible damage to heritage sites if not managed in a conscientious manner. Furthermore, uncontrolled tourism development can have severe adverse effects on cultural heritage; particularly World Heritage sites, which are often tourism's main attractions and are vulnerable to commodification due to the impact of increased visitor numbers.

In brief, the study sets out to add a meaningful contribution to the existing body of knowledge by exploring the themes of cultural tourism as a commodification process and the valorisation of heritage in the context of national and world heritage.

RESEARCH QUESTION

International, national and local organisations take advantage of cultural tourism as an approach to economic development. My study examines commodification through cultural tourism and the effects it has on the cultural significance of two identified fortifications.

The central research question to be investigated is -

What impact does cultural tourism have on the cultural significance of important heritage sites?

The study explores whether commodification plays a destructive or constructive role in the conservation of the built environment. The commodification of significant national or world heritage is a recognised reality, and the question would not be to assess whether commodification was implemented but to determine the extent thereof and how the significance or values were affected. Embedded in this is the matter of the preservation or safeguarding of the cultural significance of heritage as opposed to its irresponsible commodification.

I selected the Castle of Good Hope (not yet a World Heritage site), and the Ghanaian Elmina Castle (long declared as a World Heritage site) as a basis for comparison in response to the central research question.

The reason for this is that an abundance of literature is available on the commodification of the Ghanaian fortifications and more specifically Elmina Castle. Contrary to this, I could not find published qualitative research on the subject of cultural tourism as a commodification approach at the Castle of Good Hope. In selecting the two African fortifications, I first consider their valorisation and cultural significance; secondly I determine the extent of the commodification of these sites; and finally I critique/examine to what extent the cultural significance has been affected by tourism and whether this has had a damaging or beneficial impact on the conservation of heritage.

SELECTION OF THE TWO CASES

The two cases selected have some similarities; differences and patterns identified beyond merely being fortified structures, and my adoption of the comparative case relies upon some of these factors. They are furthermore both seen as a cultural heritage, which symbolises the Intercontinental history between Africa and Europe and represents important symbols in the discovery, and colonisation of Africa.

The Castle of Good Hope (circa 1666) is a seventeenth century building, constructed by the *Generale Vereenighde G'octroëerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) on the shores of Table Bay, South Africa. The fortified, pentagonal structure's main function was the defence of the Company's property against foreign invasion, whether from land or sea.

The Dutch identified the Cape of Good Hope as a replenishment station for their voyages to the Far East, and the European presence was merely a natural expansion due to the Cape's position located on the spice trade between the East and the West. When Jan van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape in 1652, he was ordered by the VOC to befriend the indigenous people and not to enslave them.

The initial strategy for the Cape did however not include an urban settlement, and their needs were limited to the building of a fort, a garden and livestock

trade with the indigenous Khoikhoi people. For the Dutch, the founding of the Company's vegetable and fruit garden rationalised the ensuing transformation and colonisation of the Cape.

Portuguese adventurers began exploring the African coast in the early fifteenth century initially trading in gold, copper and cloth. They soon realised that a base (fortification) on land would prove to be beneficial; which resulted in the construction of Elmina Castle (circa 1482). The fortification was used as a deterrence to other European traders and also utilised as a storage space for goods accumulated before the arrival of trading ships.

However, the gold trade evolved into an even more lucrative market – the export of African slaves. Elmina Castle was hereafter modified into a slave castle with all the storage spaces turned into male and female dungeons used for the accommodation of slaves.

Vastly different from Elmina Castle, domestic slaves were accommodated within the Castle walls. However, the Castle of Good Hope was never used or intended to be used as a slave castle.

Another significant difference between the two Castles is the interpretation of the atrocities which transpired here. The *Donkergat*⁸ or torture chamber at the Castle of Good Hope is a dungeon or cell where prisoners were kept for a short period to confess their crimes. Slaves who fought for their freedom were kept in the Condemned cell at Elmina Castle, however contrary to the *Donkergat*, were incarcerated in this cell, without food or water, until their death.

The Ghanaians of today argue that Elmina Castle not only used for slavery, but it also served as a military fortification, provincial officers, a police training academy, and a school, whereas a similar argument can be followed by the Castle of Good Hope, which has been the centre of a military, civilian, and political life in the Cape.

My personal interest in the Castle of Good Hope as a military fortification emanated from my childhood years when visiting the Castle with my parents

⁸ Translated from Dutch into 'dark hole'.

and primary school. The stories of Jan van Riebeeck, Adam Tas, the *Donkergat* and the fear its inhabitants must have endured. Furthermore, Jan Corewijn appointed me as a restoration apprentice during my university holidays where I assisted with research on wall paintings and repainted two small rooms in E-Block. My professional involvement intensified after 1999 when appointed in the Department of Defence in a position where I am responsible for the strategic management of the immovable heritage assets portfolio and presently as a member of the Castle Control Board, as appointed by the Executive Authority.

Both the Castles of Good Hope and Elmina are hugely significant tourist destinations and are seen as symbols of national identity, respectively in South Africa and Ghana. However, diverse directions were followed in the conservation of these sites. Elmina Castle, as a listed UNESCO World Heritage site is in stark contrast to the Castle of Good Hope in the sense that almost no interpretation is evident but left intentionally empty, I suspect, to decay naturally, whereas the Castle of Good Hope, a recently declared national heritage site, was recently renovated to portray an exceptionally elegant example of a VOC Dutch fortified citadel.

In selecting the cases, a large number of fortified structures came into consideration. My selection of Elmina Castle, although it contains certain personal biases, nevertheless, does have a clear rationale underlying the decision.

One of the reasons why I selected Elmina Castle rather than any one of the other Ghanaian castles or fortifications is the powerful emotive values and sense of place I experienced within the empty, ruin-like spaces of the Castle during the days I spent there.

The main impetus behind the selection is that both fortifications are of immense cultural significance and interpreted as a representation of a divided or dissonant history. Lowenthal contends -

'[M]ore and more, heritage has become distressing in character, shaming rather than laudatory ... heritage is now laden with sorrow and guilt. The past still awakens pride in origins and precursors, but victimhood occupies centre stage. It is often said

that history belongs to the victors; heritage is now the special province of the victims.⁹

South Africa amends for colonialism and *apartheid*, the United States of America regrets the trans-Atlantic slave trade, similarly victorious countries such as Germany, Britain and many more that played the role of the victor.

After the arrival of explorers and foreign traders, and to a lesser extent as a consequence of the slave trade, fortifications were built on the African coastline testifying to the contentious historical period, the colonial era, with practically every coastal country in Africa still having the remains of a colonial footprint.

As van Oers has indicated, the concept *mutual heritage* originated from the colonial period and involved two or more cultures implicated in the preservation of a mutual heritage, which is also the responsibility of all countries involved.¹⁰ Both Elmina and the Good Hope Castles are interpreted as centres for Afro-European contact and cultural exchange.

The two fortifications both represent complex historical processes and, as with similar structures throughout the world, are identified as landmarks, supply points for the establishment of security in expectation of conflict within a new continent and serve various ends with the most significant being domestic, administrative, retail and military. Furthermore, the two cases are meaningful in the discovery, occupation and populating of the African continent by Europeans and the fortifications not only bear witness to the coming together of two worlds, in this instance Europe and Africa, but also the history of the four continents of America, Europe, Africa and Asia. Elmina Castle was the first European structure to be built on the continent of Africa, whereas the Castle of Good Hope was the first significant structure to be based on South African soil.

The two fortifications are furthermore linked in that the Portuguese ships are sailing from Elmina to India, stopped at *Cabo da Boa Esperanza*¹¹ for re-

⁹ Lowenthal, 'Stewarding the Past,' 18.

¹⁰ Ron Van Oers, *Landscape as Guiding Element in the Design and Planning of Dutch Colonial Settlements (1600 – 1800): The Case of Cape Town (South Africa)* (doctor's thesis, Zutphen, 2000), 4.

¹¹ Cape of Good Hope.

provisioning even before the construction of the Castle. Both these fortifications have a European origin within the continent of Africa as colonial structures playing a significant role in the evolution of the African trade and more definitive in the case of Elmina, the slave trade. The European gold trade during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and played significant roles in the first point of contact between Europeans and sub-Saharan Africans, whereas the Castle of Good Hope played a considerable role in the spice trade between Europe and the East Indies.

The envisaged UNESCO World Heritage site listing of the Castle of Good Hope brought forward the concept of presenting a comparative case that has already been declared as a World Heritage site to inform the proposed listing of the Castle. I argue that it is relevant to examine the Ghanaian castle, as a fortified structure similar to the Castle of Good Hope in analysing the effects of commodification on the values. The inadequate sources dealing with the Castle of Good Hope, compared to the widely researched and published Ghanaian fortifications further strengthened my argument in selecting Elmina Castle.

This history of the African fortifications makes it a particularly thought-provoking study as these structures are for the most part interpreted as national heritage and their interpretations are to a high degree subjective depending on who is asked.

METHODOLOGY

The approach to the research is the case study method as a research strategy and refers to Stake's¹² and Yin's¹³ analyses of case studies by investigating an empirical subject matter.

I undertake an empirical inquiry¹⁴ with the primary objective of investigating the phenomena of cultural significance and heritage tourism as a commodification process. Numerous studies have been done on the commodification of Elmina

¹² Robert E. Stake, *The Art of Case Study Design* (Sage Publications, 1995).

¹³ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods - Fourth Edition* (California: SAGE, 2009).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

Castle, each focussing on different segments of this highly complex subject. However, this study will aim to analyse the impact commodification has on the cultural significance.

To narrow the focus of the research two African fortifications were selected to undertake a comparative case study with the primary objective of investigating the impact of commodification on the values attributed to the African fortifications within a real-life context.¹⁵ The impact of commodification on the emotive and associative values will receive additional attention due to the focus placed by the World Heritage Commission on the emotive value of the Ghanaian fortifications –

‘[T]hey are a significant and *emotive* (my emphasis) symbol of European-African encounters and the starting point of the African Diaspora.’¹⁶

The valorisation of the two fortifications will be integrated throughout the study.

The research methodology includes:

- a wide-ranging literature review of the relevant existing body of knowledge applicable to my field of study - valorisation and cultural significance, commodification, cultural and heritage tourism, the concept of mutual heritage, conservation of the built environment and icons of national identity;
- a case-related literature review of the cultural significance and the commodification of the two fortifications;
- analysis of pertinent ICOMOS and UNESCO charters – see Appendix 1;
- observations made on cultural significance, values and commodification while doing on-site research visits to the fortifications;
- the historical context (European influences) and a description of the development of the fortifications;
- a study of the legislative framework relevant to the two fortifications;

¹⁵ Robert K. Yin, ‘The Case Study Crisis: Some Answers,’ *Administrative Science Quarterly* vol. 26, no. 1 (March 1981): 59. Yin indicates the distinguishing characteristics of the case study are that it attempts to examine: a) a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, especially when b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident.

¹⁶ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.

- observations made of the museum educators and the tourists' comments/questions during the official tours.

The study explores the cultural significance of the fortifications and the values attributing to the Castle of Good Hope and Elmina Castle as colonial structures. The significance of these symbols of national identity will be articulated together with an interpretation of to what extent the significance was affected because of heritage tourism. My argument is reliant on the cultural significance as determined by the collective of values attributed to it and is identified primarily through a review of literature.

Feilden and Jokilehto consider that different values can at times be in conflict; with emphasis on values such as nationalistic, tourism, economic or political may lead to an increase in commodification and even the destruction of authenticity.¹⁷ This is significant to the study as it was anticipated that these controversial values would play a considerable role in the articulation of the significance of the two cases.

The study will investigate the fortifications as tourism destinations with the inevitable commodification of each case revealing the data required to conclude this study. It will furthermore analyse the disagreements between the Ghanaian authorities' pursuit of economic independence through institutionalised commodification using African Diaspora tourism and the African Americans' desire to preserve the Castle as is and not to whitewash the slavery history. Similarly, the extent of the authorised commodification through events and heritage tourism of the Castle of Good Hope will be analysed.

In conclusion, the study will identify the intensity (or level) of commodification applied in the two cases and whether the impact was destructive or constructive to the cultural significance of the fortifications.

¹⁷ Bernard M. Feilden, and Jukka Jokilehto, *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (Rome: ICCROM, 1998), 60.

LIMITATIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

I accept that the Castles of Good Hope and Elmina are powerful symbols of national and world heritage due to their diverse associations with trade, slavery and colonialism, which will create the context within which these fortifications are analysed and interpreted.

It is assumed that the outstanding universal value of Elmina Castle and the cultural significance of the Castle of Good Hope is extensive and is recorded in great detail. However, I will attempt to provide some insight into the cultural significance with specific reference to selected intangible values.

The intention of this study is not to review the restoration of Elmina Castle or the Castle of Good Hope.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUALISATION OF TERMINOLOGY AND PHRASEOLOGY

My intention is to analyse the impact of commodification on the cultural significance of the Castles of Good Hope and Elmina, furthermore to analyse the consumption of these heritage places by tourists and finally to draw conclusions on the effects that commodification may have on the cultural significance attributed to the fortifications. In brief, this chapter reviews the key concepts of cultural significance or the valorisation of heritage in the context of world and national heritage and tourism as a commodification process.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE/VALORISATION OF HERITAGE

This review of the existing body of knowledge on the valorisation of heritage is profoundly important due to the study focus – the impact of commodification on the cultural significance of the two cases. An analysis of the present discourse will allow for more clarity on the complex study of culture, heritage and valorisation.

Many different words are used to describe the tangible cultural heritage (objects) we attempt to conserve: monument, heritage site, place, material culture, cultural property, and cultural heritage are but a few examples. Cultural heritage is not limited to monuments or objects, it comprises living traditions and practices we inherit from our ancestors, such as indigenous knowledge, rituals, oral traditions, social practices and many more. The intent of this introductory section of defining the terms *culture* and *heritage* as the fundamental concepts to contextualise the study and to demonstrate the virtually limitless and perplexing definitions associated with it.

As indicated by Muñoz Viñas an all-inclusive category of cultural heritage originated in the twentieth century, which includes tangible material in the forms of buildings, art collections, historic cities, cultural landscapes, monuments, historic gardens and intangible material such as music, dance,

traditions, beliefs, rituals and several more components of heritage.¹⁸ The tangible artefacts are not an embodiment of culture, but rather a medium through which power, identity and society are produced and reproduced.¹⁹

Heritage scholars concede on one key concept that defines heritage – ‘it is what we inherit from the past and use in the present day.’ History is, therefore, the past and heritage is the contemporary use or interpretation of the past.²⁰

The definition of culture as adopted by UNESCO and the World Commission on Culture and Development -

‘Culture is the whole complex of distinctive, spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterise a society or social group.’²¹

Ivanovic concurs that the definition of culture as above places emphasis on ‘culture seen as a complex whole,’ is just one that serves the purpose of cultural tourism studies.²²

The term culture as utilised in the discourse of cultural tourism is diverse and complex, with various schools of thought defining this seemingly simple concept in a vast range of interpretations. Academics from backgrounds in sociology, archaeology, anthropology, history, economics and many other have provided a platform for other disciplines, including tourism, to build on concepts best suited to their requirements.²³

Material culture/heritage is also defined as any aspect of a community's past and present significant enough to preserve for future generations and can be either tangible or intangible in nature; and be either a place, object or practice. The majority of these types of heritage will have both tangible and intangible values, which will define the cultural significance of the place.

Conservation decisions use heritage values (or cultural significance) as a reference point. The assessment and articulation of values attributed to heritage play a crucial role in conservation efforts due to the importance of values in the decision-making process. Value assessments for planning create

¹⁸ Salvador Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory of Conservation* (London: Routledge, 2011), 30.

¹⁹ Getty Conservation Institute, *Values*, 6.

²⁰ Dallen J. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction* (United Kingdom: Channel View Publications, 2011), 3.

²¹ Milena Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism* (Cape Town: Juta & Company, Ltd, 2008), 26.

²² *Ibid.*, 9.

²³ *Ibid.*

various challenges: identifying all the values; describing them, and integrating and ranking the different and, at times, conflicting values.²⁴

The concept *value* is defined by De la Torre, as cited in Salazar, as a vague concept and difficult to capture and 'presents itself indirectly and imprecisely.'²⁵ De la Torre, a key contributor to the understanding of valorisation of heritage, considers that *value* and *significance* are terms used in heritage conservation with the value being the positive characteristics attributed to a place by all involved stakeholders with these attributes identifying the significance of the place. The significance is defined as the importance of the site as determined by an analysis of the values attributed to it.²⁶

Mason concurs with De la Torre and defines cultural significance as a term used when describing the importance of a site as determined by a collective of values attributed to it.²⁷

Elmina Castle has changed significantly since its construction in the late fifteenth century. However the different layers of the building should be evident, the different uses and then the most historically significant use should be comprehensively presented. Bruner asks the question '[W]hich story should be told?' The stakeholders all have vested interests with emotionally charged arguments – the Dutch tourists are interested in the two centuries of Dutch rule at Elmina, and the British tourists want to be exposed to the British colonial rule. The local Ashanti people have an emotive interest in the rooms where King Prempeh I was imprisoned by the British, and lastly; the African Americans demand to be subjected to the horrors of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Feilden examines the concept of values and how to identify these values applicable to an object, monument or site and to place these values in order of priority. Feilden classifies values under three main headings: emotional, cultural and use values. He furthermore elaborates on the elements of emotional values as wonder, identity, continuity, respect and veneration, and

²⁴ Randall Mason, 'Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices,' in *Assessing the Values of Cultural Significance*, (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), 5.

²⁵ Noel B. Salazar, 'Shifting Values and Meanings of Heritage: From Cultural Appropriation to Tourism Interpretation and Back,' in *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*, eds. Sarah Lyon and E. Christian Wells (United Kingdom: AltaMira Press, 2012), 24.

²⁶ Marta de la Torre, Margeret G.H. MacLean, Randall Mason, and David Myers, *Heritage Values in Site Management – Four Case Studies* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2005), 5.

²⁷ Mason, 'Assessing Values,' 5.

symbolic and spiritual. Cultural values consist of historic, aesthetic, architectural and scientific elements and use values comprising of functional, economic (including tourism), social, educational and political.²⁸

Jokilehto points out that regarding values, there are two basic categories namely cultural and socio-economic values.²⁹ De la Torre and Mason concurs with Jokilehto on the two meta-categories of values being economic and cultural values.³⁰ Emotive value is categorised as a cultural value and political value as a contemporary socio-economic value.³¹

Taylor contends that associative value is [t]he ability to put into context that has occurred and who promoted the actions; this value hinges on the knowledge and understanding of the way our predecessors have been involved in place making.³² Mason notes that there is no separate category for political value. The reason for this being that all values attributed to heritage are political in nature as they are part and parcel of the power struggles and efforts that determine the fate of heritage. Similar to all heritage values; political value can be interpreted in a positive manner as a key contributor to civil society, or as a political tool to enforce national culture, postcolonialism and so forth.³³

Feilden contends that emotive values depend on cultural awareness. Certain architectural forms, however, have a spiritual and universal message,³⁴ which is evident in Elmina Castle. The Castle has served as a trading post, a market for slaves, a school, a church, and now a World Heritage site and a museum.

As Feilden has indicated, emotive (spiritual) values can 'come from the present statement of the monument and its site' and when tourists enter this building the spiritual value of the place will enter their souls. Feilden here refers to religious buildings. However, I am of the opinion that this is also pertinent to structures such as Elmina Castle where African American Diaspora tourists identify a strong spiritual and emotive value.³⁵

²⁸ Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings, Third Edition* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2003), vii.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Mason, 'Assessing Values,' 10.

³¹ Jukka Jokilehto, 'Conservation Concepts,' in *Conservation of Ruins*, ed. John Ashurst (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2007), 6.

³² Ken Taylor, 'Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 10, no. 5 (December 2004), 426.

³³ Mason, 'Assessing Values,' 11.

³⁴ Feilden, *Conservation*, vii.

³⁵ Ibid.

Mason refers to economic valuing as one of the most powerful ways in which society identifies, assesses, and decides on the relative value of things. Economic values are furthermore intertwined with socio-cultural values, and they are distinguished because economic analyses measure them. However not all economic values are measured regarding a market price.³⁶

To understand the various conservation theories around values-based conservation and cultural significance, it is essential to investigate and comprehend the concept of conservation theory as it relates to this study. Experts today continue to argue about the best approach to conserving the built environment. The divide exists between those who are intent on maintaining historic structures as close to their original state and those who concede that the continuous maintenance of these structures and the adaptive re-use of these structures is a necessity.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) Manifesto (1877), written by William Morris and other founders of the Society, maintain that the restoration of ancient buildings as 'protecting our ancient buildings, and hand[ing] them down instructive and venerable to those that come after us.' The manifesto's focus is to attack thoughtless and destructive efforts of restoration and furthermore recommends protection rather than restoration with the intent of conserving the original fabric of the building.³⁷ Although words such as cultural significance and values are not explicitly referred to in the manifesto, they undeniably argue for the conservation of all layers of the fabric contributing towards the cultural significance of the building.

English Heritage furthermore expands on the SPAB Manifesto by reiterating the importance of historic fabric as material evidence: 'significance involves a detailed understanding of the historic fabric of the site and how it has changed through time, and then an assessment of the values – both historical and contemporary – ascribed to that fabric.'³⁸ Elmina Castle and the importance of its historic fabric is closely aligned to the SPAB theory. Büttgens suggest in his

³⁶ Mason, 'Assessing Values,' 12.

³⁷ SPAB, www.spab.org.uk/what-is-spab/the-manifesto.

³⁸ English Heritage, 'Policy on Restoration, Reconstruction and Speculative Recreation of Archaeological Sites including Ruins', February 2001. <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/re-arch/>.

study on the Castle of Good Hope that the historic fabric has perceived to be of less importance when it was restored –

‘[T]he meaning and values of authenticity for Fagan,³⁹ ..., are embedded in the imagined idea of the historical building and not in the historical *fabric* [my emphasis].’⁴⁰

The approaches to the conservation of heritage in the early nineteenth-century indicated that aesthetic and historical values attributed to a place is present in the existing material elements. Although significant nineteenth-century contributors towards the discourse, Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin's writings are poles apart, their philosophies unite on the materiality of heritage.⁴¹

Jokilehto, in his studies on conservation concepts, refers to Alois Riegl's two categories of values: memorial values [age values and historic values] and present-day values [use value, art value and newness value].⁴²

Cesare Brandi, as an art historian and one of the most influential conservation theorists in the twentieth century, directed the *Istituto Centrale del Restauro* between 1939 and 1969. He published his *Teoria del Restauro* in 1963 in which he argued the relevance of artistic importance. He furthermore appealed that aesthetic values must be taken into account when making conservation decisions.⁴³ He also concluded that ‘all values attributed to a place ultimately rested on its material evidence.’⁴⁴ Brandi is therefore excluding all intangible values and acknowledging only the tangible values, his argument does not support the study on the African fortifications where associative and emotional value is key to the analysis.

The philosophy and ideas of Brandi have become the basis for what is now known as values-based conservation.

³⁹ Gabriel Fagan Architects is seen as the authority on the *restoration* of the Castle of Good Hope and appointed as the principal agent for all renovation projects at the Castle by the Department of Public Work for the period of late 1960s.

⁴⁰ Peter J. Büttgens, ‘Restoration and Re/Creation of Lacunae: The Attitudes and Principles of Gabriel Fagan Architect as Expressed in the Restoration of the Castle of Good Hope’ (master’s thesis, UCT), 54.

⁴¹ Gustavo F. Araoz, ‘World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscape: Defining and Protecting Authenticity,’ *APT Bulletin* vol. 39, no. 2/3 (2008): 35.

⁴² Jokilehto, ‘Conservation Concepts,’ 5.

⁴³ Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory*, 9.

⁴⁴ Araoz, ‘World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscape,’ 35.

The conservation of sites of cultural significance has been the key goal of management programs in heritage sites for the last 30 years.⁴⁵ Viñas concurs with Zancheti et al. on the importance of understanding cultural significance in conservation, however, he links the human aspects of heritage arguing that this be essential for the conservation of the built environment –

‘[C]ontemporary theory of conservations calls for ‘common sense’, for gentle decisions, for sensible actions. What determines this? Not truth or science, but rather the uses, values and meanings that an object has for people. This is determined by the people.’⁴⁶

Places are not only significant due to their intrinsic values, but also due to values attributed to them. Values are attributed by various stakeholders at different times in the history of the place. Furthermore, values attributed to contested or dissonant places tend to be complex and contradictory at times.⁴⁷ Contested heritage refers to the lack of agreement as to who should be allowed to interpret heritage, how it should be interpreted, and also the controversy concerning the ‘ownership’ of heritage. The term *contested heritage* is applicable to both fortifications due to the conflicting interpretations of heritage and furthermore the issue of ownership.

The complexities of the effects of cultural tourism on a place have been extensively researched, at times with negative findings and although places may be altered in the process, the results are not always negative.⁴⁸

Although tourism might be seen as threatening local communities through the commodification of their culture, it can also be interpreted positively and can help to preserve their identity and therefore form part of national heritage.⁴⁹

Richards argues that although UNESCO promotes cultural tourism as a means of

⁴⁵ Silvio Mendes Zancheti et al., ‘Judgement and Validation in the Burra Charter Process: Introducing Feedback in Assessing the Cultural Significance of Heritage Sites,’ *City & Time* 4(2): 5, 2009: 47. <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org>

⁴⁶ Muñoz Viñas, *Contemporary Theory*, 212.

⁴⁷ Melanie Smith, ‘Space, Place, and Placelessness in the Culturally Regenerated City,’ in *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, ed. Greg Richards (New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007), 94.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Sandra L. Richards, ‘What is to be Remembered? Tourism to Ghana’s Slave Castle-Dungeons,’ *Theatre Journal* vol. 57, no. 4, Black Performance (Dec 2005).

preserving world heritage, Africa promotes it in support of their respective national identities.⁵⁰

Cole concurs with the view that local villagers found the commodification process to be constructive in the sense that the tourism brings a sense of pride and identity and a resource to be utilised.⁵¹ I concur with Richards and Cole and find the positive effects of commodification highly relevant to this study of two African fortifications.

Aesthetic value refers to heritage that is valued for its unique form, scale or design and is primarily associated with architectural significance; historical significance refers to the history of the community or society noticeable in the place; scientific significance refers to a place (object) which might have scientific significance if it provides value for research and the ability to provide answers to questions and social value refers to the qualities for which a place has become the focus of a spiritual, political or national sentiment and is essential to a community's identity.⁵²

Socio-cultural values are attached to heritage due to the meaning it holds for a social group due to either its age, beauty, artistry or its association with a particular person or event. However, different from the socio-cultural values, heritage is also attributed with an economic value, indicated by the degree to which it is desired.⁵³ Sinclair and Stabler, as cited in Salazar, states that the use or market value of cultural heritage is the tradable commodities that are developed in the existing market. However, socio-cultural values also add to the economic value of heritage.⁵⁴ Salazar maintains that heritage is valued because of instrumental, symbolic and other functions attributed to it.⁵⁵

Mason considers the typology of heritage values and elaborates on the two major categories – socio-cultural and economic and the interaction between these values. He also studies the research methodologies of qualitative and quantitative methods in conceptualising the sociocultural and economic

⁵⁰ Greg Richards, *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspective* (New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007), 1.

⁵¹ S. Cole, 'Beyond Authenticity and Commodification,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4) (2007).

⁵² Rio Tinto, *Why Cultural Heritage Matters* (Australia: Rio Tinto Limited, 2011), 96.

⁵³ Salazar, 'Shifting Values,' 24.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

values. Mason contends that although the two categories of values seem to be opposing, the information derived from them is often reciprocal.⁵⁶

Cultural values are nevertheless not inert, the types of places and the reasons why they are assessed differ through time as aligned to the meanings that the living community ascribes to them.⁵⁷

The Burra Charter states that 'cultural significance is embodied in the place itself and 'places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups,'⁵⁸ it is, therefore, acceptable to have conflicting and changing values even with the stakeholders disagreeing with each other. The Burra Charter reinforces this argument by stating that 'co-existence of cultural values should always be recognised, respected and encouraged. This is especially important in cases where they conflict.'⁵⁹ Studies of cultural tourism clarify matters regarding heritage values, which is not cast in stone, but a 'product of interaction.'⁶⁰

De la Torre agrees by stating that the values used to determine significance were in the past primarily determined by specialists, she furthermore argues that other stakeholders such as the community attribute economic and social values to a site. Heritage might then evolve with other stakeholders partaking in heritage conservation with their values which at times differ from those of the heritage experts.⁶¹ De la Torre concludes by saying that the understanding of all values; and therefore cultural significance is of great importance in the values-based approach to conservation of the built environment.⁶²

'[H]istorically, cultural heritage – its very existence and its function within society – has been taken for granted.'⁶³ Avrami, et al., point out that societies saved old things as a traditional way of life and the reasons for this has never been examined too closely.

However, the heritage of both the Castle of Good Hope and Elmina Castle is now highly complex, contentious and riddled with political involvement -

⁵⁶ Mason, 'Assessing Values.'

⁵⁷ Rio Tinto, *Why Cultural Heritage Matters*, 97.

⁵⁸ ICOMOS, *The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter)* (Australia: ICOMOS, 2013), 2.

⁵⁹ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter*, 5.

⁶⁰ Salazar, 'Shifting Values,' 37.

⁶¹ De la Torre et al., *Assessing the Values*.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Erica Avrami, Randal Mason, and Marta de la Torre, *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), 6.

'[H]owever, in the last generation, cultural consensus and norms have been replaced by an atmosphere of openly contentious and fractious cultural politics.'⁶⁴

In his article on the importance of historical significance in history teaching, Phillips explains that it is fundamental to understand what made an event significant with the following factors playing a role -

1. Importance - to the people living at the time
2. Profundity – how deeply people's lives have been affected by the event
3. Quantity – how many lives were affected
4. Durability – for how long people's lives have been affected
5. Relevance – the extent to which the event has contributed to an increased understanding of present life.'

Although Phillip's argument is set within the context of history teaching, I find it particularly useful in the analysis of significance and can relate the factors to both cases.⁶⁵

The South African heritage legislation defines cultural significance as 'aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance.'⁶⁶

Regarding the NHRA, heritage resources have lasting value in their right and provide evidence of the origins of South African society. Moreover, given they are valuable, finite, non-renewable and irreplaceable, they must be carefully managed to ensure their survival.⁶⁷

It furthermore prescribes that a place will form part of the national estate if it has cultural significance or other special value under the criteria as indicated in Section 3 of the National Heritage Resources Act -

- '(a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- (b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural resources;
- (c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;

⁶⁴ Avrami et al., *Values*, 6.

⁶⁵ Robert Phillips, 'Historical Significance – the Forgotten 'Key Element,' in *Teaching History* 106 (2002): 15.

⁶⁶ Republic of South Africa, *National Heritage Resources Act, No 25 of 1999*, 8.

⁶⁷ NHRA, 16.

- (d) its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
- (e) its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- (f) its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- (g) its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- (h) its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and
- (i) sites of significance relating to the slavery in South Africa.⁶⁸

The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) motivated the cultural significance of the Castle of Good Hope for National Heritage Site (Grade I) declaration. All nine criteria as prescribed by the NHRA were contemplated in the submission.⁶⁹

Heritage may hold a different significance at different levels, and there are many places of cultural significance in the world which will not achieve the status of World Heritage site, but are equally important for national, regional or local reasons. The essence of conservation is that a heritage site might have characteristics which have significant community, local, national or international interest, and it might be privately owned. However, the Nara Document on Authenticity argues that heritage belongs to all.⁷⁰

Notwithstanding the research focus as the impact of commodification on the cultural significance of the fortifications; I consider it necessary to provide a brief synopsis of my understanding of the relationship between significance and authenticity.

Throughout the process of the initial and ensuing comprehensive literature review for this study, limited sources on the effects of heritage tourism [as a commodification process] on the cultural significance of heritage could be pinpointed. On the contrary, discourse on the relationship between heritage tourism and the notion of authenticity as a closely related subject to cultural

⁶⁸ NHRA, 14.

⁶⁹ SAHRA, Submission to the SAHRA Council, 9 September 2016.

⁷⁰ UNESCO, *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), 2.

significance was found to be in abundance.⁷¹ Although the notion of authenticity is an immensely researched topic and clearly relevant to the study of heritage commodification, my interest in the subject is as an alternative to examining how the cultural significance of a place is transformed or affected when commodification as a tool of economic sustainability is brought into play.

Authenticity as an 'essential qualifying factor concerning values' is noted in the Venice Charter as early as 1964 with the preamble to the Charter stating 'it is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.'⁷²

The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) provides the foundation for a detailed discussion of authenticity. By incorporating the statement of authenticity into the statement of significance [outstanding universal value] in the 2005 version of the Operational Guidelines, the relationship between these two concepts was strengthened.⁷³ The guidelines furthermore stipulate that 'properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognised in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes'⁷⁴ with authenticity interpreted as a measure of how well the attributes convey the significance.

Relevant to the study and concurring with the Nara Document, Spooner furthermore also proposes ways to understand the politics of authenticity using the production of oriental carpets to illustrate his philosophy. Carpets is a part commodity, part symbol and bears many different meanings for different types

⁷¹ Ning Wang, 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1999). E. Cohen, 'Authenticity and commoditization in Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 15 no. 3 (1988). Cole, 'Beyond authenticity.' Isabelle Frochot, and Wided Batat, *Marketing and Designing the Tourist Experience* (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Limited, 2013). K. Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001). Sarah Lyon, and E. Christian Wells, eds., *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters* (Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2012). Dean MacCannell, 'Reconstructed Ethnicity Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11 (1984). Greg Richards, 'Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 23, no. 2 (1996). John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

⁷² ICOMOS, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) (Venice: ICOMOS, 1964), 1.

⁷³ Mechthild Rössler, 'Applying Authenticity to Cultural Landscapes,' *APT Bulletin* vol. 39, no. 2/3 (2008): 50.

⁷⁴ UNESCO, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (Paris: UNESCO, 2012), 22.

of people in different cultural contexts.⁷⁵ I refer to the tour guides in this study as the dealers, acting as the middleman in the production of heritage.

The concept of authenticity and integrity as qualifying criteria are well understood. Stovel simplifies this noting that 'authenticity may be understood as the ability of property to convey its significance over time, and integrity understood as the capacity of property to secure or sustain its significance over time.'⁷⁶

The attribute of integrity is imperative for the preservation of historic architecture. The same approach to integrity is not as easily applied to fortifications due to their continued use and alterations to the original structure to maintain military capacity over an extended period.

Jokilehto and King, cited by Ivanovic, maintain that African authenticity can be confirmed under three main points – 'historicity and building materials; creativity and form; cultural values and continuing tradition.'⁷⁷

COMMODIFICATION THROUGH CULTURAL TOURISM

Lowenthal, as cited in Chhabra, indicates that people are nostalgic about their pasts and they would like to relive them in the form of tourism.⁷⁸

The commodification of heritage, particularly within the context of cultural tourism, is the process by which tangible and intangible heritage is transformed into cultural commodities to be bought, sold and profited from in the heritage and tourism industry. Sigala and Leslie are in agreement that heritage is an industry with the purpose of producing a commodity.⁷⁹ Furthermore, uncontrolled tourism development can have severe adverse effects on the conservation of heritage sites; World Heritage sites in particular,⁸⁰ are some of

⁷⁵ Brian Spooner, 'Weavers and Dealers: the Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet,' *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Spooner, 'Weavers and Dealers,' 200.

⁷⁶ Herb Stovel, 'Effective Use of Authenticity and Integrity as World Heritage Qualifying Conditions,' *City & Time* 2 (3): 3.

⁷⁷ Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 120.

⁷⁸ Deepak Chhabra, Robert Healy, and Erin Sills. 'Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 30, no. 3 (2003): 705.

⁷⁹ Mariana Sigala, and David Leslie, *Internal Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases* (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005), 10.

⁸⁰ The Castle Control Board approached the UNESCO World Heritage Committee with the intention of including the Castle on the provisional list.

tourism's main attractions and are even more vulnerable to commodification due to the increased visitor numbers.

Falser alleges that cultural heritage is a highly contested concept of modern times full of nationalist suggestions. However, it is also a highly profitable *victim* of the global tourism industry. These observations apply particularly to young postcolonial nations with a significant group of heritage sites, more specifically if they are listed as UNESCO World Heritage sites.⁸¹ The fortifications of Ghana are relevant here due to the significant number of heritage sites of outstanding universal value.

Urry's influential theory of the *tourist gaze*, one of the foremost theories on tourism, defines the *gaze* as the expectations that tourists place on local communities during heritage tourism in their quest for the authentic experience. The communities will reflect back the gaze of the tourist in response to their expectation to benefit financially.⁸² Stronza claims that not only the tourists can be blamed for this process, due to the ambitious marketing efforts by both the private sector and governments which all contributes towards the tourist gaze.⁸³ The South African government, through the concept of institutionalised commodification, promotes consumption of the Castle of Good Hope through heritage tourism and events.

The community at Elmina plays a significant role in the analysis of the gaze. However, in Cape Town civil society's influence on the tourist gaze plays a less meaningful role in the case of the Castle of Good Hope.

This gaze is often described as having an unfavourable or destructive influence in that the cultural expressions of the local communities are reduced to commodities and certain heritage aspects might not be as easily commodified and may eventually be lost due to economic gain being a dominant factor.

⁸¹ Michael S. Falser, 'From a Colonial Reinvention to Postcolonial Heritage and a Global Commodity: Performing and Re-enacting Angkor Wat and the Royal Khmer Ballet,' *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 20 (2014): 7 - 8: 702.

⁸² John Urry, 'Tourism, Culture and Social Inequality,' in *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*, ed. Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi, and A. Yiannakis, 115 – 133 (New York: Routledge, 1996).

⁸³ Amanda Stronza, 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives,' *Annual Revision Anthropology* 30 (2001).

On the other hand, the gaze can also serve to uplift ethnic identity which can revive cultural expressions which were lost under colonialism or for other reasons. The reconstruction of ethnicity can also play a significant role if the local communities believe that this will satisfy tourists most.

Contemporary tourism discourse has demonstrated that the concept of authenticity is coupled to the process of commodification, which implies that objects (in this study - fortifications) which have significant value may become commodified for consumption by tourists as a result of the tourism industry which focuses on exchange value over use value.

THE MARX AND APPADURAI THEORIES OF COMMODIFICATION

Commodification is the transformation of people, ideas, themes, goods, and services into objects of trade. In the most basic sense, a commodity is 'anything intended for exchange.'⁸⁴ This can include objects and activities that many think should not be for sale: human beings (slavery), sexuality, identity, politics, and culture. Commodification is furthermore a practice by which aspects and expressions of heritage are assessed regarding their exchange value, primarily within the realm of [cultural] tourism.⁸⁵ These aspects and expressions, therefore, become commodities, which can be sold, bought and profited from in the cultural tourism industry. During the process of commodification of culture, the use value of culture is weakened in favour of an apparent exchange or monetary value making culture a commodity similar to any other product to be sold.⁸⁶

Marx's work influenced intellectual, economic and political history; his theories argue that societies develop through the conflict between the *bourgeoisie* and the working classes selling their labour for income. Through his different theories, Marx demonstrated that capitalism facilitated or created amongst other things – commodification. Coupled to that, he claims that a commodity is any

⁸⁴ Arjun Appadurai's definition of a commodity.

⁸⁵ Cohen, 'Authenticity,' 380.

⁸⁶ Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx: The Story of His Life* (Routledge, 2003). *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 1*; <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm>. David Harvey, *A Companion to Marx's Capital* (London: Verso, 2010).

product or activity produced by human labour and offered for sale or exchange in a market.⁸⁷

Significant to this study, Marx defines the slave trade as -

'[O]ne form of primitive accumulation, as traffic in human beings which has specific characteristics and which, at a particular point in history, yields a maximum rate of return.'⁸⁸

Ironically the Portuguese started with a trade in gold and spices. However their trade evolved to slavery due to the 'maximum rate of return' of slaves.

Marx furthermore explores the concept of *commodity fetishism* as the perception of social relationships involved in the production, among the capital (money) and commodities exchanged during trade and not as relationships amongst people.⁸⁹

Marx explained the philosophy of commodity fetishism -

'[A]s against this, the commodity-form and the value-relation of the products of labour within which it appears to have absolutely no connection with the physical nature of the commodity and the material relations arising out of this. It is nothing but the definite social relation between men themselves which assumes here, for them, the fantastic form of a relation between things. In order, therefore, to find an analogy we must take flight into the misty realm of religion. There the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the products of men's hands. I call this the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is, therefore, inseparable from the production of commodities.'⁹⁰

Appadurai explores the theory of Marx on commodity fetishism and argues debate that all social scrutiny will entail some methodological fetishism; the trend to read things in themselves. He furthermore points out that Marx on the subject of fetishism of commodities, proposes that the commodity has a social life, just as any human being and he explores the commodity as something

⁸⁷ Mehring, *Karl Marx*.

⁸⁸ UNESCO, *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Haiti: UNESCO, 1978), 46.

⁸⁹ Isaak Illich Rubin, *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value*, trans. Miloš Samardžija, and Fredy Perlman. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990).

⁹⁰ Karl Marx, *Capital* (London: Penguin Classics, 1990), 165.

intended for exchange, with all its social implications.⁹¹ I make the assumption that a commodity is defined as anything intended for exchange, and relevant to this study – the African fortifications as consumed by cultural tourists.

A key problem addressed by Appadurai is how and why commodities in different societies come to be considered as valuable, with the focus on the relationship between human beings and things (commodities). The contributions by Appadurai point out a key concept in the discourse of commodification - the commodity has a social life, as does a human being.⁹²

Ferguson says that Appadurai's edited collection is a focal point in the discourse of a 'new, culturally informed economic anthropology.'⁹³ Ferguson furthermore reviews Appadurai's work stating that – 'to treat objects as living things, leading 'social lives' – acquiring and losing value, changing signification, perhaps becoming non-exchangeable (maybe even sacred), only later to sink back into mere commodity status'. Ferguson furthermore points out that Appadurai considers that things are not merely social, but that they have lives, he also points out that, since Marx, people interpret commodities in fetishised terms and furthermore 'impute powers of social origin to inanimate objects'.⁹⁴

Applicable to the discourse of tourism and this study, Appadurai considers that the evolvment of mass global tourism in the twentieth century has added to 'bringing about the commoditization of an ever wider range of things and activities.'⁹⁵

DEFINING CULTURAL AND HERITAGE TOURISM

The terms *cultural tourism* and *heritage tourism* are often advocated as being two separate, but complementary and overlapping phenomena and are used interchangeably throughout scholarly work with no confirmed and agreed definition.

⁹¹ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6.

⁹² Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*.

⁹³ James Ferguson, 'Cultural Exchange: New Developments in the Anthropology of Commodities,' *Cultural Anthropology* vol. 3, no. 4 (November 1988): 488.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 492.

⁹⁵ Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, 380.

Richards contends that cultural tourism 'cares for the culture it consumes while culturing the consumer.'⁹⁶

The contributions by Melanie Smith, as cited in Ivanovic, categorise cultural tourism with the first three connected to culture: ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism, recreational tourism and business tourism.⁹⁷

Csapó considers the types of cultural tourism from a thematic perspective grouped by the principles of the preferred activity as – heritage tourism, cultural thematic routes, cultural city tourism, traditions/ethnic tourism, event/festival tourism, religious/pilgrimage tourism and creative culture/tourism.⁹⁸

Smith outlines the main categories of cultural tourism as – heritage tourism, arts tourism, urban cultural tourism, rural cultural tourism, indigenous cultural tourism and contemporary (popular) tourism.⁹⁹

Hall and Zeppel find the experiential element to be the shared element between cultural and heritage tourism. In heritage tourism, whether the tourist visits historic sites, buildings or landscapes, the tourist will none-the-less feel the need to consume and feel part of the history of the place.¹⁰⁰

This type of tourism gained considerable interest in the recent past and has generated a vast body of literature, which informed my study on heritage tourism, as a subset of the broad concept of cultural tourism.¹⁰¹ Cultural tourism is furthermore recognised as a *new* type of tourism that has evolved from a niche market, limited special-interest tourism form to a distinct and definable tourism form.

Poria et al., as cited in Chhabra et al., defines heritage tourism as –

'[H]eritage tourism is a phenomenon based on tourists' motivations and perceptions rather than on specific site attributes

⁹⁶ Richards, Greg, *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives* (New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007), 1.

⁹⁷ Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 79.

⁹⁸ János Csapó, 'The Role and Importance of Cultural Tourism in Modern Tourism Industry,' in *Strategies for Tourism Industry - Micro and Macro Perspectives*, ed. Murat Kasimoglu (Croatia: InTech, 2012): 209.

⁹⁹ M. Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies* (London: Routledge, 2003).

¹⁰⁰ C.M. Hall, and H Zeppel, 'Cultural and Heritage Tourism: The New Grand Tour?', *Historic Environment* 7 (3/4) (1990).

¹⁰¹ Richards, *Cultural Tourism*. Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*. Csapó, 'The Role and Importance of Cultural Tourism'. Timothy, *Cultural Heritage*.

.... Heritage tourism is a subgroup of tourism, in which the primary motivation for visiting a site is based on the place's heritage characteristics according to the tourists' perception of their own heritage.¹⁰²

Ashworth and Goodall, as cited in Sigala and Leslie, claim that 'heritage tourism is an idea compounded of many different emotions, including nostalgia, romanticism, aesthetic pleasure and a sense of belonging in time and space.'¹⁰³ Emotive values are aligned to heritage tourism in the argument made by Ashworth and Goodall.

Heritage tourism, as a type of cultural tourism provides for *products* such as the material built heritage, architectural sites, world heritage sites, national sites and historical memorials.¹⁰⁴

In analysing the relevant definitions for cultural and heritage tourism, I find that heritage tourism focuses on the tangible architectural heritage, historic sites, and buildings.

THE ORIGINS OF CULTURAL TOURISM

Timothy points out that during the medieval period global explorations and colonisation began which allowed for more areas to be discovered. He furthermore states that all human eras have played some role in the evolution of tourism and travel as we know it today.¹⁰⁵

Adler, as cited in Urry et al., indicates that between 1600 and 1800, discourse on travel evolved from the academic focus to travel as 'eyewitness observation' which suggests the development of the gaze.¹⁰⁶

Ivanovic suggests that tourism, as we know it today, can be traced back to the Grand Tour, an education-motivated journey by British aristocrats across Europe established during the end of the seventeenth century. The Grand Tour provided the opportunity for exposure to the Renaissance, classical antiquity and the aristocracy of the European continent. The evolution of the Grand Tour brought tourism and culture together, today known as cultural tourism. The

¹⁰² Chhabra, Healy, and Sills, 'Staged Authenticity, 703.

¹⁰³ Sigala, and Leslie, *Internal Cultural Tourism*, 8.

¹⁰⁴ Csapó, 'The Role and Importance of Cultural Tourism.'

¹⁰⁵ Timothy, *Cultural Heritage*, 1.

¹⁰⁶ John Urry, and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. (CA: Sage Publications, 2011), 6.

desire to 'see things in reality' during the Grand Tour is the same passion exhibited by the modern cultural tourist.¹⁰⁷ Similarly to the reason of Ivanovic, the African American tourist shows a similar desire today to see the Ghanaian slave fortifications in 'reality', not whitewashed and devoid of emotive value.

THE CULTURAL TOURISM INDUSTRY TODAY

Meethan states that –

'... [c]ommodification, rather than being a side issue, is in fact central to the whole basis of tourism and, what is more, that tourism is one aspect of the global processes of commodification rather than a separate self-contained system.'¹⁰⁸

Greenwood, as cited in Lundy, suggests that 'tourism is the largest scale movement of goods, services, and people humanity has perhaps ever seen'. Lundy furthermore points out that from a global perspective, tourism can be viewed in two opposing ways: - first where local hosts are 'exploited and forced into neo-colonial relationships' or second as an ideal strategy for local development through alternative tourism, which is seen as a type of tourism consistent with community values.¹⁰⁹

It becomes apparent that in tourism, the local culture is almost never experienced in its entirety, but seen as a commodified representative fragment made up of significant elements of the visited culture that are consumed by tourists.¹¹⁰

Fyall and Garrod, as cited in Chhabra et al., refer to heritage tourism and define it as an 'economic activity that makes use of socio-cultural assets to attract visitors.'¹¹¹

Ivanovic points out that the 'most important characteristic of cultural commodification is the purposeful production for tourism consumption.' Although the process of commodification is elicited by tourism, it is however implemented by the community with one of the main reasons being the expected economic benefits from tourism.¹¹² Ivanovic furthermore argues that

¹⁰⁷ Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Meethan, *Tourism in Global Society*, 5.

¹⁰⁹ Brandon D. Lundy, 'Spiritual Spaces, Marginal Places,' in *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters* (Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2012), 123.

¹¹⁰ Lundy, 'Spiritual Spaces,' 123.

¹¹¹ Chhabra, Healy, and Sills, 'Staged Authenticity, 702.

¹¹² Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 121.

'culture and society become a reality only through meaningful experience'. In tourism, culture is transformed into a commodity through experiences created for tourist consumption. These experiences will not necessarily be meaningful - she asks the question if the experience is not meaningful, how can it be cultural? She responds to this question by arguing that if an experience satisfied the tourists' cultural needs, then it can be seen as a cultural experience creating its reality. Not all cultural tourists will reach the same depth of experience, with some tourists partaking in a short sightseeing tour and creating their reality about the culture they have experienced, while other tourists will prepare and will know exactly what they want to see and experience.¹¹³

As claimed by Richards, if globalisation is interpreted as an augmented integration of economic, social and cultural systems, then tourism must be interpreted as one of the grounds for globalisation. Although globalisation is primarily linked to economic aspects, more and more reference is made to cultural globalisation.¹¹⁴

Globalisation through improved transportation and communication plays a significant role in tourism as a catalyst for allowing the cultural tourist to experience marginal places,¹¹⁵ such as the slave fortifications along the west coast of Africa.

Chhabra et al. state that regarding the *demand*, heritage tourism is representative of the tourist's desire to consume diverse past and present cultural features. Concerning the *supply*, heritage tourism is seen as a tool for community economic development which is in all probability encouraged by government institutions.¹¹⁶

The UNESCO report *Our Creative Diversity*, signifies heritage, as a major income earner by confirming tourism as one of the largest industries globally and cultural heritage being the most significant sector. The World Heritage

¹¹³ Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 27.

¹¹⁴ Richards, *Cultural Tourism*, 3.

¹¹⁵ Lundy, 'Spiritual Spaces,' 123.

¹¹⁶ Chhabra, Healy, and Sills, 'Staged Authenticity,' 703.

Commission reiterates that cultural heritage should not become a commodity to serve tourism, but should form a supportive relationship.¹¹⁷

Tourism experiences and objects which have cultural significance may become commodified for consumption by tourists. The *sense of place* may be damaged, and this would lead to a loss of the authenticity which will change/influence the cultural significance. Cohen defines authenticity as a dynamic concept, which means different things to different people. Although many scholars have criticised the process of commodification within heritage tourism, Cohen observes that -

'... commodification does not destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals or the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions.'¹¹⁸

Different typologies of architecture are more inclined to be treated as commodities in the tourism industry. Kneafsey considers how the English countryside and related products are commodified and views the landscape as a commodity in itself. However, the concept of *rural* is commodified not only as a physical place but with connotations of romantic simplicity, traditionalism and authentic lifestyles. The commodification of the countryside is part of the *culture economy* approach to rural development.

Hopkins, as cited in Kneafsey, notes -

'[T]he countryside is an ideal deeply entrenched in the geographical imagination of Western societies, an image that is fundamental to the production and consumption of rural tourism.'¹¹⁹

As examined by Creighton, fortified cities define a *product* in the international heritage industry with the Organisation of World Heritage Cities recognising their value as among the world's most valuable heritage tourism products,¹²⁰ and furthermore state that -

' ... [t]he heritage industry might portray walled cities [fortifications] as unified celebrations of national heritage, the

¹¹⁷ UNESCO, *Our Creative*

Diversity, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001055/105586e.pdf>, 1995.

¹¹⁸ Cohen, 'Authenticity,' 383.

¹¹⁹ Moya Kneafsey, 'Rural Cultural Economy,' *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 28, No. 3 (2001): 763.

¹²⁰ Oliver Creighton, 'Contested Townscapes: The Walled City as World Heritage,' *World Archaeology* vol. 39, no. 3, The Archaeology of World Heritage (September 2007): 351.

histories of these places frequently demonstrate division within society.¹²¹

The 'division in society', as referred to by Creighton, is highly pertinent in the two cases where the European colonists and the indigenous people are divided by the walls of the fortifications.

THE CULTURAL TOURIST

Cultural tourists differ from the traditionally accepted profile – being primarily younger people. One of the primary reasons why the youth travels is the link between cultural consumption and education; thus highly educated people consume more culture. In a study done by Richards in 2004 on why tourists visit cultural places, he found that cultural tourism is evolving into an 'experiential product', the visit is therefore evaluated by analysing all the attributes, not only focussing on its cultural value.¹²²

McKercher and du Cros researched the types of cultural tourists and identified them as:

- The purposeful cultural tourist (learning about other cultures is key to the experience)
- The sightseeing cultural tourist (more interested in visiting the cultural destination and less concerned with experiencing the other culture)
- The casual cultural tourist (culture is not the primary factor when choosing the destination)
- The incidental cultural tourist (the destination is not selected based upon culture and will get involved only superficially)
- The serendipitous cultural tourist (culture did not play a role in the choice of the destination, however, is touched by the experience)

McKercher and du Cros furthermore state that because purposeful tourists travel great distances to exotic destinations, a higher portion of these tourists deliberately seek authentic and meaningful cultural experiences.¹²³ In analysing my visit to Ghana and Elmina Castle, I distinguish myself as a purposeful tourist.

¹²¹ Creighton, 'Contested Townscapes,' 346.

¹²² Richards, *Cultural Tourism*, 15.

¹²³ Bob McKercher, and Hilary du Cros, 'Testing a Cultural Tourism Typology,' *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5 (2003): 46.

First, I travelled a vast distance to Ghana; and second I *desired*, and found an 'authentic and meaningful cultural experience'.

The research on tourist typologies finds that not all tourists are driven by the need to experience the authentic *other*.¹²⁴

There is increasing evidence that cultural tourists are very selective in their consumption of heritage and states that the conventional heritage sites have a noticeable advantage over 'new' heritage sites due to the symbolic and aesthetic value attributed to the former.¹²⁵ The argument of Richards is highly relevant to this study on the two African fortifications as they are interpreted as conventional heritage sites.

Peterson, as cited in Sigala and Leslie, explains that heritage tourism visitors fall into four categories: '[a]ficionados are considered to be preservationists and perhaps very professional in their study of history; event visitors visit sites on special occasions (e.g. festivals); tourists are away from home and visiting historical sites, and casual visitors visit the site because it is a convenient green place.'¹²⁶

In conclusion, this chapter explored material culture, the valorisation of heritage, cultural and heritage tourism and the commodification of heritage. It has furthermore implied that cultural tourism is an economic action that makes use of cultural assets to attract visitors; also the most important characteristic of cultural commodification is the purposeful production for tourism consumption. Although the process of commodification is elicited by tourism, it is however implemented by the community with one of the main reasons being the expected economic benefits from tourism.

The commodification of heritage is therefore evaluated primarily through its exchange value within the context of heritage tourism; it is transformed into commodities to be profited from by all stakeholders.

The review of literature has also created a context within which the impact of commodification have on the intangible and, at times conflicting values attributed to the two Africans fortifications as both national and world heritage.

¹²⁴ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*.

¹²⁵ Richards, 'Production and Consumption,' 262.

¹²⁶ Sigala and Leslie, *Internal Cultural Tourism*, 10.

CHAPTER 3

FORTIFICATIONS IN AN AFRICAN CONTEXT

FORTIFIED ARCHITECTURE

'Fortifications are among the most perplexing of historic building types.'¹²⁷

Fortifications, as a typology of architecture, are selected as the cases. I find it crucial to discuss fortifications as an architectural type; focussing on the implied meanings of fortifications and the development of the typology.

The fortifications of Elmina and Good Hope were built as trading posts; for defence; for protection; and a refuge against the unknown. They were furthermore seen as landmarks; the beginning of a permanent outpost; and in anticipation of conflict with the local population. Fortifications are designed to protect the goods of the defenders, their homes, their commodities, their food and property, and their ritual *loci*.¹²⁸

Despite its dissonant and controversial history - notable in the neglect and at times ruin-like state - the changes in use, the natural decay by the sea and wind, fortifications have fulfilled their purpose of confronting all diversity, the purpose for which they were designed.¹²⁹

Hirst explains that during the period 1000 to 1500 AD the main form of the fortification was the castle. These structures are interpreted as romantic symbols, are maintained by local governments and visited by many heritage tourists.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ David Hansen, 'Military Architecture as a Factor in the Significance of Fortifications,' in *American Fortifications and the World Heritage Convention* (Chile: UNESCO, 2005): 139.

¹²⁸ Lawrence H. Keeley, Marisa Fontana, and Russel Quick, 'Baffles and Bastions: The Universal Features of Fortifications,' *Journal of Archaeological Research* vol. 15, no. 1 (March 2007): 81.

¹²⁹ UNESCO, *American Fortifications and the World Heritage Convention* (Chile: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2004), 57.

¹³⁰ Paul Hirst, 'The Defence of Places: Fortifications as Architecture (Part 1),' *AA Files* No. 33 (Summer 1997): 13.

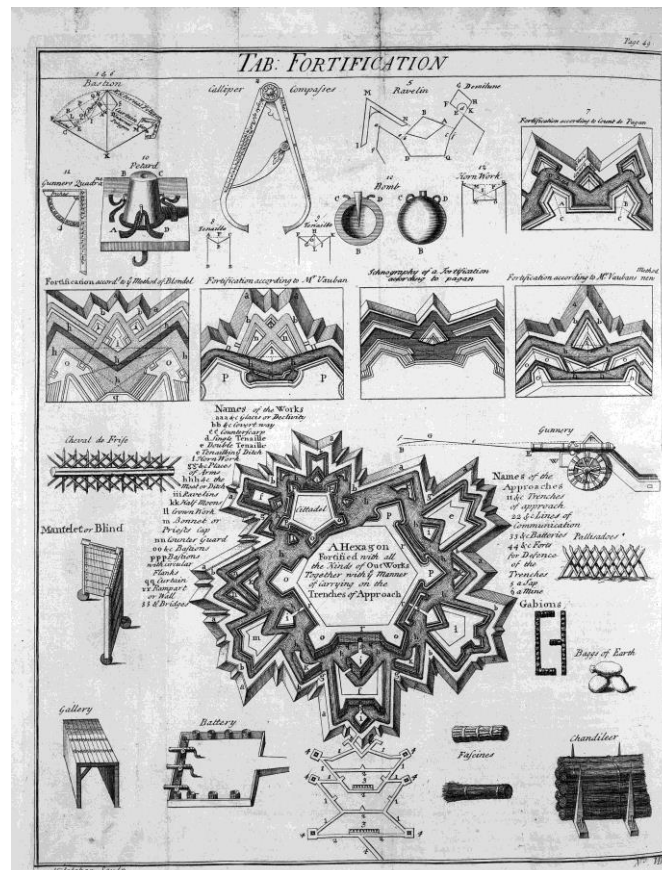


Figure 1. Ephraim Chambers, ed., *Table of Fortification*, 1728, *Cyclopaedia Volume 1 – Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. Source: <https://uwdc.library.wisc.edu/collections/HistSciTech/Cyclopaedia/> (accessed April 22, 2016).

In the sixteenth century, castles or star shape fortifications were substituted by artillery fortification, shaped in the form of the *trace italienne*¹³¹ of which the Dutch built Castle of Good Hope is an excellent example.

The Castle of Good Hope possesses qualities aligned to fortifications throughout the world and is particularly associated with the typical Vauban¹³² star-shaped citadel designs. The Castle is a rare and uncommon structure in South Africa which contributes towards its cultural significance. The architectural value of the Castle is derived from -

'... [i]t's spatial layout, its special form, the construction methodology, the walls with its ramparts and intrinsic load bearing capacity. The five bastions reinforce the pentagonal shape associated with the psychology of martial activities. The use of walls with its intrinsic buttressing aid the visual effect of strength and load bearing capacity add to a sense of visual strength. The

¹³¹ A polygonal structure with arrowhead bastions screening the curtain walls of the faces.

¹³² Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban was a military engineer and advised Louis XIV on star shaped citadels and castles, particularly in France.

layering of blue stone with lighter brickwork on top introduces layers of colour and texture speaking of its robust nature. It represents both its accommodation functions and its role in structural strength and integrity.¹³³

Creighton and Highman point out that the majority of fortifications are inaccurately referred to as *castles*,¹³⁴ and although the chosen case studies are universally referred to as Elmina Castle and the Castle of Good Hope, the correct term is fort or fortification as a castle is merely one form of fortification amongst many. The word castle is used as a generic term for all types of fortifications, and as a result is then misused in a technical sense. Important to this argument, Van Dantzig considers that the three biggest Ghanaian fortifications are classified as castles: Elmina Castle, Cape Coast Castle and Christiansborg Castle, whereas he refers to the larger fortified buildings as *forts*.¹³⁵

The initial mud and wood structure built by Jan van Riebeeck on his arrival at the Cape of Good, was referred to as *Fort de Goede Hoop*. However, the structure we see today is referred to as the *Casteel de Goede Hoop*.

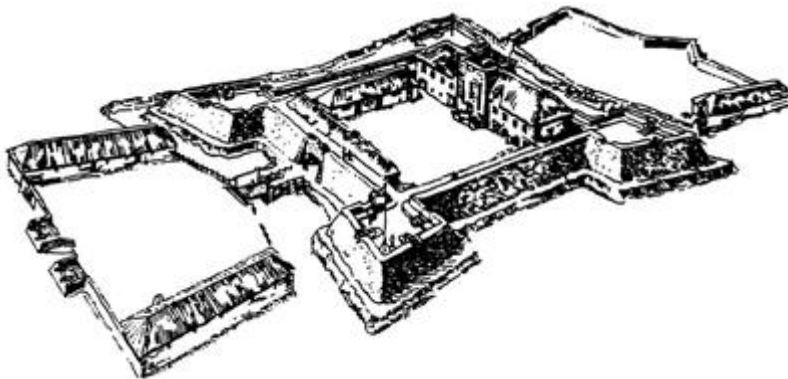


Figure 2. Drawing of *Fort de Goede Hoop*, c. 1652. Source: <http://cnx.org/content/m22393/latest/> (accessed March 2, 2016).

Jordan explains that due to the scale and role of the Ghanaian fortifications as military and trade headquarters, the largest of them are referred to as castles, which will most definitely include Elmina Castle.¹³⁶

¹³³ SAHRA, Submission.

¹³⁴ Oliver Creighton, and Robert Highman, *Medieval Castles* (United Kingdom: Shire, 2003), 6.

¹³⁵ Albert Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1980), 1.

¹³⁶ Coleman A. Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race and Space: Ghana's Slave Castles and the Roots of African Diaspora Identity,' *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984 -) vol. 60, no. 4 (May 2007): 49.

Finley debates the 'politics of naming' and argue that according to the GMMB there are only three structures out of the sixty structures that remain on the Ghanaian coast, which are designated as castles due to their size and architectural style. These are Elmina Castle; Cape Coast Castle, built by the Swedish in 1653; and Christianborg Castle, constructed by the Danish in 1661 at Osu. Castles are also distinguished from fortifications by their larger surface area, intricate connecting structures and their ability to house a large number of people. This is apparent in the layout and designation of space such as the officer's barracks, governor's quarters, churches, male and female slave dungeons, prison cells and much more. Finley contends that Diaspora tourists feel strongly that the Elmina and Cape Coast should not be referred to as castles, as castles refer to fairy tales and this would consequently discard the horrors of slavery.¹³⁷

Osei-Tutu concurs with Finley's argument that African Americans do not agree with the designation of the term *castle* because they did not house royalty.¹³⁸

Van Dantzig indicates that the initial purpose of these buildings, concerned with the trade, was to serve as stores for commodities brought from Europe and bought on the Coast.¹³⁹ The World Heritage Centre explain this concept as –

'[T]he castles and forts constituted for more than four centuries a kind of shopping street of West Africa to which traders of Europe's most important maritime nations came to exchange their goods for those of Africa traders, some of whom came very far in the interior.'¹⁴⁰

The architectural form of the majority of the Ghanaian fortifications is a large square or rectangle with the outer components consisting of four bastions or towers located at the corners, while the inside of the fortification consisted of a courtyard, a two or three storey buildings with or without towers. The majority of these fortifications have been altered and enlarged, primarily due to the

¹³⁷ Cheryl Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons, Whitewashing Castles: the Former sites of the Slave Trade on the Ghanaian Coast,' in *The Tourism of Architecture/The Architecture of Tourism*, ed. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (London: Berg, 2004), 119.

¹³⁸ Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor,' 118.

¹³⁹ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*.

¹⁴⁰ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.

continued use by conflicting European nations.¹⁴¹ These structures also housed the permanent military and commercial staff.

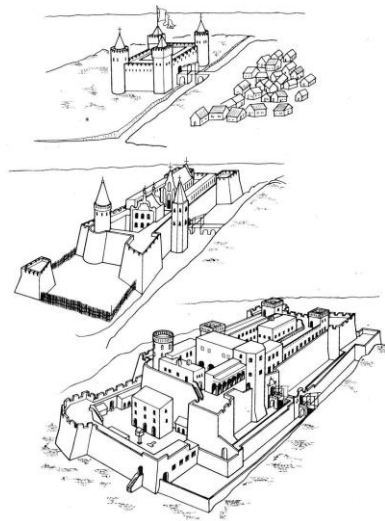


Figure 3. Development of Elmina Castle during the 15th, 17th and 19th centuries as interpreted by Van Dantzig. Source: Forts and Castles of Ghana.



Figure 4. Fort de Goede Hoop as a square fortification, comparable to the 15th century Elmina Castle. Source: www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/ (accessed October 12, 2016).

We tend to view fortifications as significant based on their role in important historical events. When cultural significance is determined in a fortification, and the element of the design is analysed, Hansen states that size and *uniqueness in form* would be the obvious elements to be reviewed. This naïve approach will divide fortifications into the two types, namely the monumental, and the ordinary. Hansen is of the opinion that by following this approach, many fortifications will be devalued due to a lack of understanding. Some scholars dismiss military architecture when it comes to the study of significance and values as they find them without an aesthetic quality.

'[A]rchitecture is beautiful...', the argument goes, '... [a]nd fortifications are not beautiful. Fortifications are engineering ...', the argument continues, '...[a]nd engineering is not architecture.'¹⁴²

Hansen point to elements of fortifications, which can be considered as well proportioned, and even beautiful.¹⁴³ I agree with Hansen in his argument that

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Hansen, 'Military Architecture,' 139.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

architecture can evoke an emotional experience, and that the sense of place will play a powerful role when tourists visit fortifications.

The World Heritage Centre insist that our fortified heritage be regarded as archaeological in its function, yet very much alive regarding contemporary symbolism and cultural meaning.¹⁴⁴

Fortifications are, and have always been 'powerful symbols of possession, exclusion, independence, status, and political power.' They furthermore do not deny the symbolic power fortifications possess. However, symbolism was secondary to the primary purpose of defence. Keegan, as cited in Keeley et al. debates this statement and allege that fortifications were designed to intimidate subjects as often as to serve a military purpose.¹⁴⁵

I find Creighton's study of walled cities relevant to my research and though not typically classified as *walled cities*, they share some similarities. Creighton claims that although world heritage is designated for the benefit of all, these walled cities (or fortified cities) are conceptualised as a dissonant form of heritage where the past is contested in the present. Fortified cities (or structures) serve 'to exclude and marginalise other social groups.'¹⁴⁶ This is particularly evident in the case of the Castle of Good Hope, where the indigenous communities of Cape Town previously were excluded.

'[A]s much as walls originally encircled populations for reasons of defence, their roles as symbols of commercial advantage, individuality and separateness have been more enduring'.¹⁴⁷

Hall, Miller and Moore suggest the Castle of Good Hope is a symbol of dominance as much as a defensive fortification, not only in a modern landscape but also during its construction in the seventeenth century,¹⁴⁸ even if unintentional. Worden suggests that the initial *Fort de Goede Hoop* and the Company garden were the two symbols of VOC authority which were established from the start and would provide the basis for the layout of Cape Town.

¹⁴⁴ UNESCO, *American Fortifications*, 57.

¹⁴⁵ Keeley, Fontana, and Quick, 'Baffles and Bastions,' 81.

¹⁴⁶ Creighton, 'Contested Townscape,' 339.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 344.

¹⁴⁸ M. Hall, D. Miller, and J. Moore, 'Provenance Studies of the Castle Gateway, Cape Town,' *South African Journal of Science* 89: 3 (1993): 110.



Figure 3. Casper van Weede, c. 1654. Plan of the Fort and the Company Garden. Nationaal Archief, 4. VEL 816. Source: *Grootte Atlas*.

The defensive fort was a pronouncement of power and was symbolic of the permanence of the Dutch in the Cape. Worden also provides a very interesting perspective in that fortifications '... [w]ere also indicators of weakness, of alien presence in a landscape which they did not dominate, reflecting the need to huddle in a single defensive building.'¹⁴⁹

Rieser, in his analysis of the language of shapes and sizes in architecture, state –

'... [w]e seem to consider architectural forms as being meaningful regarding emotion and thought. We do not look at them merely as embodiments of pure usefulness, not as an arbitrary combination of lines. We say that buildings are dignified, that they possess sternness or charm, that places are glorious. We say that their lines are sharp or soft. We thus attribute to them a sort of personality and see the character in the lines of a structure. We read architectural lines as though they were elements of a language of thought and emotion; we not only look at buildings as living quarters, but we tend to interpret them as a non-verbal language. How could we otherwise notice in them charm or sternness or glory?'¹⁵⁰

Rieser's argument is highly relevant in the analysis of the architectural forms of fortifications. The stark *sternness* of Elmina Castle contributes towards the strong associative value attributed.

¹⁴⁹ Nigel Worden, 'Space and Identity in VOC Cape Town,' *Kronos* no. 25, Pre-millennium Issue (1998/1999): 74.

¹⁵⁰ Max Rieser, 'The Language of Shapes and Sizes in Architecture or on Morphic Semantics,' *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 55, no. 2 (March 1946): 152.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CULTURE

Culture in Africa has been given a double dimension, both as African and European. This is the result of the colonisation of Africa and its influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This infusion of European culture into the African culture is one of the principal characteristics of African cities today, remarkably evident in the small town of Elmina.

Teye confirms that four historical periods provide for the African culture to merge and interface: firstly, the pre-historical elements based on Africa as the cradle of humankind; secondly, relics of traditional African kingdoms and civilisations; then thirdly, foreign elements derived from Arab and Europe adventurism and the European colonisation of Africa; and finally, elements conjoined since the middle of the twentieth century post-colonial period.¹⁵¹

The term culture belongs to a group of expressions known as pluralism and although in singular form, actually have a plural meaning. Therefore, culture, although a unique term, refer to many [African] cultures. African culture is typically revealed in all values, beliefs, ways of life, languages, and traditions and forms an integral part of Africans over centuries.¹⁵²

Nanjira examines African values; he argues that they are mainly African traditional values that provided the basis for African culture, and it is furthermore a 'thing of worth', which will give a cultural identity to the people. These traditional values arose when early Africans created a tradition based on their values of goodness, beauty, truth, and other intangible aspects such as land, rituals, agriculture, dance, music, the supernatural, health, peace, ancestors, leadership, the home, roots and numerous more. He furthermore claims that customs, traditions and culture lie at the heart of the African value system, which includes various kinds of values that shaped the behaviour and actions of Africans over the centuries.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' 167.

¹⁵² Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*, 40.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 41.

After the discovery of each other, Africans and Europeans experienced four centuries of conflicting emotions and experiences. During this period, we saw a European conquest, the fall of colonialism and the independence of Africa; Davidson furthermore states -

'[A]nd, so the cycle is rounded and complete. The relations of equality and self-respect that were known in the early years of this long connection are reforged or once again are in the making.'¹⁵⁴

Many questions are raised regarding the relationship between Africa and Europe. However, Davidson is of the opinion that the majority of the answers lie in the period 1450 to 1850.¹⁵⁵

Nanjira reasons that trade in Africa can be analysed if grouped into three eras: the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. In pre-colonial times, it became clear to the African populations that trade would be based on two types of trade, namely agricultural goods and natural resources such as minerals (coal, oil, gold, copper, diamonds, tin and much more).¹⁵⁶ During the colonial period, African entrepreneurs could not sell anything to anyone outside of the colony, and furthermore, there was no free-market system or a competitive price structure for goods, resulting in the impoverishment of Africa by its European colonisers. The trade in African slaves, as a commodity, replaced the obsession with gold and started in the fifteenth century and lasted for four hundred years.

It is contended by Teye that the accounts of the explorers, which provided great amounts of detail of the African wealth, eventually led to the late nineteenth-century Scramble for Africa.¹⁵⁷

Soliven defends that the Scramble for Africa is defined as the invasion, the occupation, the colonisation and the integration of African nations by European powers during 1881 and 1914. In 1870, ten percent of the African continent was under European control and by 1914; ninety percent. Ghana and South Africa were grouped together with a few other African countries

¹⁵⁴ Basil Davidson, *The African Slave Trade* (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 1996), 11.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵⁶ Daniel Don Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21st Century* (California: Praeger, 2010), 104.

¹⁵⁷ Victor B. Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' in *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective*, ed. Timothy J. Dallen and Gyan P. Nyaupane (Oxon: Routledge, 2009), 175.

under European rule before the Scramble for Africa in the 1880s. Africa was divided into 'countries' without taking into account the geographic conditions or the ethnic compositions.¹⁵⁸ It was not only the independence of African nations that was lost; it also represented a violation on the traditional and established African cultures.

African culture has been severely impacted on by European and other foreign cultures' religions – Christianity and Islam, which have prevailed for many centuries to the modern, post-colonial Africa of today.¹⁵⁹ I agree with Nanjira that these *alien* influences are unmistakably a part of African culture today and are strikingly visible in the majority of African cities.

Nanjira furthermore examines the influences of foreign cultures on the African culture and finds that North Africa was first to be invaded by the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans.

The European colonisation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries not only had negative impacts on African cultures but also completely changed the history of Africa.¹⁶⁰

Nanjira furthermore suggests that the clashes between the African value system and the Western value systems, which became a factor during the colonisation period where foreign values forced on the people of Africa. The dawning of the period of colonisation, and later globalisation brought new values to Africa, contradicting the inherent and traditional African values such as the use of money, which replaced barter and other economic imperatives.¹⁶¹

Africa collectively possesses many monuments and cultural landscapes,¹⁶² and furthermore contributes significantly to World Heritage.¹⁶³ For various reasons,

¹⁵⁸ Leo Rey II Cagas Soliven, 'The Scramble for Africa: A Compilation,' CentralMindanaoUniversity: 2, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/247068648/The-Scramble-of-Africa-PDF>. Saul David, 'Slavery and the Scramble for Africa' (BBC History – British History in Depth: 2009).

¹⁵⁹ Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*, 41.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁶² CRATerre-ENSAG, *Cultural Heritage and Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments* (CRATerre-ENSAG / Convention France-UNESCO, 2006), 16. CRATerre-ENSAG,

the importance of this heritage has not always been recognised, and communities were even forced to forsake it.

Non-African experts suggested that due to the lack of documented or written sources, it would be inconceivable to do credible studies of such societies. M'bow, as referred to in Boahen, indicated that the continent of Africa be very rarely looked upon as a *historical entity* and furthermore argues that a rift existed between the white Africa and the black Africa with both of them oblivious to the other's existence. Phenomena which did not contribute to the unprejudiced study of Africa was the slave trade, colonisation and racial stereotyping which bred contempt and a lack of understanding of a culture different to one's own. This situation has changed significantly after World War II with the independence of numerous African countries where they felt the obligation to re-establish the authenticity of their societies.¹⁶⁴

'African societies were looked upon as societies that could have no history,'¹⁶⁵ and for a very long time, African culture was concealed by myths, inaccuracies and prejudices.¹⁶⁶

Eurocentric scholars debate that Africa is cast as a 'continent without a history'. However Gundona disputes this by arguing that '[A]frica, by consensus of archaeologists, is the cradle of humankind and has not just a history, but a long one.'¹⁶⁷ Roper and Newton, as cited in Gundona, both prominent European history scholars, were confident in their view that Africa is a continent without a history. Roper contends –

'[But] at present, there is none, or very little: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness ... and darkness is not a subject for history.'¹⁶⁸

It is obvious that these scholars favour a rich history of Eurocentric values and the assumption is therefore that societies without repositories of written records

Africa 2009, Conservation of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Sub-Saharan Africa – Final Results (CRATerre – ENSAG, 2010).

¹⁶³ Cultural Heritage and Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments (CRATerre-ENSAG / Convention France-UNESCO, 2006), 8.

¹⁶⁴ Boahen, *Africa under Colonial Domination*, xx.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xix.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Sylvester Gundona, 'Reflections on Post-colonial African Historiography,' in *Africa After Fifty Years*, eds. Toyin Falola, Maurics Amutabi, and Sylvester Gundona (New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2013), 4.

¹⁶⁸ Gundona, 'Reflections,' 4.

obviously have no history to write.¹⁶⁹ Gundona states that the Eurocentric scholars were of the opinion that cultural progression of the African population had always relied on stimulus arising from contact with the European powers.¹⁷⁰

Van Robbroeck debate that a significant part of the Democracy X exhibition, hosted at the Castle of Good Hope, was devoted to pre-colonial history to argue against the Eurocentric philosophy reviewed above –

‘[T]he myth of precolonial Africa as a static, isolated, and tradition-bound entity isolated from world history is imploded by the stubborn evidence of its surviving objects.’¹⁷¹

More than three hundred objects were displayed which included replicas of the Lydenburg heads¹⁷² and the Mapungubwe golden rhinoceros.¹⁷³

Fontein provides not only a detailed debate on the world heritage discourse, the politics of world heritage and the division between nature and culture as stipulated in the Convention, but also provides a very high opinion on world heritage in Africa and the role of colonialism in the world heritage discourse.¹⁷⁴

In 1998, Africa listed 17 out of 444 cultural and mixed properties as World Heritage sites. The limited amount of listed properties were addressed by the World Heritage Centre which followed with the implementation of the Global Strategy. The objective was to obtain a more balanced representation from all continents. The Africa 2009 programme was initiated to implement the Global Strategy with the following results –

‘[I]n 2010, the number of African cultural and mixed properties inscribed on the prestigious World Heritage List has gone up to 45 (42 cultural and 3 mixed properties) out of 714 cultural and mixed properties on the World Heritage List’.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Gundona, ‘Reflections,’ 5.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Lize Van Robbroeck, ‘Reimagining South African National Heritage: Two Ten-Years-of-Democracy Exhibitions,’ *African Arts*, vol. 37, no. 4, Art and Freedom: South Africa after *Apartheid* (Winter, 2004): 44.

¹⁷² The Lydenburg heads are seven terracotta heads that were discovered in Lydenburg, Mpumalanga, South Africa. The heads are the earliest known examples of African sculpture in Southern Africa.

¹⁷³ The golden rhinoceros is an ancient artefact from the kingdom of Mapungubwe, Limpopo, South Africa.

¹⁷⁴ J. Fontein, *UNESCO, Heritage and Africa : An Anthropological Critique of World Heritage* (Edinburgh: Centre for African Studies, 2000).

¹⁷⁵ CRAterre–ENSAG, *Africa 2009*, 20.

Turnbridge, as cited in Teye, demonstrates that religion plays a central role in African culture. However African culture was undeniably influenced by traditional African religions, Arabian Islam and European Christianity.¹⁷⁶

The three religious elements, therefore, prompts the questions: Who's heritage is this and how to develop it for tourism purposes?

¹⁷⁶ Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' 181.

CULTURAL/HERITAGE TOURISM IN AFRICA

The preservation and valorisation of culturally significant heritage sites have a role to play in the development of cultural tourism. In the 1970s, many oppressed cultures began with a process of self-determination [of their culture] by demanding and developing visual cultural and tourism projects as economic tools. These governments view tourism as a vital element in economic development while trying to maintain their cultural identity, but nonetheless 'selling a cultural image.'¹⁷⁷ However, owing to the economic situation and priorities determined by African local governments, limited consideration is given to the conservation of heritage. This can be seen in the inadequate number of professionally run museums; incomplete inventories of their cultural heritage and the lack of conservation management mechanisms.

Teye contends that Africa possesses geographical attributes that constitute significant natural and cultural resources which provide a platform for the tourism industry. First, the continent of Africa occupies 18 835 221 square kilometres, second, it stretches 8 050 kilometres from Tunisia in the north to Cape Agulhas in the south, and third, it is the only continent situated astride the Equator. The result of Africa's geographical location and size provides for a diverse and vast collection of natural and cultural recourses.¹⁷⁸ The geographical, cultural and historical diversity of Africa provides for great potential in using tourism as a tool for economic development.

Teye furthermore considers the following key cultural resources to be incorporated into heritage tourism as historical sites or buildings (forts and castles, religious shrines) or cultural heritage (festivals, arts and crafts). He divides the two groups of cultural resources into tangible and intangible heritage. Teye indicates that -

'If properly developed, managed, presented, and interpreted, heritage tourism in Africa can offer great economic and cultural benefits for host destinations, in addition to visitors deriving

¹⁷⁷ Christine Ballengee-Morris, 'Cultures for Sale: Perspectives on Colonialism and Self-Determination and the Relationship to Authenticity and Tourism,' *Studies in Art Education* 43 (3) (2002): 232.

¹⁷⁸ Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' 165.

cultural, personal, emotional, spiritual, and educational benefits.¹⁷⁹

Peterson, Gavua and Rassool explore the role heritage plays within the African political realm. They ascertain that artefacts produced by heritage have now become a valuable resource for governments or institutions and a valuable and marketable commodity for entrepreneurs within the heritage tourism industry. In the African context, Ghana is a top tourist destination and the 'Ghanaian culture brokers' use the slave trade and the African Diaspora to market heritage tourism in Ghana.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, South Africa is commodifying colonialism, the concept of oppression by the military and the Nationalist government during the *apartheid* years. Peterson furthermore suggests that by placing these two countries side by side, comparisons can illustrate the dynamics of heritage commodification or the heritage economy. Peterson is also of the opinion that Ghana and South Africa can be compared within the heritage milieu,¹⁸¹ which coincides with my selection of a Ghanaian fortification as a comparative case.

After the 1970s, the concept of heritage tourism has increased to incorporate a broadened variety of activities in Africa with Diaspora tourism to become the key focus for heritage tourism in Africa. African Americans were drawn towards the African continent after reading Alex Haley's book, *Roots*, published in 1976 and the related mini-series viewed on television. Owing to the location of the town of Jufurre,¹⁸² a small village in Gambia, West African countries found themselves inundated with Diaspora tourists.

Heritage tourism projects developed in the Western African regions of Ghana, Benin and Goree Island where all major slave ports were situated; however, Ghana's tourism industry benefits the most from the heritage tourism initiatives in West Africa. The core project for Ghana's fifteen-year Tourism Development

¹⁷⁹ Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' 165.

¹⁸⁰ Derek R. Peterson, Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, eds. *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economics, Histories, and Infrastructures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 28.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Roots* is based on historical events and the town of Jufurre is where this story of slavery began.

Plan combined cultural and nature-based tourism in the two towns of Cape Coast and Elmina where the slave fortifications are located.

In conclusion, this chapter explore fortifications as an architectural type. The analysis of fortified architecture provides adequate basis to substantiate the argument that associate and emotive values are attributed to the two African fortifications; also the marginalisation of *other* social groups excluded from living within the walls of the fortification. The chapter furthermore support the notion that African culture has been given a double dimension resulting from the colonisation of Africa; also the importance thereof in the analysis of the two fortifications as contested heritage.

It is implied in the analysis of cultural tourism in Africa that governments view tourism as a vital element in economic development, however trying to maintain their cultural identity.



Figure 4. Filming of Roots at the Castle of Good Hope. Source: Film Afrika, 2015.

CHAPTER 4

CASTELO SÃO JORGE DA MINA

As previously referred to in this study, several studies have been done on the commodification of Elmina Castle and other Ghanaian fortifications.

This chapter commences with a historical background to the arrival of the Europeans on the Gold Coast and the birth of the Elmina Castle, followed by the legislative context of the Castle as world heritage, it continues to portray the trans-Atlantic slave trade as one of the significant drivers of the commodification through heritage tourism and creating an adequate milieu for the study of commodification evident at Elmina Castle.

EUROPEANS ON THE GOLD COAST

The reasons for the European exploration of Africa and the world was economic, religious and political. The Europeans acquired a taste for exotic commodities such as spices, gold, ivory, and fine cloth, which were not attainable in their respective European countries. Before the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Europeans obtained some of these much-desired and exotic commodities from India through trade with the Arab nations. However, they wished to avoid substantial payments to the Arab nations and needed to find an alternative route to India, via the southern tip of Africa. European nations also felt the responsibility to spread the Christian religion to oppose the growth of the Islam.



Figure 7. Alberto Cantino, c. 1502, Portuguese map *Cantino Planisphere* of 1502. Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/commons/9/9c/Cantino_planisphere_%281502%29.jpg (accessed January 8, 2016).

Hundreds of trade posts, whether fortified or not, have been built throughout the world. However, the fortifications constructed on the short stretch of Ghanaian coast are remarkable. Some of the fortifications are situated within plain sight of each other, and within a period of three centuries, more than sixty¹⁸³ castles and fortifications were built on the coastline of five hundred kilometres. As previously stated, Van Dantzig refers to this as the 'ancient shopping street of West Africa.' It was also for geographical reasons that the fortifications were located in such a small area as considerable gold deposits were found near the coast.¹⁸⁴

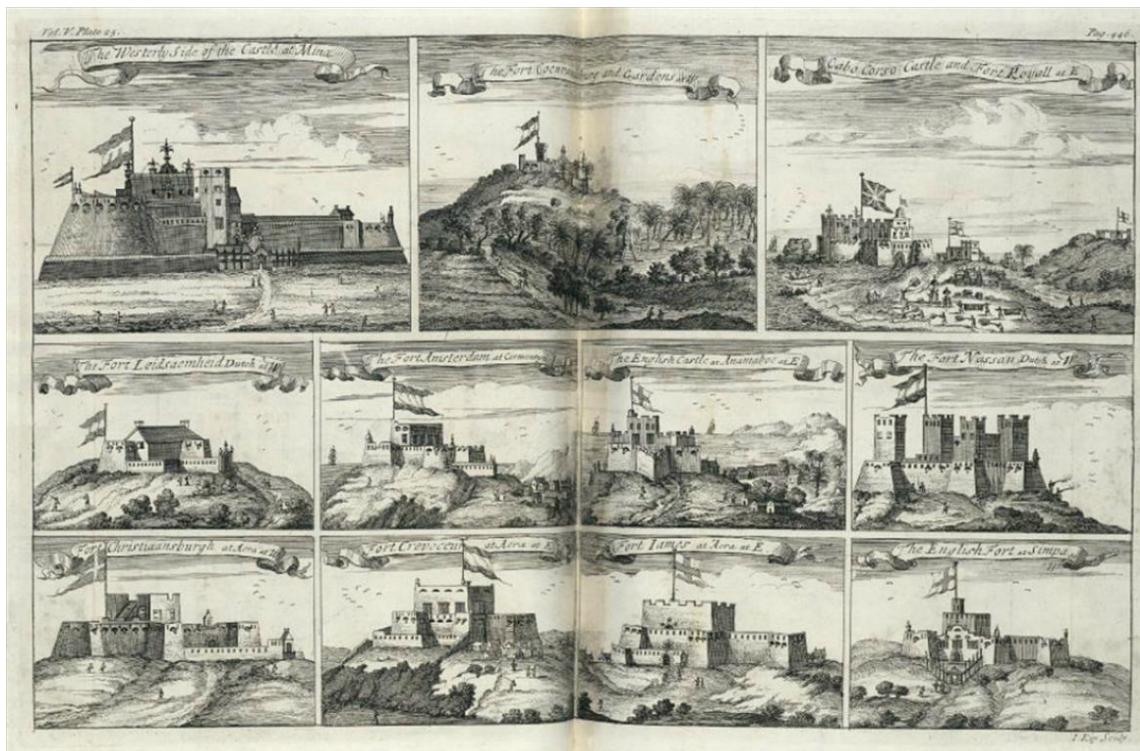


Figure 8. Johannes Kip, Views of Forts and Castles along the Gold Coast, West Africa, c. 1707. (Originally included in a publication, yet to be identified) National Maritime Museum, London Vol. V Plate 25. Source: collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/142773.html (accessed November 10, 2015).

DeCorse states that the town of Elmina, a small, ancient African settlement on the south coast of Ghana in the Central Regional, epitomises the centuries of European trade and colonisation better than any other African site. The town then referred to as Mina or the Mine by the Europeans was the most prominent entry into West Africa because of the gold that was traded from here. Elmina Castle was the first fortified trade post in sub-Saharan Africa and became very

¹⁸³ The number of castles and fortifications vary significantly between the different sources, Jordan refers to 'approximately 80 fortifications or numerous castles and forts'. He argues that a number reflects a 'tentative status'.

¹⁸⁴ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*.

important to the Portuguese who attempted to monopolise the trade on the Ghanaian coast.¹⁸⁵



Figure 9. Sixteenth century Portuguese map of West Africa Elmina Castle (detail of unidentified map). Source: http://whc.unesco.org/exhibit/afr_rev/africa-s.htm (accessed March 12, 2016).

Boxer, as cited in DeCorse, state that Portuguese adventurers began exploring the African coast in the early fifteenth century. They initially traded copper, cloth, and slaves from their ships, but they soon realised that a base on the land would prove to be beneficial. A fortification on the land would deter other European traders and be utilised as a storage space for goods accumulated

¹⁸⁵ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 7.

before the ship's arrival. De Corse explains that these concerns resulted in the construction of Elmina Castle.¹⁸⁶

Following a detailed study of the town of Elmina, DeCorse noted that documentary records on Elmina Castle, from an archaeological standpoint, are limited and insufficient. No Portuguese architectural plans of Elmina Castle are recorded until 1637 after the Dutch capture.¹⁸⁷ Varley notes that not one of the three Portuguese fortifications¹⁸⁸ built on the Gold Coast have remained intact and consistent with its original Portuguese design, therefore an attempt to identify their original form and appearance involves substantial assumptions.¹⁸⁹



Figure 10. Commersteyn, Floor plan of Elmina Castle, c. 1637. Source: www.ethesis.net/wic/wic_afb/figuur2.jpg (accessed March 2, 2016).

Earlier Portuguese explorations identified Elmina to be a logical site for a fortification for many reasons. The foremost of these was the already existing prominent settlement of Elmina which provided much-required labour and trade opportunities. The location was also suitable as the identified site of the fortification was on a peninsula consisting of sedimentary stone believed to be more than one hundred metres deep,¹⁹⁰ which could explain the structural integrity of a five hundred and thirty years old building.

¹⁸⁶ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 21.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁸⁸ The three fortifications built by the Portuguese on the Gold Coast was *Castello São Jorge da Mina - Elmina* (1482), *Fort Santo Antonio - Axim* (1515) and *Fort San Sebastian - Shama* (1526).

¹⁸⁹ Varley, 'The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast,' 4.

¹⁹⁰ Ato Ashun, *Elmina: The Castle and the Slave Trade* (Elmina: Nyakod Printing Works, 2013), 28.



Figure 51. View of Elmina Castle on the north-western side, seen from the river, c. 1665 – 1668. *Atlas Blaeu-Van der Hem*. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elmina_Castle#/media/File:Elmina_AtlasBleauvanderHem.jpg (accessed February 12, 2016).

The narrow and rocky peninsula furthermore formed by the Benya lagoon and the ocean formed a secure location. During the construction of the fortification, the local population of Elmina attacked the Portuguese for disturbing a sacred place. The Elminians demanded that a shrine is erected on-site to pacify the spirit of the rock.

The contributions made by Van Dantzig suggest that the original Elmina Castle was a high square shaped building with a central courtyard with towers in the four corners, today the smallest of the three courtyards. The round tower on the north-eastern corner is the only remaining tower today.¹⁹¹ Varley concurs with Van Dantzig and describes the original fort at Elmina as a rectangular stronghold, measuring 25.6 by 27.4 meters, defined by massive curtain walls¹⁹² with 27.4 meter high towers at opposite corners.

¹⁹¹ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 6.

¹⁹² A curtain wall is a defensive wall between two bastions or towers.

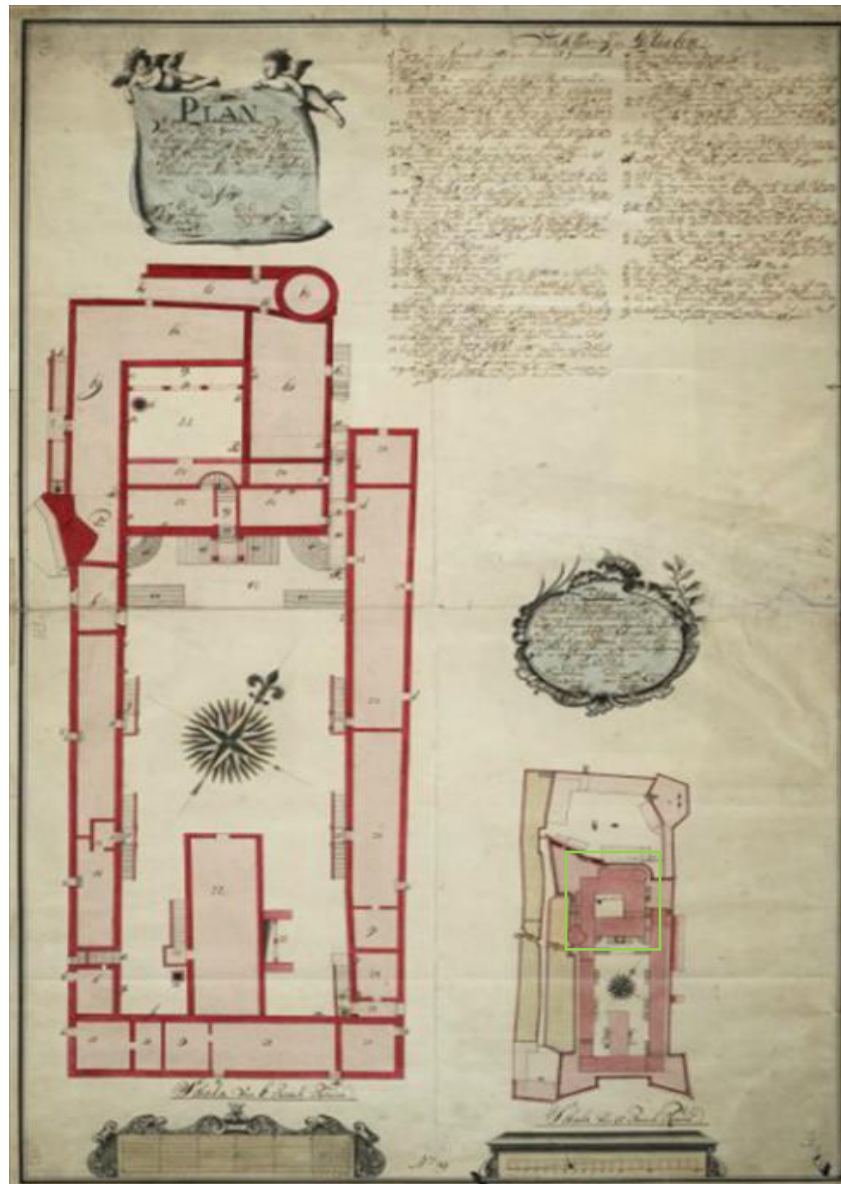


Figure 62. J.F. Trenks (land surveyor) and W.S. van Leefdal. Two floor plans of Elmina Castle, c. 1774. The green square indicates the original Portuguese fortification. Source: Nationaal Archief, www.gahetna.nl/en (accessed October 18, 2016).

The out of date design of the Elmina Castle is similar to a medieval fort, adapted for cannons by providing for gun-ports, and he demonstrates that either the archaic design of Elmina is the result of the extent to which Portuguese architecture lagged behind other European countries, or it was a compromise due to the particular site which was chosen.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Varley, 'The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast,' 6.

The Portuguese period is significant, as claimed by Van Dantzig, in the fact that an established relationship was forged between the Africans and the Europeans which continued until the nineteenth century. He elaborates this stating that the Europeans did not attempt to conquer the land or to appropriate it. They appeared to be satisfied with being tenants of the African chiefs to whom they paid rent for the land on which the fortifications were built.¹⁹⁴

Despite all the efforts by the Portuguese, other European powers competed rigorously for their share of the West African trade and the Dutch established a fort at Mori, only 16 kilometres from Elmina.¹⁹⁵ Lawrence, as cited in Holsey, claims that other European nations soon followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese with the sole purpose of entering the trade on the Gold Coast. The Dutch, Swedish, French, British and Danish companies all contributed towards the thirty-two fortifications which were built on the Gold Coast.¹⁹⁶

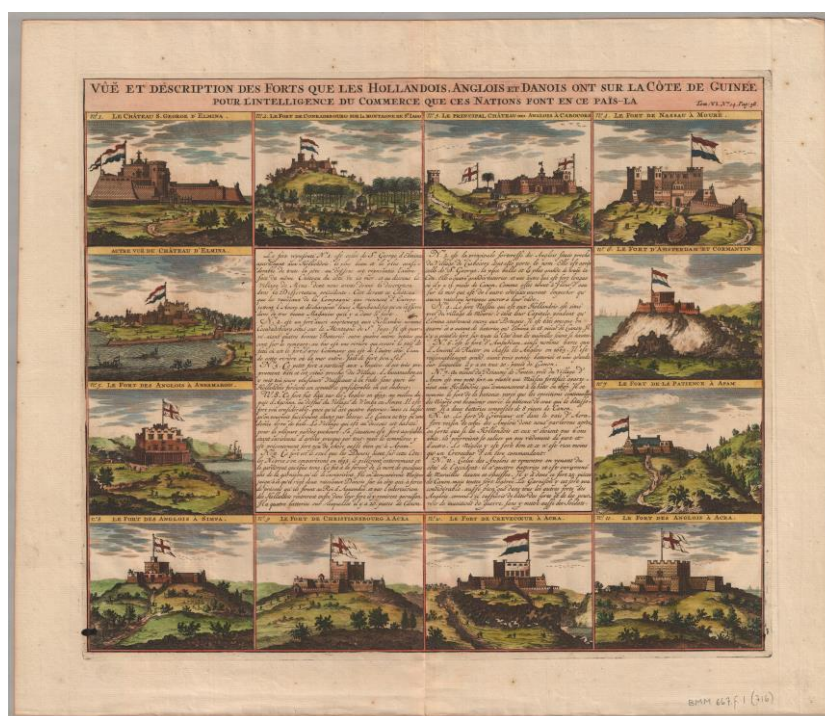


Figure 73. View of the fortifications (Elmina Castle top left). Source: Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, <https://archive.org/details/newaccuratedescr00bosm> (accessed January 6, 2017).

¹⁹⁴ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 8.

¹⁹⁵ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 21. Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 5. Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*, 30.

¹⁹⁶ Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance*, 30.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese built the main courtyard between the original fort and the ocean and constructed a church dedicated to *São Jorge* to replace the chapel built on the hill opposite the fort but abandoned shortly after the first attack by the Dutch in 1597.¹⁹⁷ Although Elmina Castle has been altered significantly throughout the centuries, the original Portuguese church in the main courtyard is now the oldest church building in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the Dutch converted the church to a slave market in 1637. A representation could emphasise either the social or spiritual values of the space as either a church or a place used for the selling of human beings.¹⁹⁸ However, very little of the original church remains, except the masonry and the walls.¹⁹⁹



Figure 84. View of the church at Elmina in Portuguese hands, c. 1668. Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Source: www.colonialvoyage.com/category/colonialism/portuguese-colonialism (accessed June 26, 2016).

¹⁹⁷ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 8.

¹⁹⁸ Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana,' 293.

¹⁹⁹ Observation made during the site visit.

In 1637 the Dutch bombarded Elmina Castle on its weakest side from *São Jorge* on the facing hilltop. The Dutch was successful in August 1637, and Elmina Castle replaced Fort Nassau at Mori as the Dutch headquarters in Guinea.²⁰⁰ The Dutch made significant structural additions to the fort. However, they also added the new classic entrance in the outer wall leading to the drawbridge across the moat and the brick sundial.²⁰¹



Figure 9. Entrance to Elmina Castle. Source: author, 2016.

Willem Bosman, the chief merchant at Elmina during the end of the seventeenth century documented the Castle and the additions brought upon by the Dutch in 'Letter III Containing ... Description of the Castle of Elmina ...'²⁰²

²⁰⁰ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 24. Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 15.

²⁰¹ Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana*, 15.

²⁰² Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=uNkTAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PT44>.

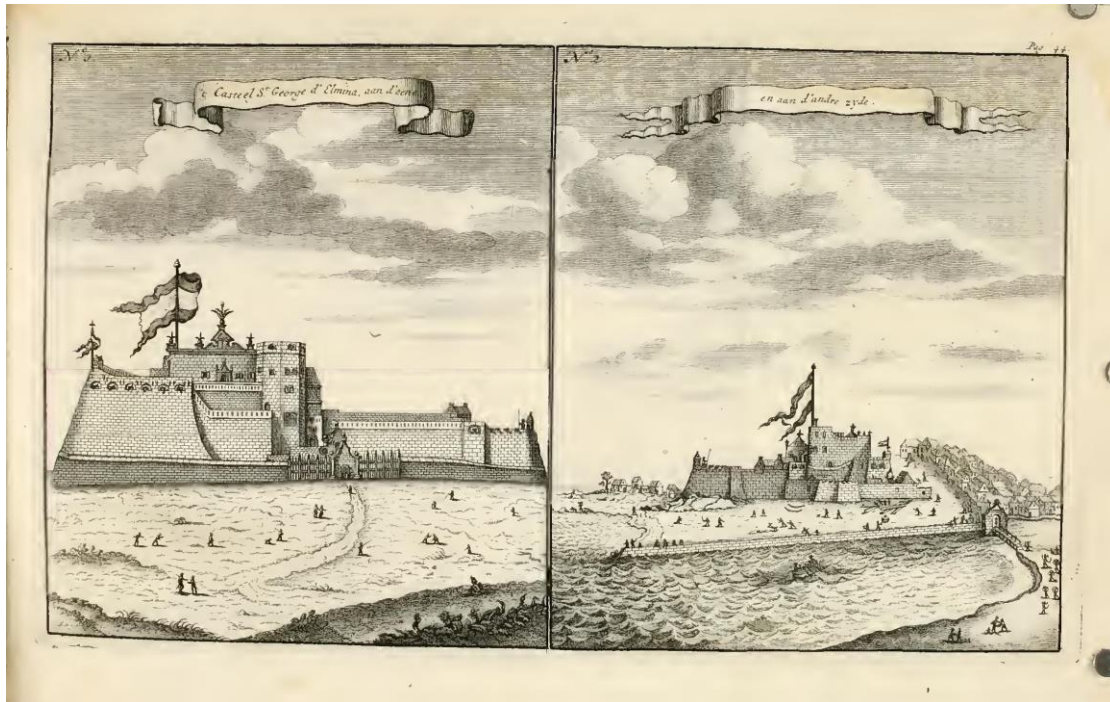


Figure 106. Illustration of Elmina Castle, c. 1704. Source: Willem Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, 40. <https://archive.org/details/newaccuratedescr00bosm> (accessed January 6, 2017).

The Dutch altered the Castle by enclosing the invaded Portuguese fortification. Elmina Castle was transformed by the Dutch from being a small medieval fort with corner towers into an enormous rectangular fort with grandiose curtains walls and bastions, adapting the fort in such a manner that the cannons could be optimally used against attack from other European powers.²⁰³ The Dutch later modified the fortifications due to the Anglo-Dutch war of 1664 and the threat against the very lucrative Dutch slave trade.

The fortification was divided into three courtyards during the Dutch rule: main, the inner and service courtyard (*Kattenplatz*) which is situated to the north of the fortification containing workshops. In the main courtyard, all the ground floor rooms became dungeons for male captives except of one cell used for unruly or misbehaved European soldiers. The residences for the soldiers, the merchant, and the priest, were situated above the dungeons with the governor's rooms above the merchants' rooms.

²⁰³ Varley, 'The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast,' 8.

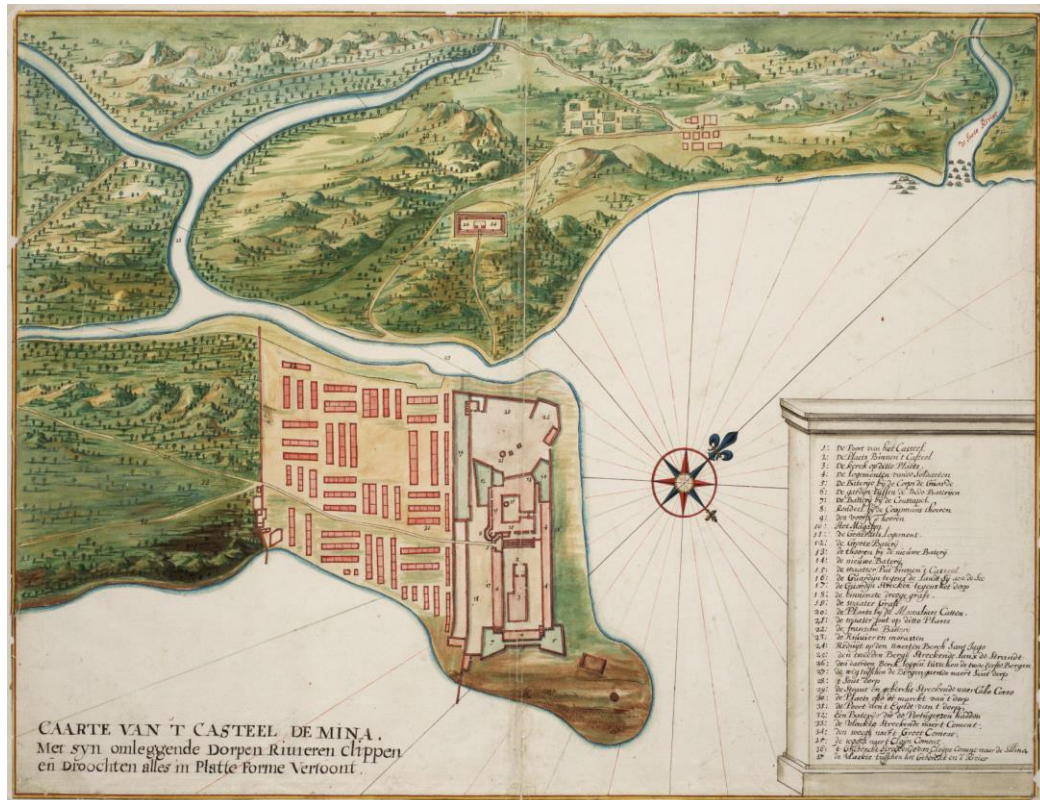


Figure 117. Plan of Elmina Castle and view of surrounding landscape. Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cb/Caarte_van_t_Casteel_de_Mina (accessed September 27, 2016).

The inner courtyard's ground floor consisted of the female dungeons, and above this, the Dutch established a Dutch Reformed Church with an inscription on the doorway of the church: *'Zion is des Heeren ruste. Dit is syn woonplaetse in eternal eewigheyt.'*²⁰⁴



Figure 128. Inscription on the church door. Source: author, 2016.

²⁰⁴ Translated into English: Zion is the Lord's everlasting resting place.

The Castle of Good Hope was divided into two courtyards, the front and back courtyards with a similar division between the status of the inhabitants of the different courtyards.

The Dutch were well prepared in defending Elmina Castle against other European nations and built Fort Coenraadsburg circa 1660 on the nearby St Jago Hill. It is unique in the sense that it was the only fortification built for military or defensive purposes with no warehouses, only military quarters.



Figure 139. Bird's eye view of Elmina and Fort St Jago, c. 1665 – 1668. Source: *Blaeu-van der Hem Atlas*.

The British Gold Coast was formed in 1867. The British influence over Ghana, and Elmina increased together with a steady decline of other European influences with the proclamation of the Gold Coast as a British Colony in 1874.

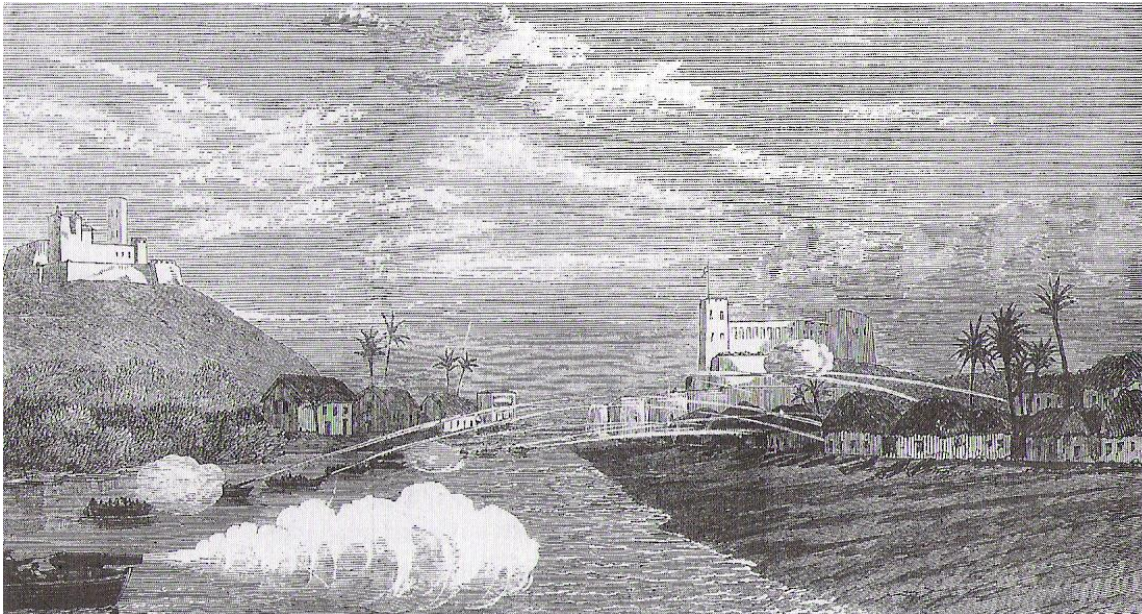


Figure 20. British bombing of Elmina Castle, 13 June 1873. Source: <https://afrolegends.com/2014/11/26reclaiming-africa-history-elmina-castle-west-africas-oldest-slave-fort/> (accessed September 12, 2016).

The British took over the remaining interests of other European nations and purchased the Dutch Coast and Elmina Castle in 1872 from the Dutch.²⁰⁵ Eventually the dominant Ashanti kingdom was forced to submit to British rule²⁰⁶ and King Prempeh I and his family were kept prisoners in Elmina Castle after his forces were defeated by the British in 1896.²⁰⁷

The nineteenth century should be viewed as a 'period of transition' where the equal commerce and relationship between the Europeans and the people of the coast evolved into a situation where Britain achieved political power contrary to the commercial agreement applicable to the earlier centuries.²⁰⁸ Elmina Castle was, upon Ghanaian independence in 1957, left unmanned by the British, however, remained in active use as a school and district administration offices²⁰⁹ and a national training college for the Gold Coast Police Force and later as a headquarters and training centre until 1972, when it

²⁰⁵ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 80.

²⁰⁶ J.D. Fage, *Ghana, A Historical Interpretation* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), 4.

²⁰⁷ Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race,' 51.

²⁰⁸ Fage, *Ghana*, 58.

²⁰⁹ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 68. Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race,' 51.

was as transferred to the GMMB.²¹⁰ The British much later converted the church into classrooms for the police under the British rule.²¹¹

Very little of the original Portuguese Elmina Castle is visible today. However the layout of today's castle is more or less the same as at the time of the Dutch conquest in 1637.²¹² DeCorse disputes this arguing that although the Dutch and the British additions modified the fortification, some Portuguese elements are still visible, such as the church in the central courtyard, however, adapted by the Dutch to be used as a store and mess.²¹³



Figure 21. The original Portuguese church. Source: author, 2016.

²¹⁰ Kankpeyeng, and DeCorse, 'Ghana's Vanishing Past,' 109.

²¹¹ Ashun, *Elmina*, 31.

²¹² Colonial Voyage, www.colonailvoyage.com/european-forts-in-ghana/#.

²¹³ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 21.

ELMINA CASTLE AS WORLD HERITAGE

Elmina Castle is listed as 'the remains of fortified trading posts, erected between 1482 and 1786'²¹⁴ and received World Heritage site designation in 1979 under the description 'Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions.'²¹⁵

'[T]he Castles and Forts of Ghana shaped not only Ghana's history but that of the world over four centuries as the focus of first the gold trade and then the slave trade. They are a significant and emotive symbol of European-African encounters and the starting point of the African Diaspora.'²¹⁶

This fortification is listed as a World Heritage Site under criterion vi – 'outstanding universal (criterion) value for humanity and therefore needed to be protected as significant conveyors of history.'²¹⁷ The Operational Guidelines define criterion vi as –

' ... [b]e directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance.'²¹⁸

The [World Heritage] Committee states that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria.'²¹⁹

Dunn, as cited in Harden, states -

'[M]eaning and narratives attached to the sites are often frozen within the international conservative discourse of heritage. Local knowledge [sic], perspectives and activities are frequently marginalised [sic] and in some cases, criminalised [sic] by an appeal to 'outstanding universal value' and preservation for 'humanity.'²²⁰

Dunn furthermore considers that even though Elmina is significant for numerous reasons, UNESCO limits the importance to that of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

²¹⁴ UNESCO, Consideration of Nominations to the World Heritage List, Decision : CONF 003 XII.46 (1979).

²¹⁵ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/.

²¹⁸ UNESCO, Operational Guidelines, 21.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Renata Harden, 'Contestations over History and Heritage: African American and Ghanaian Perceptions of Slavery and Slave Heritage Sites,' in *Africa After 50 Years: Retrospections and Reflections*, ed. Toyin Falola, Maurice Amutabi, and Sylvester Gundona (New Jersey: African World Press, 2013), 52.

This results in constraining the history of Elmina Castle to reflect a single period or incident.

I strongly dispute Dunn's argument as UNESCO furthermore states -

'[T]hey can be seen as a unique 'collective historical monument,' a monument not only to the evils of the slave trade but also to nearly four centuries of pre-colonial Afro-European commerce by equality rather than on the colonial basis of inequality. They present, significantly and emotively, the continuing history of European-African encounter over five centuries and the starting point of the African Diaspora.'²²¹

The official meanings and interpretations of the castles and fortifications are therefore not only linked to the slavery discourse but appear to be a holistic understanding of a history. The interpretation of the Castle of Good Hope provides similarly a comprehensive history of the Castle in all its layers - as colonialist fortification, a symbol of oppression used by the nationalist government defence force and as a modern day centre of healing and reconciliation.

The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) is the legal custodian of Ghana's tangible and intangible heritage. The Monuments Division of the GMMB is primarily responsible for the protection, conservation and management of all listed national, and UNESCO listed World Heritage sites in Ghana. They ensure that the authenticity and integrity of the heritage sites are maintained, preserved and demonstrated through heritage tourism.

Beck and Hyland, as cited in Kankpeyeng and DeCorse, noted that the first comprehensive approach to the management of the fortifications was prepared by the GMMB in 1970. This study identified the European structures, other historic buildings and the scenic landscape of Elmina, furthermore proposed a management plan for the town of Elmina to validate the conservation principles applicable to this site. However the recommendations were never implemented.²²²

Hyland, appointed by the GMMB as the monuments conservation consultant on the Historic Preservation (Forts and Castles) project outlined three basic

²²¹ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.

²²² Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng, and Christopher R. DeCorse, 'Ghana's Vanishing Past: Development, Antiquities, and the Destruction of the Archaeological Record,' *The African Archaeological Review* vol. 21, no. 2 (June 2004).

principles, which should be applied to the conservation and maintenance of the castles:

- '[C]onservation is a natural part of development, and architectural conservation is an essential component of national development;
- Custody of historical monuments in the ownership of the state is the responsibility of an agency appointed by, or a department of, government;
- Effective management of historic monuments of the size and importance of the two castles requires directions by an experienced administrator, answerable to a Board of Management of Trustees, on which all government departments, institutions and community groups with a valid interest in, or responsibility for, any part of the Castle are represented.'²²³

Hyland suggested that Elmina and Cape Coast Castles should be managed by a dedicated statutory body such as a Board of Management of Trustees and represented by all stakeholders. This, however, was not implemented at Elmina Castle. Contrary to this, the Castle of Good Hope is however governed by dedicated legislation which provides for a Board, represented by all national, provincial and local stakeholders and responsible to Parliament for the management and conservation of the Castle.

Archaeological heritage management was legalised in March 1957 when the redundant Ordinance 20 merged with the Monuments and Relics Commission and the National Museum to establish the GMMB. The purpose of the creation of the GMMB was part of the nationalists' ambition to develop a national identity for the emerging independent nation because Ghana, similar to all African countries, were shaped by colonial powers which created culturally heterogeneous countries.²²⁴

Kwame Nkrumah, the then newly elected president of an independent Ghana, based his political ideologies on the motto - *Unity in Diversity*. Kankpeyeng and DeCorse defend that heritage was key to a national political agenda.²²⁵

²²³ Anthony Hyland, 'Monuments Conservation Practice in Ghana: Issues of Policy and Management,' *Journal of Architectural Conservation*, 1:2 (1995): 60.

²²⁴ Kankpeyeng, and DeCorse, 'Ghana's Vanishing Past,' 94.

²²⁵ Ibid.

The Board is today governed by the National Liberation Council Decree 387 of 1969, now known as Act 387 of 1969.²²⁶ Ghana signed the Convention for the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1975, which implies that the Board, and therefore the management of the enlisted World Heritage sites are guided by the Operational Guidelines and international guidelines and charters.

National Liberation Council Decree 387 defines archaeological heritage as all components of the past including artefacts, shrines, sacred groves, and historical structures.²²⁷ By definition, Ghana's archaeological heritage includes the historic European fortifications. Executive Instrument 42 of 1972, issued to protect the European castles, fortifications and trade posts along the Ghana coast enhanced the 1969 legislation.

The mission of the GMMB is –

'... [T]o acquire, protect, conserve and document the Nation's moveable and immovable material heritage for posterity, for research and *education of the public* (my emphasis).'²²⁸

The vision is –

'[T]o be an effective, efficient and focused institution in the preservation of the material cultural heritage of Ghana and West Africa.'²²⁹

The concept of commodification through heritage tourism is incorporated to a lesser degree in the GMMB's mission - 'education of the public'.

The GMMB is supported by three departments:²³⁰ education and interpretation, administration and finance, and public relations and marketing. In analysing the three departments, I claim tourism and marketing (and therefore the commodification of the heritage) plays a significant role in the operations of the GMMB.

The GMMB quote Dr Isaac S. Ephson on the official website²³¹ when referring to the forts and castles –

²²⁶ Ghana Museums, www.ghanamuseums.org/what-is-gmmb.php.

²²⁷ National Liberation Council Decree 387, 12.

²²⁸ Ghana Museums, www.ghanamuseums.org/mission.php.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Although the website refers to departments, I interpret these as the three strategic programmes of the GMMB.

²³¹ Ghana Museums, www.ghanamuseums.org.

'[T]hese edifices testify to the once flourishing trade between the indigenous African people and the European trading companies in Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, England, France, Sweden, and Brandenburg of German Prussia. The history of Ghana's government administration, judiciary, religion, health care and even its architecture has its roots at these ancient relics.'²³²

Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade is ignored in the quote from the 1970 manuscript, Ephson's view remains relevant to the GMMB as it is used on a contemporary website.

South Africa does not have an organisation similar to the GMMB who is responsible for the strategic and operational management of all heritage resources. The duties of SAHRA and the provincial heritage authorities cannot be compared to that of the GMMB.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS - COMMODIFICATION THROUGH HERITAGE TOURISM

Heritage tourism as the commodification of Elmina Castle is analysed primarily through an extensive literature study. The perspectives and interpretations of the two largest stakeholders – the local Akan-speaking Fanti population and the African American Diaspora tourists of the Castle on a 'transnational landscape'²³³ will be key to my analysis. Elmina Castle and the other slave sites have not gone without criticism from African American visitors, revealing a misalignment between the African American visitors and the local Ghanaian citizens. African American visitors focus on slavery, whereas colonisation, as a system to economically and politically exploit, is key to the Ghanaian perspective. Thus, the vast differences in historical experiences result in a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the slave heritage sites.²³⁴

In contrast to Elmina, an absence of contestation are observed at the Castle of Good Hope. The local communities in Cape Town are to a greater extent unmindful of the possible argument surrounding the Castle as a contested heritage site.

²³² Isaac S. Ephson, *Ancient Forts and Castles of the Gold Coast (Ghana)* (Accra: Ilan Publications, 1970), 13.

²³³ Osei-Tutu, 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles,' 185.

²³⁴ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 45.

The commodification of heritage can provoke intense conflicts when stakeholder groups only consider their input as important or when the process is controlled by outsiders with little insight into the valorisation of this heritage.²³⁵

Notwithstanding the GMMB's current repeating of the 1970's views, the trans-Atlantic slave trade plays a highly significant role in the commodification of Elmina Castle. The Ghanaian government has analysed the complex question of how to interpret the consequence of the European presence in Africa - the Atlantic slave trade. The history has created Elmina as a powerful symbol and crucial site. Resulting from Elmina Castle as a World Heritage site as well as the growth in the Diaspora tourism industry over the last few years – the history of the slave trade is central to Elmina's interpretation.

This contribution by Finley encompasses all the elements concerned in the commodification of the Ghanaian fortifications:

'... [t]he paradoxical combination of the shocking history of these manmade sites, the natural beauty of the seashore and the physical grandeur of the architecture has produced the most popular tourist attractions in contemporary Ghana.'²³⁶

In recent years, Ghana has become a promising West African nation that now focuses on the emerging tourism industry as an avenue to economic development. By analysing a tourism website,²³⁷ it is clear that the Ghanaian government and travel industry is focussing on cultural and heritage tourism.

'[G]hana's tourism promotion strategy focuses on the range of sites within a relatively small country, and the four main messages of natural beauty, historical and cultural heritage hospitality, and safety and stability ... major selling points include beaches; the castles of the coast; the forests, lakes and rivers of the interior; and a range of cultural events.'²³⁸

²³⁵ Osei-Tutu 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles,' 194.

²³⁶ Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons,' 109.

²³⁷ Ghana Tourism, <https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/emerging-star-bold-targets-show-governemnt's-positive-intent-sector>.

²³⁸ Ibid.

Tourism contributed to \$2,1 billion in 2014 and maintained the fourth²³⁹ highest foreign exchange earner for Ghana,²⁴⁰ with the most frequented tourist destination as the Central Region where the fortifications are located.²⁴¹ Tourism to Elmina has increased drastically since the 1980s primarily due to the United States USAID grant for the conservation of Elmina, Cape Coast, and Fort Coenraadsborg.

The world we see today is influenced by the connection between the four continents of Africa, Asia, Americas, and Europe. Before the European-led slave trade in Africa, Arab nations had been trading with slaves since the ninth century.²⁴² The trade of slaves, as commodities, can be traced back to records²⁴³ dating back to as early as circa 1760 BC.

West African gold motivated the European trade during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, the trade evolved into an even more lucrative market – the export of African slaves.²⁴⁴

The number of slaves shipped from the African continent during four hundred years of the slave trade remains an enigma.²⁴⁵ Estimates differ vastly, however, the accepted figure is twelve million five hundred thousand slaves.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ Some sources refer to the 'third' highest, however due to the nature of the study, this is not of the utmost importance.

²⁴⁰ World Travel and Tourism Council, *Travel and Tourism: Economic Impact 2015 Ghana* (2015).

²⁴¹ Richards, 'What is to be Remembered?', 619.

²⁴² Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy*, 160.

²⁴³ Code of Mammurabi, circa 1760 BC refers to slavery as an established institution.

²⁴⁴ Christopher R. DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400 – 1900* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 17.

²⁴⁵ UNESCO, *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Haiti: UNESCO, 1978): 57. Felix Nguah, and Robert Kugbey, *Shackles in Darkness* (Ghana: NYAKOD Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, 2015), 27.

²⁴⁶ Nguah and Kugbey, *Shackles in Darkness*, 32.

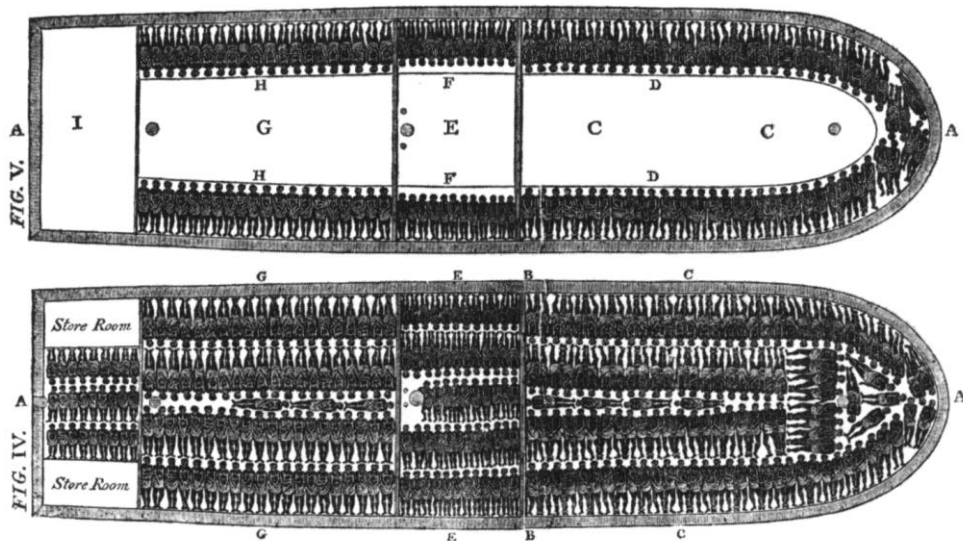


Figure 22. Diagram of a slave ship from the Atlantic slave trade. An Abstract of Evidence delivered before a select committee of the House of Commons in 1790 and 1791. Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana Library. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Slave_ship_diagram.png.

DeCorse explains that the impact of the trade varied in historical, cultural and social contexts as some societies were involved in the procurement of slaves and the trading, with other societies raided for the slave trade. De Corse analyses the adverse effects this will have on the latter group and mentions the 'appearance of fortifications' as one of the consequences of trade and slavery.²⁴⁷

Hyland suggests that the building of Elmina Castle was of global significance, and comparable to Columbus' first voyage to America. The consequences of both these events, interpreted as either heinous or good, 'were endless, incalculable, and unforeseen.'²⁴⁸

As previously referred to in the study, the effects of commodification on the emotive and associative values will receive additional attention due to the focus placed by the World Heritage Centre on the emotive value of the Ghanaian fortifications –

²⁴⁷ DeCorse, *An Archaeology of Elmina*, 26.

²⁴⁸ Hyland, 'Monuments Conservation Practice,' 52.

'[T]hey are a significant and *emotive* (my emphasis) symbol of European-African encounters and the starting point of the African Diaspora.'²⁴⁹

Teye states that Elmina Castle and the Slave Route Project, a tourism project of international significance started in the early 1990s by the World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) and UNESCO²⁵⁰ has the 'necessary emotional significance' for the market that African countries are attempting to attract as heritage tourists.²⁵¹

Osei-Tutu contributes toward Teye's argument by explaining that Elmina represents one of the most influential sites for African Americans' spiritual journey to Africa. The fortification itself evokes such powerful memories about the suffering of their enslaved ancestors.²⁵²



Figure 143. A neglected, ruin-like Elmina Castle. Source: author, 2016.

Although Elmina Castle is not officially classified as a ruin, I perceived the Castle, due to its present deteriorated condition and the empty, neglected structure and fabric *ruin-like*. Rizzi, in his analysis of the conservation of ruins state

-

'[R]uins are everywhere. They form a considerable part of our architectural heritage and, actually, even of the World Heritage List: they are preserved as ruins, maintained as ruins and visited by a growing number of people who, in ruins, see *values, significance and meaning* [my emphasis] – despite their condition. In spite of their condition of *because of their condition?*'²⁵³

Rizzi furthermore explains that the pleasure people find in visiting ruins seems to -

²⁴⁹ World Heritage Centre, whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.

²⁵⁰ Teye, 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past,' 182.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor,' 122.

²⁵³ Gionata Rizzi, 'Preface', in *Conservation of Ruins*, ed. John Ashurst (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2007), xix.

'... [t]hrive in contemporary sensitivity nourished, as it is, by many aspects of our mentality, the aesthetic pleasure in the patina of time, the romantic sensitivity for the work of man re-conquered by nature, the positivist interest in architecture denude of ornament and observable in its bare anatomy, the taste for the part wrenched from its context, for the unity turned into pieces, for the isolated fragment.²⁵⁴

The Castle of Good Hope is contrasted sharply with Elmina Castle and its architecture 'denuded of ornament.' The Castle in Cape Town is now, once again, restored to the finest detail.

Frances Stonor Saunders' exhibition at the Tate Gallery – *Ruin Lust*, was derived from the eighteenth-century concept of *Ruinenlust*, and described as -

'[W]e do not simply stumble across ruins, we search them out to linger amid their tottering, mouldering forms – the great broken rhythm of collapsing vaults, truncated columns, crumbling plinths – and savour the frisson of decline and fall, of wholeness, destabilised.'²⁵⁵

Saunders furthermore refers to a *ruin gaze*, driven by a 'response to decay and dilapidation.'²⁵⁶

Although the tourist gaze appears in a universal sense, there are different gazes authorised by various discourses, which include education, heritage and memory, nation and health to name, but a few. Additional to this, different discourses imply different types of social nature exhibited by individuals in communities. Urry et al. explain the romantic gaze as 'solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze' accentuated.²⁵⁷ They furthermore illustrates the conflicting gaze referred to as the collective gaze, which focuses on the companionship and entertainment of other tourists who confirm that 'this is the place to be.'²⁵⁸ In addition to the two forms of gazes considered by Urry, other academics have shown evidence of other gazes such as the spectatorial gaze, the reverential gaze, the anthropological

²⁵⁴ Rizzi, *Conservation of Ruins*, xix.

²⁵⁵ Frances Stonor Saunders, *How Ruins Reveal our Deepest Fears and Desires*, <https://www.theguardian.com.artanddesign/2014/mar/07/ruins-exhibition-tate-britain-decay>.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Urry, and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 19.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

gaze, the environmental gaze, the mediated gaze, the family gaze²⁵⁹ and the ruin gaze.

Elmina Castle is situated 153 kilometres from Accra, which translates into a four to five hour trip in gruelling traffic, which suggests that tourists do not visit the site by accident or when they have a few hours to spare. An entrance fee of forty cedis (approximately one hundred and sixty South African rands) is charged per person. This is vastly different from the Castle of Good Hope, an hour's drive (in traffic) from Cape Town International airport and situated in the central business district of Cape Town; very accessible to all local and international tourists and charges an entrance fee of thirty South African rands.

On the very first morning, and every morning after that of my six-day visit to Elmina Castle, I was accosted by local entrepreneurs selling their crafts (Figure 11) as I approached Elmina Castle walking from my guesthouse. My undoubtedly *romantic [ruin] gaze*, as referred to by Urry as one of 'solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object' was shattered for this very moment in time. Once inside the walls of the fortification, my romantic gaze could continue unhindered.



Figure 154. A 'gift' from one of the local entrepreneurs, a shell inscribed with: 'To my new South African friend, Adré, from Seth. Have a nice trip at Elmina Castle, 05-08-2016'. Source: author, 2016.

Elmina Castle, among thousands of historic sites, deals with the never-ending politics of commodification through heritage tourism. Today, Ghana markets

²⁵⁹ Urry, and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 19.

Elmina Castle to the Diaspora tourist who now seeks to understand their ancestors' brutal pasts. In addition to this, Elmina is furthermore a destination for Ghanaian tourists, African and international tourists resulting in a variety of frequently conflicting interpretations in their understanding of the significance of Elmina Castle with visitors responses differing significantly as recorded in the visitor's book during the month of August 2016 - 'Wonderful place, this is my Ghana. I love the place, but it makes me feel bad because of the slave history' (Ghanaian citizen); 'Deep and soul-stirring' (Nigerian citizen); 'Sad and disappointing' (citizen of the United States of America, but listed as 'Black American'); 'Very interesting site. It is such a shame that the Ghanaian Ministry of Tourism has neglected such a UNESCO heritage site. With faeces and unkempt surroundings, poor maintenance, how are better than the slave masters?' (Chinese citizen); 'My first time at the Elmina Castle, it was fun, exciting, interesting and educative. In every worst situation, there are benefits and some advantage. God bless Africa for freedom' (unknown).

The majority of African Americans view Africa as the motherland, and ancestral origin and the real home of all black people.²⁶⁰ To African Americans they are at home when they visit the slavery sites, they are now at the beginning of their ancestors' Diasporic journey to the Americas and at the end of their healing journey back to Africa.²⁶¹ Harden concurs that Africa features prominently in the historical memory of African Americans, and as a result, the African continent is a central figure in the African American identity. It is this concept that fuels the desire to travel to the continent and explains the significance of the slave heritage sites (particularly the castles) to the African Americans as these locations depict the origin of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.²⁶²

It is, therefore, to be expected that when the majority of African Americans visit the Elmina Castle, they are 'already emotionally invested' in this site. Elmina Castle 'serves a symbolic function for African Americans: an opportunity to construct a narrative of racial uplift'²⁶³ and that they interpret this site as a symbol of what inhumane conditions their ancestors had to overcome.

²⁶⁰ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 45.

²⁶¹ Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race,' 49.

²⁶² Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 46.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 47.

Despite the importance of the Elmina Castle to African American tourists, they have hugely criticised the management of this site, creating conflict between the local Ghanaian population, the Ghanaian government, and the African American tourists.²⁶⁴

Bruner, as cited in Osei-Tutu claims that the African Americans' objection to the commodification of the fortifications is based on an outmoded discourse, which illustrates the perception that 'commodification contaminates the sacred' and the perception that commodified sites are less authentic. Osei-Tutu regards the distinction made by the African Americans between spirituality and commodification as problematic and argues that 'the representation of slavery and commodification need not be mutually exclusive.'²⁶⁵ He reflects on an example of African American tourist companies benefiting from the environment created by the commodification of these sites. Osei-Tutu furthermore considers that African Americans are of the opinion that all aspects of the commodification of the fortifications, including paying entrance fees to visit the museums as commercial transactions bring back the memories of their ancestors treated as commodities during the transatlantic slave trade.²⁶⁶

Finley explores the contributions by Pierre Nora's influential term *lieux de mémoire*, and claims Elmina Castle to be a profound example of a site of memory, 'where memory crystallises the secrets itself.'²⁶⁷ Finley furthermore states that memory is key to Diaspora tourism, where it is offered to the tourist for consumption, and it is the memories that make their experiences meaningful at these sites and finally concludes by arguing that memory itself become a commodity – to be bought, traded or sold.²⁶⁸

African American reactions to the commodification of Elmina Castle can be linked to their search for memory and their increasing sense of ownership over their African heritage. Osei-Tutu considers that the issue of ownership remains

²⁶⁴ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 48.

²⁶⁵ Osei-Tutu, 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles', 192.

²⁶⁶ Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor,' 118. Confirmed by the museum educators during the interviews.

²⁶⁷ Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons,' 114.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, xvii.

unresolved with the fortifications listed as UNESCO World Heritage sites of universal significance and 'universal ownership.'²⁶⁹

African Americans are of the opinion that the castles are being whitewashed for the benefits of the stakeholders such as the USAID, Shell Oil and USA ICOMOS resulting in the view that the capitalist agenda fuel the preservation of these sites.²⁷⁰ Diaspora tourists, with special reference to the African Americans who, contrary to the Ghanaian government's interpretation interpret the renovation of the fortifications as heritage commodification; therefore 'whitewashing' history and removing images of slavery and African roots.²⁷¹ Osei-Tutu notes that critics of the renovation projects refer to the changes as 'Disneyfication' to 'mask the evils of slavery.'²⁷² Osei-Tutu furthermore refers to Afrikadzata Deku, an African American scholar who described the renovation project as a ' ... '[t]ele-guided falsification' in the name of preservation for the promotion of tourism.'²⁷³



Figure 165. Elmina Castle – Cell of the Condemned (*left*). Visible scratches left by condemned prisoners (*right*). Source: author, 2016.

²⁶⁹ Osei-Tutu, 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles,' 195.

²⁷⁰ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 48.

²⁷¹ Samuel Agyei-mensah, 'Marketing its Colonial Heritage: A New Lease of Life for Cape Coast, Ghana?,' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* vol. 30.3 (September 2006): 710.

²⁷² Osei-Tutu, 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles,' 189.

²⁷³ Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor, 118.

Bruner explains that the Ghanaian officials have also been critical towards some of the concerns raised by the African Americans, in particular, the renovation project that would ensure the preservation of the structures.²⁷⁴

Local Ghanaians suggest that the castle be restored and enhanced to attract more tourists, contrary to that, the visiting African Americans want the castles to be left untouched – ‘a cemetery for the slaves who died in the dungeons.’²⁷⁵ These competing messages raise questions about ownership, commodification, and representation and furthermore result in contested heritage sites.

The Ghanaian government organised a seminar in 1994 to discuss the concerns expressed by the African Americans. A case of the destructive and apparent commodification of Elmina Castle has been made in the past when a gift shop was established within the sacred spaces of the male dungeon. However, many tourists criticised this decision, and the shop was eventually moved to the outer courtyard (*Kattenplatz*) across from the restaurant.



Figure 176. View of the curio shop and restaurant in the *Kattenplatz* courtyard. Source: author, 2016.

Like Bruner, Jordan notes that the local Ghanaians are not in agreement with the African American visitors on the interpretation of the castles. Jordan also considers that the slave-holding fortifications erected between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries form a collective monument to cultural exchanges between Europe, Africa, and the Americas as sites are linked to the

²⁷⁴ Edward M. Bruner, ‘Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora,’ *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 98, No. 2 (June 1996): 294.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 293.

'roots' tourism industry. Residents would want the castles restored and made attractive; Diaspora tourists would want the castles to be presented as they are – a cemetery for slaves.²⁷⁶

Cultural differences may account for the different interpretations of Elmina. Essential to the study when interpreting the sense of place and the role of the African Diaspora is Tuan's reference to 'home is the focal point of cosmic structure.' Tuan furthermore maintains that space becomes a place shaped by experiences and memories of different kinds. It is these experiences, which does not necessarily have to be 'personal in nature that creates a sense of place.'²⁷⁷ Cresswell also takes a similar view to Tuan when he analyses space versus place and how they interrelate and require each other for definition. He furthermore interprets places as a way of understanding the world where every person would see different things and therefore interpret them differently.²⁷⁸

Bruner explains that African Americans are referred to as *obruni* by the local Ghanaians, which means 'white man' and foreigner. This is ironic since the Diaspora blacks see themselves returning home to Africa.²⁷⁹

African Americans accuse Ghanaians of their interest in tourism and the economic benefits rather than of the past; however, ironically it is tourism that markets the slave sites to African Americans. I find Harden's findings of African Americans blaming the Ghanaian tour guides of downplaying the atrocities, which took place in the castles, thought-provoking.

Many African American tour groups ask that Caucasians do not accompany them on their tour, more specifically when they reach the sacred spaces of the male and female slave dungeons and the *door of no return*.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race,' 48.

²⁷⁷ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1977), 149.

²⁷⁸ Tim Cresswell, *Place* (United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, 20014), 10.

²⁷⁹ Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana,' 295.

²⁸⁰ Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana.' Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 50. Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons.'

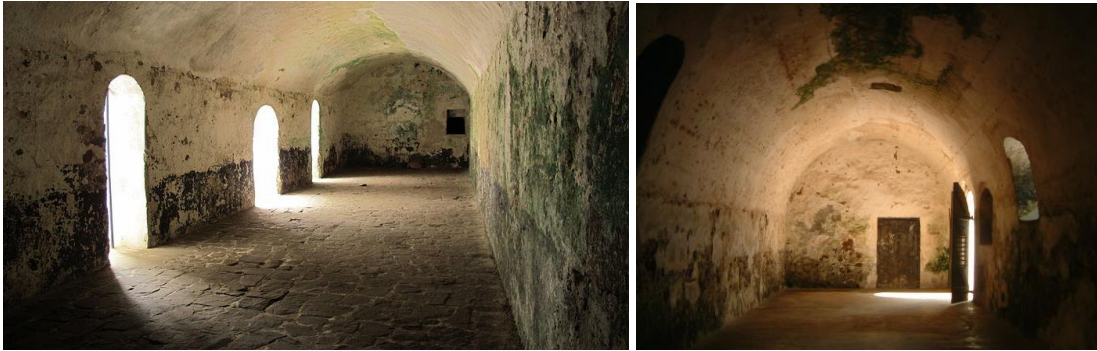


Figure 187. Female (*left*) and male (*right*) slave dungeons. Source: author, 2016.

They claim a privileged status and at times refuse the presence of Caucasian tourists arguing that they not want to experience the pain of their ancestors in the midst of a descendant of their oppressors. Finley raises the question of who is allowed to mourn: the Diaspora tourists, Ghanaians or the Europeans?²⁸¹

Finley claims guided tours at Elmina Castle do focus on the pain and torment to lend a sense of authenticity to the historical and contemporary significance of the site.²⁸² The educators are of the opinion that the '...[f]ull story is portrayed' and 'it is not necessary to aggravate the story ... the story by itself is a painful enough thing.'²⁸³



Figure 198. Wooden bars in openings in female slave dungeons. Source: author, 2016.

Finley maintains that changes to the female dungeons aim at authentication, and she specifically mentioned the metal bars placed in the arched openings

²⁸¹ Cheryl Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons, 118.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ This was revealed by one of the museum educators during a tour.

as an attempt to use authentic materials.²⁸⁴ I dispute this in view of the wooden bars I found in the openings. I suspect that in the period of twelve years since the publication of Finley's article, the metal must have rusted beyond repair and was once again replaced by wood.

The dungeons are left totally bare, except for wreaths and candles left by visitors. The tourists feel the emptiness best signifies the absence of many millions of Africans gone from Africa, and for them, it is the only authentic way the dungeons should be interpreted and represented.²⁸⁵

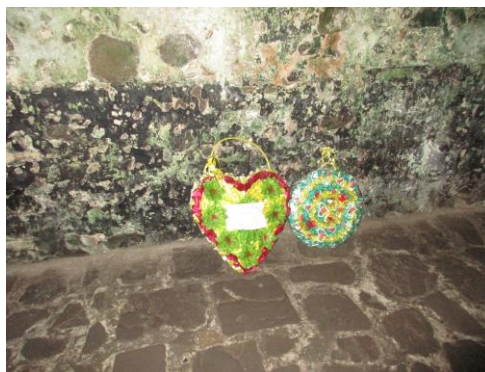


Figure 209. Wreaths left by visitors to the dungeons. Source: author, 2016.

Museum educators, like actors, anticipate the audiences' desires and 'calibrate' their performances aligned to that.²⁸⁶

The interpretation of heritage here is primarily dependent upon the tour guide, the interaction between the tourist and the guide and the broader context in which the tour is performed. This interpretation could result in multi-layered heritage narratives, but could also lead to 'heritage dissonance' or a discrepancy between heritage and people caused by the selectivity of the use of heritage in tourism. Salazar points out that –

'[t]he 'externally imagined (represented) and locally imagined value and use of world heritage can be divergent, it is also important to recognise that, even at a local level, not everyone necessarily speaks in one voice.'²⁸⁷

The Burra Charter refers to *interpretation* as a means presenting the cultural significance of a place.²⁸⁸ *Meanings* attached to heritage, similarly to values,

²⁸⁴ Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons,' 120.

²⁸⁵ Finley, 'Authenticating Dungeons,' 121.

²⁸⁶ Richards, 'What is to be remembered?' 627.

²⁸⁷ Salazar, 'Shifting Values,' 37.

²⁸⁸ ICOMOS, Burra Charter, 3.

play an important role which becomes clear when interpreting the heritage through tour guides.²⁸⁹ I found the museum educators at Elmina to be sensitive and adequately trained to manage their audiences; they are furthermore aware that tourists do have their own interests and expectations and the guides adapted to these situations.



Figure 3021. Guided tours. Source: author, 2016.

I participated in numerous tours at Elmina Castle with a broad and holistic interpretation of the cultural significance of the Castle presented by the museum educators. This included architectural points of interest, the presence of the church inside the castle walls, the rooms of the governor, the use of the castle during the centuries, the torture inflicted upon troublesome captives, the punishment of the disobedient soldiers, the rape of the enslaved women by the European soldiers and governors, the horrors of the male and female slave dungeons, and the well known 'door of no return'.

²⁸⁹ Salazar, 'Shifting Values,' 28.

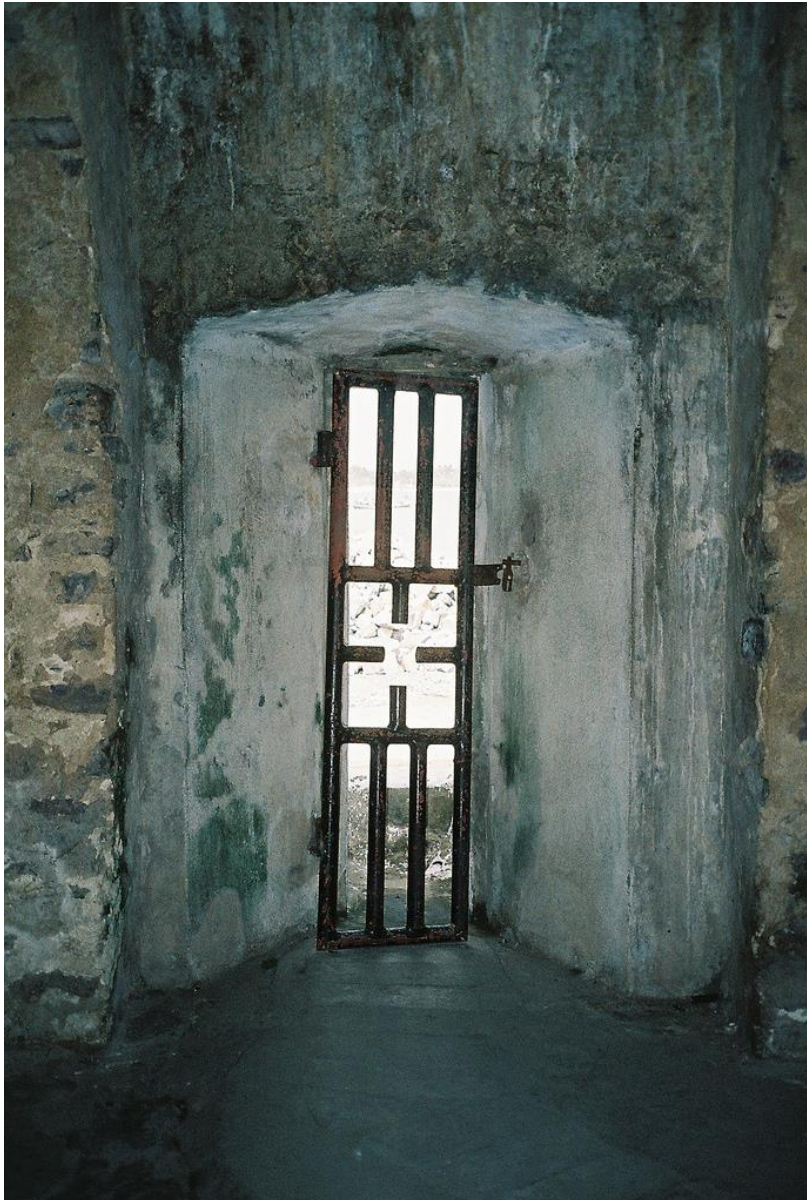


Figure 221. Door of no return. Source: author, 2016.

The valorisation of the slave dungeons is debated by Osei-Tutu who quoted Afrikadzata Deku –

‘the importance of the slave dungeons in Ghana/Africa is not the buildings but the collective knowledge, memory and external remembrance of the hell we suffered here as Africans.’²⁹⁰

Some of the African American tourists interpret the bookshops and restaurant as a grossly aggressive form of commodification.²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ Osei-Tutu, ‘The African American Factor,’ 122.

²⁹¹ Harden, ‘Contestations over History,’ 50.

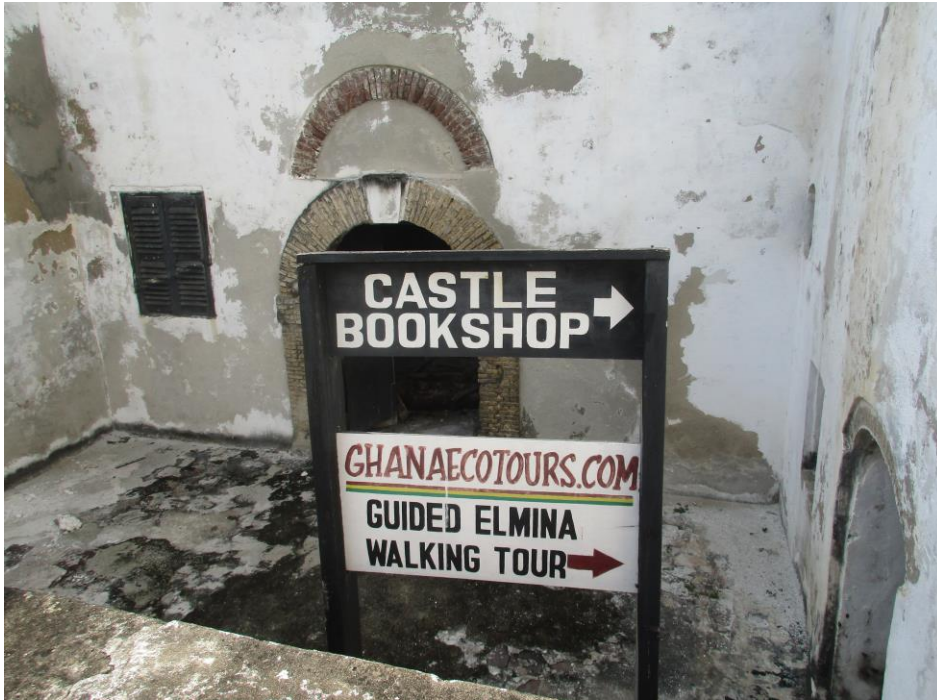


Figure 232. Signage indicating bookshop. Source: author, 2016.

All the museum educators agreed that the visit to the bookshop during²⁹² the tour 'breaks the flow of the tour ...' Conflictingly, the official Elmina Castle Museum website under the auspices of the GMMB market the castle for the tourist –

'[A]fter a tour of the castle a chance to rejuvenate is on hand at the museum's restaurant and bar. A bookstore and a gift shop are available, and the museum provides visitors with access to a car park. There is an open courtyard for outdoor activities.'²⁹³

²⁹² A visit to the bookshop forms part of the official tour.

²⁹³ Ghana Museums, www.ghanamuseums.org/elmina-castle-museum.php.



Figure 243. Visit to the craft shop interrupt the tour.
Source: author, 2016.

Reed's argument is particularly relevant to the study when analysing heritage tourism as a commodification approach and sheds light on the factors responsible for the transformation of the Elmina Castle into a centre for heritage tourism.²⁹⁴ Institutions such as the GMMB, responsible for the conservation of this site, were guided by the government's economic development strategies to find the solution for sensible commodification.²⁹⁵

The commodification of Elmina Castle takes place through heritage tourism and a limited amount of retail. Compared to this, commercial and cultural events play a significant role in the commodification of the Castle of Good Hope.

Bayo Holsey's *Routes of Remembrance*, an anthropological study of the slave trade history with particular reference to Elmina Castle and town, focuses on how memories of the slave trade are constructed. Holsey has through numerous years of research in Ghana, commented how the slave trade history is accepted and perceived by Ghanaians and how the perception of the African Diaspora have changed over time. The development of African Diaspora tourism has unsettled the residents as they are now compelled to

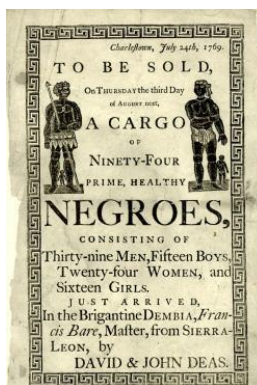
²⁹⁴ Anne Reed, *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana* (New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2015).

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

confront their ancestor's legacy and involvement in the slave trade. Holsey's focus is that national discourse about slavery and the slave trade is paradoxical with that of the African Diaspora tourists while also contradicting locally created ideas on the subject of slavery. Holsey furthermore contends that slavery is omitted from public discourses, by remaining a stigma for the descendants of slaves and a taboo subject for the lineage of slave traders.²⁹⁶ The Ghanaians view the slave fortifications differently as they have been taught to forget slavery and they do not see slavery as part of their national identity.

Richards, as cited in Harden, explains –

'[S]lavery is not integral to how most Ghanaians define themselves. To attract tourists, Ghanaians must remember a history they learned to forget ... Until relatively recently, slavery was not a subject taught in Ghanaian schools or transmitted orally in informal settings.'²⁹⁷



Ghanaians also has a different experience of slavery, although domestic slavery was evident in Africa, it was vastly different from the slavery experienced by Africans who were transported to the New World. Many Ghanaians seem ignorant of the atrocities that slaves faced at the castles, during the Middle Passage, and at the plantations.²⁹⁸

Figure 254. Reproduction of a pamphlet advertising a slave auction in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1769 (Source: http://www.greatblackinwax.org/Exhibits/middle_pass.htm).

Ghanaians felt the brunt of colonisation instead of slavery, Buckley suggests that

'[G]hanaians do not understand the frustration of African Americans because their British colonial master did not subject them to the physical brutalities slaves suffered in the Americas and the Caribbean. Most Ghanaians rarely saw the British, so they did not feel oppressed in the same way that slaves shipped to America apparently felt oppressed.'²⁹⁹

²⁹⁶ Bayo Holsey, *Routes of Remembrance – Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008).

²⁹⁷ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 50.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁹ S. Buckley, 'U.S. African Blacks Differ on Turning Slave Dungeons into Tourist Attractions,' *The Washington Post*, (17 April 1995).

Bruner, as cited in Jordan, agrees with Buckley in that he notes that Ghanaians are not 'particularly concerned with slavery,' but rather with Elmina's '500 years, a long and colourful [international] history.'³⁰⁰

Not only do Ghanaians view slavery differently from African Americans, but they are also economically dependent on heritage tourism, which influenced their interpretation of these heritage sites. Although thousands of international tourists visit Elmina on an annual basis, many local Ghanaians do not relate to the Castle that dominates their small village and boat yard.

Bruner debates the concept of how to commodify the Castle to such an extent that the local people are not separated from the structure, which is now dedicated entirely to tourism.³⁰¹



Figure 265. Living conditions in Elmina – a view from my guesthouse.
Source: author, 2016.

Riegl discusses the aspect of use as a significant factor and can at times be the motivation for modifications to heritage structures. The Venice Charter also state that conservation of 'monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose.'³⁰²

The dire living conditions of the people of Elmina will influence their view of Elmina Castle. The economic requirements to provide for families outweigh the obligations of preserving the past. The Ghanaians are not always sympathetic to the highly emotional opinions regarding the Castle, and they argue that Elmina Castle not only used for slavery, but it also served as a military fortification, provincial officers, a police training academy, and a school.

³⁰⁰ Jordan, 'Rhizomorphics of Race,' 51.

³⁰¹ Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana,' 298.

³⁰² Jokilehto, 'Authenticity in Restoration,' 9.

Harden explains that the people of Elmina have no choice in the matter but to use Elmina Castle as an economic tool to influence the living conditions of the population.³⁰³

I do agree with the contributions of Harden. However, the GMMB indicated the income generated at the Elmina Castle is forwarded to a corporate budget, which is utilised for the preservation of all fortifications.³⁰⁴ Compared to Elmina Castle, the Castle of Good Hope does not receive an allocation from National Treasury or the Department of Defence. However, the income generated through commercial events and visitors to the Castle is used for the operational management of the Castle.

The term 'commodification' is used extensively in the tourism discourse, whereby the private sector commodifies culture as a consequence of tourist experiences. However, it is not only the private sector or the individual tourist that participate in the commodification processes, the public sector or the state can also play a significant role in creating institutional arrangements for commodification to occur. Hannam and Offeh furthermore argue that from an institutional perspective, whether cultural objects are authentic or inauthentic becomes predominantly irrelevant as long as income is generated.³⁰⁵

The Elmina Castle Museum was established in 1996 with the primary objectives of educating the public on the history of the castle and the preservation of the cultural heritage of the Central Region.³⁰⁶ The museum includes displays of photographic depictions of the history of the castle, the indigenous Asantes of Elmina, the European trade in Elmina, gold weighing artefacts, and archaeological artefacts (examples of these are beads, ceramics, glass, slave shackles, and local textiles).

I find it indicative that a single display board is dedicated to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which signifies the view of the GMMB that the slave trade is but one

³⁰³ Harden, 'Contestations over History,' 51.

³⁰⁴ Stated during an interview with GMMB management.

³⁰⁵ Kevin Hannam, and Francis Offeh, 'Institutional Commodification of Heritage Tourism in Ghana,' *African Insight* Vol. 42(2) (September 2012): 18.

³⁰⁶ Ghana Museums, www.ghanamuseums.org/elmina-castle-museum.php.

of the many aspects which shaped the Outstanding Universal Value of the Castle.



Figure 276. Slave trade display board in the Elmina Museum. Source: author, 2016.

Bruner points out that aside from the issues of interpretation and representation is the question of ownership and control over the castles. Who owns the Castle? The Diaspora blacks, the Elmina population and local chiefs, the USAID and other international agencies that sponsored the restoration, or the tourists to whom the Castle is now dedicated. Bruner affirms that the question of the ownership is theoretical. The Castle has not been devoid of life – it was built initially as a Portuguese colonialist intrusion onto the Gold Coast, ‘but subsequently the castle has made its claims to power and monumentality ... dominating the countryside, a massive structure on the edge of a humble fishing village, the castle takes on properties of its own and imposes its meanings on the surrounding area.’³⁰⁷

³⁰⁷ Bruner, ‘Tourism in Ghana Bruner,’ 302.



Figure 328. The dominating Castle within the landscape. Source: author, 2016.

Osei-Tutu concludes that although the Ghanaian authorities emphasise the complex histories of these fortifications, they fail to 'problematize ownership over these same monuments.' He quotes Dr. Francis Duah, the former Regional Museum Director of the Central Region: 'we may target African American tourists, but the castles belong to Ghana.'³⁰⁸

This argument contradicts the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, which refers to universal ownership. Osei-Tutu refers to Appadurai's argument regarding the social life of things; ownership may come through kinship ties and spiritual connection. Osei-Tutu maintains that the ownership of the Ghanaian fortifications should follow Appadurai's argument and that the GMMB remains the statutory body that holds these World Heritage sites in trust for all humanity.³⁰⁹

Elmina is the first and one of the most prominent fortifications built on the coastline of Ghana where slaves were kept for long periods before they were shipped across the Atlantic to the New World.

The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast are of cultural significance for two primary reasons. First, they are the only buildings in Ghana which combine architectural values with historical values. Second, they were built between the end of the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. This is a period when military architecture was subjected to extensive transformation due to the introduction of the canon, as a newly developed weapon.³¹⁰

Cultural properties carry conflicting messages for different stakeholder groups. The fortifications on the coast of Ghana is an excellent example to debate these conflicting messages. They are of high architectural value and are significant examples of European military architecture that carry inspiring

³⁰⁸ Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor,' 121.

³⁰⁹ Osei-Tutu, 'The African American Factor,' 195.

³¹⁰ W.J. Varley, 'The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast,' *Transactions of the Gold Coast & Togoland Historical Society*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1952): 1.

messages (to Europeans) of early pre-colonial Afro-European adventures. To Diaspora Africans, they send messages of slavery, indignity, and contempt.³¹¹

A final and constructive consequence of commodification through heritage tourism is that the tourist interest in Ghanaian culture has led to an increase in the Ghanaians own interest in their culture.

Bruner states that the culture [and national identity] that was destroyed during colonialism has been recovered in heritage tourism³¹² and therefore, commodification.

The analysis of the impact of the commodification of Elmina Castle as a comparative case creates a context whereby similarities and differences will be analysed as observed in the Castle of Good Hope.

³¹¹ A.D.C. Hyland, and George W. Intsiful, 'When the Castle's were White, II,' 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: Place, Memory, Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites (Zimbabwe, 2003).

³¹² Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana,' 300.

CHAPTER 5

CASTEEL DE GOEDE HOOP

As with the chapter on Elmina Castle, this chapter commences with the historical background to the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope. This is followed by an analysis of the Castle within its prevailing legislative context of national heritage and concludes the chapter by portraying the commodification through heritage tourism and events.

THE CASTLE IN THE DUTCH COLONIAL LANDSCAPE

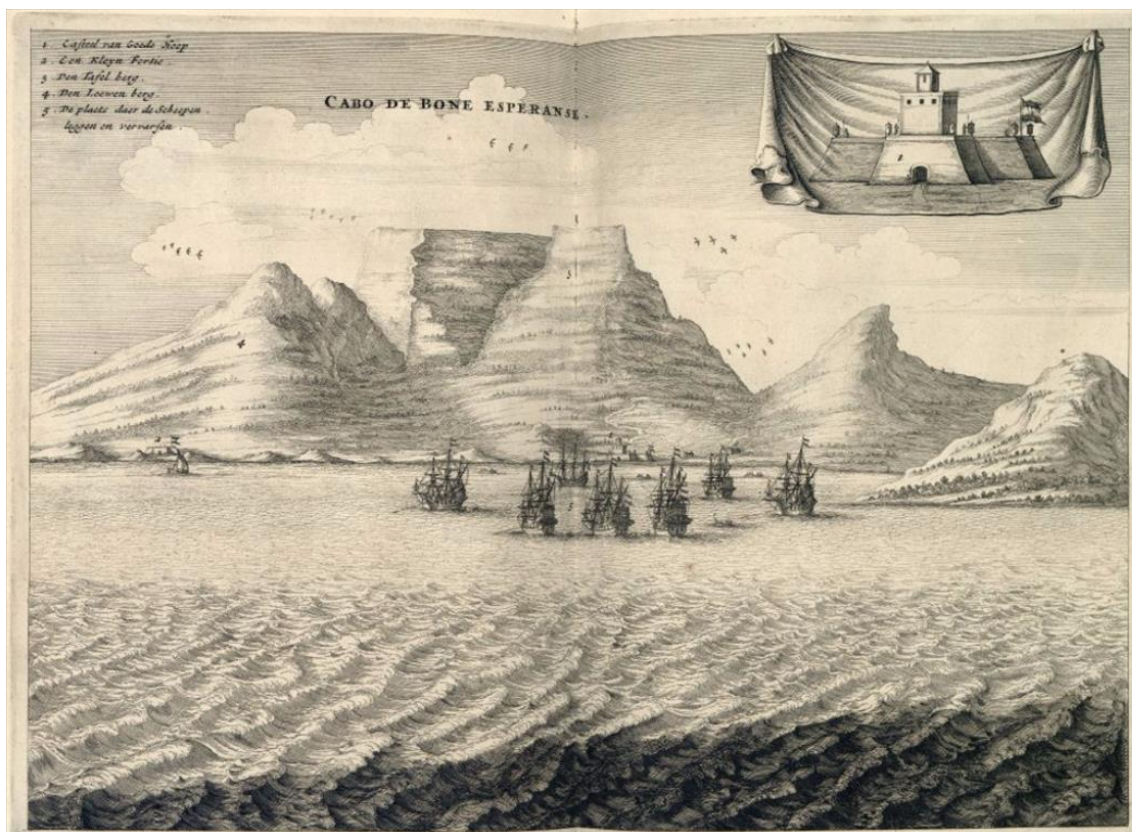


Figure 298. Jacob van Meurs, *Cabo da Boa Esperanza*, 1668. Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Source: atlasof mutualheritage.nl/nl/instellingen/Koninklijke-Bibliotheek/ (accessed November 12, 2016).

For a very long time in South Africa, history focused on European culture to the exclusion of a wider view of South Africa's history. The 'official history,' therefore, started with the landing of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, at Table Bay. This Eurocentric view explicitly regards the European culture of the Portuguese and Dutch voyages and ultimately colonisation as pre-eminent.

The Portuguese, during their search for a sea route to India, were the first European nation to 'discover' the southern point of Africa in the latter part of the fifteenth century and traded successfully for numerous years. The Portuguese, however, shifted their focus to the south coast of the Congo and Mozambique after a bloody clash with the local *Khoikhoi* people which resulted in the death of many Portuguese sailors. After the departure of the Portuguese, the Dutch, through the VOC, established in 1602, set their eyes on the Cape.



Figure 309. Charles Davidson Bell. Jan van Riebeeck's landing in Table Bay in April 1652. Source: www.sahistory.org.za/topic/arrival-jan-van-riebeeck-cape-6-april-1652 (accessed October 2, 2016).

The latter was seen as a replenishment station for their voyages to the Far East, and under Commander van Riebeeck, a base was established to establish a trade in cattle with the local *Khoikhoi* and the establishment of the Company's garden.³¹³ Van Robbroeck confirms this and states that the European presence at the Cape was merely a natural development due to the Cape's position located on the spice trade between the East and the West.³¹⁴

For the Dutch, the founding of the Company's vegetable and fruit garden rationalised the transformation and colonisation of the Cape.³¹⁵ Worden argues that the VOC's initial plan for the Cape did not include an urban settlement,

³¹³ B. Johnson Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope from 1666* (Cape Town: CastleMilitaryMuseum Foundation, 2003), 10. Alette Fleischer, '(Ex)changing Knowledge and Nature at the Cape of Good Hope, circa 1652 – 1700,' in *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, eds. Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin (Netherlands: IDC Publishers, 2010), 245.

³¹⁴ Lize Van Robbroeck, 'Reimagining South African National Heritage: Two Ten-Years-of-Democracy Exhibitions,' *African Arts*, vol. 37, no. 4, Art and Freedom: South Africa after *Apartheid* (Winter, 2004): 43.

³¹⁵ Fleischer, '(Ex)changing Knowledge,' 246.

their needs were the building of a fort, a garden and livestock trade or production.³¹⁶

Fleischer notes that the vision of the VOC was to demand a constant flow of pictorial and written information on the nature and culture of the Cape. The fort and Company garden functioned as a 'node where the networks of the VOC and the *Khoikhoi* intersection, thereby encountering and appropriating unknown kinds of knowledge and practices.'³¹⁷

European sojourners interpreted the Cape as an 'empty landscape' and although the *Khoikhoi* inhabited the land, the Dutch turned this into '[A] land that was fenced in, staked out, mapped, and possessed by the plough and on paper.' The Dutch representations display the land as uninhabited, which lay bare for the taking by the VOC.³¹⁸ White, as cited in Fleischer, contends that the Company therefore not only established a trading post at the Cape but claimed a significant portion of land, with the original inhabitants, the *Khoikhoi*, soon found themselves 'marginalised and living in a land defined by others.'³¹⁹

As pointed out by Creighton, walls (fortifications) created or exacerbated communities, and in some cases continue to do so.³²⁰ The Castle of Good Hope can be seen as a symbol of protection during this period when the local *Khoikhoi* were excluded and furthermore also during the period of the nationalist government where the then South African Defence Force occupied the Castle as the headquarters of the Western Province Command.

Bank, as cited in Fleischer, states –

' ... [w]e should adjust the image of Europe as the 'scientific' and 'technological' driving force in so-called feral areas and of the Dutch as taking possession of a seemingly vacant land ...'³²¹

Laidler, as cited in Barker, notes that the Dutch were forbidden to 'molest or enslave' the indigenous people.³²² A similar instruction was given to the early

³¹⁶ Worden, 'Space,' 72.

³¹⁷ Fleischer, '(Ex)changing Knowledge,' 246.

³¹⁸ Fleischer, '(Ex)changing Knowledge,' 247.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 248.

³²⁰ Creighton, 'Contested Townscapes,' 344.

³²¹ Fleischer, '(Ex)changing Knowledge,' 263.

³²² Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 10.

Portuguese settlers in Ghana and the Elimina population was to be treated with respect and dignity.

Raven-Hart researches the first fifty years of the Dutch colonisation at the Cape, as interpreted by *callers*.³²³ The callers did refer to the local population on numerous occasions –

‘[T]he natives of the land are savages, not tall, thin, smeared with grease and filthy ... in their feeding, the Hottentots are exceptionally coarse, dirty, gluttonous and uncivilised ... gobble down pieces of dead beasts and carrion, gnawing them greedily like dogs.’³²⁴

Johann Jakob Marklein, who served as a VOC ship's surgeon traveled from Batavia and provided an elaborate narrative of the sighting of the ‘outermost corner of Africa toward the south, named *Cabo boa de Esperanza*’ on the 23rd of February 1652 whereafter they arrived at the ‘Gulf called Table Bay.’ He furthermore notes that –

‘[T]his Bay, or Gulf, is very conveniently set for those who journey from Europe to the East Indies ... since it lies as if half-way between the East Indies and Europe.’³²⁵

The Dutch started with the construction of the *Fort de Goede Hoop* on the western side of the Grand Parade two days after their landing. Ras notes that Van Riebeeck was instructed to construct ‘*een defencief fortgen of sterckte*’³²⁶ which could house seventy to eighty men.³²⁷ The fort walls and ramparts were built of clay sods with wooden buildings inside that served as barracks, stores and the residence of the Commander. The fort was, however, unstable and seen as a temporary measure as it would have collapsed under attack from the sea.³²⁸ Gijsbert Heeck, another caller to the Cape, makes reference to the fort, ‘[C]onsisting (like a fieldwork) of good clay sods it is tolerably large, with four bastions, well proved with cannon and all munitions of war ...’³²⁹ The original fort was eventually demolished in 1673.³³⁰

³²³ *Callers* refer to resident VOC officials.

³²⁴ R. Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope 1652 – 1702* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1971), 17.

³²⁵ Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, 5.

³²⁶ Translated from Dutch to English – a strong, defensive fortification.

³²⁷ Anna Ras, *Die Kasteel en Ander Vroee Kaapse Vestingswerke: 1652 – 1713* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Uitgewers (Edms.) Beperk, 1959): 6.

³²⁸ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 12.

³²⁹ Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, 46.

³³⁰ Ras, *Die Kasteel*, 33.

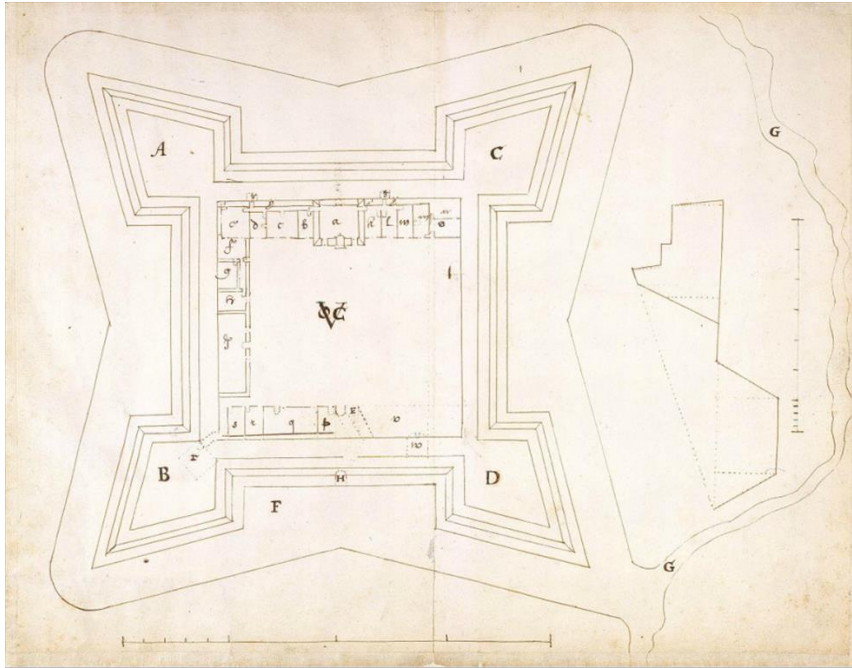


Figure 40. Plan of Fort de Goede Hoop – 1653. Nationaal Archief. Source: *Grootte Atlas*.

War broke out between Britain and the Netherlands in 1664, and the VOC instructed Commander Wagenaer on the defence of the Cape of Good Hope against attack by European powers, specifically Britain.³³¹ A new, robust fort was to replace the existing fort due to the frequency of the collapsing of the clay walls.³³² The design for the new Castle of Good Hope was no longer based on the classic Medieval castle surrounded by a moat and high towers linked by walled curtains.³³³



Figure 311. Pieter Gijsbert Noodt, Plan of the Castle, c. 1718. Source: *Grootte Atlas*.

³³¹ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 16.

³³² P.E. Ferguson, *The Castle of Cape Town: 300th Anniversary 1666 – 1966* (1966).

³³³ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 16.

The purpose of the new castle and original fort were to protect the interests of the VOC and the Dutch government. The design of fortified architecture changed fundamentally due to the development of artillery,³³⁴ and it was realised that a single warship could do irreparable damage.

The location of the new castle was further east than the site of the fort, as it had to be out of reach of a warship's gunfire.³³⁵ Böeseken, as cited in Sleight, describes the environment within which the new fort is to be built. Poles are planted on the five corners where the foundation is measured and in the centre a flagpole with a Dutch flag. On 16 November 1665, a storeroom used to store equipment is erected in the location of the front courtyard of the Castle.³³⁶ By the end of 1665, excavations for the unnamed bastions were completed. The site is now prepared and ready for the construction of the new castle and preparations were made to lay the cornerstone on 2 January 1666.³³⁷

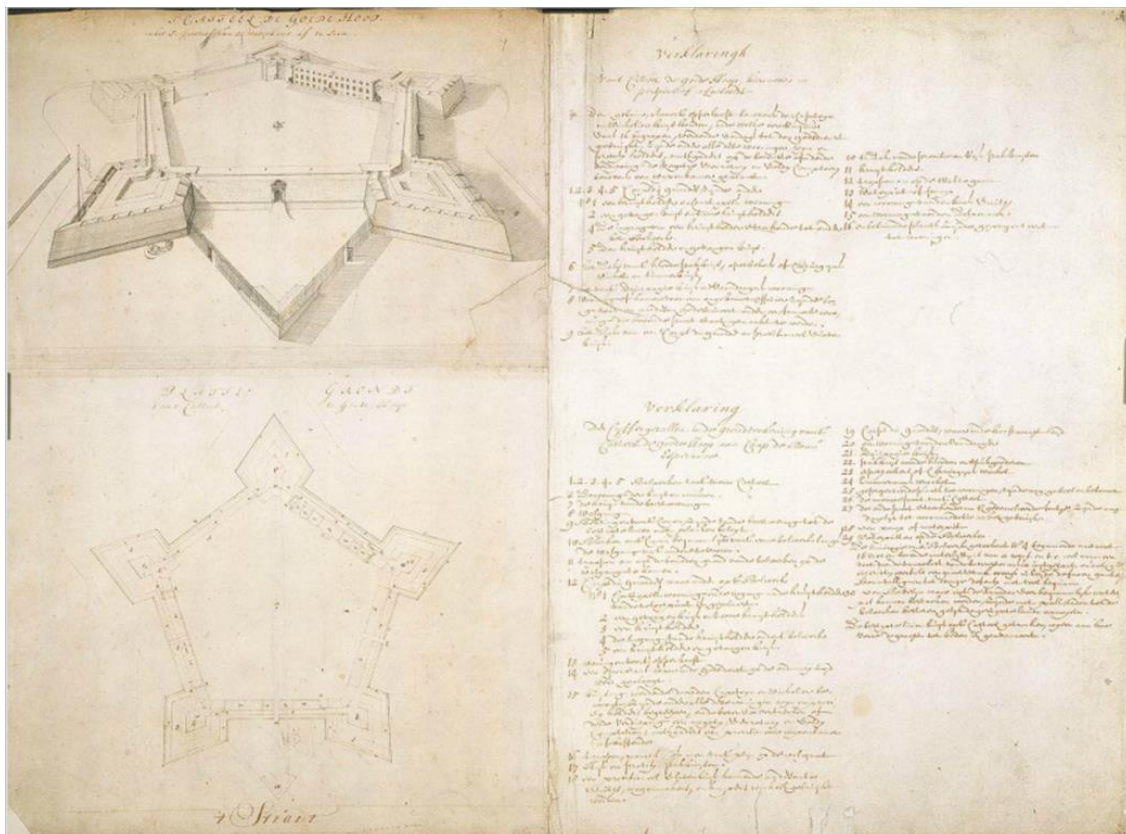


Figure 322. Casteel de Goede Hoop, in het perspectief van die waterkantaffesien, c. 1690 – 1743. Nationaal Archief. Source: Grootte Atlas.

³³⁴ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 17.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

³³⁶ Dan Sleight, 'Bidkapel in die Kasteel: 'n Agtergrond' (2015) – a letter addressed to the Chief Executive Officer of the Castle Control Board motivating the need for chapel at the Castle of Good Hope.

³³⁷ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 26.

Soldiers, slaves and a few *Khoikhoi* were responsible for the collection of building materials for the castle. Stone was cut from Signal Hill and slate and sea shells were transported from Robben Island. By the end of 1666, the foundation was finished with bastions and curtain walls five meters thick at the base with a vertical inside wall and sloped outer wall inwards. By the beginning of 1674 three bastions – *Leerdam*, *Buuren*, and *Catzenellenbogen* were completed with work to start on *Nassau*. By May 1678, before the completion of the curtain walls, the entrance was constructed between *Buuren* and *Catzenellenbogen* bastions, due to the intricate carvings and detail, the entrance was only completed in 1684.³³⁸

Ras notes that at a meeting of the VOC *Politieke Raad* on 26 April 1679, it was voted to name the five bastions: *Oranje*, *Nassau*, *Catsenellenbogen*, *Buren* and *Leerdam*.³³⁹

The cross-wall, or erroneously called *De Kat* balcony was built between 1685 - 1692. However the Dutch referred to this structure as *De Puij*.³⁴⁰

Additions to the interior of the Castle started in 1705 when Willem van der Stel constructed the bakery, the pool, and a private garden.³⁴¹

Barker alleged that the castle is '[N]o longer a complete example' and that ravelines³⁴² and a part of the moat³⁴³ were demolished or removed due to the expanding city.³⁴⁴

The valorisation of the Castle is furthermore attributed to slaves participating in the construction of the Castle and it also occasionally served as a site of incarceration.

Hall's study on the archaeology of slavery at the Castle of Good Hope offers an insight of material evidence of slavery with archaeology providing a location

³³⁸ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 26.

³³⁹ Ras, *Die Kasteel*, 78.

³⁴⁰ Interview with Sleigh on the 2011 Conservation intervention at *De Kat* Balcony by Gabriel Fagan Architects. The structure commonly referred to as *De Kat* Balcony, was found to be referred to in the VOC Resolutions as the *Puij* (portico) which was not the same structure to that of the *Nieuwe Kat* that was completed in May 1695 as was erroneously interpreted by Ras in her 1956 thesis – *Die Kasteel en Ander Vroeë Kaapse Vestingswerke: 1652 – 1713*.

³⁴¹ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 38.

³⁴² A ravelin is a detached outwork, located in front of the curtain walls and bastions.

³⁴³ A moat is a deep ditch, either dry or filled with water, that surrounds a castle or fortification.

³⁴⁴ Barker, *The Castle of Good Hope*, 17.

where the slaves were kept. Some of the slaves also provided for the domestic needs of VOC officials. Hall claims that slaves were housed in the corners of kitchens, store rooms, and cellars. Evidence of slave occupation was found between the silo walls of the grain store and the back of *De Kat* wall accommodation. The evidence indicates a contrast between the lives lived on either side of *De Kat* wall.³⁴⁵ Elmina Castle provides for similar *demarcations*; however much more brutally so. Slaves were locked into dark, damp dungeons, never to freely move around in any of the other spaces within the Castle walls.

Both Castles were originally built as trading stations, however Elmina Castle evolved into a fully fledged slave castle which sole purpose was the trade in human beings as commodities. However, slavery at the Castle of Good Hope consisted of accommodating domestic slaves within the Castle walls.

CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE AS NATIONAL HERITAGE

The Castle of Good Hope, completed in 1679 as the oldest European constructed building in South Africa, is strongly associated with colonialism through its history. An analysis of the legislative framework will provide a historical background to the official conservation, and furthermore, will show the significance of the Castle as newly declared national heritage in South African public history today.

Relevant to this study on both world and national heritage is Trigger's way of categorising archaeological ideas -

'[C]ultural differences are important. On closer inspection, most interpretations by archaeologists working with different national traditions can be assigned to a limited number of general orientations ... I have identified three types: colonialist, nationalist and imperialist or world-orientated.'³⁴⁶

Shepherd interprets Trigger's argument in a South African context -

'[T]hus Nationalist archaeologies tend to glorify a nationalist past and encourage a spirit of unity and cooperation. Colonialist archaeologies tend to denigrate native societies by representing

³⁴⁵ Martin Hall, 'Towards and Archaeology of Slavery in the Cape: The Castle – Cape Town. Cape Slavery – and After Conference,' 1989.

³⁴⁶ Bruce Trigger, *The history of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 8.

them as static and lacking in initiative to develop without external stimuli. In this way, they attempt to legitimate various colonial projects. Imperialist archaeologies are archaeologies 'with a world mission'. They aim to influence the development of archaeology far beyond the borders of countries in which they arise.³⁴⁷

The Castle of Good Hope as a citadel has played a fundamental role in the pre-colonial, colonial, post-colonial and contemporary South African contexts, which contributes towards the valorisation of its heritage.

The valorisation of the Castle is supported by historical information and records, which provides an insight into the pre-colonial and colonial pasts of South Africa and yields valuable data on slavery, colonialism, court cases and governmental administrative practices such as that of Roman-Dutch law practices.

From 1811 the administrative personnel were moved from the Castle to other locations in Cape Town and the Castle became a military headquarter. The occupation of the military in the Castle continued during the periods of the Union, the Republic and thereafter in the democratic South Africa.

In 1922 this land portion was transferred to the Government of the Union of South Africa by the Defence Endowment Property and Account Act, No 33 of 1922. In 1840, a piece of land was granted to the Ordinance of her Majesty in accordance with a Grant dated 23/03/1840, thereafter in 1890, an additional piece of land situated in the Cape Division of Cape Town being Municipal Land lying between the Public Market Place and the Castle and grounds measuring 85 square roods and four square feet was transferred to the Secretary of State in accordance with R.E. Deed No 1A dated 16/01/1890. The total piece of land that was transferred to the Secretary of State by Grant, 23/03/1840 the two Title Deeds dated 16/01/1890 measured 13 morgans, 341 square roods and 121 square feet.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ Nick Shepherd, 'The Politics of Archaeology in Africa,' *Annual Review of Archaeology* vol. 31 (2002): 191.

³⁴⁸ Defence Endowment Property file – Castle of Good Hope.

The Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities Act, No 4 of 1934 declared the Castle of Good Hope as a historical monument in 1936. In the listing of the national monuments, the Castle is listed first, in all probability due to its historical significance in South Africa. Oberholster, as cited in Gilbert, elaborates on Cape Town as being the 'Mother City' with the rest of the country developing only during a later period arguing the Castle as the 'first and pivotal building' in the development of South Africa.³⁴⁹

Gilbert claims that the Department of Defence objected to the declaration and furthermore that '... [T]here has been a clash between the Castle as a historical monument and the reality of its use as an army base.'³⁵⁰ Ironically, in 2016 it was the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans, as the Executive Authority of both the Department of Defence and the Castle Control Board, who supported the effort of the declaration of the Castle as a national heritage resource.

Gilbert points out that World War II saw a substantial increase in military activity in the Castle and the 'Heritage Monuments Council lost most of its power as the war took precedence.'³⁵¹ I find this statement highly relevant to the current conservation status of the Castle. Although the Department of Defence and the Minister are highly supportive of the declaration of the Castle as a national heritage site, the Department nonetheless insisted on including a clause into the official proposal for national heritage site declaration in 2016 concerning the protection of the sovereignty of the State. Should a potential threat occur, the Castle would revert to its former function and operate as an operational military base.³⁵²

The issue of ownership³⁵³ and management of the Castle of Good Hope are complex and daunting and affected by a series of legislature measures passed since 1922. The Castle of Good Hope, a Defence Endowment Property

³⁴⁹ Cindy Gilbert, 'The Castle of Good Hope: An Examination of Controversies and Conflicting Perceptions – A Case Study in Public History' (honours thesis, UCT, 1994), 11.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

³⁵² SAHRA, 'Proposal for National Heritage Site Declaration: Castle of Good Hope,' 9 September 2016.

³⁵³ The word *custodianship* can also be used in an immovable asset management perspective.

designated by the Defence Endowment Property and Account Act, No 33 of 1922, is administered under the custodianship of the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans.

Likewise to the Castle of Good Hope, Elmina's ownership is also conflicted. African American Diaspora tourists are of the opinion that the Castle belongs to them, with the Ghanaian citizens arguing that the Castle be the property of Ghana. UNESCO, however, is also of the opinion that all the castles and fortifications of Ghana, due to their conservation status, figuratively belong to all of the humankind due to the outstanding *universal* value.

The Castle of Good Hope as national heritage is now vested in the nation of South Africa, but its ownership will change should it be listed as a World Heritage site.

The Castle Management Act, No 207 of 1993 constituted the Castle Control Board, the statutory body responsible for the management of the Castle. Section 3 of the Act provides for the three objects [sic] of the Board – first to preserve and protect the military and cultural history of the Castle, second to optimise the tourism potential of the Castle, and third to maximise public accessibility to the Castle. Gilbert defends that the legislation 'does not give the National Monuments Council much opportunity to lessen the army's role at its will'.³⁵⁴ I argue that first, it was not the responsibility of the Council to interfere with utilisation, and second, it was the *army* [Department of Defence] that funded all the restoration projects thus far, including the 2014 – 2016 renovation project amounting to R108 million.

Notwithstanding the Castle's outstanding cultural significance, it remained a provincial heritage site in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act since 1999. On 14 October 2016, the SAHRA declared the Castle of Good Hope a national heritage site, according to Section 27(5) of the National Heritage Resources Act, No. 25 of 1999 – Proclamation No. 57 in the Government Gazette No. 40346 of 14 October 2016. The statement of significance in justification of the declaration reads as follows -

³⁵⁴ Gilbert, 'The Castle of Good Hope,' 13.

'[I]t is understood that the Castle of Good Hope is arguably the oldest fortress and building in South Africa. It is currently the oldest functioning Dutch colonial building of the period. It has retained its function as military site and centre of ceremonial military activity of the Cape Regiments. It currently houses the William Fehr Collection, the Military Museum and is home to the Cape Town Highlanders Regiment. The Castle of Good Hope represents an aesthetic particular to fortifications built by the Dutch.'³⁵⁵

Today the Castle is celebrated and declared a national heritage site while retaining its function as a military site. However, Gilbert disputes this in her thesis (1994) by questioning the 'presence of armed forces in a historical monument.'³⁵⁶

Keeley et al. however, offers a contrary opinion by stating that '[F]ortifications are most symbolically useful when they are militarily functional.'³⁵⁷

In 1922, upon the evacuation of the Imperial Forces, the Union Government analysed the future utilisation of the Castle and reached a conclusion that -

'[I]t is completely in accord with the status, dignity and tradition of the Cape Castle that it should be the central stronghold of the defence of the Cape Peninsula garrison and there is no objection to its use for the military and naval services of the Union of South Africa.'³⁵⁸

Contrary to the argument of the World Heritage Centre when characterising the Ghanaian fortifications as -

'... [a] unique collective historical monument: a monument ... of *pre-colonial* [my emphasis] Afro-European commerce ...' SAHRA portrays the Castle of Good Hope as '... [a]rguably the oldest fortress and building in South Africa. It is the oldest functioning Dutch *colonial* [my emphasis] building of the period [c. 1666].'³⁵⁹

The importance of the Castle's role in the creation of a national identity is of such significance that it is written into the vision of the organisation.

The vision is -

'[T]he Castle Control Board strives to be a centre of global significance that is the epitome of social, cultural and military heritage, accessible to all citizens of South Africa and the world. It

³⁵⁵ Republic of South Africa, Government Gazette No. 40346 - Proclamation No 57 of 2016.

³⁵⁶ Gilbert, 'The Castle of Good Hope,' 14.

³⁵⁷ Lawrence H. Keeley, Marisa Fontana, and Russel Quick, 'Baffles and Bastions: The Universal Features of Fortifications,' *Journal of Archaeological Research* vol. 15, no. 1 (March 2007): 81.

³⁵⁸ The Cape Times: 'Castle as War Museum - Public Spirited Action of Col. Mentz': 31/05/1922. Gilbert, 'The Castle of Good Hope,' 14.

³⁵⁹ Gazette No 40346 - 14 October 2016.

will be the centre of *national pride* [my emphasis] for a 'nation of good hope'; an internationally known and recognised cultural and heritage centre for Ubuntu and human rights recognition; and a smooth functioning, self-sustaining, 'must-see' visitor and learner destination.'

The mission of the Castle Control Board is –

'[T]he Castle Control Board is a service-orientated public entity, striving to optimise tourism potential and accessibility to the public and to preserve and protect its cultural and military history.'

Optimisation of tourism potential and maximisation of public accessibility to the Castle are identified as both official programmes of the Board and furthermore identified as key focus areas in the vision of the Castle Control Board and both implicit in the institutionalised commodification of the Castle of Good Hope. The Ghanaian legislation provides for some guidance regarding institutionalised commodification, but not as unambiguously as the Castle Management Act.

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS - COMMODIFICATION THROUGH HERITAGE TOURISM AND EVENTS

As previously referred to in this study and strengthening the selection of the Castle of Good Hope as a case study, very little research has been done on the commodification of significant South African heritage sites. Due to the ongoing and imminent commodification of the Castle of Good Hope as national heritage and prospective world heritage, I attempt to analyse and compare the commodification apparent at the Castle with that of Elmina Castle.

I sketch a background to this section by first analysing the Castle as a symbol of national identity [identities] within the context of the prevailing South African heritage discourse.

South Africa became an isolated nation due to the Nationalist government's political agenda. Witz refers to this aspect of his study on the white Afrikaner nation's desire to forge a national identity.³⁶⁰ Many historical sites were chosen for their significance within a '... [g]rand White South African historical

³⁶⁰ Leslie Witz, 'Eventless History at the end of *Apartheid*: The Making of the 1988 Diaz Festival,' *Kronos* 32 (November 2006).

narrative', which emerged in the late nineteenth century. The Castle of Good Hope, amongst others, was included into this created identity.³⁶¹

Büttgens notes that '[I]t was in this context that Fagan undertook the restoration of the Castle, where authenticity was not perceived to be in the stratification of a multi-layered history, but rather had to be revealed by recreating the original intent of its first VOC creators.'³⁶²

Corsane suggests that the traditional understanding of heritage has been challenged in the post-*apartheid* and post-colonial South Africa and that a new approach to heritage management has been developed through the processes of policy formulation and new legislation.³⁶³ Corsane furthermore quotes Mandela with the official opening of the Robben Island Museum on 24 September 1997 –

'[D]uring colonial and *apartheid* times, our museums and monuments reflected the experiences and political ideals of a minority to the exclusion of others. Most people had little or no say in the depiction of their history ... The demeaning portrayal of black people in particular ... is painful to recall. Of our museums, all but a handful ... represented the kind of heritage, which glorified mainly white and colonial history. And even the small glimpse of black history in the others was largely fixed in the grip of racist and other stereotypes ... Having excluded and marginalised most of our people, is it surprising that our museums and national monuments are often seen as alien spaces? ... With democracy, we have the opportunity to ensure that our institutions reflect history in a way that respects the heritage of all our citizens. Government has taken up the challenge. Our museums and the heritage sector as a whole are being restructured. Community consultation, effective use of limited resources and accessibility are our guiding principles as we seek to redress the imbalances ... When our museums and monuments preserve the whole of our diverse heritage, when they are inviting to the public and interact with the changes all around them, then they will strengthen our attachment to human rights, mutual respect and democracy, and help prevent these ever again be violated.'³⁶⁴

³⁶¹ Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All,' *Urban Studies* 46(9) (August 2009): 1770.

³⁶² Büttgens, 'Restoration and Re/Creation of Lacunae,' 51.

³⁶³ Gerhard Corsane, 'Transforming Museums and Heritage in a Post-colonial and Post-*apartheid* South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New Legislation,' *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* vol. 48, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 5.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

I find this extract from Mandela's speech pertinent to the Castle's heritage that has been interpreted in many different ways by different people. Oakes states –

‘[T]o the first white settlers it was a refreshment station for ships from their home country. To the indigenous people it eventually became a symbol of dispossession – of land, livestock and, ultimately dignity.’³⁶⁵

Rassool and Witz argue that South Africa had a ‘weak national history’ by the 1940s, which however, had begun to take shape through the *Afrikaner* nationalist histories. The differences in South Africa's heritage were evident in the Jan van Riebeeck Festival. It was an attempt to parade the power of the *apartheid* nation, which raised fundamental questions of ‘... [w]hat constituted a national history and the icons and symbols of that history?’³⁶⁶

The year 1952 plays a significant role in the history of the Castle as this was the 300th anniversary of Jan van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape. The construction of Van Riebeeck as the icon and founding father of white civilisation by the festival was not an Afrikaner Nationalist conspiracy. However, it was an attempt to establish a symbol of settler domination and colonialism as ‘... [e]merging apartheid needed to be justified through notions of ‘civilisation,’ ‘primitiveness’ and tutelage’.³⁶⁷

Ramutsindela states that ‘[S]outh Africa has been characterised by a lack of common ground on which a national identity could be developed.’³⁶⁸ However, the Minister of Defence and the Military Veterans portrays the Castle of Good Hope as a promising symbol on which a national identity could be forged –

‘ ... [t]o position the Castle as a place of reflection, healing, reconciliation and nation-building, its managing authority finds itself in the middle of these fierce contestation around the construction, dissemination and deconstruction of historical

³⁶⁵ Dougie Oakes, ‘Discover Castle's ghostly history,’ *CapeTowner, News*, November 17, 2016.

³⁶⁶ Ciraj Rassool, and Leslie Witz, ‘The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa,’ *The Journal of African History*, vol. 34, no. 3 (1993): 448.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 466.

³⁶⁸ M.F. Ramutsindela, ‘National Identify in South Africa: The Search for Harmony,’ *GeoJournal* vol. 43 no. 1, *The State Idea* (September 1997): 100.

narratives about the places of memory (bad and good) such as the Castle in a post-apartheid society.³⁶⁹

The year 2016 finally brought about a new, fully inclusive constructed heritage with the 350th commemoration³⁷⁰ of the Castle of Good Hope - *Breaking the Curse: Freedom from Oppression*. Homage was paid to four indigenous warrior kings who fought in the wars against the colonists, King Cetshwayo of the Zulu nation, King Langalibalele of the Hlubi, King Sekhukhune of the Bapedi people and Chief Doman, a freedom fighter from the Gorochoqua clan.

' ... [w]e honour four warrior kings who heroically fought against European settler colonialism. The Castle which is closely associated with the evils of that colonial past is now being transformed into a place that represents the values that underpin the new democratic dispensation.'³⁷¹

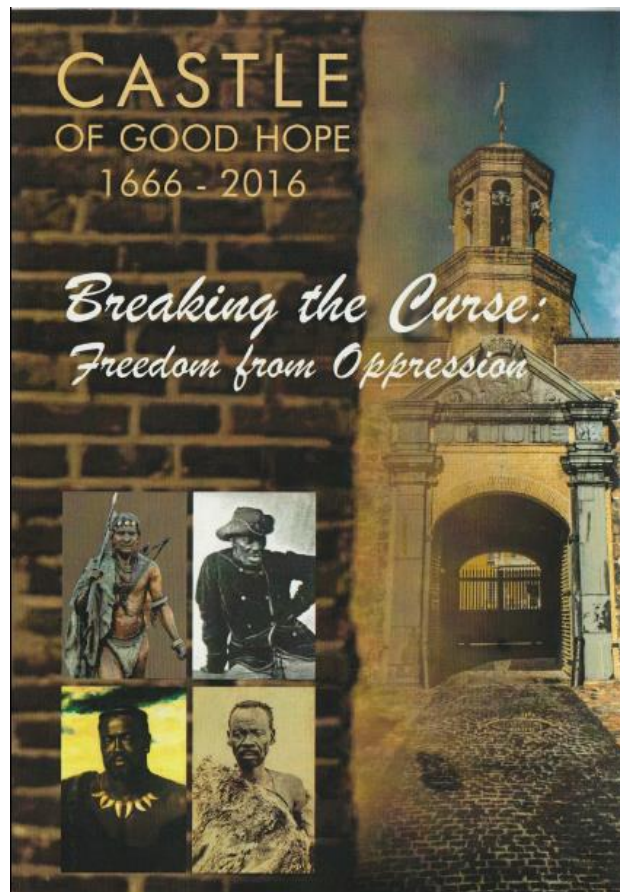


Figure 333. 350th Commemoration brochure depicting the four kings. Source: CCB, 2016.

³⁶⁹ Programme for the Closing Ceremony for the 350th Commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope: Forward by the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans – N.N. Mapisa-Nqakula.

³⁷⁰ Construction of the Castle began on 2 January 1666 with the foundation stone laid in August 1666 by the then Governor of the Cape Colony, Zacharias Wagenaer.

³⁷¹ Programme for the Closing Ceremony.

While this study focusses on the impact of commodification on the associative and emotive values, we need to also briefly consider political and economic values. A historic building can be used to create a cultural and political identity of a nation. In the case of the Castle of Good Hope, the political values are prioritised and reinforced during the recent 350th commemoration and the extensive renovation project.³⁷²

Democracy X, an exhibition hosted by IZIKO Museums of South Africa at the Castle, was intended to celebrate South Africa's ten years of democracy raising fundamental questions about national heritage and the role thereof in the construction of a new South African cultural identity –

'... [a] polyglot and democratic array of objects – from extremely valuable art objects to military insignia, newspapers, furniture, and ordinary household possessions – all form part of a rich interweaving of narratives.'³⁷³

Van Robbroeck claims it 'symbolically significant' that the Castle of Good Hope, as the oldest colonial building was selected to host the exhibition –

'... [r]e appropriated to showcase both the triumph of African self-determination and the creolized richness wrought by centuries of cross-cultural contact.'³⁷⁴

During the period up to the late twentieth century, the Castle housed the headquarters of the South African Army Western Province Command and under the Nationalist government, became a highly prominent national symbol with the rank insignia of the soldiers in the South African Defence Force shaped as five pointed castles.

The Castle as an icon of a white national identity declined after the early 1990s and remained, until recently, a symbol of oppression as experienced under the Dutch, British and Nationalist *apartheid* governments.

The perception of the Castle of Good Hope has now started to transform, as it is now the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans endorsing the 350th commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope wholeheartedly by using the Castle as a symbol 'to promote [my emphasis] South Africa's rich, diverse and

³⁷² The Department of Defence funded an extensive renovation project of the Castle of Good Hope during the period 2014 – 2016.

³⁷³ Van Robbroeck, 'Reimagining,' 42.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

difficult history in an exciting and balanced way.³⁷⁵ I interpret the Minister's word *promote* as *commodification* if you analyse the focus of the 350th commemoration.

The question is, therefore – how does one commodify the Castle's rich, diverse and difficult history?

In my view, the commodification of the Castle revolves primarily around educational, commercial, political and cultural events and heritage tourism.

The three strategic objectives as listed in the Castle Management Act focus on the authorised commodification of this site – first to preserve and protect the military and cultural heritage of the Castle, second to optimise the tourism potential and third to maximise public accessibility to the Castle.

The emergence of the heritage industry has initiated a large number of studies related to the heritage industry phenomenon and the reasons for its growth. Christou makes an assumption that heritage is an industry to produce a marketable product with *heritage tourism products* referring to heritage sites, institutions, opportunities and events.³⁷⁶

Events are a major income generator and primarily support the maximisation of the public accessibility objective consisting of film shoots, exhibitions and corporate/commercial events, which are product and brand dominated.

Numerous events of a commercial, educational, political or cultural nature are hosted on an annual basis. Well publicised commercial events such as the Cape Town Flower Show and *Kamers vol Geskenke* are regularly hosted at the Castle. Thirty-two high profile cultural and educational events were held at the Castle during the period 2015 to 2016.

³⁷⁵ Council on Defence Minutes. Calvyn Gilfellan, Chief Executive Officer of the Castle Control Board presented the 350th Commemoration concept to the Minister and the Council.

³⁷⁶ Evangelos Christou, 'Heritage and Cultural Tourism: a Marketing-focused Approach,' in *International Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases*, eds. Marianna Sigala, and David Leslie (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005): 9.



Figure 34. Cape Town Flower Show, 2016.
Source: author, 2016.

This contrasts strongly with Elmina Castle, which hosts no commercial events except the annual cultural PANAFEST.³⁷⁷

Commercial events such as corporate functions and high profile public events call for a very specific venue; one that contradicts an authentic seventeenth-century fortification, where mud, filth and stench were commonplace. For the Castle of Good Hope to market itself as *the* venue for hire, it is *required* to be tidy, too clean, and an overly sanitised institution whose first priority is to sell entertainment, rather than history or education.

Getz notes that cultural events are significant tourism drivers and features prominently in strategic management plans.³⁷⁸ In the case of the Castle of Good Hope, events, both commercial and cultural is listed as performance indicators in the annual performance plan.

³⁷⁷ The Pan African Historical Theatre Project known as the Panafest as a cultural event held in Ghana every two years for Africans and people of African descent. Activities that occur are performances in the milieu of theatre, poetry, music, drama. The Panafest is usually held at one of the slave castles.

³⁷⁸ Donald Getz, 'Event Tourism: Definition, Evolution, and Research,' *Tourism Management* 29 (2008): 403.



Figure 36. Traditional Afrikaner Volkspele (Source: CCB Annual Report 2013)



Figure 35. Traditional Khoi Riel dances (Source: CCB Annual Report 2013)

Getz furthermore provides a typology of the main categories of planned events. However, I focus on community/cultural events and commercial events. The literature accessible on the discourse of cultural events is extensive, '... [w]ith tourism sometimes being viewed as an agent of change, such as giving rise to declining cultural authenticity,'³⁷⁹ with the concern that tourism commodifies events and that certain events are additionally constructed for economic reasons.

Different social groups or society in itself attributes different meanings to events with individuals affected by these different meanings.

Woodside argues that the tourist gaze can, contrary to the destructive process, promote the concept of national and ethnic identity and it can revive traditions which have fallen out of favour under colonialism and imperialism.³⁸⁰



Figure 37. Traditional San ceremony performed at the Castle. Source: CCB Annual Report 2013.

³⁷⁹ Getz, 'Event Tourism,' 412.

³⁸⁰ Arch G. Woodside, 'Advancing Tourist Gaze Research and Authenticating the Native-visitor: Introduction to a Special Issue Honoring Work by John Urry,' *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research* Vol. 9, No. 4 (2015): 2.

Event types are largely seen as 'social constructs, with collectively assigned and recognised meanings.'³⁸¹ The annual *Military Tattoo*, coordinated by the South African National Defence Force, is seen as a *social construct* with the recognised meaning of celebrating and honouring military history and excellence through music, dances, silent drills and gun-runs. The tattoo is advertised as –

'[S]ee the South African National Defence Force's grand musicians and performers strut their stuff at this Castle of Good Hope showcase.'³⁸²



Figure 388. Cape Town Military Tattoo at the Castle of Good Hope. Source: CCB.

Getz puts forward the notion that event tourism experiences are transforming and that they can change beliefs, values or attitudes.³⁸³

The Castle's retail opportunities are not adequate for the amount of local and international tourists it attracts. However, resources have been set aside for the upgrade of the Castle's coffee shop, restaurant and curio shop.

Tuan, as cited in Bickford-Smith, notes that we live in a world of branding. Destination branding is a way in which the tourist is told how to consume places.³⁸⁴ Reproduction rights, as a commodification approach and connected to the concept of branding was raised in the declaration of the Castle of Good Hope as a national heritage site –

³⁸¹ Getz, 'Event Tourism,' 414.

³⁸² Cape Military Tattoo at the Castle of Good Hope. www.capetownmagazine.com/events/cape-military-tattoo-at-the-castle-of-good-hope/11_37_55871.

³⁸³ Getz, 'Event Tourism,' 414.

³⁸⁴ Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, 'The Fairest Cape of Them All,' *Urban Studies* 46(9) (August 2009): 1764.

'[I]mportantly, all production rights in two or three dimensions in respect of the Castle will as a result of the declaration vest in the State and SAHRA, subject to existing rights and the agreement of the owner of the site. The effect of this development is that no person except the owner of the Castle may make a reproduction of this site for profit, without a permit issued by SAHRA or Heritage Western Cape.'³⁸⁵

The concept of *national* heritage that is part of the nation does not seem applicable here as the Castle's reproduction rights are restricted to the owner of the Castle, the Department of Defence; and SAHRA.

The National Strategy on Heritage and Cultural Tourism (2012) provides strategic direction for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa. The strategy furthermore provides a framework for the coordination and integration of heritage and culture into the mainstream of tourism. South Africa, as a tourist destination, is currently positioned around the *safari* and *big five* experiences.³⁸⁶

Ghana's tourism strategy is however directed at both the natural and cultural landscape –

'... [m]ajor selling points including beaches; the *castles of the coast* [my emphasis]; the forests, lakes and rivers of the interior; and a range of cultural events.'³⁸⁷

The Ghanaian strategy's departure point is the emerging and competitive niche of heritage and cultural tourism within domestic and international markets.³⁸⁸ It additionally prioritises the eight World Heritage sites which make the strategy applicable to this study given the impending declaration of the Castle of Good Hope as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Gilbert notes that during the early 1990s many recommendations were made on the possible commodification of the Castle through heritage tourism.

³⁸⁵ Cullinan & Associates, Heritage Newsletter, 20 October 2016.
file:///H:m%20phil_2016/nog%20lees/castle%20commodification/FW%20Heritage%20Newsletter.htm.

³⁸⁶ Department of Tourism, *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy* (March 2012), 10.

³⁸⁷ <https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/emerging-star-bold-targets-show-governemnt's-positive-intent-sector>.

³⁸⁸ Department of Tourism, *National Heritage*, 11.

However, the following words address the commodification approach in an article published in the *South African Builder*³⁸⁹ -

'[M]aar die geestelike waarde van die Kasteel as kultuur-erfenis is natuurlik onberekenbaar.'³⁹⁰

The South African heritage tourism strategy states the need to establish a balance between the conservation of heritage and the development of sustainable tourism. South Africa, as a developing nation, exhibits the continuous struggle between the needs for broad development and empowerment and the growth of the tourism industry.³⁹¹

The single source available to analyse the commodification through tourism and heritage related activities is the Castle Control Board's Responsible Sustainable Revenue Optimisation Plan (2014) with the terms of reference as –

'[D]evelop an implementable Action Plan via Tourism & Heritage related activities in a Responsible Sustainable Revenue Optimisation Plan, which understands the Castle's target markets (current & future), the major drivers of revenue (current & potential), how they interact as well as any factors to be considered in such a plan.'³⁹²

The Plan prioritised the following areas applicable to this study - events, retail, rental and the military theme; however, it does not speak to the impact of commodification on the Castle to the same extent as the numerous published sources on the commodification of Elmina Castle. This document focuses primarily on financial matters and how to commercialise the Castle via sustainable and responsible means.

Lowenthal argues that the more heritage is valued, the more the ownership and meaning are disputed, and rival claimants continuously contest its symbolic value.³⁹³

As analysed in this study, both ownership and meaning of Elmina Castle, as the heritage of outstanding universal value, are disputed by the different

³⁸⁹ Gilbert, 'The Castle of Good Hope,' 41.

³⁹⁰ Translated from Afrikaans into English: 'However the spiritual value of the Castle is infinite.' 'Die Restourasie van die Kasteel na tien jaar nou byna klaar,' *South African Builder* 838 (1993): 24.

³⁹¹ Department of Tourism, *National Heritage*, 11.

³⁹² Castle Control Board, *Responsible Sustainable Revenue Optimisation Plan*, (Cape Town: Castle Control Board, 2014).

³⁹³ Lowenthal, 'Stewarding the Past,' 18.

stakeholders – UNESCO, African American Diaspora tourists, the Ghanaian people and the Ghanaian government.

Similar to other social practices, conservation is not objective but influenced by values and perspectives of stakeholder groups and individuals. The ownership and meaning of the Castle of Good Hope is a contested issue with numerous stakeholders such as the *Khoikhoi*; the Department of Defence - the official custodian of the Castle³⁹⁴ – the Department of Military Veterans, SAHRA and the CCB all having their own, and conflicting views on this issue.

Bruner characterises fortifications as dominant and overpowering structures that define boundaries, that tell us who is in control, who are allowed to be inside the walls, and who is outside the walls. Bruner raises the questions again – Who owns the castles? Who has the right to tell their stories?³⁹⁵ Moreover, finally, who's heritage is this? The question of who's heritage is this was listed at the top of the questionnaire addressed to the tour guides and without fail all of them responded that the Castles and their heritage belongs to all of us.

Lennon and Foley, as cited in Bickford-Smith, contends that during the late twentieth century there is an increase in dark tourism –

'[t]he creation of thousands of sites across the world that commemorate 'death, disaster and atrocity.'³⁹⁶

Bickford-Smith considers that the vast extent and 'level of dark' may have reduced the shock and horror of sites such as Robben Island and District Six Museum [or the Castle of Good Hope] ³⁹⁷ when compared to sites like Auschwitz³⁹⁸ and Elmina Castle.

Bickford-Smith quotes Lennon and Foley and indicates that there is a possibility with these Cape Town sites that –

'... [e]ducative elements ... [are accompanied] by elements of commodification and a commercial ethic which (whether explicit

³⁹⁴ The Department of Defence is the appointed custodian of the Castle of Good Hope as stipulated in the Defence Endowment Property and Account Act.

³⁹⁵ Bruner, 'Tourism in Ghana,' 302.

³⁹⁶ Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City,' 1776.

³⁹⁷ Bickford-Smith does not include the Castle of Good Hope in her list of dark tourism sites of Cape Town.

³⁹⁸ Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City,' 1776.

or implicit) accepts that visitation ... is an opportunity to develop a tourism product.³⁹⁹

In South Africa, the 'educative elements' primarily contains messages of reconciliation.⁴⁰⁰ Contrary to this attitude, the African American approach is not of reconciliation and healing, but of holding on to the pain and suffering caused by the trans-Atlantic slave trade.



Figure 39. Restored room in the Castle of Good Hope showing the different layers of fabric (Source: author, 2016)



Figure 50. Elmina Castle in neglect (Source: author, 2016)

Lowenthal, as cited in Dann and Seaton, notes –

'[I]n the sanitised American past not even slaves are wretched: porch columns and chimneys raise the restored slave quarters to the standard of overseers' dwellings ... The touristic past jettisons seedy reality for spurious romance.'⁴⁰¹

Lowenthal expressed this point most poignantly; there is a real danger that restored and painted buildings, now much brighter and newer than the buildings they display, lead to the conclusion that most restored houses in the United States look as if they'd had the same decorator, '... [t]hey are all *Williamsburged*.'⁴⁰²

Rifkind, as cited in Anderson, state that –

³⁹⁹ Bickford-Smith, 'Creating a City,' 1776.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Graham S. Dann, and M.S. Seaton, eds., *Contested Heritage and Thanatourism* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 14.

⁴⁰² Dann, and Seaton, eds., *Contested Heritage and Thanatourism*, 14.

'[C]olonial Williamsburg had been reborn as a sanitized restoration project that took most of the messiness and complexity out of history.'⁴⁰³

Architects and conservators had decided that the Castle of Good Hope, similarly to Colonial Williamsburg, would be restored to one narrative of colonial South African life, which does not include the perspectives of the indigenous people of South Africa whose lives were influenced throughout the history of this structure. During the 2014 to 2016 renovation project, attempts were made by Castle Management to rectify the sanitised perspective with a *Khoikhoi* village display and furthermore identified rooms in the Castle which were not to be restored in either the Dutch or British eras but to leave *bare* and uninterpreted. The reason for this being that the indigenous communities of Cape Town use the Castle for cultural and spiritual ceremonies and should be provided the opportunity to do so in a neutral space, and not in a restored British Officers' Mess.

Pearce analyse the construction of cultural heritage using the Tower of London as a case –

'... [p]roduce a selected elite of historical narratives that sell on its ancient image of stability spiced with ancient tyranny to make it a bit sexy (but safe sex), on its centrality to the image of London, and on an association with the English resistance to Continental threat. It is, therefore, a major narrative about Englishness.'⁴⁰⁴

She also states –

'[I]t embraces symbolic material culture icons of potency interwoven with national life in the shape of the crown jewels The Tower is part of the ideology that embraces all these elements, but today it is part of the production of consumption since its only 'real' role is as a state revenue-generating tourist site ...'⁴⁰⁵

The military units which previously occupied the Castle has been removed with more 'real estate' allocated to the CCB and the fulfilment of the three strategic objectives of the Castle Management Act. I argue that the only 'real' role of the Castle today is no longer that of a military operational base, but that of a significant national heritage site and revenue-generating tourist site.

⁴⁰³ Robert Curtis Anderson, 'Authenticity and Architecture – Respresentation and Reconstruction in Context,' *Jaarboek voor Liturgieonderzoek* 31 (2015): 186.

⁴⁰⁴ Susan M. Pearce, 'The Making of Cultural Heritage,' in *Values and Heritage Conservation* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000), 61.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

I find this analysis on the making or construction of cultural heritage highly pertinent to the Castle of Good Hope and the production of narratives to 'make it a bit sexy' for heritage tourism. The grand manner in which the four warrior kings are established within the narratives of the Castle does indicate a notion towards sexy heritage.



Figure 51. Recently placed statues of the four kings in the front courtyard of the Castle. Source, author 2016.

Chhabra raises a fundamental issue when dealing with the conservation of colonial structures in a post-colonial world where the community does not necessarily desire to preserve contested historic icons such as the fortifications,⁴⁰⁶ as icons of our colonial past.

After the South African democracy, the valorisation of the Castle of Good Hope, amongst other similar highly emotive colonial or dissonant heritage South African sites, was represented to revolutionise misinterpreted Eurocentric histories and transformed, commodified and promoted as places of significance for tourist consumption. The Castle of Good Hope can however not be compared to Elmina Castle when *slavery* is put forward as the commodification approach.

The African American Diaspora tourists interpret the renovation of the Ghanaian fortifications as heritage commodification; *whitewashing* history and

⁴⁰⁶ Chhabra, Healy, and Sills, 'Staged Authenticity.'

removing images of slavery and African roots and they furthermore refer to the renovation of the fortifications as *Disneyfication*. I tend to agree with this argument to some degree. The Castle of Good Hope however now appears sanitised and stripped of intangible associative values when compared to Elmina Castle where the horror and suffering take on a tangible effect.

The intangible values can be utilised as much as the building itself in the process of commodification. It is therefore implied by the author that commodification of the Castle is considered; however retention of the values of the Castle is of paramount importance.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

To respond to the research question, the impact of heritage tourism on the cultural significance of important heritage sites was explored. The study is restricted to two African fortifications, namely the South African *Casteel de Goede Hoop* and the Ghanaian *Castelo São Jorge da Mina*. The two cases selected have some similarities and differences identified beyond merely being fortified structures, they are furthermore both seen as an irreplaceable material and non-material cultural heritage.

The outstanding universal value and cultural significance of the two fortifications is primarily based on the continuing encounters as early as the fifteenth century between the Europeans (whether Dutch or Portuguese) and the indigenous African people (whether Asanti or *Khoikhoi*) and the evil; or good developments which flowed from these initial meetings along an African coast. Both cases are proven to be of a mutual, colonial heritage and interpreted as *foci* for Afro-European contact and exchange; also within the context of a historical period of colonialism with *foreign* elements derived from European adventurism and, in time, the colonisation of Africa. However, the infusion of the European culture into the African culture is much more prominent in the rural town of Elmina than in the cosmopolitan city of Cape Town. Furthermore, the valorisation of the cultural heritage of Elmina Castle creates a disjuncture between the powerful memories of the African American Diaspora visitors of the slave trade, whereas the Ghanaian Fanti population disregard the slave trade to a large extent and focus on the European colonisation of Africa. However, to commodify the slave castles in a sustained manner in support of local economic development, the Ghanaians must now remember a history they would rather want to forget. The Castle of Good Hope can however not be compared to Elmina Castle when the concept of slavery is commodified.

The trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonialism and *apartheid* are transformed into commodities by governments to be *sold* and profited from in the tourism industries. Both the South African and the Ghanaian fortifications are unmistakably commodified within the context of heritage tourism, although Elmina Castle is no less authentic or *staged* to create an impression of authenticity. A possible threat to the Castle of Good Hope is the increased focus on nationalistic, economic and political values that could potentially give rise to declining authenticity, as perceived in the three hundred and fifty-year commemoration of the Castle in 2016. It is furthermore a concern that certain cultural events are commodified (and additionally constructed) for economic reasons which will have an adverse impact on the valorisation of the Castle of Good Hope.

It is evident from the research that the commodification of the two African fortifications as world and national heritage - also referred to in the research question as *important heritage sites* - is predominantly interpreted positively and help preserve national identities and therefore forms part of national heritage.

The role of cultural significance and assessment of values are recognised as the point from which all conservation decisions should originate,⁴⁰⁷ is crucial to the discourse of conservation. Smith argues the importance of valorisation of cultural heritage today. The significance discourse furthermore supports the concept of the fortifications' cultural significance being embodied in the place itself and the [at times contradicting] range of values for different individuals and indigenous people. These opposing views identified in the study raised numerous questions about the cultural significance of the fortifications, the commodification thereof, ownership and representations of the fortifications as national icons.

From the viewpoint of the Diaspora tourist, cultural tourism as a commodification approach does impact on the associative and emotive values attributed to the decaying, bare and ruin-like Elmina Castle. The theory

⁴⁰⁷ Laurajane Smith, *Archeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2004), 106.

of Urry's *tourist gaze*, mostly his approach to the romantic gaze is pertinent to the argument. The World Heritage Commission's confirmed *emotive value* of Elmina Castle is strongly supported by the *romantic gaze* and the related *ruin gaze*.

In contrast to this, the Castle of Good Hope, to some extent appear excessively interpreted as the grand VOC Dutch citadel; *Williamsburged*, sanitised and ultimately lacking the depth of associative and emotive values comparable to Elmina Castle. In the past, the valorisation of the Castle of Good Hope, amongst other similar highly emotive colonial or dissonant heritage South African sites were represented to revolutionise misinterpreted Eurocentric histories and are transformed, commodified and promoted as places of significance for tourist consumption. However, it was found that the *tourist gaze* promotes national identity and revives cultures and their traditions which have fallen out of favour under colonialism and *apartheid*. Authorised commodification is furthermore encouraged to the extent that legislation sanctions the current approach. Criticism of the established commodification at the Castle must largely be seen in the context of limited government funding and revenue generated through tourism and events fund the daily operational management of this site.

The commodification of the two cases, through heritage tourism and events, has impacted to some extent on the valorisation of cultural heritage and, in particular, the associative and emotive values attributed. However, the evident commodification of the two African fortifications as important heritage sites has not endangered the exhaustive cultural significance.

REFERENCES

- Africana Age: African and African Diasporan Transformations in the 20th Century. exhibitions.ypl.org/africanaage/essay-colonization-f-africa.html.
- Agyei-mensah, Samuel. 'Marketing its Colonial Heritage: A New Lease of Life for Cape Coast, Ghana?', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* vol. 30.3 (September 2006):705 – 716. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2006.00679.x.
- Anderson, Robert Curtis. 'Authenticity and Architecture – Representation and Reconstruction in Context.' *Jaarboek voor Liturgieonderzoek* 31 (2015): 181 – 189. doi:19543-23474-1-SM.
- Ankomah, Paul, Trent Larson, Venita Roberson, and Jerono Rotich. 'A Creative Approach to Development: The Case for Active Engagement of African Diaspora in Ghana.' *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 43, no. 4 (May 2012):385 - 404. doi:10.1177/0021934711425488.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Araoz, Gustavo F. 'World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscape: Defining and Protecting Authenticity.' *APT Bulletin* vol. 39, no. 2/3 (2008):33 – 37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25433949>.
- Ashun, Ato. *Elmina, the Castle and the Slave Trade*. Elmina: Nyakod Printing Works, 2013.
- Avrami, Erica, Randal Mason, and Marta de la Torre. *Values and Heritage Conservation*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000.
- Ballangee-Morris, Christine. 'Cultures for Sale: Perspectives on Colonialism and Self-Determination and the Relationship to Authenticity and Tourism.' *Studies in Art Education* vol. 43, no. 2 (Spring, 2002):232 – 245. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1321087>.
- Barker, B. Johnson. *The Castle of Good Hope from 1666*. Cape Town: Castle Military Museum Foundation, 2003.
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian. 'Creating a City of the Tourist Imagination: The Case of Cape Town, The Fairest Cape of Them All.' *Urban Studies* 46(9) (August 2009):1763 – 1785. doi:pdf/10.1177/0042098009106013.
- Boahen, A. Adu, ed. *Africa under Colonial Domination 1880 – 1935*. Paris: UNESCO, 1985.
- Bosman, Willem. *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*. <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=uNkTAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&hl=en&pg=GBS.PT44>.

- Brace, Laura. *The Politics of Property: Labour, Freedom and Belonging*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004.
- Brommer, Bea. *Grootte Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie V – Afrika*. Nederlands: Nationaal Archief.
- Bruner, Edward M. 'Tourism in Ghana: The Representation of Slavery and the Return of the Black Diaspora.' *American Anthropologist*. New Series. vol. 98, no. 2 (June 1996):290 – 304. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/682888>.
- Buckley, S. 'U.S. African Blacks Differ on Turning Slave Dungeons into Tourist Attractions,' *The Washington Post*, April 17, 1995.
- Büttgens, Peter J. 'Restoration and Re/Creation of Lacunae: The Attitudes and Principles of Gabriel Fagan Architect as Expressed in the Restoration of the Castle of Good Hope.' Master's thesis, UCT, 2010.
- Cape Military Tattoo at the Castle of Good Hope. www.capeonmagazine.com/events/cape-military-tattoo-at-the-castle-of-good-hope/11_37_55871.
- Castle Control Board. *Annual Report 2015/2016*. Cape Town: Castle Control Board, 2014.
- Castle Control Board. *Responsible Sustainable Revenue Optimisation Plan*. Cape Town: Castle Control Board, 2014.
- Chhabra, Deepak, Robert Healy and Erin Sills. 'Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism.' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 30, no. 3 (2003): 702 – 719. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/222046919_stages_authenticity_and_heritage_tourism.
- Christou, Evangelos, 'Heritage and Cultural Tourism: a Marketing-focused Approach.' In *International Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases*, edited by Marianna Sigala, and David Leslie. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005.
- Cohen, E. 'Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism.' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 15:371 – 386. www.think-atl.es/wp-content/uploads/group-documents/13/1383672853.
- Cohen, E. 'Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism.' *Annals of Tourism Research* 6(1) (1979):18 – 35. [doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(79\)90092-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(79)90092-6).
- Cole, S. 2007. 'Beyond Authenticity and Commodification.' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4):943 – 960. [doi:10.1016/j.annals.2007/05.004](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2007/05.004).
- Colonial Voyage. www.colonialvoyage.com/european-forts-in-ghana/#.

- Corsane, Gerard. 'Transforming Museums and Heritage in Postcolonial and Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Impact of Processes of Policy Formulation and New Legislation.' *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* vol. 48, no. 1 (Spring 2004):5 – 15.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/23178831>.
- CRAterre–ENSAG, *Africa 2009 - Conservation of Immovable Cultural Heritage in Sub-Saharan Africa – Final Results*. CRAterre–ENSAG, 2010.
- CRATerre-ENSAG. *Cultural Heritage and Local Development: A Guide for African Local Governments*. CRATerre-ENSAG/Convention France-UNESCO, 2006.
- Creighton, Oliver. 'Contested Townscapes: The Walled City as World Heritage.' *World Archaeology* vol. 39, no. 3 *The Archaeology of World Heritage* (September 2007):339 – 354.
doi.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/10.1080/00438240701464822.
- Creighton, Oliver and Robert Higham. *Medieval Castles*. United Kingdom: Shire Publications, 2003.
- Cresswell, Tim. *Place*. United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons, Pty Ltd, 2004.
- Csapó, János. 'The Role and Importance of Cultural Tourism in Modern Tourism Industry.' In *Strategies for Tourism Industry - Micro and Macro Perspectives*, edited by Dr Murat Kasimoglu. Croatia: InTech, 2012.
- Dann, Graham S., and M.S. Seaton, eds. *Contested Heritage and Thanatourism*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Davidson, Basil. *The African Slave Trade*. Oxford: James Currey, 1996.
- DeCorse, Christopher R. *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400 – 1900*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- De la Torre, Marta, Margaret MacLean, Randall Mason, and David Myers. *Heritage Values in Site Management – Four Case Studies*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2005.
- De la Torre, Martha. 'Values in Heritage Conservation: A Project of the Getty Institute.' *APT Bulletin* Vol. 45, No. 2/3, Special Issue on Values Based Preservation (2014):19 – 24.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/23799523>.
- Department of Tourism. *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy*. South Africa: Department of Tourism, 2012.
- English Heritage, *Policy on Restoration, Reconstruction and Speculative Recreation of Archaeological Sites including Ruins*. February 2001.
<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/re-arch/>.

- Ertman, Martha M., and Joan C. Williams, eds. *Rethinking Commodification: Cases and Readings in law and Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2005.
- Fage, J.D. *Ghana, A Historical Interpretation*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959.
- Falser, Michael S. 'From a Colonial Reinvention to Postcolonial Heritage and a Global Commodity: Performing and Re-enacting Angkor Wat and the Royal Khmer Ballet.' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20 (2014):7 - 8:702 – 723. doi:10.1080/13527258.2013.794746.
- Feilden, Bernard M. *Conservation of Historic Buildings, Third Edition*. Oxford: Architectural Press, 2003.
- Feilden, Bernard M., and Jukka Jokilehto. *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites*. Rome: ICCROM, 1998.
- Ferguson, James. 'Cultural Exchange: New Developments in the Anthropology of Commodities.' *Cultural Anthropology* vol. 3, no. 4 (November 1988):488 – 513. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/656490>.
- Finley, Cheryl. 'Authenticating Dungeons, Whitewashing Castles: the Former sites of the Slave Trade on the Ghanaian Coast.' In *The Tourism of Architecture/The Architecture of Tourism*, edited by Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren. London: Berg, 2004.
- Fleischer, Alette. '(Ex)changing Knowledge and Nature at the Cape of Good Hope, circa 1652 – 1700.' In *The Dutch Trading Companies as Knowledge Networks*, edited by Siegfried Huigen, Jan L. de Jong, and Elmer Kolfin. Netherlands: IDC Publishers, 2010: 244 – 263.
- Fontein, J. *UNESCO, Heritage and Africa: An Anthropological Critique of World Heritage*. Edinburgh: Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 2000.
- Frochot, Isabelle, and Wided Batat. *Marketing and Designing the Tourist Experience*. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Limited, 2013.
- Ghana Museums. www.ghanamuseums.org.
- Ghana Tourism. <https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/emerging-star-bold-targets-show-governemnt's-positive-intent-sector>.
- Gilbert, Cindy. 'The Castle of Good Hope: An Examination of Controversies and Conflicting Perceptions – A Case Study in Public History.' Honour's thesis, UCT, 1994.
- Goodall, Brian. 'The Future for Heritage Tourism.' *The Geographical Journal* vol. 163, no. 2, Environmental Transformations in Developing Countries (July 1997):243 – 244. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3060207>.

- Gundona, Sylvester. 'Reflections on Post-colonial African Historiography.' In *Africa After Fifty Years: Retrospections and Reflections*, edited by Toyin Falola, Maurics Amutabi and Sylvester Gundona. New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2013: 3 – 20.
- Hall, Martin. 'Towards and Archaeology of Slavery in the Cape: The Castle – Cape Town.' *Cape Slavery – and After Conference* (1989).
- Hall, M., D. Miller, and J. Moore. 'Provenance Studies of the Castle Gateway, Cape Town.' *South African Journal of Science* 89: 3 (1993).
- Hall, C.M., and H Zeppel. 'Cultural and Heritage Tourism: The New Grand Tour?.' *Historic Environment* 7 (3/4) (1990):86 - 98.
- Hannam, Kevin, and Francis Offeh. 'Institutional Commodification of Heritage Tourism in Ghana.' *African Insight* Vol. 42(2) (September 2012):18 - 27.
- Hansen, David. 'Military Architecture as a Factor in the Significance of Fortifications.' In *American Fortifications and the World Heritage Convention*. Chile: UNESCO, 2005.
- Harden, Renata. 'Contestations over History and Heritage: African American and Ghanaian Perceptions of Slavery and Slave Heritage Sites.' In *Africa After 50 Years: Retrospections and Reflections*, edited by Toyin Falola, Maurice Amutabi, and Sylvester Gundona. New Jersey: African World Press, 2013.
- Hardy, Mathew, ed. *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*. United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.
- Harvey, David. *A Companion to Marx's Capital*. London: Verso, 2010.
- Hirst, Paul. 'The Defence of Places: Fortifications as Architecture (Part 1).' *AA Files* No. 33 (Summer 1997):13 – 26.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/29544045>.
- Holsey, Bayo. *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Holsey, Bayo. 'Watch the Waves of the Sea - Literacy, Feedback, and the European Encounter in Elmina.' *History in Africa* vol. 38 (2011):79 – 101.
[Http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/414745445](http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/414745445).
- Hyland, Anthony. 'Monuments Conservation Practice in Ghana: Issues of Policy and Management'. *Journal of Architectural Conservation* 1:2 (1995):45 – 62. doi: 10.1080/13556207.1995.10785135.
- Hyland, A.D.C., and George W. Intsiful. 'When the Castle's were White, II,' 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium. *Place, Memory,*

Meaning: Preserving Intangible Values in Monuments and Sites. Zimbabwe, 2003.

ICOMOS. Charter of Cultural Tourism. Brussels, ICOMOS, 1976.

ICOMOS. International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter). Venice: ICOMOS, 1964.

ICOMOS. The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance (The Burra Charter). Australia, ICOMOS, 2013.

Ivanovic, Milena. *Cultural Tourism*. Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd, 2008.

Jerome, Pamela. 'The Values-Based Approach to Cultural Heritage Preservation.' *APT Bulletin* vol. 45, no. 2/3 Special Issue on Values Bases Preservation (2014):3 – 8. <http://www.jsor.org/stable/23799521>.

Jokilehto, Jukka. 'Authenticity in Restoration Principles and Practices.' *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* vol. 17, no. ¾ (1985):5 – 11.

Jokilehto, Jukka. 'Conservation Concepts.' In *Conservation of Ruins*, edited by John Ashurst. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2007.

Jordan, Coleman A. 'Rhizomorphics of Race and Space: Ghana's Slave Castles and the Roots of African Diaspora Identity.' *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984 -) vol. 60, no. 4 (May 2007):48 – 59. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40480850>.

Kankpeyeng, Benjamin W., and Christopher R. DeCorse. 'Ghana's Vanishing Past: Development, Antiquities, and the Destruction of the Archaeological Record.' *The African Archaeological Review* vol. 21, no. 2 (June 2004):89 – 128. doi: 137.158.158.60.

Keeley, Lawrence H, Marisa Fontana, and Russel Quick. 'Baffles and Bastions: The Universal Features of Fortifications.' *Journal of Archaeological Research* vol. 15, no. 1 (March 2007):55 - 95. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/41053234>.

Kneafsey, Moya. 'Rural Cultural Economy'. *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 28, no. 3 (2001):762 - 783.

Lambert, Ladina Bezzola and Andrea Ochsner, eds. *Moment to Monument: the Making and Unmaking of Cultural Significance*. Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2009.

Leask, Anna, and Alan Fyall, eds., *Managing World Heritage Sites*. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2006.

Lowenthal, David. 'Stewarding the Past in a Perplexing Present'. *Getty Conservation Institute, Values and Heritage Conservation*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2000.

- Lundy, Brandon D. 'Spiritual Spaces, Marginal Places.' In *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*. Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2012.
- Lyon, Sarah and E. Christian Wells, eds. *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*. Maryland: AltaMira Press, 2012.
- MacCannell, Dean. 'Reconstructed Ethnicity Tourism and Cultural Identity in Third World Communities.' *Annals of Tourism Research* 11 (1984):375 – 391.
- Manual of Style. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906.
- Marschall, Sabine. 'Making money with memories: The Fusion of Heritage, Tourism and Identity Formation in South Africa.' *Historia* vol. 1 (2005):103 - 122.
- Mason, Randall. 'Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices.' In *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002.
- Mason, Randall. 'Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of Significance'. *Places, a Forum of Environmental Design* vol. 16, no. 1 (2004):64 – 71. <https://scholarship.org/uc/item/74q0j4j2>.
- McKercher, Bob and Hilary du Cros. 'Testing a Cultural Tourism Typology.' *International Journal of Tourism Research* 5 (2003):45 – 58. doi:10.1002/jtr.417.
- Meethan, K. *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Mehring, Franz. *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Volume 1*. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/german-ideology/ch01b.htm>.
- Mehring, Franz. *Karl Marx: The Story of His Life*. Routledge: 2003.
- Mouton, Johann. *How to succeed in your Master's and Doctoral Studies: A South African Guide and Resource Book*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 2001.
- Muñoz Viñas, Salvador. *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Nanjira, Daniel Don. *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*. California: Praeger, 2010.
- National Liberation Council Decree 387 of 1969.

- Nguah, Felix, and Robert Kugbey. *Shackles in Darkness*. Ghana: NYAKOD Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, 2015.
- Osei-Tutu, Brempong. 'Ghana's 'Slave Castles', Tourism, and the Social memory of the Atlantic Slave Trade.' In *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, eds. Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007: 185 – 195.
- Osei-Tutu, Brempong. 'The American Factor in the Commodification of Ghana's Slave Castles.' *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana New Series* no. 6 (2002):115 – 133. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41406672>.
- Pearce, Susan M. 'The Making of Cultural Heritage.' In *Values and Heritage Conservation*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000.
- Peterson, Derek R., Kodzo Gavua, and Ciraj Rassool, eds. *The Politics of Heritage in Africa: Economics, Histories, and Infrastructures*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Phillips, Robert. 'Historical Significance – the Forgotten 'Key Element.' In *Teaching History* 106, 2002.
- Poria, Yaniv, Arie Reichel, and Raviv Cohen. 'Tourists Perceptions of World Heritage Site and its Designation.' *Tourism Management* 35 (2013):272 – 274. doi:10.1016/j.tourman.2012.02.011.
- Pressouyre, Léon. *The World Heritage Convention, Twenty Years Later*. Paris: UNESCO, 1993.
- Ramutsindela, M.F. 'National Identity in South Africa: The Search for Harmony.' *GeoJournal* vol. 43, no. 1, The State Idea (September 1997): 99 – 110.
- Ras, Anna. *Die Kasteel en Ander Vroeë Kaapse Vestingswerke: 1652 – 1713*. Cape Town: Tafelberg Uitgewers, 1959.
- Rassool, Ciraj, and Leslie Witz. 'The 1952 Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival: Constructing and Contesting Public National History in South Africa.' *The Journal of African History* vol. 34, no. 3 (1993):447 - 468. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/183102>.
- Raven-Hart, R. *Cape Good Hope 1652 – 1702*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 2011.
- Reed, Anne. *Pilgrimage Tourism of Diaspora Africans to Ghana*. New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2015.
- Republic of Ghana. National Liberation Council Decree No. 387.
- Republic of South Africa. National Heritage Resources Act, No 25 of 1999.

- Richards, Sandra L. 'What is to Remembered?: Tourism to Ghana's Slave Castle-Dungeons.' *Theatre Journal* vol. 57, no. 4, Black Performance (Dec 2005):617 – 637.
<https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/article/192375>.
- Richards, Greg. 'Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism.' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 23, no. 2 (1996):261 – 283. doi:10.1016/0160-7383(95)00063-1.
- Richards, Greg. *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007.
- Rio Tinto. *Why Cultural Heritage Matters*. Australia: Rio Tinto Limited, 2011.
- Rizzi, Gionata. 'Preface.' In *Conservation of Ruins*, edited by John Ashurst. Oxford: Elsevier, 2007.
- Rodney, Walter. 'Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast.' *Transaction of the Historical Society of Ghana* vol. 10 (1969):13 – 38.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/41406348>.
- Rössler, Mechtild. 'Applying Authenticity to Cultural Landscapes.' *APT Bulletin* vol. 39, no. 2/3 (2008):47 – 52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25433952>.
- Rubin, Isak Illich. *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value*. Translated by Miloš Samardžija, and Fredy Perlman. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990.
- SAHRA. Proposal for National Heritage Site Declaration – Castle of Good Hope. SAHRA: Cape Town, September 2016. Report by SAHRA officials addressed to the SAHRA Council.
- Salazar, Noel B. 'Shifting Values and Meanings of Heritage: From Cultural Appropriation to Tourism Interpretation and Back.' In *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*, edited by Sarah Lyon and E. Christian Wells. United Kingdom: AltaMira Press, 2012.
- Schramm, Katrina. *African Homecoming: Pan-African Ideology and Contested Heritage*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2010.
- Shepherd, Nick. 'The Politics of Archaeology in Africa.' *Annual Review of Archaeology* vol. 31 (2002):189 – 209.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/4132877>.
- Sigala, Marianna, and David Leslie. *Internal Cultural Tourism: Management, Implications and Cases*. Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2005.
- Sleigh, Dan. 'Bidkapel in die Kasteel: 'n Agtergrond.' 2015.
- Smith, Laurajane. *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*. London: Routledge, 2004.

- Smith, Melanie. *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Smith, Melanie. 'Space, Place, and Placelessness in the Culturally Regenerated City.' In *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, edited by Greg Richards. New York: Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007.
- Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. www.spab.org.uk/what-is-spab/the-manifesto.
- Soliven, Leo Rey II Cagas. 'The Scramble for Africa: A Compilation.' Central Mindanao University: 2, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/247068648/The-Scramble-of-Africa-PDF>.
- Spooner, Brian. 'Weavers and Dealers: the Authenticity of an Oriental Carpet'. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Design*. Sage Publications, 1995.
- Stovel, H. 'Effective use of authenticity and Integrity as World Heritage Qualifying Conditions.' *City & Time* 2 (3):3. <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org>.
- Stronza, Amanda. 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives.' *Annual Revision Anthropology* 30 (2001):261 – 283. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/3069217>.
- Tainter, Joseph A., and G. John Lucas. 'The Epistemology of the Significance Concept.' *American Antiquity* vol. 48, no. 4 (October 1983):707 – 719. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/279772>.
- Taylor, Ken. 'Cultural Heritage Management: A Possible Role for Charters and Principles in Asia.' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 10, no. 5 (December 2004): 714 - 433.
- Teye, Victor B. 'Tourism and Africa's Tripartite Cultural Past.' In *Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective*, ed. Timothy J. Dallen and Gyan P. Nyaupane. Oxon: Routledge, 2009.
- Timothy, Dallen J. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An Introduction*. United Kingdom: Channel View Publications, 2011.
- Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. africanhistory.about.com/od/slavery/tp/TransAtlantic001.htm.
- Trigger, Bruce. *The History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Trilling, Lionel. *Sincerity and Authenticity*. United States of America: Harvard University Press, 1972.

- Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. London: Sage Publications, 1990.
- Urry, John. 'Tourism, Culture and Social Inequality.' In *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*, edited by Y. Apostolopoulos, S. Leivadi, and A. Yiannakis, 115 - 133. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Urry, John and Jonas Larsen. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*. CA: Sage Publications, 2011.
- UNESCO. *American Fortifications and the World Heritage Convention*. Chile: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2004.
- UNESCO. *Consideration of Nominations to the World Heritage List, Decision: CONF 003 XII.46*, 1979.
- UNESCO. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972.
- UNESCO. *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Paris: UNESCO, 2012.
- UNESCO. *Our Creative Diversity*. Paris: UNESCO, 1996.
- UNESCO. *The African Slave Trade from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century*. Haiti, UNESCO, 1978.
- UNESCO. *The Nara Document on Authenticity*. Paris: UNESCO, 1994.
- UNWTO. *Cultural Tourism and Local Communities*. Madrid: UNWTO, 2006.
- Van Dantzig, Albert. *Forts and Castles of Ghana*. Accra: Sedco Publishing Limited, 1980.
- Van Oers, Ron. *Landscape as Guiding Element in the Design and Planning of Dutch Colonial Settlements (1600 – 1800): The Case of Cape Town (South Africa)*. PhD thesis, 2000.
- Van Robbroeck, Lize. 'Re-imagining South African National Heritage: Two Ten-Years-of-Democracy Exhibitions.' *African Arts* vol. 37, no. 4, Art and Freedom: South Africa after Apartheid (Winter, 2004):42 – 47. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/3338029>.
- Varley, W.J. 'The Castles and Forts of the Gold Coast.' *Transactions of the Gold Coast & Togoland Historical Society* Vol. 1, No. 1 (1952):1 - 17. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/41406421>.
- Vergunst, Nicolaas. *Hoerikwaggo – Images of Table Mountain*. Cape Town: South African National Gallery, 2000.

- Voyages. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. www.slavesvoyages.org.
- Wang, Ning. 'Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience.' *Annals of Tourism Research* vol. 26, no. 2 (1999):349 – 370. doi:10.1.1.470.7142.
- Witz, Leslie. 'Eventless History at the end of Apartheid: The Making of the 1988 Diaz Festival.' *Kronos* 32 (November 2006):162 – 190.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/41056563>.
- Woodside, Arch G. 'Advancing Tourist Gaze Research and Authenticating the Native-visitor: Introduction to a Special Issue Honouring Work by John Urry.' *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2015):1 - 6.
- World Heritage Centre. whc.unesco.org/en/list/34.
- World Heritage Criteria. whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/.
- Worden, Nigel. 'Space and Identity in VOC Cape Town.' *Kronos* no. 25, Pre-millennium Issue (1998/1999): 72 – 87.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/stable/41056428>.
- Worden, Nigel. 'The Changing Politics of Slave Heritage in the Western Cape, South Africa.' *The Journal of African History* no. 50, no. 1 (2009):23 – 40.
- World Travel and Tourism Council. *Travel and Tourism: Economic Impact 2015 Ghana, 2015*. <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic%20impact%20research/countries%202015/ghana2015.pdf>.
- Yin, Robert K. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (Fourth Edition)*. California: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009.
- Yin, Robert K. 'The Case Study Crises: Some Answers.' *Administrative Science Quarterly* vol. 26, no. 1 (March 1981):58 – 65. doi:10.2307/2392599.
- Zancheti, Silvio Mendes, Lúcia Tone Ferreira Hidaka, Cecilia Ribeiro and Barbara Aguiar. 'Judgement and Validation in the Burra Charter Process: Introducing Feedback in Assessing the Cultural Significance of Heritage Sites.' *City & Time* 4(2) (2009). <http://www.ct.ceci-br.org>.

APPENDIX 1 - CHARTERS AND INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

I consider the charters and international conventions concerning the conservation of places of outstanding universal value and cultural significance to define their roles – the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), its associated Operational Guidelines (2012), the Burra Charter (2013), and the International Cultural Tourism Charter (1994).

The international charters affirm the evolution of conservation approaches and principles toward values-based conservation. Professional conservators and experts promulgated these charters in the second half of the twentieth century due to the conflicting theories composed by conservationists such as the likes of Viollet le Duc, Brandi, Ruskin, Boito, Riegl, and many more.

Conservation charters and international conventions inform this study due to the absence of Integrated Conservation Management Plans, which should, in theory, inform the commodification of the two fortifications.

ATHENS CHARTER FOR THE RESTORATION OF HISTORIC MONUMENTS (1931)

The Athens Charter was the first charter to be published which provided international guidelines on architectural restoration. The charter focuses on urbanism and the importance of planning within a historic area, and furthermore emphasise the spiritual, cultural and economic value of the architectural heritage. Hardy revisited the Athens Charter and argued that it produced ‘popular integrative restoration epitomised by the work of Viollet-le-Duc and his contemporaries, preferring instead an approach that respected each successive previous intervention, and encouraging a view of old buildings as a historical document in themselves.’⁴⁰⁸

After the Athens Charter, numerous charters were promulgated and seen as an accepted way in which philosophies on conservation were made available to the world.

⁴⁰⁸ Mathew Hardy, ed., *Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century* (United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008): xvi.

VENICE CHARTER FOR THE CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS AND SITES (1964)

The second distinguishable charter to be published, the Venice Charter provides a framework for the conservation and restoration of historic architecture. It furthermore provides for conservation principles based on the notion of authenticity and the importance of the historical context of the building. The charter refers to the term cultural significance –

'[T]his applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of art which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.'⁴⁰⁹

The concept of cultural significance was however not analysed or interpreted, however, was for the first time defined and made operational in the Burra Charter.

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE (1972)

An analysis of the Convention's perspective surrounding the safeguarding of world heritage is valuable to this study due to the World Heritage status of the Elmina Castle and the pending listing of the Castle of Good Hope.

The aim of the World Heritage Convention is to safeguard the heritage of an outstanding universal value and the obligation to preserve this as part of world heritage. The Convention classifies places of universal importance by using the concept of outstanding universal value.⁴¹⁰ The listed property should be representative of the specific culture, although not all people might recognise its significance. The Convention specified that a designated cultural property should possess one of the six criteria which define the significance. In 2005, this was modified to a set of ten criteria, and a nominated site must meet at least one of ten criteria. However the following six criteria are applicable criteria for *cultural* properties:

- '(i) to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on

⁴⁰⁹ ICOMOS, Venice Charter, 1.

⁴¹⁰ UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO: Paris, 1972).

- developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- (iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;
 - (iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates [a] significant stage[s] in human history;
 - (v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture [or cultures], or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
 - (vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria).⁴¹¹

UNESCO furthermore proposes the safeguarding of intangible heritage rather than the preservation thereof. Preservation could be interpreted as freezing the intangible heritage rather than allowing it to diversify as part of a natural process.

According to Article 4 of the Convention, the primary aim of heritage management is to assure that the values attributed to a [listed] heritage site is maintained and appropriately presented to the community and general public at large, which imply sustainable and responsible heritage tourism.

Leask and Fyall argue that governments primarily see the economic success and benefits of world [or national] heritage. Conservation, developing local culture and stimulating tourism activity are also analysed using in-depth case studies. Even though the central theme is the management of heritage tourism [activities] within sites of national and world importance, ample information on the conservation of World Heritage Sites.⁴¹²

Pressouyre alluded to controversial topics relating to the Convention and the applicability to world heritage today. Pressouyre, as cited by Fontein raises the issue of the careful distinction made between cultural and natural heritage and the validity of that distinction today.⁴¹³

⁴¹¹ World Heritage Criteria. whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/.

⁴¹² Anna Leask and Alan Fyall, eds., *Managing World Heritage Sites* (Oxford: Elsevier Ltd, 2006).

⁴¹³ Leon Pressouyre, *The World Heritage Convention, Twenty Years Later* (Paris: UNESCO, 1993).

OPERATIONAL GUIDELINES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION (2012)

The guidelines for the listing and managing of World Heritage sites are well defined in the continuously revised with the first version dated 1977. The Guidelines has relevance to this study because it elaborates on the values, which contribute to the significance of the site being cultural values, relative artistic or technical value (based on research), rarity value (based on statistics), socio-economic values, functional value and educational, social and political values.⁴¹⁴ In the 1990s, UNESCO required a Statement of Cultural Significance to be incorporated into the application for World Heritage Site listing. This requirement substantiated the importance of cultural significance which was introduced by the ICOMOS Burra Charter.

It is apparent from the paragraph quoted below from the Guidelines that requirements, as stated by UNESCO, must be taken into account in any consideration of cultural tourism at a World Heritage Site:

‘... [i]n order to preserve the integrity of cultural sites, particularly those open to larger numbers of visitors, the State Party concerned should be able to provide evidence of suitable administrative arrangements to cover the management of the property, its conservation and its accessibility to the public.’⁴¹⁵

The Operational Guidelines does therefore not provide specific guidance in respect of the control and management of tourists at World Heritage Sites.

Authenticity and integrity are key to the World Heritage Convention and are essential criteria for World Heritage sites. The convention specifies that ‘to be deemed of outstanding universal value, a property must also meet the conditions of integrity and authenticity ...’⁴¹⁶ Integrity refers to maintaining the crucial elements of a site intact and stated in the Guidelines –

‘[I]ntegrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property: a) includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value; b) is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which

⁴¹⁴ UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines*.

⁴¹⁵ UNESCO, *Operational Guidelines*, 21.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

convey the property's significance; c) suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.⁴¹⁷

CHARTER OF CULTURAL TOURISM (1976)

ICOMOS adopted the Charter of Cultural Tourism, also known as the Brussels Charter and defined cultural tourism as -

'[T]hat form of tourism whose object is, among other aims, the discovery of monuments and sites. It exerts on these last a very positive effect insofar as it contributes – to satisfies its owns ends – to their maintenance and protection. This form of tourism justifies, in fact, the efforts which said maintenance and protection demand of the human community because of the socio-cultural and economic benefits which they bestow on all the populations concerned.'⁴¹⁸

This definition is a reflection of ICOMOS' role in protecting the world's monuments and sites by expressing a product-based approach to defining cultural tourism; it furthermore acknowledges the active role of cultural tourism in community development as well as the sustainability of cultural community-based resources.⁴¹⁹

ICOMOS furthermore stated its position about cultural tourism by arguing that tourism is an 'irreversible social, human, economic and cultural fact.' It is accepted that the impact of tourism on 'monuments and sights' will be significant and will in all probability increase due to the increased tourism activities.⁴²⁰

The Charter deals not specifically with sites of outstanding universal value. However it does encourage tourists about the value of monuments and training those responsible for developing cultural tourism at 'monuments and sites' and furthermore, continues to express the hope that -

'... [t]he World Tourist Organisation, fulfilling its aims, and UNESCO in the framework of the [World Heritage] Convention mentioned above, shall exert all efforts in cooperation with the signatory bodies and all others who in future may rally to ensure the implementation of the policy against the effects of tourism's

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁴¹⁸ ICOMOS, *Charter of Cultural Tourism* (Brussels: ICOMOS, 1976), 1.

⁴¹⁹ Ivanovic, *Cultural Tourism*, 95.

⁴²⁰ ICOMOS, *Charter of Cultural Tourism*, 1.

anarchical growth which would result in the denial of its objectives'.⁴²¹

The Charter refers to commodification as the 'effects of tourism's anarchical growth' which makes it key to the study and furthermore guides both fortifications as the charter is relevant to cultural tourism at 'monuments and sites' and not only to World Heritage sites.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL TOURISM CHARTER: MANAGING TOURISM AT PLACES OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE (1999)

The Charter's main objectives are to promote and manage tourism in a manner that values and augments the cultures of communities, furthermore significant to this study – to endorse a discourse between the tourism industry and places of cultural significance. One of the key charter concepts is that domestic and international tourism is a highly resourceful method of cultural exchange and if managed well, can secure the 'economic benefits of cultural resources and is an important generator of economic development.'⁴²²

The charter outlines six principles of cultural tourism -

- 'Since domestic and international tourism is among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, conservation should provide responsible and well-managed opportunities for members of the host community and visitors to experience and understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand;
- The relationship between Heritage Places and Tourism is dynamic and may involve conflicting values. It should be managed in a sustainable way for present and future generations;
- Conservation and Tourism Planning for Heritage Places should ensure that the Visitor Experience will be worthwhile, satisfying and enjoyable;
- Host communities and indigenous people should be involved in planning for conservation and tourism;
- Tourism and conservation activities should benefit the host community;
- Tourism promotion programmes should protect and enhance National and Cultural heritage characteristics.'⁴²³

The charter does not openly refer to the concept of 'commodification' however it does review the matter under principle 2: Manage the dynamic relationship between values-based conservation and tourism is dynamic and

⁴²¹ Ibid., 2.

⁴²² ICOMOS, *International Cultural Tourism Charter* (Mexico, ICOMOS, 1999), 2.

⁴²³ Ibid.

creates opportunities, challenges and potential conflict. Tourism endeavours should balance a few factors together with complying with the needs and expectations of the local or international visitor; first, achieve positive outcomes and second minimise adverse impacts on the heritage, cultural significance, and authenticity of the heritage place and the local communities.⁴²⁴ The principle is further reviewed by placing focus on the need to establish limits of acceptable change of a heritage place before it is promoted or developed for increased tourism. These limits are about the impact of visitor numbers on the physical characteristics, authenticity and integrity of the place, local access and transportation and the social, economic and cultural well-being of the community.⁴²⁵

Principle 5 – to provide benefit for the local community provides guidance on the distribution of the benefits of tourism should be shared amongst all parties for the economic advantage of the community and the protection, conservation and presentation of these places.⁴²⁶

The focal point of principle 6 - responsible promotion programmes is to protect and enhance the cultural significance of the place and should be done in such a way that the authenticity is preserved and the visitor can be supplied with the 'authentic' experience.⁴²⁷

This charter furthermore notes that one of the 'primary objectives for managing heritage is to communicate its significance and need for its conservation to its host community and visitors.' Heritage tourism is also an important medium for cultural exchange and conservation should provide opportunities to experience the heritage and culture. It also recognises that heritage tourism is an essential part of many economies and if managed responsibly can contribute towards development. Tourism, as a commodification approach, should benefit communities and provide the financial means and impetus to maintain the authenticity an essential element of their cultural significance. An inclusive approach toward the management of heritage is a condition by involving all stakeholders to achieve sustainable tourism. The charter

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 8.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 9.

⁴²⁶ ICOMOS, *International Cultural Tourism Charter*, 12.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

encourages responsible commodification by respecting and enhancing the heritage and cultures of the communities.⁴²⁸

THE BURRA CHARTER: THE AUSTRALIA ICOMOS CHARTER FOR PLACES OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE (2013)

Although Australia ICOMOS developed the Burra Charter, it is seen as a prominent charter used internationally and based in principle on the Venice Charter. It is particularly noteworthy for its definition of cultural significance and emphasise a values-based conservation approach. The Charter defines cultural significance as 'aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for the past, present or future generations.'⁴²⁹ It furthermore says that cultural significance is 'embodied in the place itself, its fabric, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.'⁴³⁰

The Burra Charter also recognises the values bestowed on places by people and communities and clarification is provided on how these principles can be adapted to the values and needs of a particular nation.⁴³¹

Zancheti et al. argues –

'[F]rom the epistemological point of view, before the Burra Charter, significance was treated basically from the perspective of empirical-positivist philosophy.'⁴³²

Significance is therefore determined objectively because values are considered inherent to the place as stated in article 2 that '[C]ultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use associations, meanings, record, related places and related objects.'⁴³³ Furthermore identifying and interpreting values are reliant purely on the knowledge of the expert.

Tainter and Lucas criticized the empirical-positivist approach of cultural significance because values are attributed to; and not inherent to places. The identification of values is attached to the meanings attributed to places by

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter*, 2.

⁴³⁰ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter*, 2.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² Zancheti et al., 'Judgement and Validation,' 50.

⁴³³ Ibid.

individuals or communities.⁴³⁴ It is, therefore, the individual (the subject) who is key in adding knowledge to the place (object) with the relationship of subject to the object dependent on a social, political and cultural context, place and time.⁴³⁵

The Burra Charter Process is divided into three phases, namely understanding the significance; developing policy, and managing the heritage asset in accordance with policy. Relevant to this study is the phase of understanding the significance, and according to the process, this stage consists of four steps – identifying the site and its associations and securing the place and making it safe; gathering and recording sufficient information about the place; assessing the significance; and preparing the statement of significance.⁴³⁶

Zancheti et al. reviewed the Burra Charter and argues that the process is lacking in addressing critical issues, first the absence of assessment in the sequence of the steps which flows according to the deliberations by one stakeholder, the specialist and second how to define the values when there is a conflict between the stakeholders.⁴³⁷ I agree with the argument of Zancheti et al. as the Burra Charter considers that '[P]laces may have a range of values for different individuals and groups,'⁴³⁸ but it does not explicitly include these 'different individuals and groups' into the process of determining the significance.

The Burra Charter is significant to this study due to the role it played in changing the way significance was previously understood by broadening the scope of its values and involving the stakeholders in this process. I furthermore find the Burra Charter one of the primary guidelines in conservation activities and a relevant source in this study due to the definitions and operational guidelines, which are considerably drawn on by experts, committed to conservation of the built environment.

⁴³⁴ Joseph, A. Tainter, and G. John Lucas, 'The Epistemology of the Significance Concept,' *American Antiquity* vol. 48, no. 4 (October 1983): 714.

⁴³⁵ Zancheti et al., 'Judgement and Validation,' 50.

⁴³⁶ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter*, 9.

⁴³⁷ Zancheti et al., 'Judgement and Validation,' 50.

⁴³⁸ ICOMOS, *Burra Charter*, 2.