

**Resilient Apartheid Survivors and Their Navigation of
Historical Trauma at the Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town**



Shanél Johannes

Masters Student at the University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Dr. Helen Scanlon

Co-Supervisor: Dr. June Bam-Hutchison

Justice and Transformation Masters Research Project 2019

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.

Acknowledgements

This research journey was not the easiest. I experienced the loss of dear loved ones, saw the end of a long-term relationship, experienced unemployment, and suffered from immense depression. However, I would like to say, Gangans Abotse – Thank You God – for giving me strength during this trying time of my life, to complete this research paper. My late grandmother’s favourite scriptures that she used to share with me: “I can do all things through Christ who gives me strength; if you have faith as small as a mustard seed, you can tell the mountain to move; I have the mind of Christ; and No weapon formed against me shall prosper”, became my daily affirmations to conquer these trying times and journey on with my studies. This paper is dedicated to my late grandparents, Amos Johannes, Winifred Henry, and Vivian Henry. Your resilience through the apartheid era to provide better lives for my parents and your love and support that you showcased throughout my life, will forevermore be appreciated.

Thank you to all my research participants who accepted my request for interviews. I truly value everything that you shared with me. I learned so much from each one of you, and together we contributed a valuable piece of research. Many thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Helen Scanlon and Dr. June Bam-Hutchison for your wisdom, knowledge, and support throughout this journey. Both of you are remarkable women who I truly honour and respect. The journey of your lives and the attainments of your accomplishments are true examples of you two being strong and inspiring women. Thank you to the National Research Fund and the University of Cape Town for awarding scholarships that assisted me to pursue my Masters Studies.

To my dearest loved ones, you all have stood by my side and your love for me has never failed. Thank you for all your prayers, motivations, and acts of kindness during this journey. Furthermore, I am so privileged to being a descendant of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people – a strong lineage of people who are resilient and rose above the adversities of repressive regimes. I am privileged as a woman from the Cape Flats, Kannemeyer Primary and Grassy Park High schools’ ex-learner, who became politically conscious from a young age about the diverse social ills in my community, and who found home in various grassroots activist groups. Thanks for contributing to who I am and my determination for social justice.

List of Abbreviations

AAC: All African Convention

Anti-CAD: Anti-Coloured Affairs Department

CATA: Cape African Teachers Association

CCB: Castle Control Board

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

I.D: Identity Document

MK: Umkhonto we Sizwe

NEUM: Non-European Unity Movement

NHRA: National Heritage Resources Act

NKC: National Khoisan Council

NP: National Party

OAU: Organisation of African Unity

SACP: South African Communist Party

SADF: South African Defence Force

SAHRA: South African Heritage Resources Agency

SANDF: South African National Defence Force

SANS: South African National Society

TLSA: Teachers League of South Africa

TRC: Truth and Reconciliation Commission

UN: United Nations

VOC: Dutch East India Company

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	2
List of Abbreviations	3
Abstract	6
Summary of Chapters	7
Chapter One: Introduction	11
1.1. A Brief Overview: Transitions at the Castle of Good Hope	18
1.2. The Jan van Riebeeck Tercentenary	24
1.3. Castle of Good Hope 350 th Commemorations	26
Chapter Two: Literature Review	28
2.1. The Politics of Transforming South Africa’s Heritage Landscape	28
2.2. Site, Trauma, and the Castle of Good Hope	32
Chapter Three: Research Process and Methodology	39
3.1. Research Question	40
3.2. Research Method	40
3.3. Research Ethics	42
3.4. Challenges in the Research Field	43
Chapter Four: Memory and Landscape of the Castle of Good Hope	44
4.1. Introduction	44
4.2. Memories of Visitations to the Castle during apartheid	44
4.2.1. The Militarised Castle and Trauma of Military Conscription	45
4.2.2. Experiences of School Excursions to the Castle	48
4.3. Memories of Visitations to the Castle during post-apartheid	51
4.3.1. Creating Counter-memory and Providing Post-apartheid Tours	52
4.3.2. The First Civilian appointed CEO’s aims to Transform the Castle of Good Hope	53
4.3.3. Collaborative Work with stakeholders – Khoisan Revivalist Movement	54

4.4. Concluding Remarks	57
Chapter Five: Complex History Production and Heritage Representation	58
5.1. Introduction	58
5.2. Production of History at the Castle of Good Hope	58
5.2.1. Reinserting Counter-narratives	59
5.2.2. Countering Eurocentricity with Afrocentric Knowledge Production	61
5.3. Creating Inclusive Heritage	62
5.3.1. Intangible and Tangible Heritage Values at the Castle of Good Hope	64
5.3.2. Critiquing Memorialised Spaces and the “Add-on Effect” at the Castle of Good Hope	70
5.4. Concluding Remarks	75
Chapter Six: Symbol and Site of Multiple Traumatic Memories	76
6.1. Introduction	76
6.2. A Traumatic Site and part of a Traumatic Chain	77
6.2.1. Slave Trading and the usage of Castles	77
6.2.2. Colonial Trials, Executions, and Contemporary Memorialised Sites of Torture	79
6.3. The Castle of Good Hope: Apartheid contexts of Structural Violence	83
6.3.1. The Castle of Good Hope’s Commands for the Trojan Horse	83
6.3.2. Untold Narratives of Anti-apartheid Students’ Detainment	85
6.4. Decolonial Efforts to Redress the Castle of Good Hope’s Historical Trauma	87
6.5. Concluding Remarks	90
Chapter Seven: Conclusion	91
7.1. Summary of the navigations of the Castle of Good Hope as a site of Historical Trauma	92
7.2. Further Research Questions and Ways Forward	93
References	98
Appendix One: No Easy Path (1974)	115
Appendix Two: Biographies	120
Appendix Three: The Castle of Good Hope’s 350 Commemoration Program	135
Appendix Four: Interview Questions	137

Abstract

The history of South Africa entails colonial and apartheid era violence and trauma (visible and invisible) which ingrained various socio-economic-political-agrarian orders of brutalisation, mass killings, and the displacement of local people from their culture, language, land, agency, and spirituality. Attached to such history, are the intact remnants of the colonial and apartheid eras – national heritage monuments. The Castle of Good Hope, as a national heritage site, is not limited as being the oldest architectural structure in Cape Town, nor is it only a transitioning site that tries to incorporate democratic principles of multiple heritage. This site wields memories of both individual and collective historical colonial and apartheid trauma.

Critically, this research project seeks to empirically analyse whether historical traumas are embedded in the displaced landscape and individual and collective experiences as the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed. Historical trauma in this context, is often associated with the scholarship on the trans-Atlantic slave trade (from Africa to the Americas). However, little work is done in relation to the descendant's navigation of trauma – the resultant of the Indian Ocean trade and slave trade. The trauma related to the violent occupation of the European nations, transcended itself and was continued through various apartheid policies which has prevailing legacies of intergenerational historical trauma in Cape Town. Thus, this qualitative empirical research project seeks to explore the memories, experiences, and recommendations of resilient apartheid survivors – the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed generations – and the ways in which they navigate the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter One

This chapter begins with a brief historical context of the multifaceted pre-colonial indigenous inhabitants in relation to their experiences of the drastic transitions in their livelihoods and the landscape on which they collectively lived, worshipped, and traded. Furthermore, this chapter then provides a brief introduction of the Castle of Good Hope and its historical transitions. This brief introduction of the Castle of Good Hope will also be critically explored in relation to memorialisation practices during the apartheid era (emphasising on the Non-European Unity Movement's (NEUM) 1952 boycott to the exclusionist heritage production of the Tercentenary Commemoration of Jan van Riebeeck who was glorified as the “founding father” of Afrikaner nationalism); as well as the post-apartheid changes in memorialisation practices (emphasising on the Castle of Good Hope's 350th Commemoration in 2016). Thus, this introductory chapter locates the history of the Castle of Good Hope in its transitioning contexts – from colonial-apartheid centralisation to the post-apartheid-democratic state's visions for nation building – and in the context of memorialisation practices in the urban landscape – a transcending site of memory.

Chapter Two

In South Africa, history and heritage are contested terrains that often evoke collective and individual traumatic memories of colonial and apartheid historical traumas as a result of the intersectional nature of place and socio-economic-political-agrarian inequities. However, in the contemporary democratic era, heritage sites often fail to explicitly show the legacies of such intergenerational historical traumas. Hence, there is a continued denialism and growing critique of the terrible experiences that Africans and the various Ancestors from the Indian Ocean worlds, endured at the hands of colonialists. Given that the Castle is a colonial-age studied site, chapter two will entail a literature review that will firstly focus on the politics of transforming South Africa's heritage landscape. Secondly, it explores literature that focuses on site, trauma, and the Castle of Good Hope. Thus, this chapter critically surveys a wide range of literature on the Castle of Good Hope and analyses the limitations in the surveyed literature.

Chapter Three

Following the critical survey of the literature, this chapter starts to unpack how the Castle of Good Hope has not yet been researched in relation to how its staff, South African heritage practitioners, and heritage activists – who locate themselves as resilient apartheid survivors and the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people – navigate it as a site of colonial and apartheid historical trauma. Thus, this chapter will detail the research process and methodology to how the above-mentioned limitations in the literature on the Castle of Good Hope will be explored. Firstly, this chapter details my positionality and research question. Secondly, the research methods that were used in this research project will be outlined. Thirdly, the research ethics will be stipulated. Lastly, this chapter will explore the challenges in the field.

Chapter Four

Place, in the context of South Africa, has always been a fraught issue given the country's recent traumatic pasts. Central to this chapter is the focus on individual memories in relation to the traces of individual and collective traumas that are attached to the Castle of Good Hope. Highlighted throughout this chapter is the fact that landscapes continue to remind societies that there are traumatic narratives attached to it. The first part of this chapter will explore the memories of the participants' first visitations to the Castle of Good Hope during the apartheid era: military conscription at the Castle of Good Hope and the memories of school excursions. The second part of this chapter will explore the memories of participants' first interactions at the Castle of Good Hope during the post-apartheid era: efforts to create counter-memory and conduct post-apartheid Afrocentric and decolonised action tours as well as the rituals of indigenous healing – for people and place – ingrained in San and Khoe indigenous knowledge systems at the Castle of Good Hope, the first civilian appointed Chief Executive Officer's (CEO) aims to transform the site, and the Castle Control Board's (CCB) collaborative work with diverse stakeholders such as the Khoi¹ Revivalist Movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and military veterans, religious and cultural groups, and many more.

¹ In this thesis both terms 'Khoi' and 'Khoe' are used interchangeably because it is a term under review and both accepted.

Chapter Five

The Castle of Good Hope is proclaimed as a national monument, but its history and heritage is distorted and reinforces Eurocentric narratives that exclude the history and heritage of South Africans who are the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed peoples. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to critically unpack the complexities of history production and the representation of heritage at the Castle of Good Hope. This chapter will firstly emphasise that the Castle of Good Hope's history extends itself to the production of multiple (his)stories/(her)stories/(their)stories/(our)stories that interconnect with the history of a nation(s), the history of a continent(s), as well as the history of the Indian Ocean trade. Secondly, this chapter will explore the need for narratives to be ingrained in Afrocentric knowledge productions of the Castle of Good Hope that challenges the often-dominant Eurocentric production of history at the site. Lastly, this chapter will highlight the complexity of heritage representation in relation to its inclusivity and the responses of the research participants to the memorialised displays and spaces at the Castle of Good Hope.

Chapter Six

The CCB at the Castle of Good Hope and their efforts to dealing with the memory of historical trauma, is a fragmented display of South Africa's pasts. Hence, the Castle of Good Hope was a place of: imprisonment, trials that were held by the Council of Policy, torture, execution, apartheid military conscription, armed brutality, and oppression. The aim of this chapter is to critically unpack how the Castle of Good Hope – as a historical trauma site – contributes to the understanding of historical trauma in South Africa. This chapter will firstly explore how the Castle of Good Hope is part of a trauma chain of ports, forts, and castles of the global Indian Ocean trade. Secondly, this chapter will explore some of the colonial trials, executions, and contemporary memorialised sites of torture at the Castle of Good Hope. Thirdly, this chapter will critically analyse the various apartheid structural violations that were decided on and implemented at the Castle of Good Hope. Lastly, this chapter will explore how the Castle of Good Hope's historical trauma is being redressed through various decolonial and heritage efforts.

Chapter Seven

South Africa in general, and Cape Town in specific, are witnesses to the rich and beautiful diverse pre-colonial societies and their ways of life, the brutality of colonial and apartheid repressive regimes, and the continued legacies of socio-economic-political-agrarian inequities. As a result of such pasts and continued legacies, this chapter summarises how the Castle of Good Hope is viewed by the resilient apartheid survivors, as a site of historical trauma that needs to be transformed from its exclusive, culturally biased, racist, and traumatic symbolisms. This chapter will firstly provide a summary of the five ways in which the resilient apartheid survivors navigate the Castle of Good Hope as a site of individual and collective historical trauma. Secondly, this chapter provides ten recommendations in relation to how the Castle of Good Hope as a historical trauma site needs redress in order for restorative justice to be attained. Lastly, it concludes with further research questions that may be critically explored in further research by communities and various institutions.

Chapter One

Introduction

In 2018, my poem “Another Loss, Another Woman” was published in Dr. Sarah Malotane Henkeman’s book *Disrupting Denial: Analysing Narratives of Invisible/Visible Violence and Trauma*. The book critically engages the diverse invisible mechanisms that create visible violence, high levels of trauma, as well as the continuum of denialism of the impacts of diverse traumas and violence – symbolic, structural, psychological, physical, and silenced – in societies. Being part of the process of writing the book, alerted me to the importance of its dedication – “To the descendants of the colonised, oppressed and enslaved who all have stories to tell”. This powerful dedication of the book evolved into the standpoint from which I conducted this research. Furthermore, Mbilinyi (1992: 59) states that “the researcher needs to tell own positions and multiple identities, so readers can understand the “knower”. Hence, my positionality is that of writing from the standpoint of being a descendant of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people, a woman from the Cape Flats who is racially classified as “Coloured”², an activist, researcher, interviewer, and final year Master’s in Philosophy, Justice and Transformation candidate at the University of Cape Town.

I attended my Justice and Transformation Master’s Supervisor, Dr. Helen Scanlon’s *Gender, Symbolic Reparation and the Arts* conference which was held in early February 2018, in Cape Town. It was at this conference where I was intrigued by Dr. June Bam-Hutchison’s presentation that described the memories of women at the Castle of Good Hope. She critiqued how the history production of the Castle is embedded in patriarchy and that it is a violent place that has not yet been the subject of restorative justice in post-apartheid South Africa. Thus, I became very interested in conducting a research paper on the Castle of Good Hope given the many questions I thought of after her presentation: why is the Castle regarded as a violent place? What happened there? Whose lives were affected by the Castle? What

²The racial classification “Coloured” is not an ethnic identity nor is it biologically acquired (Erasmus, 2017: 112). Instead, it is a colonial and apartheid construct that was used to oppress inhabitants, wield collective and individual trauma through colonial and apartheid racial violence, implement racist legislations such as the forced removals during apartheid, as well as having prevailing traumatic legacies of socio-economic-political-agrarian inequities, gang violence, the deployment of the army on the Cape Flats and townships, and also ongoing racist research work such as – Age- and Education-related Effects on Cognitive Functioning in Coloured South African Women – that continues to reproduce colonial and apartheid stereotypes that “others” and “oppresses” people of colour and ensures the system of divide and rule (Erasmus, Boswell, Johannes, Mahomed, Ratele, 2018: 5).

were its functions during colonialism and apartheid? Is it a site of historical trauma? How should the place be redressed? How does it inform who I am and where I am from? I was able to consult with Dr. June Bam-Hutchison, who is a lecturer in the African Studies Department at the University of Cape Town and who later became my Co-Supervisor for this research project after the conference. Thus, Dr. Bam-Hutchison's knowledge on the Castle, afforded me with new enquiries to be able to conduct a critical empirical study that analyses the representation of the Castle of Good Hope.

Furthermore, an action tour of Castle of Good Hope was scheduled on the last day of Dr. Scanlon's conference. It marked my first visit to the site and what I found extremely interesting, was my father's resistance to join me on the action tour. My father dropped me off at the Castle of Good Hope, but he refused to step foot at the entrance. Out of curiosity, I asked him why his mood changed and why he did not want to go in with me. His response was "I don't like this place, I don't want to go in there", and he just went silent thereafter. I could sense that there was a bad memory attached to his resistance to this place and I could not stop thinking about why my father, who survived the struggles of the apartheid era and who was an anti-apartheid activist, was so anti-Castle? At the entrance, I met up with our women's group, and Dr. Bam-Hutchison introduced us to Bradley van Sitters³, our activist tour guide. He started the tour with a ritual outside the Castle of Good Hope – he burnt indigenous medicinal herbs, acknowledged and welcomed the ancestors, taught us some Khoekhoegowab words and songs, and he spoke to the history of the pre-colonial indigenous Khoe people, the violence of colonialism, and prevailing legacies of trauma.

What stood out the most for me on his tour, was going into the Torture Chamber. Van Sitters firstly burnt the indigenous medicinal herbs as a cleansing ritual and then spoke about the violence and trauma of the memorialised space. Acknowledging that this was the first time that I engaged in this history of the Castle of Good Hope, I noticed that I also felt something so spiritual and highly emotional that brought me to my knees and I could not stop weeping. Until

³ Van Sitters was forcibly removed from District Six and resettled in a Cape Flats area that is notorious for its gangster violence - Lavender Hill. He bore witness to the repressive military in his community during the apartheid era, actively engaged in anti-apartheid mobilisations, and continues in the plight of the Khoi Revivalist movement (see his biography in appendix two).

this day, words fail to explain that encounter which spiritually moved me and had me feeling an indescribable pain and trauma – in the absence of the Castle of Good Hope ever being spoken about at home, school, community, or at university.



Fig. 1. Imagery of the “Visibilisation and Invisibilisation of Pre-colonial History at the Castle of Good Hope” (source: Kolbe, 1713 cited in Bam, van Sitters, and Ndhlovu, 2018)

The city of Cape Town is located on the Cape Peninsula between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Specifically, the site alongside the //ammi i ssa (‘place of sweet water’) – often referred to as the Camisa River – and below Table Bay. This area was renamed Hui! Gaep (‘a place of the gathering of clouds’) by Khoi Revivalist activists⁴ who stated that this site was the birth place of many indigenous San and Khoe inhabitants and ancestors such as Doman and Krotoa (they will be discussed later in this chapter). Furthermore, this city was a historic port of global Indian Ocean trade for centuries before the violent colonial land occupations and displacements.

⁴ The Khoi Revivalist Movement can be defined a civic movement which grew throughout the years in communities across the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, and Western Cape. This contemporary movement allies itself in various global developments that centralises on the recognition of the hundreds of millions of individuals who are claiming their rights as indigenous peoples, such as the Decade of Indigenous People (1995 – 2004) movement. Critically, South Africa’s customary law does not fully recognise the assertions of the indigenous identity, indigenous leadership, and lack in political will for restorative justice for colonial crimes on indigenous San and Khoe communities (Bam, 2014: 124). Hence, the foci of the government and customary law is on traditional rights which are often associated with the chiefs and land rights – a topic of growing critiques (see Ntsebeza, 2005).

Critically, the history of the Castle of Good Hope is interlinked with the history of the building, transitions in the landscape, and the “peopling” of this city (discussed later in chapters five and six). It is important to note that societies endured over 300 years of traumatic and violent pasts as a result of the oppressive systems of imperialism, colonialism, slavery, and apartheid – restorative justice demands for land, agrarian, social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental rights still prevail.

Furthermore, the pre-colonial societies of the Cape comprised of diverse people who had diverse systems of knowledge best suited for their collective and individual socio-economic-political-agrarian lifestyles – people were from all over the African continent and the Indian Ocean trade worlds (discussed later in chapter six). The first European nation who said to ‘discover’⁵ Africa’s most southern tip, was the Portuguese during the late fifteenth century – they traded with the local societies successfully for many years (Aggenbach, 2017: 94). However, after the Khoe defeated them in the 1510 war that resulted in the killing of many Portuguese sailors, they travelled to the south coast of the Congo and Mozambique. In 1602, the Dutch East Indian Company (VOC) was established in the Netherlands and was a maritime economic European power associated with global colonisation projects (Aggenbach, 2017: 94). Importantly, this was the voyage’s context before the birth of Krotoa and the rapid destructive colonial trauma, violence, and displacement that followed.

In 1642, Krotoa Eva Goringhaicona was born into the Goringhaicona clan of maroons who comprised of drifters from other clans such as the Cochoqua, Goringhaiqua, and Gorachoqua who lived below Table Bay by the Camisa River (Mellet, 2016: 38). It is important to note that the Dutch and the local communities built strong trading relations. However, given the growth in mercantilist demands, in 1651 the VOC issued instructions to Jan van Riebeeck to establish a refreshment station for the provision of fresh supplies such as fruit, vegetables, and meat for fellow company ships that travelled on the East Indies route. On 6 April 1652, he arrived at the Cape to implement the VOC’s orders for the outpost. In order for the VOC to acquire a stable

⁵ Depelchin (2005: 123) defined the “syndrome of discovery” as the process whereby foreigners create the history of Africa.

supply of refreshments, they knew that there was a need for land acquisition in order to farm and rear livestock (SAHO, 2019).

The VOC acted on behalf of the Dutch government who then amplified their agendas for taking possession of land in order to expand their trade routes, and the establishment of their maritime economic trade empire (Ulrich, 2010: 575). Thus, given this context of mercantilism, Krotoa and her communities experienced violent displacement and witnessed the construction of the first Dutch fort that was erected on their land – the Fort de Goede Hoop⁶ – in 1652. Worden (1999) noted that the construction of Fort de Goede Hoop as well as the establishment of the VOC garden, symbolically represented the authority of the VOC that started changing the local communities and every aspect of their livelihoods. Critically, Worden (1999: 74) interestingly noted that the coloniser’s construction of 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”.

Thus, the year 1652⁷ marked the beginning of a colonial period of increased brutal displacements, warfare, killings, and enslavement of local inhabitants by the Dutch invaders who later settled and forcibly created the Cape colony. At the age of ten, Krotoa was taken in as a servant in the household of Jan van Riebeeck at the old fort; in later years, she became an interpreter and diplomat who communicated as an intermediary between the Khoes and the VOC (Mellet, 2016: 38). However, Mellet (2016: 38) emphasised that “her loyalties were torn, and she had a terrible life, exploited by the Europeans and often rejected by her own people”. In addition, it was said that she was buried at the chapel inside the Castle. It is important to note that van Riebeeck was associated with the first fort that was constructed and that the VOC ordered the building of the Castle of Good Hope after he left the Cape in 1662.

⁶ A mud and wooden fort erected by the Dutch below Table Bay as a means for shelter and defence from local communities who rejected their presence and corrupt tendencies (SAHO, 2019).

⁷ In 1652 the Dutch government, through the VOC, gave their men rights to own land in order to build farms for food supply. Importantly, the Khoes refused the Dutch’s private ownership of land that they granted to the VOC employees. Thus, the Khoes declared that they would attack the Dutch for not permitting them the rights on the land to build their homes and graze their cattle wherever they wanted to (SAHO, 2019).

The growing mercantilist movement and economic power of the VOC was strongly linked to the Indian Ocean Slave Trade as well (see chapter six). Hence, in 1658, children from Angola were the first slaves brought to the Cape. Campbell (2014: 125) further elaborated that “the IOW [Indian Ocean world] slave trade was multidirectional, changed over time and included slaves of many different origins” – these individuals were skilful people from Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar, Guinea, India, East Indies, China, and many other places along the Indian Ocean, who were forcibly removed from their families and collective and individual lifestyles, and forced into the VOC’s inhumane servitude system to expand its mercantilist colonial projects.

Additionally, the Dutch occupation at the Cape was occupied by the British colonial occupation in 1795, but the Dutch occupied the colony again in 1803. Hence, the continent of Africa in general, and the country of South Africa in particular, were being sold off among European countries who socially constructed the tool of racial identities – both the “inferior” non-white racially oppressed classes and “superior” white classes. In addition, the slave emancipation of 1834 (with full emancipation in 1838), resulted in an era of reconstructing racial characteristics as a strategy for divide and rule, that has its legacies of racism into the apartheid era as well as the post-apartheid era. For example, the post-emancipation racial order in the Cape was constructed to define the San, Khoe, and ex-slaves, as a homogenous group called “coloured”. Such violent racial social constructions were aimed to create the opposition to “white” colonists descendants, as well as the opposition to the diverse yet interconnected indigenous African societies who too lived among the pre-colonial societies (Worden, 2016: 403).

The Union of South Africa was formed in 1910, followed by the oppressive apartheid regime that was established in 1948 – it continued with a repressive system of violent segregationist racial policies, an era of mass resistance and killings, and ended in 1990 with the commitments to the transitions from apartheid to democracy that were officially implemented and resulted in the Republic of South Africa in 1994 (Field, Meyer, and Swanson, 2007). Furthermore, during South Africa’s transitional phase to democracy, trauma and therapy language was key to the post-apartheid young democratic state (Colvin, 2003: 4). The establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC) was used as the

democratic country's transitional justice instrument – the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No. 34 of 1995 assigned its mandate.

The TRC was mandated to: investigate and uncover in great detail, the gross violations of human rights such as the apartheid crimes committed during 1 March 1960 to 1990; grant amnesties to selective perpetrators who unveiled the truths of their own roles in politically motivated crimes; as well as the provisions to reparations for the apartheid victims (Bevernage, 2012: 53). In total, 21 298 written statements which were linked to 37 672 human rights violations were received, and there were 2 200 people in the TRC's public forum who gave oral testimony (even though many women often only gave the accounts of the experiences of their men) (Field, 2006: 3). Critically, the TRC's implementation of the psychoanalytic use of confession, was not the best approach to understanding the extent of memories of violations and traumas of the past. The TRC's approach failed to attain its visions for healing and reconciliation (Ross, 2003: 12). Thus, this young democracy witnesses the prevailing intergenerational legacies of socio-economic-agrarian inequities, poverty, substance abuse, landlessness, and unemployment, as the result of the past repressive regimes.

Given this brief historical context, this chapter provides (1) a brief background to the transitions at the Castle of Good Hope; (2) a critical analysis of the memorialisation practices during the apartheid era, emphasising on the Tercentenary Commemoration of Jan van Riebeeck as the founding father of Afrikaner nationalism in 1952 and the boycott to such exclusionist heritage production; and (3) the post-apartheid changes in memorialisation practices with emphasis on the Castle of Good Hope's 350th Commemoration. Thus, this introductory chapter locates the Castle of Good Hope in the transitioning contexts – from colonial-apartheid centralisation to the democratic state's visions for nation building – of the diverse memorialisation practices on the urban landscape.

1.1. A BRIEF OVERVIEW: TRANSITIONS AT THE CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE

The Castle of Good Hope superseded the first fort and is South Africa's oldest colonial building that was erected between 1666–1679 as a colonial military base. Critically, it functions as a heritage defence base to this day where the VOC colonial military rituals are re-enacted for the public on a daily basis (discussed further in chapters five and six). This pentagonal defensive structure was ordered by the VOC to be built by the hands of the local inhabitants and individuals from Angola, Mozambique, and South-East Asia who were held bondage in the Indian Ocean slave trade. The Castle's walls and outside its walls, witnessed the most atrocious happenings. Hence, it was a site that forcibly housed and domesticated slaves; imprisoned women who were accused of adultery, orphans, runaway slaves, individuals who resisted the colonial rule, and thieves; and a place of torture and mass killings (Zwarteveen, 2016: 42).

Furthermore, the construction of the first fort in 1652 and the erection of the Castle of Good Hope in 1666, violently displaced the indigenous inhabitants, given their core mission for colonial rule and conquest over all spheres of social life (Johnson-Barker, 2003). It is important to note that the indigenous inhabitants were not passive victims of the Dutch occupation, they staged war against the invaders – The First Khoe-Dutch War and the Second Khoe-Dutch War (see SAHO, 2019). Thus, in South Africa, the Castle of Good Hope is viewed by some heritage activists as the embodiment of armed colonial conquest as well as apartheid oppression (Gilbert, 1994; Khoisan, 2016).

However, the Castle's continued existence is also considered by the CCB – the managing authority of the Castle of Good Hope – as a symbol of hope within this young democratic country (Castle Control Board, 1995). On the one hand, heritage activists such as the Khoi Revivalist Movement who continue in their plight for the rights to heritage self-determination, locate the Castle of Good Hope in the narratives of historical trauma. Whereas, the CCB and government officials try to shift the symbolism of the Castle of Good Hope's relation to its oppressive past, to creating opportunities to utilize the site in relation to the young democratic country's mandates of forgiveness, nation building, and reconciliation. However, the latter view of the Castle of Good Hope risks the opportunities to critically engage the extents of historical trauma experienced by descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed. These dual contrasting views of the

Castle of Good Hope will be critically engaged throughout this paper.

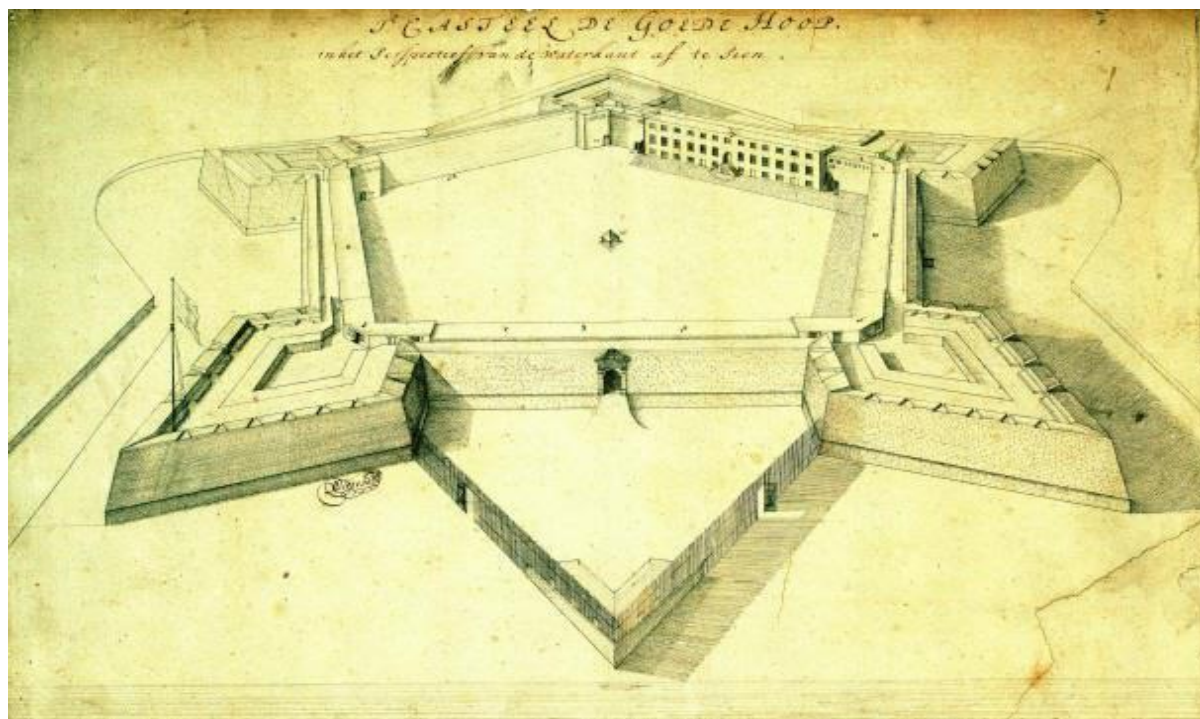


Fig. 2. Dutch era architectural design of the Castle (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

For over three-and-a-half centuries of the Castle of Good Hope’s existence, its roles and functions transitioned: being an Indian Ocean trading post, VOC headquarters where Dutch administrative orders were decided, supreme court for trial hearings, seat of government, functioned as a prison, slave quarters, as well as the repressive regime’s military base during both colonialism and apartheid (Castle Control Board, 1995). Thus, Gilfellan and Hendricks (2017: 7-8) emphasised that the Castle transitioned into a “multiple-use, multiple-stakeholder and multiple-demand type of site”. For example, the Castle of Good Hope predominantly operates as a “museum-cum-heritage-cum-entertainment centre; this after a radical scale-down (as opposed to complete withdrawal) of the military in the late 1990s” (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 3).



Fig. 3. The Castle during the British colonial era (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)



Fig. 4. The state of the Castle between World War 1 and World War 2 (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

The radical scale-down of the South African Defence Force (hereafter SADF) – the military that served the apartheid government – was a result of the end of the apartheid era and the transition to a democratic state that called for the eradication of oppressive state institutions. Furthermore, 1922 marked the start of the first tours at the Castle of Good Hope, but these tours were very small and on a limited scale (Giffellan, 2019). However, since the democratic transition, the Castle of Good Hope presented itself as a tourism product: tourists observe the colonial architecture independently or with a tour guide, the unrelated three in-house museums – The Military Museum which is comprised of the one-sided colonial military history, the William Fehr Collection which comprises of colonial era arts (local and foreign people and land) and colonial furniture, and the permanent ceramic exhibition that is situated in the old granary –; embark on a guided tour; explore temporary exhibitions; witness a military drill; firing of a ceremonial cannon; view military commemorations; attend commercial events; use the conference facilities; have access to the restaurant facilities; and shop for memorabilia at the curio-shop (Castle Guide’s Script, 1995).



Fig. 5. Contemporary view of the Castle (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)

However, it is important to note that the history of past atrocities at the Castle of Good Hope is often overlooked by the democratic government who is not effectively committed to the redress of colonial injustices, given their continued minimalist commitments to redress with a limited TRC mandate for apartheid injustices. Also, for many European tourists the colonial building continues to be presented by some private tour companies as a symbol of “civilisation” and “progress” (Mellet, 2019). It is important to note that the location of the Castle is where the once thriving Cape Peninsula Khoe society were forcibly displaced from both the land and history of South Africa as a result of colonial ethnic cleansing and epistemicide (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndhlovu, 2018). Colonial ethnic cleansing refers to the violent processes that denied indigenous communities the assertion of their collective belief systems, cultural practices, family structures, economic systems, and knowledge production. Colonial ethnic epistemicide refers to the replacement of indigenous peoples’ knowledge systems with that of the colonialists’ knowledge systems (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndhlovu, 2018) (see chapter five).

Furthermore, the representation of their heritage articulated at the Castle is complex and dominated by Eurocentric artefacts (this will be unpacked in chapter five). However, in October 2012, the CCB, was ordered by Parliament to remove the implicit colonial and apartheid flags from the building’s bastions. It is important to note that this was a response to a complaint that was later followed by the growing Khoi Revivalist activism for heritage self-determination that opposed the continued dominant colonial symbolism of the Castle of Good Hope, and called for its transformation (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndhlovu, 2018). In addition, as noted previously, the Castle of Good Hope was managed by the apartheid government as the SADF’s local headquarters and as a result of the amnesty legislation – it granted many individuals who served the apartheid state, to keep their employment as managers of the Castle of Good Hope. Furthermore, in April 2013, the CCB employed its first civilian management team who were tasked to “...redevelop and implement its reimagined vision for this citadel... a prominent feature of this vision was to reposition, reimagine and reimage the Castle into a beacon of hope, initiatives of healing, reconciliation and nation-building” (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 4).



Fig. 6. Old oppressive flags that were only removed in 2012 (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)

As a result of denied acknowledgment of the impact that colonialism and apartheid had on indigenous people and their descendants, there has been a growth in post-colonial and post-apartheid active citizenry led by the Khoi Revivalist activists. Verbuyst (2016: 83) noted that Khoi Revivalist activists challenged the much-hated apartheid racial classification that was forced upon them but refuted, “Coloured” – a derogatory colonial and apartheid classification resultant of violent assimilation processes. It was rejected by the activists when they started reasserting their identities as the descendants of the indigene, “the first indigenous people” (Verbuyst, 2016: 83). Their further restorative justice demands include: indigenous land restitution, attainment of political representation and the attainment of economic power, and for the realisation of indigenous and human rights and dignity for better livelihoods as the descendants of the local indigenous inhabitants whose lives were violently disrupted by colonialism and apartheid (Verbuyst, 2015).

Absent at the Castle of Good Hope were the acknowledgments of the impacts of historical trauma as a result of colonialism, on the livelihoods of the Khoe – their culture, history, their language, and very existence. The Khoi Revivalist activists applied great pressure on the Castle of Good Hope as well as government to acknowledge their plight to heritage self-determination and

restorative justice for colonial injustices. Gilfellan (2019) noted that he was the first civilian to put together a team – mainly comprised of SADF veterans who he described as “...*difficult to work with*” – who had the challenging task to alleviate the complexities in relation to the heritage conservation, curation, commercialisation, stakeholder engagement, community outreach, public education, and research. Thus, the first civilian team viewed the Khoi Revivalist Movement as key stakeholders of the Castle and saw the need for collaborative work in order to implement the CCB’s vision to reimagine its symbolism and functioning that aligns with the country’s democratic values (Gilfellan, 2019).

1.2. THE JAN VAN RIEBEECK TERCENTENARY

Rassool and Witz (1993: 448) emphasised that by the 1940s, South Africa had a “weak national history”, which started developing itself through the Afrikaner nationalist histories. Thus, the year 1952 had a significant role for the apartheid government’s construction of history, preservation of Afrikaner heritage and domination, and the ingraining of the apartheid state’s racialised political scheme commemorative practices such as the tercentenary commemorative festival of Jan van Riebeeck’s arrival. This festival sought to symbolise a complete display of white domination that was ingrained in the development of the apartheid state and was engineered by the NP on the basis of institutionalised racial segregation and white monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, at the festival, van Riebeeck was symbolised as the founding father of white civilisation and this was an effort to create the memorialisation of settler colonialism as “... [e]merging apartheid needed to be justified through notions of ‘civilisation’, ‘primitiveness’ and tutelage” (Rassool and Witz, 1993: 466). However, Rassool and Witz (1993) point out that there were separate pageants for the Malay and “Coloured” communities that took place at the Festival stadium on a different day and with only a few spectators.

The separate pageants centred around events and personalities in the assumed Griqua⁸ and Malay history and culture. Rassool and Witz (1993: 459) elaborated: “nine events, beginning

⁸ People of mixed Khoe and European ancestry. It is important to note that some Griqua representatives were present at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA 1 and CODESA 2) negotiations in the early 1990s. The National Khoisan Council (NKC) was established by former President Nelson Mandela (who has a strong maternal Khoe ancestry) and the Griqua leader, Cecil Le Fleur who was the chair for the 1999 constitutional negotiation. However, the acknowledgement of indigenous identities and communities are still

with the first Outeniqua contact with Van Riebeeck, depicted the growth of the Griqua 'volkie [little volk]' under the leadership of the Kok and Le Fleur families⁹. In addition, the pageants had five floats that depicted van Riebeeck's arrival as well as the early days of Dutch settlement, and people acted in a historical drama that was staged at the Granger Bay in Mouille Point on 5 April 1952. In a scene, people performed the first arrival of Van Riebeeck, how he planted and elevated a flag, seized ownership of the land, gave gifts to "Strandlopers [Khoisan "beach strollers"]", hailed as the founding father of the settler domination, and symbolically implemented the legacy of civilisation by "handing over scrolls of religion, law, freedom, language, agriculture, industry and commerce" (Rassool and Witz, 1993: 459). Even though there were attempts of showcasing diverse heritage, the festivities were centred on the justification for the system of apartheid that was entrenched in such commemorative practices. The Jan van Riebeeck festival was a significant site of boycott by the oppressed people.

From the mid-1940 to the end of the 1950s, the aim of Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) was the creation of a united national front that opposed the apartheid racial domination and present its democratic demands. The political organisations – "Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) and the All African Convention (AAC), teachers' bodies, like the Cape African Teachers Association (CATA) and the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), civic and vigilance associations and even sporting organizations" – which were allied to the NEUM, were the main organised political opposition to the festival in specific and apartheid in general (Rassool and Witz, 1993: 460). Strategies of their mobilisation – located at the Grand Parade opposite the Castle of Good Hope – throughout the festival included: non-collaboration, boycott, and the symbolic branding of van Riebeeck as the "enslaver, divider and strangler of the nation"

fragmented and the restorative justice for colonial injustices still prevails – such as reburials, land rights, and rights to self-determination (Bam, 2014: 125).

⁹ Critically, the Le Fleurs had state recognition as Griqua indigenous leader representatives during apartheid – this was viewed as part of the apartheid divide and rule policies. In contrast, there were many activists who rejected the NP's racist divide and rule tactics for tribal identities – but these intellectual "Coloured" leaders, many who were from the NEUM, were not regarded by the apartheid government as legitimate leaders (Bam, 2014: 124). Hence the Le Fleurs attended the celebrations at the Castle of Good Hope as apartheid government collaborationists. Whereas the NEUM activists were non-collaborationists who boycotted the apartheid system in its entirety. Thus, great tension existed between the Griqua Movement and the NEUM and their Declaration to the People of South Africa (1951) which demanded for a "non-racial nation"; there were no Coloureds, Africans or Whites". Hence, Bam (2014: 124) noted that the "...shift within the Khoisan Movement, from embracing a segregationist and, later, an apartheid racial classification to one of 'indigenous racial ethnic entitlement', is therefore worth noting".

that was made visible on posters that had an inverted image of him inscribed with a cross of condemnation that defaced him (Rassool and Witz, 1993: 464).

1.3. CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE 350TH COMMEMORATIONS

The year 1952 signalled significant intergenerational trauma under a newly elected apartheid regime and was followed by a period of defiance campaigns countrywide in the 1950s. The new South African commemorations followed 50 years later under significantly different historical and political circumstances. As mentioned before, the first civilian management team were given the task to transform the Castle of Good Hope from its dominance as a building that is located in the landscape that comprises majorly of symbolic oppressive colonialism. Thus, efforts were to entail its “renewed relevance and significance for present and future Cape Town and South Africa” given that there is a relationship that exists between memory and place (Gubb, 2012: 5). In 2015, sixty-three years after the boycotting of the Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary, the CCB were conflicted in its decisions to commemorate in 2016, the 350th year that the Castle of Good Hope was built. Hence, they acknowledged the role that the Castle played in the historical trauma during both colonial and apartheid eras, as well as acknowledged the new democratic constitutional requirements that mandated the need to transform its symbolism as the colonial and apartheid dominance in the young democratic era. Furthermore, their decision was to commemorate the 350th year of the Castle with its “Freedom from Oppression” theme (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 13).

The 350th commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope in 2016 differed vastly from the van Riebeeck tercentenary festival in 1952. In contrast to the van Riebeeck tercentenary festival, the CCB’s aims did not seek to celebrate the white-settler domination and the promotion of apartheid segregationist legislation. Instead, it was about commemorating 1666 when the Castle of Good Hope was built and its democratic collaborations with diverse heritage stakeholders. Furthermore, the 350th commemoration programme provided diverse opportunities for reimagining and transforming the Castle of Good Hope with decolonial efforts to reconstruct a history of liberation. Firstly, it recognised the Castle’s implication in relation to the country’s traumatic, painful, and violent past of exploitative colonialism, violent dispossession, slavery, mass executions, and suffering under apartheid. Secondly,

commemoration went beyond its architectural design and therefore encompassed the broader narrative of the Castle to be commemorated as a cathartic process that created the basis for healing, understanding, and nation building (see chapter five) (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 13).

One of the results of the 350th Castle of Good Hope Commemoration decolonial strategy, was the recent heritage of the Krotoa Memorial Bench at the Castle – created after the first 2012 ceramic memorial bench located in the Central Cape Town – which was built in 2016. However, a Khoe revivalist grouping who was involved in the 2012 destruction of Krotoa’s ceramic bench – it was viewed as disrespectful to sit on her face – also strongly opposed the recent memorial bench because they felt that it “insulted their princess” (Castle Control Board, 2016). The Castle of Good Hope continues to be a site of traumatic colonial and apartheid pasts, as well as a site where there are continued collaborationist efforts of decolonial strategies that are implemented for the purposes of healing, reconciliation, and nation building.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

South Africa's history comprises largely of exploitative colonial violence, genocide, and displacement of indigenous populations from their land. As a result of colonial occupation in the country, generations of people also experienced a loss of agency over their lives, were denied assertion of culture, were prohibited from using indigenous language, and experienced processes of assimilation. The implementation of colonial legislations also ensured that white minority rule was centralised. This unjust system of structural violence was later inherited by the apartheid regime who further entrenched its legislations of racial segregation and systemic violations. Resane (2018: 4) emphasised that history is painful for the majority of South African citizens and that heritage production in the country is extremely complex given that many people are unable to connect their history to existing colonial and apartheid heritage symbols. In addition, Munjeri (2005: 16) noted that across Africa, both national and world heritage sites often "tend to speak to grand narratives and European notions of aesthetic and national identity, with elitist architecture, including cathedrals, castles and palaces, being over-represented". History and heritage are contested terrains that often evoke traumatic memories of historical trauma and its relation to place. However, in the contemporary democratic era, heritage sites often fail to explicitly show and deny the terrible experiences that Africans endured at the hands of colonialists as well as the prevailing legacies of structural violence.

2.1. The Politics of Transforming South Africa's Heritage Landscape:

Colonial monuments across African countries such as Kenya and South Africa, can be viewed as the embedment of colonial history of cultural artefacts that is used by the coloniser to dominate the individuals who they subjugated as their socially constructed colonised commodities (Larsen, 2013). For example, Nairobi's processes of erecting public monuments dates back to March 1906, with the inauguration of the Queen Victoria statue. The start of such monumental landscapes was strategically intended to visually connect Nairobi (as the colony) with the British Empire (as the coloniser who asserted immense colonial and imperial power). However, 12 December 1963 marked the country's independence, and the once-colonised country, physically removed the colonial monuments such as the Lord Delamere as well as the King George V

statues. Furthermore, Jomo Kenyatta was elected as Kenya's first independent president – he became an integral figure in the creation of the post-colonial Kenyan national identity (the “Father of the Nation”) and the erection of two statues of himself (one in 1964 and the other in 1973). Critically, the erection of his statues also serves as a political tool of asserting power (Larsen, 2013). Furthermore, in the context of South Africa, no decisions were made to remove the Castle of Good Hope and various other colonial and apartheid memorials. Such reluctance is a result of the role that legislation plays in the preservation of white heritage as the dominant heritage of the nation. Sibayi (2009: 4) further elaborated that the “...promotion of English colonial heritage and later Afrikaner cultural heritage, at the expense of indigenous heritage, indirectly resulted in the formulation of policies that marginalized the majority of the citizens”.

In 1905, an era of rapid colonial expansion as well as the implementation of scientific enquiry that legitimised colonialism in South Africa, the South African National Society (SANS) was established by founding members, Lord de Villiers and J. H. Hofmeyer, to conserve colonial heritage in South Africa. Thus, its agenda was “to preserve from destruction all ancient monuments and specimens of old colonial architecture remaining in South Africa, to keep systematic records of such places; to compile a register of old furniture and other objects still in the colony and to take all possible measures to discourage their removal from the country; to collect records, and endeavour to promote a conservative spirit towards the remains and traditions of old colonial life” (SANS, 1906: 3). Hence, central to this agenda was to ensure the creation of the white national identity and the superiority of its domination and control over all spheres of society.

The Bushmen Relics Protection Act, No. 22 of 1911, was the first colonial heritage policy implemented to ensure colonial interests in processes of managing heritage resources in the country. Manetsi (2017: 24) noted that the “Bushman relics” such as rock art, were viewed by the state as being under threat and the Act therefore created a legal framework for the state's priority to preserve the colonial heritage. Thus, the shift in the priority of the state was to privilege colonial conquest and to “...institutionalise elements of nature and culture in South Africa” (Manetsi, 2017: 24). For example, the markers of colonial conquest included permanent monuments such as the Castle of Good Hope; names of roads and places; British,

Dutch, and Afrikaner statues and memorials of icons; and commemoration events such as the 1952 Jan van Riebeeck tercentenary festival that entrenched the colonial heritage. Furthermore, Rassool (2000) observed that by the turn of the 20th century, there has also been drastic shifts that also included the atrocious mistreatment of the indigenous people through acts of genocide, race-based science, as well as the illegal trade in human remains. Thus, the state systematically marginalised indigenous experiences and denied people from discovering their historical heritage in order to elevate white minority nationalist control (Resane, 2018: 3).

Since the 1930s, Afrikaner heritage was displayed at sites such as the Voortrekker Monument and also through statues of Verwoerd and many other Afrikaner white male nationalist leaders. Coombes (2000) stated that the Voortrekker Monument serves as “a poignant reminder of the liberation struggle of the Afrikaners against British colonial rule and represents the myth that South Africa belongs to the Voortrekkers and their descendants”. Hence, for the minority white Afrikaner people, apartheid was the transition from British colonial rule and heritage became associated with the Afrikaner struggles for self-determination. In post-1948, the apartheid government’s prioritisation of heritage witnessed the dominance of the white Afrikaner nation state that ensured the preservation of Afrikaner heritage – such as the Vrou Monument. In 1969, the National Monuments Council (NMC) declared 4100 buildings and sites across the country (majority British colonial and Dutch architecture) as national monuments (SAHRA, 1969).

The democratic regime attempted to transform history into a multicultural heritage that ensures the attainment of reconciliation and healing for its nation that endured traumatic colonial and apartheid pasts. Meskell (2012: 2) further elaborated that the past came to be “imbued with seemingly therapeutic powers that claimed to heal the state and its citizens economically, socially, and spiritually”. However, reimagining the past was extremely fragmented given the implementation of the 1992 Sunset Clause¹⁰ that resulted in national amnesia of the severity of colonial and apartheid historical violence and trauma. Thus, the TRC’s attempts at attaining

¹⁰The Sunset Clause was introduced in 1992 by the leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP) – Joe Slovo, with aims for a coalition government. Critically, many apartheid government politicians, heritage sector employees who conserves the old monuments, and business people, were not removed from their positions. Thus, transformation has been a very slow process, especially in the heritage sector where there are many colonial and apartheid monument conservationists (Abrahams, 2019).

justice, reparations, and a transformed landscape of memory did not effectively engage the traumatic past nor held majority perpetrators of systemic violations accountable. Furthermore, the post-colonial and post-apartheid state's modern cultural formations of democratising heritage, embodies an "add-on effect" that encompasses both the old colonial as well as the current post-colonial heritage and practices with aims to reflect diversity and inclusiveness.

Manetsi (2017: 213) elaborated that "...the "add-on effect" is popular and is synonymous with museum displays and exhibition in South Africa—part of a symbolic approach to promoting social cohesion and reconciliation through heritage management". Hence, in relation to the old museum exhibitions, the "add-on effect" does not imply that these museums will be replaced by the post-colonial state's new exhibitions. Critically, there has also been an ongoing battle with Iziko museum's control of the Castle of Good Hope as a "heritage" site and the commemoration of it being a "defence" site celebrating the ANC narrative of military struggle in the new South Africa – though there are no permanent exhibitions of the anti-apartheid liberation struggles. Hence, the commemoration of the military narrative still centres on the Dutch and British militia.

The development of South Africa's democratic heritage policy and heritage projects comprises of memorials, monuments, and museums, that sought to implement recommendations of TRC's recommendations for symbolic reparations embedded in its visions of forgiveness, healing, and reconciliation for all South Africans (Jethro, 2018: 2). It was to be in line with the Constitution for the recognition of the individual's "right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, within a territorial entity in the Republic or in any other way, determined by national legislation" (South African Constitution, 1996: Chapter 14, Section 235). Furthermore, the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) of 1999 emphasised on the importance of inclusiveness as well as community access and participation in the processes of heritage management. An important aspect of this Act, was the establishment of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in 2000. SAHRA replaced the NMC and became the leading authority for the implementation of the Act as well as the management of the national estate (Manetsi, 2017: 123).

SAHRA invoked the NHRA in its prioritisation of new projects – National Liberation Heritage Route. However, Manetsi (2017: 126) stressed that “...the majority of national and provincial heritage sites are drawn from the apartheid and colonial era... SAHRA records reveal an estimate of 4,000 heritage sites from the colonial and apartheid eras, of which less than 100 reflect the suppressed history of the majority of South Africans”. Manetsi (2017: 126) emphasised that another significant development of the NHRA was “...the inclusion of intangible aspects of heritage, or “living heritage”, which is defined in Section 2 of the NHRA as intangible aspects of inherited culture, such as cultural traditions, oral history, performance, ritual, popular memory, skills and techniques, indigenous knowledge systems, and a holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships”. Critically, the NHRA does not centralise on the intangible heritage, and SAHRA employs the same conditions that preserve the living heritage as well as for the tangible heritage such as sites and objects (Manetsi, 2017: 126).

2.2. Site, Trauma, and the Castle of Good Hope:

There is a prevalence of diverse relationships that exists between urban space and public memory. Bodnar (1992: 15) defined public memory as “a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future”. It is important to note that central to the formation of identities, memory plays an integral role. However, throughout the ages, the state predominantly cultivated public memory, and ingrained the processes of constructing collective identities as well as the construction of collective memory (Gillis, 1994: 24). Furthering these aforementioned processes, urban space or landscape was noted by geographers as being essential spaces for the ‘working’ of public memory (Alderman, 2004: 347-355). Yet, societal contexts are forever changing, individuals have their own memory attachments to the urban space, and political orders continue to strive towards the creation of an ‘official public landscape’ which is embedded in political values (Bell, 1999: 186). In relation to traumatic pasts, memorialisation and collective remembrance are viewed as essential processes for societies who are recovering from the past (Hamber, Ševčenko, and Naidu, 2010: 398). Thus, central aspects to landscapes includes remembrance and commemoration.

Nora (1989) introduced the need to conduct research into “sites of memory”, as existing practices of collective memories in relation to a past. The author also refers to a “site of memory” as a monument and archive. Furthermore, Nora (1989) also refers to the literal meaning of the “site” as a space that a nation, community, or an ethnic group views as an essential part of identity or where memories are deposited. Additionally, Trigg (2009) explored the interconnectedness of place and trauma that transcends time and place and produces testimony to the past. Trigg (2009: 96) further elaborated, “where a site of memory ‘absorbs’ the place that existed prior to that site existing, a reversal of presence to absence occurs”.

Linked to the above observation of site and memory, is the colonial process of imposing the knowledge of one group on another group, which then results in the near annihilation of the latter group’s epistemology – this is viewed by de Sousa Santos (2014) as ‘epistemicide’. Hence, the colonisers’ processes of epistemicide as part of their strategy to exert their control over the indigenous inhabitants in order to deny their sense of indigenous-selves. According to Nyamnjoh (2012: 129), epistemicide defined as “the decimation or near complete killing and replacement of endogenous epistemologies with the epistemological paradigm of the conqueror”. Also, de Sousa Santos (2014: 243) elaborated that “the destruction of knowledge is not an epistemological artefact without consequences. It involves the [traumatic] destruction of the social practices and the disqualification of the social agents that operate according to such knowledges”.

Furthermore, it is not easy to define trauma and academics have little consensus in relation to its meaning. Initially, trauma was a medical term that referred to a physical wound. The term then shifted from psychical to psychological in the late 19th century, evident in works done by BenEzer (1999). Trauma further evolved as a concept used by history researchers (LaCapra, 2001; Portelli, 1991, 1997, 1998) and literature studies researchers (Caruth, 1995, 1996; Felman and Laub, 1992) who viewed it as a momentary or enduring shattering of the limits between an individual’s sense of their internal and external reality. In addition, Atkinson (2002: 24), emphasised that if traumatic experiences of colonial violence are unhealed, it would have collective impacts “...on individuals, families, and indeed whole communities and societies”. Thus, the trauma experienced by indigenous people are viewed as everlasting, disruptive, violent

and has lasting legacies of socio-economic inequities often experienced by their descendants.

Viljoen (2011: 157) stated that there has been an expansion of studies that explored “...punishment, death, suffering, repressions and martyrdom from various perspectives, academic disciplines and angles”. Central to the recognition of South Africa’s colonial past, were the following developing interests: the magnitude of violence in the Cape society in relation to its social relations, the system of slavery, as well as the general administration of justice at the colony. Thus, the post-1970s wave of revisionist historiography scholars researched the nature of criminality, violence, and various colonial authority administered crimes between 1652-1795 when the Dutch occupied the Cape (Worden, 1982; Visagie, 1984; Bredekamp, 1987; Dooling, 1992; Heese and Viljoen, 1995; and Worden, 2005). Puppi (1991: 380) emphasised on how inhumane the “gallows were, [and it was used as] a concrete symbol of the law” – gruesome executions– that was viewed as justice in the colonial society (see chapter six).

Contemporarily, trauma tourism – visitations to atrocity sites such as castles, genocide sites, slave plantations – became an activity that entered the literature on trauma – it connects historical trauma, place, and memory (Clark, 2009; Clark, 2010; Clark, 2011). Both individuals and communities often visit such sites to memorialise the past, locate themselves within the site’s historical narrative, and to navigate the prevailing traumas of the past by engaging with tangible and intangible heritage. Intangible values are present at most heritage places. Such intangible values can be viewed as the derivatives of “peoples’ feelings about, understanding of, and relationship to a place, its history, and the uses to which it has been traditionally put” at heritage sites (World Heritage Centre, 2018: 7-8). Whereas tangible heritage is viewed as the actual evidence that can be seen, such as rock art painted by the indigenous communities (see chapter five).

Munjeri (2001: 16) acknowledged that “the [UNESCO African heritage] sites listed themselves tend to speak to grand narratives and European notions of aesthetics and national identity, with elitist architecture, including cathedrals, castles and palaces, being over-represented on the [UNESCO world heritage sites] List”. It was estimated that 300 sites – the Castle was among these – became national monuments forty years after the Historical Monuments Commission

was established. Furthermore, the scholarship on South Africa's heritage landscape also evolved and investigated how heritage sites are being curated, created through community engagement, and used in continuous quests for justice for apartheid structural violations (Coombes, 2000; Marschall, 2010). For example, the District Six forced removals, prevailing quests for land justice, and the commemorative work on peoples' lives before and after forced removals that was done by the District Six Museum, were researched extensively (Soudien and Meyer, 1998; Rassool and Prosalendis, 2001). In terms of the Castle, much of what was known were presented in the colonial archive and histories as presented by Raven-Hart (1971). Such information was drummed into the rote learning styles at schools during apartheid. Thus, the education curriculum during the apartheid era, mainly focused on the founding of the Cape in relation to the Dutch settlement in 1652, Jan van Riebeeck as the "founding father" of Afrikaner nationalism, and the architectural details such as the names of the Castle of Good Hope's five bastions.

In general, the scholarship on the Castle is often ingrained in Eurocentric accounts that centre on the following: preservation of colonial history and heritage, administrative histories, architectural design, conservation, existence of the South African Defence Force at the Castle which was the military base, and tourism and public events (Elphick, 1977; Hall, 1989; Hall, Halkett, van Beek, and Klose, 1990; Gilbert, 1994; Barker, 2003; Büttgens, 2010). Furthermore, Schramm (2010) noted that such Eurocentric accounts of the Castle often lack in the histories of slavery. The absence, denial, and silences of various accounts of history of indigenous inhabitants and their societal systems, trade relations, knowledge systems, and cultural practices, was in order to preserve the imperial project of domination that elevated the production of colonial history. Such preservation of colonial history was identified by Trouillot (1995) as the "banalization" of history, which endures and is absentminded to the broader decolonial questions to understand cause and consequence of historical events of imperialism, colonialism, and slavery and its impact on communities who had fully-fledged societal systems.

Hall, Halkett, van Beek, and Klose (1990) compared both written and material texts of the Castle's architecture. Central to their observation was the detailing of early colonisation and extensively described the Castle as a symbol of power. The justifications for their observation was the use of early colonialists' diaries that detailed the architectural progress in the Cape. They quoted Meister who visited the Cape in 1677 – cited in Raven-Hart (1971: 198-199) – and described the Castle as follows: “It has five strong bastions made of excellent dressed stone, thick walls, and a good moat towards the Table Mountain on the landward side, so that with a garrison of 3 to 400 men it can boldly look any enemy in the face”. Thus, absent from such research was the critical analysis of the symbolism of the Castle and its relation to oppressive regimes and structural violations. Hall (2006) started to connect the links between identity and memory and the urban space in Cape Town. Ingrained in the archaeology studies, his research focused on how the early Dutch rule shaped the Cape, the growth of heritage preservation towards the end of apartheid, and the rise of heritage as contemporary touristic entertainment in the Cape. However, Hall (2006) did not create any critical links to historical trauma and the links between identity and memory and the urban space.

Following in the field of architecture, commemorative practices in the surrounding landscape of the Castle and the preservation of white domination in heritage creation were critiqued by oppositional historiography by Rassool and Witz (1993). Rassool and Witz (2003) wrote critically on the Castle of Good Hope's history as well as the anti-apartheid resilience boycott of the tercentenary of apartheid commemoration agendas. Hence, they critiqued the commemorative events that centred Jan van Riebeeck as the founding father of Afrikaner nationalism as well as emphasised on the boycotts that rejected his glorification. However, although the complexities of commemorative events across surrounding landscapes were critiqued, the research did not interconnect with the history and heritage debates of the Castle. Gilbert (1994) evaluated the debates¹¹ on the conflicting views of the Castle's restoration process and the existence of the military headquarters at the historical monument. Thus, this research began to critically associate the Castle with the history of colonialism, its functioning during apartheid, and how it was

¹¹The “Foreshore Scheme Debate”: Gilbert (1994: 16-17) noted that “...since 1940, there had been two opposing plans for the proposed development of the Foreshore, that of the Railway Administration which included the Railway Station in its present site, with lines narrowly missing the Castle and the City Council's plan which included a spacious "civic and cultural area" on the parade ground, with a Railway station at the foot of the Gardens... the debate illustrates the desire in the 1940s to preserve the Castle, not only in its building but in its approach and in its occupation”.

presented across textbooks, media, and tourist literature – images and publicity.

Furthermore, the conservation, preservation, restoration of the Castle was analysed by Büttgens (2010). His research focused predominantly on the conservation of the Castle, as well as the values and principles of the architect, Gabriël Fagan¹², when restoring the Castle as well as its interpretation in the contemporary South Africa. Aggenbach (2017) centred on the impact that cultural tourism has on the commodification of national and world heritage sites – the Elmina Castle in Ghana and the Castle of Good Hope in South Africa. Aggenbach (2017: 101) noted that the Castle “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 author further emphasised that in the contemporary contexts, “the commodification of the Castle revolves primarily around educational, commercial, political and cultural events and heritage tourism” (Aggenbach, 2017: 110). However, absent in the research findings is the Castle of Good Hope’s associations with historical violence, torture, trauma, killings, and legacies of socio-economic inequalities.

Elphick (1977) made an assumption that the Cape indigenous communities were extinct by 1713. However, his assumption was contested by the Khoi Revivalist Movement who are people who assert their identities as indigenous survivors. The rise in the political and socio-cultural movement of the self-identification of people as Khoisan and their demands for indigenous rights and restorative justice, has been analysed by Verbuyst (2015; 2016). Furthermore, Gilfellan and Hendricks (2017) explored the Castle’s heritage, objectives for inclusivity, prevailing controversial exhibitions, and its efforts to re-imagine the Castle’s brand. Gilfellan and Hendricks (2017: 8) critically noted that the Castle lacks in engaging narratives of indigenes, slaves, women, criminals, and renegades, who are often underrepresented and misrepresented in their exhibition spaces and museums. The authors further emphasised that “it is the greatest shame in our present times that an historical account that describes the indigenes as lazy, stinking and dirty, hottentotish, promiscuous, untrustworthy, and sub-humane still finds their way into current literature, collections and displays” (Gilfellan and Hendricks, 2017: 9). Furthermore, such

¹²The understanding of “restoration” for Fagan, referred to the processes of respecting “...the original intent and design of the VOC Castle as a cultural artefact of the past” (Büttgens, 2010: 2).

underrepresentation is a consequence of how the Castle functioned during apartheid: inadequate curatorial training because of its main apartheid function of being a military base; selective remembering and forgetting of the past roles in forced military conscription, forced removals, enforced repression on anti-apartheid activists, and killings; ambush on memory of pre-colonial societies; insensitivity of not creating effective memorialisation for sensitive history of trauma; as well as political ignorance to continue to view the Castle as a government key-note site (Gilfellan and Hendricks, 2017: 8).

Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo (2019) contribute to studies of decoloniality and postmodernism by critically analysing the functioning of museums and lessons learned at the Castle. The authors noted that colonial structures, like the Castle of Good Hope, previously operated to regulate, conceal, enforce the power relations that existed between both coloniser and the colonised. It developed as the symbol of superiority that perpetuated the construction of “othering” the indigenes as inferior. Currently, these colonial structures function as the permanent reminder of a brutal, exclusionist, and traumatic pasts (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 8). Importantly, Grunebaum (2018: 1) highlighted that “...individual, social and cultural memories are fluid, dynamic, fragmentary, selective and interconnected”. Critically, the Castle of Good Hope has not yet been researched in relation to how its staff, heritage practitioners, and activists – who are resilient apartheid survivors and the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people – navigate it as a historical site of colonial and apartheid trauma. This is the gap in the existing literature on the Castle of Good Hope that this paper will critically engage in. The following chapter will further unpack the research process and methodology.

Chapter Three

Research Process and Methodology

Only since 2007, transitional approaches by South African and Indian Ocean scholars started to connect South African history with the global historical networks of the Indian Ocean trade (Worden, 2016: 389). Thus, this paper will contribute to this growing scholarship by using the Castle of Good Hope as a case study and refers to Yin's (2002) analyses of case studies that critically explores the empirical subject. The use of the Castle of Good Hope as a case study, transcends the history and contexts of colonial and apartheid eras as well as the changes in its functions and representations. Therefore, the diverse efforts for memorialisation and decolonisation at the site, and the demands for restorative justice in the contemporary contexts will also be explored. The analysis will focus on the individual's encounters with historical trauma at the Castle of Good Hope, the imperatives for attaining restorative justice for survivors of apartheid trauma, and it will detail their recommendations to how such justice can be attained and provides further research questions. This paper contributes a voice – from the standpoint of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed descendants – that eradicates the denialism of a historical trauma that is often silenced at colonial remnant heritage sites such as the Castle of Good Hope. Thus, the prevailing dominant Eurocentric knowledge production of history and heritage at the Castle of Good Hope will be challenged.

In addition, after my first encounter at the Castle of Good Hope – an indescribable experience of immense pain as I engaged the narratives of historical trauma at the Castle – I was extremely curious about whether other South Africans too experienced what I did. What was so moving for me as a descendant of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed? Was it a result of the existing connection between historical trauma and place? Will I be able to conduct a critical research project on how the Castle of Good Hope represents itself as a site of historical trauma and is there a deduction to why people view it as such?

3.1. Research Question:

The research question presented in this study critically examines: how do resilient apartheid survivors navigate the Castle of Good Hope – as activists, heritage practitioners, and staff – as a site of historical trauma?

3.2. Research Method:

Qualitative methodology is used for this research project because it best allows the researcher to explore the experiences and views of research participants (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003: 83). Research participants are positioned as apartheid survivors and are aware of the colonial past: land and cultural dispossessions, incarceration, torture, and trauma of the indigenous Cape people and the enslaved people. Thus, they locate themselves as resilient descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed generations.

In terms of research methods, Mbilinyi (1992: 32) states that three methods are essential when conducting qualitative research: questioning and listening; observing; and reading diverse documents – primary and secondary sources. For the purposes of this study, a fourth method is also used – the provision of photographs to illustrate examples of visual imagery associated with the Castle of Good Hope throughout the paper. Hence, visual methodology is key to this paper, since it explores what can be seen and is mediated through culture, history, and physiology. Furthermore, visualisation signifies the researcher's construction of logic on an epistemologically basis which is inclusive of the formation of concepts, analytical processes, as well as the different modes of representation (Prosser, 2013).

Furthermore, qualitative data was collected via the method of semi-structured individual interviews that comprised of twelve open-ended questions (see appendix four) with eight participants: two Castle of Good Hope employees (men), three heritage practitioners (two women and one man), and three activists (one woman and two men). Each interview was about 1½ - 2 hours long and was later transcribed. Thematic analyses were extensively done, and the broad themes were then coded and tabled. The analysis conducted in this study is also based on

information gathered from primary and secondary sources such as annual reports, presentations, articles, books, journals, research dissertations, and photographs, to critically explore the knowledge production on the Castle of Good Hope.

Furthermore, I went on three different tours at the Castle of Good Hope, which can be viewed as part of my fieldwork. In addition to the first tour with van Sitters (as mentioned in chapter one), I went on a standard in-house Castle tour. However, central to this tour was the focus on the architectural design of the Castle and the history of the Dutch and English across their various memorialised spaces. I could not locate myself within that history and heritage produced by the Castle in-house tour guide, everything seemed as if it was a glorification of the colonial era. My third tour of the Castle was with Lucy Campbell¹³, who like van Sitters, gathered the tour group outside the Castle for a ritual with indigenous medicinal herbs as part of a cleansing ceremony. She spoke to the Castle as if it was a crime scene that ingrained the patriarchal and capitalist systems that violently impacted on the lives of the indigenous and enslaved, especially the women. Her tour differed in that she did not enter the Castle, she expressed how its historical trauma disturbs her personally. According to Sturken (2002), the use of counter-memory is to oppose the "official" history. Thus, Campbell was able to counter-narrate the history of the Castle of Good Hope and provided an alternative tour of the history of historical trauma across the interrelated landscape in the city – the Castle of Good Hope, Grand Parade, memorial wall of Angolan children slaves, slave auction site, criticisms of colonial statues, and the Slave Lodge Museum.

Counter-narratives are often presented in alternative action tours whereby "...the narrators would bring participants' attention to the absence of narrative re-framings, conceptual interventions that would subvert and recast the meanings of the city's public monuments, memorials, statues and place names" (Grunebaum, 2018: 13). Unlike the dominant Eurocentric script of the Castle in-house tour guide, both van Sitters and Campbell individually took their tour groups on different action tour routes that linked the Castle to the urban landscape. They both emphasised on the contemporary socio-economic legacies as result of settler colonialism and apartheid, critiqued

¹³ Campbell grew up in a "so-called coloured" working-class family in Elsies River and experienced the brutality of apartheid. However, she became politically conscious at school, engaged in diverse anti-apartheid activism, and contemporarily does counter-narrative action tours across the Cape Town's memorialised sites (see biography in appendix two).

the existing colonial and apartheid memorialised spaces – statues and buildings – as well as nation building agendas of reconciliation, and spoke counter-narratives to various sites (unpacked further in chapter five). Thus, the fieldwork provided me with great critical explorations on both the Eurocentric narratives and Afrocentric counter-narratives that are asserted in relation to historical trauma at the Castle of Good Hope.

3.3. Research Ethics:

In terms of the research ethics, privacy and confidentiality is key throughout the research process – especially when dealing with sensitive questions (Punch, 2005: 276). The people whom I interviewed are people who lived through apartheid as part of the majority racially oppressed peoples (Black, Coloured, Indian) – participants were racially classified as “Coloured”. There are people who experienced repressive events such as the ‘Trojan Horse’ incident in Cape Town on 15 October 1985 (see page. 83). Critically, apartheid was an era that exposed research participants to gutter education that invisibilised the culture and gender of indigenous ancestors at the Castle of Good Hope in history textbooks and school excursions. These interviewees experienced police and military brutality across their various communities, apartheid forced removals and the impacts it had on communities and families. They engaged in diverse anti-apartheid protest action, experienced the State of Emergency through to the transitions from apartheid to democracy as well as the prevailing socio-economic-agrarian inequities as a result of the ongoing colonial and apartheid legacies within their communities.

The Castle of Good Hope played a massive role in the above-mentioned experiences: it was the site of the SADF headquarters, a military base from where the apartheid army were given instructions to go into diverse communities to repress anti-apartheid activists, as well as a site where anti-apartheid activists were detained (this will be unpacked further in chapters four and five). Thus, these individuals are also the descendants of the colonised and enslaved, and their resilience to the apartheid regime, which they survived, are acknowledged as sensitive encounters. Therefore, for ethical purposes, before the interviews commenced, each participant received an informed consent form, a detailed description of the aims of the research project, and what I plan to do with the attained information (Punch, 2005: 277). On the consent form, participants had the options to agree or disagree to the following: for their names and personal

information to be shared, for the interview to be recorded, and for recordings to be transcribed. Participants were also reminded that they could refrain from answering questions and have certain information that was shared excluded from transcription if desired.

3.4. Challenges in the research field:

According to Roulston, deMarrais, and Lewis (2003: 648), during interviews, unforeseen events often occur such as “unexpected participant behaviours, consequences of the researchers’ own actions and subjectivities, phrasing and negotiating questions, and dealing with sensitive issues”. Given the research study’s sensitive nature, the first limitation of this study is that two research participants asked for the retraction of their interviews. Thus, instead of a total of ten research participants, only eight gave consent for their participation in the research study. Furthermore, the narratives on historical trauma are not explored in a psychological lens that unpacks the individual’s experience with trauma, neither do I label individuals as suffering from any psychological conditions such as Post-Traumatic Syndrome Disorder or depression. The subject of historical trauma in this paper is not located within the discipline of psychology. Thus, historical trauma is analysed politically in this research project. The political analysis of historical trauma is critically unpacked in a post-TRC context of individual testimony in relation to individual observational accounts of historical trauma and its connection to a site of memory.

The second limitation to this study, is that the technological device that I used for one of my interviews, erased an over two-hours recorded interview. It was very challenging to make an appointment to meet with the participant for another interview because he was working in between cities. However, we scheduled to meet for the second interview, but the information shared was not as in depth as the previous interview. The valuable lesson that was learned was that it is important to have back-up technological devices when recording interviews. This study’s last limitation is that there is an absence of literature on how apartheid survivors navigate the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma. However, given this unexplored field of study, this research aims to contribute to a critical analysis of the Castle of Good Hope and its links to historical trauma that transcends the colonial and apartheid contexts.

Chapter Four

Memory and Landscape of the Castle of Good Hope

4.1. INTRODUCTION:

A place often has no neutrality in relation to past utilisation nor to traumatic events and experiences. Therefore, this notion of place needs to be viewed in terms of its dynamic role in the complex interconnection of history, society (such as group and individual identity), and culture (McAuley, 2008: 15). Place in the context of South Africa, has always been a fraught issue given the country's recent traumatic past. Central to this chapter is the focus on individual memories in relation to the traces of trauma that are attached to the Castle of Good Hope. Highlighted throughout this chapter is the fact that landscapes serve to remind society that there are traumatic narratives attached to it. The first part of this chapter will explore the memories of the participants' first visitations to the Castle during the apartheid era: military conscription at the Castle and memories of school excursions. The second part of this chapter will explore the memories of participant's first interactions to the Castle during the post-apartheid era: efforts to create counter-memory and conduct post-apartheid tours at the Castle, the first civilian appointed Chief Executive Officer's (CEO) aims to transform the Castle, and the collaborative work with stakeholders – Khoi revivalist movement.

4.2. MEMORIES OF VISITATIONS TO THE CASTLE DURING APARTHEID

“Look, the Castle during that time was a military base, bottom line. There was no such thing of ‘we are going to visit the Castle’ ... there were no excursions because the Castle did not have that particular role that it was a museum, or it was a site to come and see because it came from Jan van Riebeeck's time. The Castle during the apartheid time was a symbol of that oppression” (Hendricks, 2019)



Fig. 7. The South African Defence Force (SADF) based at the Castle during apartheid (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

4.2.1. The Militarised Castle and Trauma of Military Conscription:

During the apartheid era for a twenty-five-year period, the national military service – South African Defence Force (SADF) – issued all school-leaving white men with an obligatory call-up to join the army. The Population Registration Act of 1950 entrenched the apartheid system’s socially constructed racial categories and “white” was one of its four racial groupings¹⁴ – African, Coloured, Indian, and White – that was bestowed by this legislation (Posel, 2001). During 1968–1993, it was estimated that there were 600 000 men who were conscripted, underwent military training, and were being deployed in the “Border War” in Namibia and Angola as well as across South Africa to suppress the anti-apartheid resistances (Mellet, 2019). Furthermore, nine months was the initial duration that men served, but in 1967 the duration increased to two years of service that men were to serve.

Conscription into the SADF was both a social system and military system that resulted in immense traumatic experiences and memories thereof. In terms of the social nature of trauma

¹⁴ Race is not a biological fact; political relations articulates race; and racial and identity categories are not static.

of conscription, was that men were prepared and indoctrinated during their early childhood. Their actual military service was extremely violent, and their actions resulted in negative legacies in their own lives – results of the colonial and apartheid racial social system that socially constructed their identity along with their military roles as white men (Craig, 2008: 57). However, absent from the literature on military conscription during apartheid, is the relation between the social construction of racial categories and military conscription, and its connection to urban space – Castle of Good Hope – and the individual’s memory of trauma.

As mentioned before, race categories were socially constructed by apartheid legislation. Mellet¹⁵ (2019) noted that when he was sixteen-years-old he had to decide which race category he would fit into. The two options for him was to either be referred to as ‘poor white halfnaatjies’ or he was to fit into the ‘Coloured’ racial category. He expressed that when he was a young boy he hated the apartheid system and its classification system, he refuted the white classification and the term ‘Coloured’¹⁶ was too limited for his multifaceted ancestral identity. Furthermore, Mellet (2019) noted that his grandmothers were classified as ‘Coloured’. He stated that he was closer to the ‘Coloured’ communities than the white communities, and that he lived in what was known as ‘Grey Areas’ during apartheid. Although this paper does not go into great detail on identity politics, it is important to note that racial identity is not a static social construct that apartheid intended it to be. Hence, a fluidity existed in racial categories and people had their own agency in their reflections and assertion of their racial identity, reinforcing the fact that race is a social construct.

Identity documents (I.D) were introduced as early as 1795 and the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 ensured the process to register for an I.D from the age of sixteen and on the I.D a racial classification is stipulated. It is important to note that racial classifications were part of the apartheid strategies of divided rule. Mellet (2019) stated that he requested for help from a

¹⁵Mellet was born and grew up in the poor working-class districts of old Cape Town – Salt River, Woodstock and District Six, and was from a community defined by Apartheid as “Other Coloured” (those people who did not fit into any of the other sub-categories such as Malay, Griqua, Rehoboth Baster, Nama, etc.). He joined the 1976 national youth uprising and within four years took up arms to oppose the apartheid state. Later, he was exiled for 15 years to diverse African and global regions (see biography in appendix two).

¹⁶Critically, the “coloured” community is often stereotype as the homogenous group in South Africa that is poor, and regarded as the lower working-class communities (Nieuwoudt, Dickie, Coetsee, Engelbrecht and Terblanche, 2019: 1–2).

lay-preacher whom he knew, for his I.D to reflect that he is 'Coloured'. He further elaborated: "*When I went to register for the I.D and I filled in the forms, I put 'Coloured' and they said 'sorry, you are not Coloured. So, I said that 'I am, this is my family background, we are a mixed family and so on, my two grandmothers were Coloured, and I am Coloured' ... [they said] 'no, no, no, you are white, and we think you are just not wanting to go to the army and this is why you are doing this'. And I said 'you are damn right that I do not want to go to the army, but this is not about not wanting to go to the army, this is not my army. It is the oppressor's army and I am not one of you and certainly I am not going to accept this'.*" However, his decision to refute the white racial category and assert the Coloured racial category created much misery for him. He further emphasised that he wrote to the then Minister of Defence, P.W Botha, and stated that he made it known to the Minister of Interior that he was a 'Coloured' and therefore refused to be conscripted to the SADF. However, he received a letter from the SADF who ordered him to report to the Castle (Mellet, 2019).

Given that he refused the white race classification, he was referred to the Race Classification Board: "*I still ended up getting a letter from the army saying that I must now be conscripted... my first visit to the Castle was when they took me there, they came and fetched me and took me to the Castle and there were all these other conscripts and I explained to them and they would not listen, and they forcibly put me on a train and I was sent up to Upington*" (Mellet, 2019). Mellet wrote a poem titled *No Easy Path* (1974), that reflected on his encounters when he refuted the white racial classification and refused to be conscripted into the SADF (see appendix one).

Furthermore, the apartheid state constructed what the roles of the conscripts were to be: to protect white culture and privilege, propagate the colonial constructed racially exclusive social norms, and to ensure the prevention of Black (everyone who is non-white) South Africans' efforts to any form of self-determination (Cock, 1991: 66). Thus, Mellet (2019) described his first memory of the Castle as a memory of abuse: "*the beginning of what was like a nightmare for a young teen boy refusing to serve and telling the white establishment that I was not white...[and] was not going to serve in the oppressor's army*". Expressing his traumatic encounters of the Castle during the interview became evidently emotional for him.

4.2.2. Experiences of School Excursions to the Castle:

During the apartheid era schooling curriculums, much of what people learned about the Castle of Good Hope was predominantly through the histories written by authors such as Raven-Hart (1971). Hendricks¹⁷ (2019) further elaborated: “...*all you learned about the Castle was peripheral, that the Castle had five points, that it belonged to the SA military, built by Jan van Riebeeck, that was all that we had to know of the Castle, the significance of the Castle as a refreshment station, and the significance of the Castle of keeping slaves there*”. It is important to emphasise that the first experiences of visiting the Castle of Good Hope and the memories attached to these encounters, differ given the different times of apartheid as well as the functioning of the Castle. Some participants expressed that there were no excursions to the Castle of Good Hope and others recalled their first visits in the post-1985 era when they were between the ages of twelve to sixteen.

According to Hendricks (2019) the Castle was a “*no-go zone, it was military base... a place of oppression*”. Furthermore, the teachers who taught him at school were members of the NEUM who enforced political education at school that was ingrained in ideologies of Lenin, Marx, Trotsky, and Castro. The teachers aimed to strengthen the students’ anti-apartheid resistances and recruited students politically to ensure non-collaboration¹⁸ and boycotts such as this at the Castle of Good Hope (which was viewed as the key symbol of apartheid dominance).

¹⁷ Born in District Six, Hendricks became politically conscious at school, became an activist at Trafalgar High School. Later he joined various civic alliances – such as the NEUM – that staged various mobilisations that opposed the apartheid regime. Contemporarily, he continues in his activism for restorative justice for District Six forced removals (see biography in appendix two).

¹⁸Weeder (2008: 2, 4) defined non-collaboration as “not colluding with or being complicit with the government’s political agenda. The political principle of non-collaboration was not only a discursive and strategic device but also an identity marker embedded in non-racialism”.

However, van Sitters (2019), Abrahams¹⁹ (2019), Baartman²⁰ (2019), and Zahara²¹ (2019), are part of a generation that experienced the trauma of apartheid in its latter years – riots in their respective communities, military and police presence in communities and schools, and the impacts of the segregation policies such as forced removals. Thus, even though they too had critical involvements in anti-apartheid resistances and political education at school and in their communities, the Castle of Good Hope became an accessible site that was part of their primary or high school history curriculum and educational excursions²². Braam (2018: 9) emphasised that “teachers were, in essence, committed to a political cause as they pursued their mission of preparing pupils to transform society”. However, it is important to note that not all teachers had the agency as anti-apartheid activists.

The dominant memory for those who went to the Castle of Good Hope as part of a school excursion²³ was the Dark Hole that is located next to the Torture Chamber from the 1600s. Criminals and slaves were held in the Dark Hole before they were tortured in the Torture Chamber and were locked up in the Dark Hole again after being tortured (see chapter six). Abrahams (2019) noted: “...*the only thing that I remember about the Castle and that is probably the only thing that stayed with me throughout these tours and throughout these years, was that there was this dark hole that they used to take us in and then they would close it and it was very dark, and that is basically all that I would remember you know from my*

¹⁹Born in a so-called coloured community of Bellville, her political consciousness was developed when she went to high school through various political awareness campaigns. At the age of fourteen, she became involved in the anti-apartheid struggle and was also part of the Bellville Student Congress that was affiliated to the Northern Student Congress and that (see biography in appendix two).

²⁰Born in the poverty entrenched town of Oudtshoorn. He knew from a young age that his surname was synonymous with the history of the San and Khoe. Yvette Abrahams, a feminist historian, held the French scientist Jacques Cuvier responsible for the sexualised dehumanisation of Sarah Baartman. His inhumane Nazi-style racist science used the body of Sarah Baartman as “a human specimen in his attempt to ‘prove’ the ‘missing link’ between animals and humans is familiar to most South Africans” (Erasmus, Boswell, Johannes, Mahomed, Ratele, 2018: 7-8). Furthermore, in 1996 he joined the South African National Defence Force and later assumed the role as a young Korana Chief in the House of Damaqua !Kei Korana under Paramount Chief William Human (see biography in appendix two).

²¹Zahara was raised in her formative childhood years in Windhoek Namibia, before the family returned a year before the dawn of democracy back to Harfield Village Cape Town where they among very few others managed to remain in the area that was affected by the Group Areas Act. She rejects the term ‘Coloured’, used to neutralize, box and discriminate (see biography in appendix two).

²²The first school curriculum excursions to the Castle of Good Hope started on a small-scale during the early 1950s (Gilfellan, 2019).

²³Participants learned that the slaves were held in the Dark Hole. Many individuals who racially identified as Black, Coloured, and Indian, realised the links between their identities and the historical trauma of colonisation, slavery, and oppression endured by their ancestors. Some people who identified as White, either started to see how they privileged from such oppressive systems or saw the sites such as the Castle of Good Hope as entry points to a “white-superior” heritage of proud association.

experience with the Castle". Van Sitters (2019) too expressed that the Dark Hole is the one memory that stood out for him: "when they switched the lights off in "Die Donkergat" [Dark Hole] and obviously they did not warn you that they were going to do it, and you can imagine a whole like fifty kids in a small space and everyone starts shouting it was one of those moments... So that fear or that scare thing... the Castle was a bit scary". Thus, the childhood memory of the Dark Hole was a memory that associated itself with fear and trauma.



Fig. 8. One of many dungeons at the Castle of Good Hope (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

Participants also reflected on the emotions that they felt during their first visit to the Castle. Baartman (2019) noted that his first visit to the Castle was when he was sixteen years old and described his emotions attached to his first encounter: "my first experience when I walked in there was actually... I had that feeling of wanting to cry. You know crying not just for anything but crying for what the people before us went through and back then we did not

have the privilege to go through the whole Castle because back then the Castle was still controlled by the white minority... that feeling speaks to your soul. It tells you that something that happened there is actually touching you and the wrongs that was done there even though I might not have known what it was, but that actually spoke to my soul". Thus, his first memory of the Castle was that of having an emotional spiritual encounter when he entered the space.

Zahara (2019) remembered her first visit to the Castle as part of a school excursion and feeling extremely alienated due to her being a woman of colour at a white school in 1996. She expressed that her first encounter can be described as "*a colonial experience*". Thus, her memory of the space was one of feeling alienated as well as the internalisation of the oppression caused by the trauma of apartheid racism that alienated her in various urban spaces – attending a predominantly white school, living in a community that encountered forced removals and being of the few families who remained and live in the gentrified space. Additionally, the oral historical accounts about her ancestors who lived at the Castle of Good Hope, results in her continued experiences of intergenerational trauma due to the lack of justice for the colonial injustices.

4.3. MEMORIES OF VISITATIONS TO THE CASTLE DURING POST-APARTHEID:

The colonial and apartheid governments sought to preserve a dominant public memory to ingrain white privilege and honour their "progress". However, in relation to these colonial and apartheid dominated spaces, counter-memory is being deployed by individuals such as Campbell (2019). Counter-memory emphasises on the hidden stories which are often ignored from the "official" narratives and links it to the broader landscape by focusing on localised experiences to reconstitute both memory and history (Gubb, 2012: 6). Furthermore, participants had traumatic accounts in relation to the role that the military had in maintaining the oppressive apartheid orders. For example, the military played a massive role in the processes of forced military conscription, forced removals in communities, suppression during anti-apartheid mobilisation, physical brutality, and its contemporary deployment across the Cape Flats and townships is to "combat gangsterism" – yet there are no post-apartheid commitments to restorative justice

processes for its role in implementing such apartheid injustices (see chapter seven for the recommendations for restorative justice).

4.3.1. Creating Counter-memory and providing Post-Apartheid Tours:

Historical narratives consider the wider totality of urban space and then ensure that particular actions or events get located within the specific vicinity (Gubb, 2012: 6). As observed, the experiences of the research participants did not subscribe to one dominant memory of the Castle of Good Hope and this therefore challenges its often-dominated static colonial historical narratives. Importantly, narratives are expressed across a spectrum of sources such as books, individual and public recalled memory, artwork and photographs, architecture, and landscapes. However, people rarely consider landscapes as the vehicle of telling interconnected narratives. For example, when I toured the Castle of Good Hope with an in-house Castle tour guide, he did not execute an interconnected description of the relation that existed between Castle and the urban landscape across the colonial, apartheid, and democratic eras.

Furthermore, Campbell (2019) noted that she only started learning about the Castle when she started working at Iziko museum in 1998. Her visit to the Castle was during the time when she did a postgraduate degree in museum and heritage studies at the University of the Western Cape. Campbell (2019) elaborated on her first visit: *“it was very painful for me when I visited the Castle for the first time... I went straight to the Torture Chamber...I cried so much... there was a part of me that was missing. I was doing history on Cape Slavery, but I knew little about our indigenous people and my indigenous self you know”*. Following her experience in museums, academic work on Cape Slavery, and emotional encounters of her first visit to the Castle, she started her own tourism company – Transcending History Tours – in order to reassert the counter-narratives to the Castle and its interconnected landscapes (chapter five will elaborate more on this).

Furthermore, those who have memories of varying first visits to the Castle of Good Hope during apartheid, continued to visit the Castle in the post-apartheid context. For example, Mellet (2019) noted that although he had traumatic first memories of the Castle during apartheid, his heritage passion has led him back to the Castle in the post-apartheid context to

challenge the dominant colonial narratives by producing documentaries that tell the hidden pre-colonial narratives (this is unpacked further in chapter five). Contemporarily, the Castle of Good Hope is still a military base, but there has been a transformation within the country's military from the apartheid's SADF to the democratic country's South African National Defence Force (hereafter SANDF) who is the owner of the Castle. Baartman's (2019) first encounter with the Castle was as a school child who experienced immense emotions of sadness during his first visit. However, in the post-apartheid context, he is a SANDF soldier who is associated with a unit that is situated at the Castle.

Abrahams (2019), van Sitters (2019), and Zahara (2019) too engaged the Castle in the post-apartheid era as heritage practitioners and heritage activists. Hence, people continue to immerse themselves in painful individual traumatic memories as well as historic traumas connected to the Castle of Hope. However, there are efforts from individuals – heritage activists, tour guides, and staff – within the post-apartheid context, to transform the Castle of Good Hope from its diverse painful and traumatic memories to being an inclusive urban space that fits the reconciliatory agendas of the democratic country. Hence, the Castle of Good Hope becomes a site of collaboration for heritage self-determination through becoming a site for meetings for indigenous collectives, active tours that critically engages historical narratives, and a venue for indigenous knowledge and language programmes.

4.3.2. The First Civilian appointed CEO's aims to Transform the Castle of Good Hope:

Gilfellan's²⁴ (2019) first visit to the Castle was in 2013 when he applied for the CEO position at the Castle: "...there was no staff, so I had to work with the enemy, because they were military, and I was the first civilian appointment here". Prior to his first visit, he was active in the anti-apartheid movements and he was the previous Head of Western Cape Tourism. Thus, he was aware of both the oppressive history and historical trauma that the Castle symbolised, as well as the need to elevate it as a site for tourism. Furthermore, in the post-apartheid context, there was a

²⁴ Born in Paarl, Gilfellan bore witness to the impacts of forced removals and gentrification from a young age. He is a former anti-apartheid activist and before his contemporary position as CEO of the Castle of Good Hope, he has held various leadership positions in community and professional organizations (see biography appendix two).

great need for the Castle of Good Hope to be transformed from its historically traumatic, oppressive, and exclusionist function which was institutionally ingrained.

It is important to note that the Castle of Good Hope is not simply a building, given its representation of diverse sets of oppressive colonial and apartheid institutions. Gilfellan (2019) acknowledged that the Castle had a negative perception that needed to be transformed and that he was having to “...deal with two competing opposite demands or requests”. Gilfellan (2019) noted that his first task as the first civilian appointee at the Castle, was to change this image of the militarised Castle, provide tourists with a holistic history, and to make it more accessible for local communities. Gilfellan (2019) further elaborated that the state saw the Castle as an “*important piece of real estate...and there is always a financial imperative [given that] R15-million per annum is [invested in the Castle] by government*”. Therefore, his second task was to use his tourism skills, to generate capital through diverse touristic activities at the Castle.

Gilfellan (2019) emphasised that in order for him to successfully implement transformative processes, there was a need for stakeholder engagement: “...when I started here [in April 2013] I was greeted by on the corner of Castle street and Strand street... this big billboard... earlier in that year some of the Khoisan people put it up to claim the Castle and to rename Cape Town, and the name was on there. So, that was for me... the most important stakeholder here would be the indigenous people”. His efforts to engage various stakeholders of the Castle was present in the planning of his first indigenous Heritage Day event that was inclusive of people from diverse cultural groups – Khoi Revivalist groups and military veterans such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) who were mainly so-called Nguni speaking people. Thus, Gilfellan (2019) acknowledged collaborative work as essential for the implementation of transformative processes at the Castle.

4.3.3. Collaborative Work with stakeholders – Khoisan Revivalist Movement:

Individuals who once entered the Castle as school children who experienced overwhelming emotions during the apartheid era, now enter the Castle as heritage activists who partake in collaborative work and activities at the Castle (van Sitters, 2019; Zahara, 2019). According to Gilfellan (2019) collaborative projects are essential for the transformation at the Castle and its

main goal is to “...invite people from various communities to the Castle”. However, it is important to note that on the one hand, the Castle’s initiatives are often in response to the political interests of the state to ensure that nation-building and reconciliation is being promoted. On the other hand, the need for transformative collaborative projects are also part of public pressure as a result of Khoi revivalist activism (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 165). For example, van Sitters (2019) recalled his first time doing work at the Castle as a voluntary occupation of space. He noted: “...there were series of meetings happening at the Castle with the Khoi people and when I attended a meeting I noticed that there was a lot of free space” (van Sitters, 2019). Thus, he advertised on social media his free leadership programme – *Leaders of Tomorrow* – for the target group of young people who completed high school and he started utilising space at the Castle without permission. Although he was not an official staff member, he was meeting the Gilfellan’s aims for a more accessible and inclusive Castle.

As noted above, an important stakeholder for the Castle’s transformative process is the Khoi Revivalist Movement (Gilfellan, 2019). One of the central aims of the Khoi revivalist movement is to challenge the curatorial practices that continue to implement a ‘extinction discourse’ – a epistemicide on indigenous knowledge systems. Thus, the appropriation of Khoe language has become the vehicle for heritage activists such as van Sitters, to “position the ongoing presence of the pre-colonial” (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 169). Van Sitters studied Khoekhoegowab at the University of Namibia, and he has been teaching students – young and old – Khoekhoegowab (Khoe language) since 2014. The language course also interconnected with the untold history of the Khoe people. Furthermore, he was the leader of a group of people who participated in the *Teach yourself Nama Language Programme* and later started his own Khoekhoegowab classes at the Central library in Cape Town. However, given the growing interests of people wanting to learn the language and embrace their indigenous heritage, he occupied the Castle unofficially because it was a bigger venue where he could host his classes.

Van Sitters’s first formal meeting with the Gilfellan took place later after his programme and it was agreed that there was a need for collaborative work to be done at the Castle. Thus, the first formal collaborative work done at the Castle was the language classes that were schedule

on weekly voluntary basis. Van Sitters (2019) noted that he signed a contract to work at the Castle on a contractual basis only later on. In 2015, he was one of four men who initiated the “*Aba te*” programme which was a four-part educational workshop on the sharing of untold narratives of indigenous people. The meaning of “*Aba te*” is “*carry me*” which is a direct reference to being carried by one’s ancestors (van Sitters, 2019). Thus, central to the programme was to challenge the colonial and epistemicide of narratives of the San and Khoe as well as to problematise the historical trauma of being assimilated and classified as ‘Coloured’. In addition, people also learned about indigenous music, language, indigenous medicinal herbs, and history and culture of the Khoe and San. Furthermore, van Sitters (2019) noted that his contract ended prematurely at the Castle, but he continues to do his private action tours there.



Fig. 9. After completion of their Liberation Walk in 2016, Khoe activists gathered under the Buren Bastion and reflected on their demands for restitution (source received from: Giffellan, 2019).

Van Sitters (2019) elaborated that it was in 2016, “...through the work with the Cultural Heritage and Education component... when they launched the Indigenous Knowledge System Legacy Programme”. The aim of the programme was to have “...an indigenous presence amidst a very colonial space” (van Sitters, 2019). For example, there were various cultural displays such as huts, skins, ostrich eggs, medicinal herbs, musical instruments, symbolic gatherings around the fire, as a result of the growing passion to keep the indigenous San and Khoe culture and heritage alive. Thus, the aims of the collaborative work were to create the conscious shift in narratives as well as to nurture the democratic reconciliatory agendas and Giffellan’s 2019 aims for inclusivity at the Castle.

There have been different responses to the Castle of Good Hope's promotion of reconciliation. Generations who lived through apartheid as the oppressed often avoided the Castle of Good Hope. Many apartheid survivors are still dealing with the historical trauma of apartheid brutality, forced removals, and prevailing socio-economic injustices. Hence, many apartheid survivors continue to avoid the Castle of Good Hope. Hendricks (2019) elaborated: "*...some elders never set their feet in the Castle because they came from District Six and around those times the Castle was a no-go zone*". Van Sitters (2019) also emphasised: "*...people had their reasons [for not going to the Castle], they would say "slegte goed gebeur daar" (bad things happen there)*". In addition, there are continuous battles between the Khoi Revivalist Occupy Movement and the Castle with regards to "... 'occupied land' that obstructs and disrupts partnership building processes around the 'pre-colonial' and contentious social justice issues" (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 174). Thus, even though there are transformative agendas for collaborative work at the Castle of Good Hope, there are prevailing challenges for the history production of the 'pre-colonial' context (see chapter five).

4.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Architectural landscapes such as the Castle of Good Hope, can be viewed as a 'platform' whereby individuals uncover their personal narratives through the practices of remembering. The emphasis throughout this chapter focused on how individuals – self-proclaimed descendants of the colonised and survivors of the oppressive apartheid regime – viewed the Castle of Good Hope as a landscape that is connected to personal memories of trauma and historical trauma in South Africa. It also explored the post-apartheid responses to historic trauma at the Castle such as the creation of the counter-memory narratives, the Castle of Good Hope CEO's aims to transform the Castle, and the acknowledgment of the need for collaborative work with the Khoi Revivalist Movement as stakeholders of the Castle. Although collaborative work is being implemented, there are prevailing challenges for the production of history and heritage at the Castle of Good Hope. In the following chapter, I will critically analyse the complexities of history production and heritage representation at the Castle of Good Hope.

Chapter Five

Complex History Production and Heritage Representation

5.1. INTRODUCTION:

The Castle of Good Hope is proclaimed as a national monument, but its history and heritage is distorted and reinforces Eurocentric narratives that exclude the history and heritage of South Africans who are the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed peoples. The purpose of this chapter is to critically unpack the complexities of history production and the representation of heritage at the Castle of Good Hope. This chapter will firstly emphasise that the Castle of Good Hope's history extends itself to the production of multiple histories that interconnect with the history of a nation, the history of a continent, as well as the history of many nations. Secondly, this chapter will explore the need for narratives to be ingrained in Afrocentric knowledge productions of the Castle of Good Hope that challenge the often-dominant Eurocentric production of history at the Castle. Lastly, this chapter will highlight the complexity of heritage representation in relation to its inclusivity and the responses of research participants to the memorialised displays and spaces at the Castle of Good Hope.

5.2. PRODUCTION OF HISTORY AT THE CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE:

According to the World Heritage Centre (2018: 12), history is defined as "the scientific study of the past, particularly as it relates to human affairs". In addition, the history of marginalized people is retrieved via various sources such as oral histories, written documents, and paintings, which provide insight to their past experiences. However, the dominant narratives of South Africa's history are located within the false account that civilisation and history only began with the European settlers who arrived at the Cape in 1652 (Verbuyst, 2015: 73). This false dominant claim of history, resulted in historiography being entrenched in European perspectives. For example, the Castle of Good Hope is an open place for people to interpret history, but Gilfellan (2019) stated that he is "*horrified by the history that is produced [at the Castle]*". He further emphasised that private company tour guides often present distorted accounts of South Africa's history to their tour groups and place emphasis on the history of

the colonial architecture as a means of bringing progress in the country. Abrahams (2019) stressed that “*the moment you begin to tell the history of the building, you dominate the narrative*” and in this way preserving the memories of colonialists. Hence, the telling of historical narratives of the building, silences the pre-colonial epistemologies and therefore continues to emphasise on the Eurocentric knowledge production.

History production done at the Castle of Good Hope barely shows the history the people who were colonised, enslaved, and oppressed. For example, Mellet (2019) elaborated: “*we talk about slaves, they had names, they were people, they came from somewhere, they had character*”. Thus, the denial of Africa’s pre-colonial and slave history was “the result of the suppression of the history of South Africa’s marginalised people which pervaded the public history of the colonial and apartheid eras” (Worden and Ward, 1998: 201). Furthermore, given the Castle of Good Hope’s positioning near the river, there is often the untold story of civilisation of the Camisa people. Campbell (2019) noted that the Camisa people “*...came from the Cochouqua, Goringhaiqua, and the Gorachouqua... later called the peninsula Khoi [who were located] next to the Castle [before it was built] and had access to the river...the mountain...and the biodiversity of plants and herbs*”. However, the Castle of Good Hope became a symbol of architectural explosion and the production of its history continues to centre on ‘colonial progress’.

Thus, during the apartheid era, the remnants of colonial structures were central to privilege white rule and the domination of heritage and history. Therefore, in the contemporary South African context, people of Colour “*need a history that speaks through our experiences and through our lived realities, not through the eyes of the Eurocentric view or narrative, but through the eyes of our own lived experiences*” (Abrahams, 2019). This form of history production is often found in action tours that reinserts the counter-narratives in public spaces.

5.2.1. Reinserting Counter-narratives:

Importantly, counter-narratives are strongly linked to the counter-memory practices whereby individuals try to reclaim their sense of power by reinserting counter-narratives on basis of their own memory and positionality at the public space where Eurocentric history productions continue

to dominate. For example, Campbell (2019) and van Sitters (2019) actively use their agency in their action tours at the Castle and surrounding areas, to reinsert counter-narratives at the various colonial and apartheid sites that continue to be preserved as dominant histories. On their tours, Cape Town becomes reinserted as a colonial city, as a spatial apartheid city, and as a contemporary city that inherited the legacies of a neoliberal structural violations and traumas. They emphasise on pre-colonial resistance struggles, narratives of indigenous revolutionaries, and do site visitations at the Grand Parade, auction block where slaves were sold, as well as speaking to the severity of slavery, torture, trauma, and mass killings at the Castle of Good Hope and surrounding areas where mass graves were found – the gallows and the Prestwich memorial site that holds the remains of indigenous and slave individuals. Action tours such as these also engage the collective experiences of trauma, rejects the European scrutiny on indigenous people and descendants, and challenges the dominant Eurocentric perspectives by reinserting narratives that gives African agency in the public sphere. Thus, they shift from dominant colonial progress narratives to an Afrocentric approach of knowledge productions at the Castle.



Fig. 10. Place where the Slave Auction Tree in Spin Street in the city once stood (source: author, 2019)

5.2.2. Countering Eurocentricity with Afrocentric Knowledge Production:

Eurocentricity is centred on the protection of white supremacy and its advancement across spheres such as education, politics, and economics. However, the key characteristic of Afrocentric epistemology is that it explicitly rejects the “...Eurocentric intellectual traditions and the deliberate displacement of criteria and practices that are derived from Eurocentric models” (van Wyk, 2016: 33). Thus, Afrocentricity provides a frame of reference for locating the African person’s perspectives. In addition, it rejects the ethnocentric valorisation that degrades the perspectives of a group and does not view a particular European historical reality as the dominant human experience (Asante, 1991). Thus, in post-colonial contexts such as South Africa, citizens continue to strive towards the attainment of epistemic liberation.

Masaka (2018: 292) noted that central to epistemic liberation is to reaffirm the “...humanity of the indigenous people of Africa that has been put to doubt through epistemicide”. Hence, denying the African indigenous descendants’ their capacity to produce knowledge, would result in the perpetuation of a single story that prohibits the prospects to acknowledge and accept Afrocentric epistemologies. Although the Castle of Good Hope is in danger of having a single story told by private tour guide companies, it has multiple histories which are being told on a micro level. Mellet (2019) elaborated that the Castle “...*is one of many forts, castles, and lodges along the entire coastline of Africa that were slave castles, they were places of transportation of slaves*”. Castles are also places of colonial domination in other regions such as India and South-East Asia (this is unpacked further in chapter six). The letters of the first mercantile, Dutch East Indian Company – VOC – is ingrained in Castle Street and across the city. Campbell (2019) Africanises the narrative of the VOC by emphasising on the historical trauma fact that the company made their profits from “...*human trafficking, child labour, and crime*...”. Her Afrocentric production of history therefore challenged the Eurocentric accounts of colonial progress in the Cape.



Fig. 11. Prevailing VOC symbols across the City (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)

In addition, there is often a huge disconnection of people locating their family's heritage to the Castle of Good Hope's history of trauma. However, Zahara (2019) expressed that she researched her heritage and discovered that from her father's side of the family, there were slaves living at the Castle who used to be the horsemen. She stated: *"according to oral history, there was a man, and the man who owned the Castle, I don't know through which era, but he did not have children and the slave who loved the most, he used to promise that he was going to leave everything to this slave, and that slave apparently was related to me, he was my great great great grandfather"*. Whether this is true, engaging in this history is personal and very traumatic for her, yet the production of heritage at the Castle of Good Hope is complex and absent of locating her oral historical accounts.

5.3. CREATING INCLUSIVE HERITAGE:

Heritage sites majorly contribute to a community's sense of identity as well as a country's economic growth which is linked to the tourism industry. It is important to note that the Castle of Good Hope does not fall under the management of the National Heritage Agency, because its custodian is the SANDF. Aggenbach (2017: 102-103) emphasised that the "...issue of ownership and management of the Castle of Good Hope is complex and affected by a series of legislature measures passed since 1922". This was the Defence Endowment Property and Account Act, No. 33 of 1922, which is managed by "the custodianship of the Minister of Defence and Military Veterans" (Aggenbach, 2017: 102-103). Furthermore, only 40% of the Castle is open to the public and only 15% of the total of 18 000 cultural and heritage artefacts are displayed (Giffellan and Hendricks, 2017: 5). Given that the Castle of Good Hope is committed to the creation of an inclusive heritage space, it positions itself as a living monument for groups of people who have

connections to it. Thus, it is believed that the Castle “fosters communication, debate and ultimately healing and reconciliation” (Gifellan and Hendricks, 2017: 11).



Fig. 11. A local Khoes Dance Group performs at the Freedom Day 2016 programme (source received from: Gifellan, 2019)



Fig. 12. A group of Nguni traditional dancers in action in celebration of Freedom Day in 2016 (source received from: Gifellan, 2019)



Fig. 13. Afrikaner heritage display (Volkspeler) (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

5.3.1. Intangible and Tangible Heritage Values at the Castle of Good Hope:

Intangible values have become increasingly important elements of heritage sites. Simultaneous to the interest in intangible values, are the requests from society to engage more with the knowledge about previous indigenous groups of people “...who lived and worked at [the Castle], rather than about particular architectural styles or archaeologically-defined cultures” (World Heritage Centre, 2018: 8). Thus, heritage sites such as the Castle of Good Hope need to include various viewpoints and multiple narratives to prevent the creation of a single and dominant heritage.

According to Gilfellan (2019) it is in the programmatic activities “*where you can make a difference, where you can educate about the heritage*”. In order to making the Castle of Good Hope more inclusive, programmatic activities are incorporated into the Castle’s cultural and educational programmes that host various events throughout the year at the heritage site. Additionally, throughout the years, the Castle of Good Hope hosted different programmes which aimed to create the link between the contemporary issues and the past historical trauma. For example, the Castle of Good Hope is a quintessential site of historic trauma of displacement and the Human Rights Commission hosted a programme that linked the contemporary issue of homelessness as a legacy of the past historical trauma of displacement during both the colonial

and apartheid eras. Gilfellan (2019) further elaborated that since 2013, the Castle has had a growth in educational programmes, Khoe meetings, women's group meetings against gender-based violence, symbolic marches against gangsterism, and various big meetings associated with land restitution.



Fig. 14. Cultural educational programme (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

Furthermore, key to the production of intangible values at the Castle, is the engagement with the Khoi Revivalist activists as important stakeholders in the Castle's transformation process from its colonial dominance at the heritage site (Gilfellan, 2019). Thus, they played an important role in voicing their views in the decision-making processes at the Castle of Good Hope. For example, the Khoi Revivalist activists initially objected the 350th Commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope because they refuted the celebration of slavery and oppression as well as glorification of the colonial building that ingrained the suppression of their indigenous ancestors. However, through meaningful stakeholder consultation processes with the Foundation Nation, the Congress of Traditional Leaders, and the Cape Minstrels Association, a series of programmes and projects were agreed upon for the Commemoration day: centering on heritage, the commemorations of important days, hosting workshops, seminars, exhibitions, classes, conferences, special tours, meetings, and live performances (Gilfellan and Hendricks, 2017: 11) (see appendix three for

the detailed Commemoration Programme).



Fig. 15. Foundation Nation and Congress of Traditional Leaders, at Khoe Cleansing Ceremony on 23 September 2015 (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)



Fig. 16. 19 August 2016 Women's Day/Krotoa event guests entertained by Cape Minstrel performers (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)

Even though the telling of untold narratives was central to the Commemoration programme, the outcome of the 350th Commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope, were also tangible heritage collections such as: the locating of permanent statues of the four warrior kings Doman, Chetswayo, Langalibalele, and Sekhukhune outside the governor's balcony; external illumination of the Castle walls; Krotoa's Memorial Bench; The Centre for Memory, Healing, and Learning;

media exposure; Digital Heritage Table; and a conference complex was built in the old Adam Tas Hall (Gilfellan and Hendricks, 2017: 14)



Fig. 17. Four South African warrior kings were unveiled in the front courtyard at the Presidential Closing Ceremony of the 350th Commemoration of the Castle on 9 December 2016 (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019).



Fig. 18. Energy efficient light-emitting diode lights illuminating the external walls of the Castle of Good Hope (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

In addition, memorial museums are hosted at the Castle of Good Hope to reflect multiple heritage. Gilfellan (2019) noted that the William Fehr Museum “...was a quintessential colonial collection [colonial style furniture and paintings] before and I insisted that Iziko changed it... it came from 1952... from the old South African Museum”. Thus, he wrote a letter to Iziko Museums and the outcome resulted in transforming the museum to making it more inclusive. Gilfellan (2019) elaborated “...amongst all the colonial artefacts [in the

William Fehr Museum], there are portraits now of freedom fighters, of Krotoa”. However, Abrahams (2019) stated that the colonial artefacts continues to “*drown the memory of the indigenous people*”.



Fig. 19. Colonial artefacts in the William Fehr Museum at the Castle (source: author, 2019)

A bench was built in 2016 from one of the Castle’s roof’s 350-year old wild-olive wooden beam to memorialise Krotoa (Gilfellan and Hendricks, 2017). However, the bench is located in an obscure corner at the Castle of Good Hope next to a rubbish bin and is being destroyed by the diverse weather conditions. Many people continue to walk past it and do not see it as the memorialisation of a respected indigenous woman. Thus, people often tend to sit on it, and symbolically the act of sitting symbolises the suppression of history of the indigenous people, especially women at the Castle of Good Hope. Furthermore, Baartman (2019) critically questioned why the colonial paintings are not being displayed outside to also be exposed to diverse weather conditions and why the bench is not being memorialised in a protective building. He emphasised that the Castle continues to preserve colonial heritage: “*it is like you are pushing a part of history to this corner, and the other part of history you preserve*” (Baartman, 2019). Furthermore, he stated that he cannot challenge this because the decision-making power is within the ambit of Iziko Museums – the national and provincial museums continue to face the pitfalls of the Sunset Clause that keeps apartheid regime officials within decision-making positions that continue to preserves the colonial and apartheid accounts of history and heritage.



Fig. 20. Contemporary state of Krotoa's memorialised bench (source: author, 2018)

As noted previously, the Castle of Good Hope had its 350th commemoration and hosted the Indigenous Knowledge System Legacy Programme in 2016. However, van Sitters (2019) stated that there is no visibility of any of the 350th commemoration cultural displays that they set up nor any images of their efforts to keep the indigenous San and Khoe culture and heritage alive at the Castle. In addition, the activities in public programmes which are planned for the indigenous stakeholders to implement at the Castle of Good Hope are often relegated to ‘song and dance’ activities. For example, van Sitters (2018), noted that he was “...instructed by fellow black staff at a particular provincial heritage site to ‘go get your leopard skin and dance, and do some Khoi clicks when tourists arrive’” (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 175). Thus, the efforts of the indigenous partners – heritage activists such as van Sitters – to engage the history of the pre-colonial is not being seriously taken into account because it is simply viewed as a performance for tourist attraction. Furthermore, heritage displays at the Castle of Good Hope have been critiqued for having an “add-on” effect.

5.3.2. Critiquing Memorialised Spaces and the “Add-on Effect” at the Castle of Good Hope:

Exhibitions were temporarily – indigenous cultural displays – showcased at the Castle of Good Hope, and the old museums were not replaced. Furthermore, Abrahams (2019) critiqued the “add-on effect” at the Castle: “[the Castle] is trying to become more inclusive and that does not mean to say that we are inclusive. So, we add things, we add a statue here, we add a new exhibition here, thinking that we can make it more inclusive and more representative, but then we become more”. Critically, this is reflective of cultural public spaces across Cape Town.

In terms of memorialised spaces, the military museum at Castle of Good Hope can be described as a glorification of the various colonial militia and fails to detail the historical trauma experienced by African people. There is much needed transformation that is needed at this museum to incorporate multiple narratives such as: the fifteen wars of dispossession; ethnocide and the genocide against the San and the Xuluquebe people; trauma of apartheid conscription; and the liberation struggle (Mellet, 2019). Furthermore, the re-enactment of a 17th century Key Ceremony is performed by SANDF soldiers twice a day at 10:00 and 12:00. The soldiers are dressed in 17th century Dutch uniforms and they perform the colonial routine of military drilling to receive the key from the governor and then performing drilling outside the Castle to see if there are any invaders (Bartman, 2019). However, this performance is critiqued by van Sitters (2019) who questioned why such colonial practices are continued to be memorialised in the democratic country. Also, the Military Museum’s memorialisation of indigenes falls short of the zoofication of their heritage – indigenous people are still limited to evidently being showcased in lines with colonial stereotypes of being static, backwards and savages (see fig. 23).

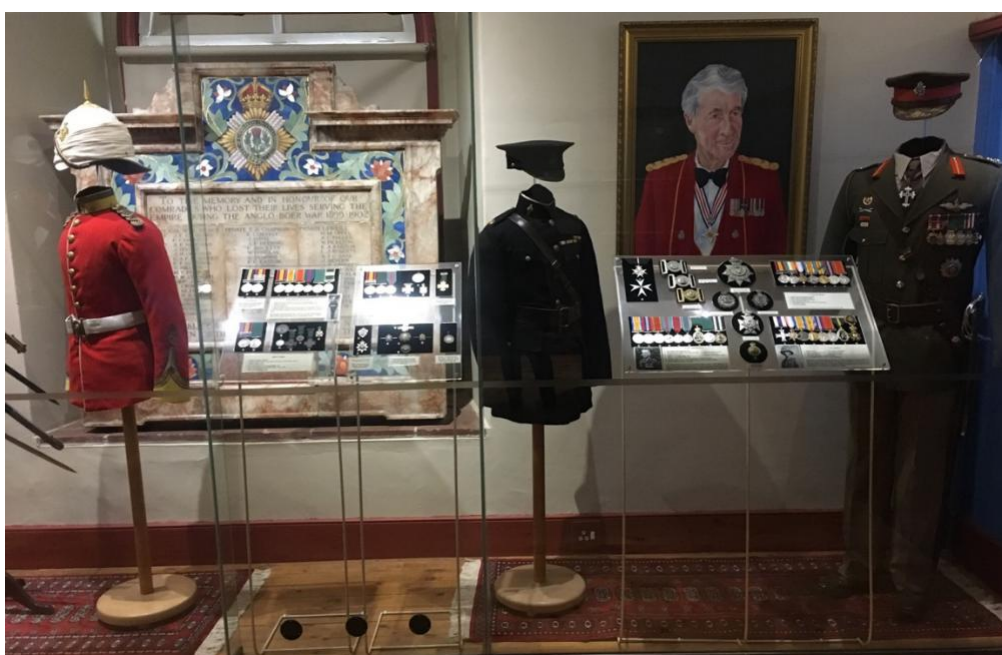


Fig. 21. Military Museum memorialisation of colonial militia (source: author, 2018)



Fig. 22. 17th Century Dutch Key Ceremony performed by South African National Defence soldiers (source: author, 2018)



Fig. 23. Memorialisation of indigenes at the Castle of Good Hope's 'Military Museum' (source: author, 2018)

Canons are displayed across the Castle of Good Hope and the city. They symbolise (1) a past of violent colonial conquest over the indigenous inhabitants and their land as they were used to announce the arrivals of ships; (2) the weaponry that were used in the 1795 Napoleonic Wars and Battle of Blaauwberg; (3) the ritual of using the 18-pounder, smoothbore muzzle-loaders which is located on Signal Hill which is fired at 12:00 every day and is still maintained by the South African Navy. Immediately after the Castle of Good Hope's key ceremony, follows the Canon Association of South Africa's gut-wrenching canon fire performance. Campbell (2019) critiqued the daily canon fire performance that is displayed in the courtyard by a white man who has an initiative that preserves canons and is often surrounded by visitors who give monetary donations for his initiative. She views the canon display as a celebration of pain and elaborated that she often reminds people who take pictures of the canons, that it is a symbol of the penal colony that *"...killed many of our indigenous ancestors"*. Hence, the Castle of Good Hope is still veiled in colonial memorialised performances and spaces that lack in the heritage display and social history of local indigenous Africans.



Fig. 24. Canon at the entrance where people often take pictures of and on (source: author, 2018)

The Granary, that is located at the Castle of Good Hope, provides a permanent exhibition space for ceramics which were created in earliest times as well as modern pieces. Importantly, pottery becomes key to understanding the diverse peopling of South Africa. Hence, shards of pottery are the oldest fragment left by people and the social history of ancient societies can be uncovered by analysing the patterns, shape, and materials used to construct the pottery. For example, many cultures such as the Nkope culture from the Great Lakes District, Kulundu culture from Angola, San, Khoe, and many more are indicators of drift of societies from different regions of Africa to South Africa over three thousand years ago. However, these narratives are not told at the pottery

exhibition. Thus, Mellet (2019) argued that South Africa has “...a predominantly white perspective and a perspective that is patronising of African social history”.



Fig. 25. The Granary's permanent exhibition of pottery (source: author, 2018)



Fig. 26. The Granary permanent exhibition of European ceramics (source: author, 2018)

Furthermore, South Africa's colonial and apartheid tangible heritage encounters an age-long public dissent. For example, the first monument in the country was Vasco da Gama's stone cross that he erected in 1497 at Cape Point. However, this monument was destroyed by the indigenous inhabitants (Marschall, 2010: 19). Thus, the public symbolic battle that was displayed in the 2015 #RhodesMustFall nationwide decolonisation campaign – led by the so-

called ‘born frees’ – opposed colonial statues with acts of public dissent, which was not a new phenomenon. Importantly, the #RhodesMustFall nationwide campaign unfolded in the country’s socio-political landscape which continues to witness the ongoing mobilisation for socio-economic justice. Our mobilisation was not only for the removal of Cecil Rhodes. Being part of this decolonial movement, I remember how we displayed our dissatisfaction and frustration in various protest actions in relation to the government’s lack of political will to ensure the much-needed decolonisation of colonial remnants, education, and racial transformation at the university and across the country. Additionally, at the same time as the #RhodesMustFall campaign, there was the inception of the #CastleMustFall campaign by the Khoi Revivalist Movement (see chapter six).

5.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

The City of Cape Town encompasses a painful history that was ingrained in systemic violations of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid. The Castle of Good Hope comprises of multiple narratives of history and heritage and is open for the interpretations of both the local and global history of oppression of diverse colonies across the world. This chapter highlighted that there is a dominance of the Eurocentric accounts of history and colonial displays of heritage at the Castle of Good Hope. As a result of the lack of transformation in the production of history and representation of heritage, it remains a highly politicised space and one of the most under-utilised museums in South Africa. Even though individuals are producing counter-narratives that centre on the resilience of local people who resisted colonisation and exploitation, this is done on a micro decentralised level. There is a great need for Afrocentric knowledge production at the Castle of Good Hope because the space does not speak to the historical trauma and pain endured by the indigenous and enslaved people who were incarcerated and executed. Hence, the colonial memorialised spaces continue to dominate and the Castle of Good Hope fails to unveil its historical trauma of the colonial and apartheid pasts.

Chapter Six

Symbol and Site of Multiple Traumatic Memories

6.1. INTRODUCTION:

The Castle is bleeding in fact, it is bleeding an invisible blood in a way, but it is bleeding... the things that have been happening, the consequences of that, has been loss, the loss of blood, the loss of lives, this is loss in a general sense... I feel that these spaces are still holding those traumas (van Sitters, 2019).

Marschall (2010: 364) observed that the conservation of sites which are connected with trauma, often creates a sense of belonging. Hence, such sites present a direct link between identity and history that relates to a traumatic past. Sites of trauma in a post-conflict state are to be held accountable in the implementation of its diverse functions such as “education, mourning, healing, nationalism and activism” that speaks to historical trauma (Clark, 2009: 167). However, the efforts of the Castle of Good Hope to deal with the memory of historical trauma is a fragmented display of the past even though it was a place of: colonial imprisonment, trials held by the Council of Policy, torture, execution; and apartheid military conscription, armed brutality, and oppression. The aim of this chapter is to critically unpack how the Castle of Good Hope – as a historical trauma site – contributes to the understanding of historical trauma in South Africa. This chapter will firstly explore how it is part of a trauma chain of the global Indian Ocean slave trade. Secondly, this chapter will explore the colonial trials, executions, and contemporary memorialised sites of torture at the Castle of Good Hope. Thirdly, this chapter will critically analyse the various structural violations that were implemented from the Castle as an armed base during the apartheid era. Lastly, this chapter will explore how the Castle of Good Hope’s historical trauma is being redressed through various decolonial efforts.

6.2. A TRAUMA SITE AND PART OF A TRAUMA CHAIN:

Violi (2012: 36) views trauma sites as “...unique, privileged observatories that allow us to understand better the emergence of post-conflict societies”. Thus, trauma sites in contrast to other sites of memory, empirically exists as physical witnesses of the past political regimes’ control and implementations of horror, torture, violence, displacement, sentences, and executions. Hence, the governments of the post-conflict societies make decisions on the ways in which the past traces will be preserved. Furthermore, it is important to note that the trauma that individuals endured during the slave trade transportation as well as the slave bondage experiences, are part of a global trauma story. Thus, the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma, is part of a global trauma chain that was created by the Indian Ocean slave trade.

6.2.1. *Slave Trading and the usage of Castles*

Age-long inhumane practices such as enslavement, oppressive human bondage, and the global slave trade occurred in various forms and across different times and places (Anquandah, 2007: 25). For example, the trans-Atlantic chattel slave trade was a system that ingrained the exploitation and subordination of many individuals and was extended into a pervasive complex global system during the 15th century to the 19th century (Apoth, Anquandah, and Amenyoxa, 2019: 1). In order for the progress of such a complex global system, forts and castles were erected by indigenous people and people who were enslaved – mainly from Africa and Asia – under the orders of colonial forces who were predominantly Portuguese or Dutch or British or French. Critically, people were brought as slaves to Cape Town as a result of shifting forces in the Indian Ocean as well as its diverse trading regions (Worden, 2016: 397; Campbell: 2014: 127).

The VOC had over 350 settlements – small trading posts as well as large fortifications – which were erected between the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia. For example, the VOC had various fortifications in the East such as Fort Nassau in Banda, Indonesia that was erected in 1609 and Fort Frederick in Sri-Lanka erected in 1665. However, some fortifications were destroyed, and others are reused as museums and government administrative offices (Castle of Good Hope,

2018). Furthermore, history often recorded castles as the dominant sites of colonial conquest that brought progress in Africa. However, these castles – the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town and the Cape Coast Castle in Ghana – were actually sites of trauma for many indigenous people and people who were enslaved (they experienced loss of identity, extreme brutality, and loss of life)²⁵. Critically, some castles continue to exist how they were with little reconstructive work, such as the Cape Coast Castle in Ghana. Whereby other castles underwent reconstructive work, such as the Castle of Good Hope during 2015-2016.



Fig. 27. The 2015/16 restoration of the Castle of Good Hope (source received from: Gilfellan, 2019)

Mellet (2019) expressed his critical observations of when he toured the Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. He noted that the dungeons were not renovated and that he saw a “*brown line about one-meter high all along [the wall] ... that was how high the excrement was that [the Castle employees] had to clean out when they were making the place as a place of visitation*”. It is important to note that the functions of the castles and its usage of dungeons did not vary. Hence, the people who were captured and brought to these castles, experienced inhumane conditions of having to be held in dungeons where they were forced to sleep and wallowed in their own excrement. At the Cape Coast Castle dungeons, the visitor sees the tangible residues against the walls and reviews the intangible narratives such as death that relates to blood, urine as a result of toil, and bodily suffering due to enslavement (Aphoh, Anquandah, and Amenyoxa, 2019: 6). These intangible narratives uncover the severity of the conditions that individuals endured under the system of slavery. However, the Castle of

²⁵There is also a much hidden and silenced un-renovated slave dungeon in Simon’s Town Museum (Hall, 2015).

Good Hope did not leave tangible traces in its dungeons, and this often silences the historical trauma of the inhumane conditions that were enforced by slavery.

In addition, Castle Street in Cape Town, is a road that leads to the Castle of Good Hope and engraved in this road are the three letters – VOC. Campbell (2019) expressed that the VOC was the “...*first mercantile company that made their profits out of human trafficking, child labour, crime, spices, and other material things that they brought here*”. There are many tangible evidence of the VOC engraving and memorialisation across the city – the Castle of Good Hope, VOC Gardens, VOC statesmen statues. Also, the tangible evidence of such a crude company, represents the intangible evidence of how the city was ingrained in violent colonial and economic conquest. For example, the Castle of Good Hope represents the dispossession of land in plight of colonial conquest as well as the slave trade that enslaved indigenous people and people from the rest of the continent as slaves imported by the VOC. However, Campbell (2019) argued that the Castle “*is not telling or showing the trauma and pain of our indigenous people and people who were incarcerated there... they do not have places of execution, yet it was a place of execution... it was a place of solitary confinement*”. Even though the Castle of Good Hope has little tangible evidence of the trauma, there continues to be the incorporation of intangible evidence that is directly associated with the historical trauma at the site – attained from the tangible temporary exhibitions, temporary cultural displays, and action tours.

6.2.2. Colonial Trials, Executions, and Contemporary Memorialised Sites of Torture

The 18th century marked an era whereby the Cape Colony grew as a violent society with high crime rates and increased enforcement of violent sentences by the Court of Justice and various colonial authorities (Viljoen, 2011: 156). Thus, Cape Town had joined many European cities such as Amsterdam, London, Paris, Germany, and Seville, where public executions were enforced (Spierenburg, 1994: 52-55). Cape Town’s 17th and 18th century judicial processes ordered “that no one shall be executed or condemned unless he personally confesses to the crime of which he is accused” (de Cock, 1950: 146). If found guilty, the condemned persons were moved from the dungeons where they tortured, to the Governor’s residence on the day of execution. From the Kat balcony, the sentence was read by the Secretary to the Court of Justice and then proceeded to the place of execution (Weeder, 2006: 55). Justitie Plaats – the place of execution – was located in

the vicinity of the Leerdam Bastion, and on the corner of Darling and Buitenkant Streets. Weeder (2006: 55) further noted that Justitie Plaats was an “...elevated piece of land [that] was enclosed by a high wall with an entrance at the one end with steps leading up from street level onto the higher ground of the gallows”.

Two gallows – Justitie Plaats and Gallows Hill near Green Point – played a key role throughout the 18th century for the colonial execution of justice in the form of sentences of punishment which were extremely gruesome. Research participants emphasised on the details of the inhumane, torturous, traumatic, and life ending court sentences that individuals endured: branding with hot tongs, whipped, suffocation, strangulation, impalement, public hangings, crucifixion, being broken on the wheel, beheadings, and being dragged through the streets (Campbell, 2019; Mellet, 2019; van Sitters, 2019; Zahara, 2019)²⁶. Furthermore, naming these sentences and saying that it was inhumane and traumatic does not do justice to understanding the severity of the historical trauma of sentences, experiences, torture, and killings. It is important to note that the information on these sentences are found in the national and provincial archives that hold the diaries of colonial visitors who witnessed and detailed the violence, trauma, and death at the Cape Colony (Viljoen, 2011: 158).



Fig. 28. The Gallows at the Cape, 1764 – now completely erased from the contemporary landscape (source: Worden and Groenewald, 2005)

²⁶See also Robert Shell's (1994) *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1838*. Activists tend to quote extensively from this author.

In 1768, Johannes Stavorinus visited the Cape, witnessed the public executions, and described it as “barbarous”. He further described the carrying out of a slave’s sentence of multiple punishment that he witnessed for a quarter of an hour: “the slave was first broken on the wheel, red-hot pinchers were then used to tear the flesh torn from his body, and then he was hanged” (Stavorinus, 1798: 571). Mellet (2019) also provided an example of the execution of an indigenous woman: “*she would have her breasts pulled off with hot tongs and then she would have her limbs dismembered, and then she would be hanged, and then her body would be put out for the birds to peck her eyes out*”. Thus, the 17th and 18th centuries were highly traumatic eras of various inhumane acts that were implemented under colonial rule to enforce their control, as well as an era where many oppressed people suffered and lost their lives.

As noted previously, some castles continue to conserve almost all tangible evidence of the original place through its realistic representations of its historical trauma. However, the Castle of Good Hope tends to downplay its historical trauma by implementing limited tangible abstractions of its multiple heritage. Violi (2012: 40) views such downplay on trauma as an “...allusion rather than direct exposure of past remains... that transpose[s] memories into a different interpretative framework”. Although there is less tangible evidence of historical trauma at the Castle of Good Hope, the intangible evidence of historical trauma is reinserted by individuals in order to counter-narrate its Eurocentric history. Furthermore, the intangible evidence of historical trauma is the fact that many who were held captive at the Castle, were victims of forced capture, bartering, raids, debt bondage, and many individuals were born enslaved as the consequence of inhumane colonial practices of slave breeding (Perbi, 2002).

The Torture Chamber at the Castle of Good Hope provides one with some tangible evidence of the trauma that individuals endure. This was the site where both criminals and slaves suffered immense torture as a result of the Dutch law’s interrogation processes for the extraction of information or to force confessions, or merely for people to be tortured. The interrogation process was accompanied by the use of diverse methods of torture such as the strappado which was “...a device for pulling up the victim to a certain height and then letting him fall so that his bones would be fractured” (de Cock, 1950: 146-147). When I toured the Torture Chamber with Mr. van Sitters in 2018, he explicitly inserted the intangible evidence of the narrative of historical trauma and torture that occurred there such as: the whipping, crushing of thumbs, chopping off of limbs,

and the hanging of people upside down. Thus, torture was used as mechanism that forced people to confess – even if they did not commit anything wrong – in order for them to be sent to trial.

Given the location of the Dark Hole being close to the Torture Chamber, individuals experienced the trauma of hearing when people were being tortured and knew that they would endure a similar fate. Campbell (2019) noted that when she enters the Torture Chamber and Dark Hole, she speaks to the space as if “...it is a crime scene, and then healing this crime scene... [by] doing rituals to cleanse these spaces, using of indigenous knowledge, using our indigenous knowledge, using our indigenous plants, promoting this history, so that it locates itself where a community of people were once living and had a life there and had families there”. Thus, the intangible evidence of trauma through the inserted counter-narratives, emphasised that the Castle of Good Hope is a site that needs to remind one of the severity of the brutal colonial administration as well as the collective historical trauma that is associated with space.



Fig. 29. The Torture Chamber (source received from: Giffellan, 2019)

6.3. THE CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE: APARTHEID CONTEXTS OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

“The Castle symbolically for White South Africa, is a powerful symbol of domination, and for the People it is a symbol that is representative of oppression, of displacement, of murder.”

(Campbell, 2019)

The Castle of Good Hope was the military base of the old SADF during the apartheid era. Symbolically attached on the apartheid government’s military flag, navy flag, and air force flag, was an image of the Castle. Thus, the Castle of Good Hope symbolically represented apartheid domination. It was also the place where decisions were made to enforce diverse forms of structural violence such as the deployment of the military into various war regions in Southern Africa. Hence, war is a massive contributor of historical trauma for many years in South Africa. Mellet (2019) elaborated on some of the war timeframes: from 1652-1828 there were fifteen wars, 1828-1889 there were another four wars, three wars in the Free State and the Transvaal area in 1858-1868, the 1879 Anglo-Zulu war, first Boer War in 1880-1881, second Boer War 1899-1902, and this followed by this creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 in which black people were forced by 1961 to engage in a liberation war right through until 1994. Given that the image of the Castle of Good Hope was on the military’s flag, “...the Castle was taken to Angola when South Africa invaded Angola, to the invasion and occupation of Namibia, [and] when soldiers went into the townships to quell the uprisings and so on” (Mellet, 2019). Thus, there are vast accounts of historical trauma in relation to the Castle of Good Hope’s association with the over 380 years of war nationally and regionally.

6.3.1. The Castle of Good Hope’s Commands for the Trojan Horse

On 15 October 1985, the Trojan Horse massacre took place in Athlone, a “Coloured” apartheid classified suburb in Cape Town. A Joint Operation Command – SADF, South African Police, and the South African Railway Police – staged a double-pronged ambush to arrest the Cape Flats stone-throwing youths from Athlone and Crossroads. The Joint Operation disguised themselves as railway workers, hidden in three large wooden crates, and had a railway delivery truck that transported them into the community (Gunn, 2007: 30). When the truck was being stoned by the people, the Joint Operation jumped out and opened fire into the crowd and “killed three young

persons, Michael Miranda (age 11), Shaun Magmoed (age 16) and Jonathan Claasen (age 21), and wounded several people” (Thelen, 2002: 29). A private prosecution was opened by the families of two of the slain children, but they were unsuccessful, and no justice was attained. Furthermore, the Joint Operation was deployed from the Castle of Good Hope and the decision was made from there for them to open fire – the Castle of Good Hope functioned as the headquarters of the SADF and military base where all decisions were made (Mellet, 2019).

It is important to note that the Trojan Horse was one of many occurrences of such violence with destructive outcomes in the townships. Hendricks (2019) elaborated “*all the townships were burning... the Trojan Horse was just the vicious manifestation of the brutality of the apartheid regime where they decided that they were just going to shoot on the kids bottom-line*”. Furthermore, the Castle of Good Hope and its surrounding areas such as the Grand Parade, were sites where many protestors staged their marches against the apartheid regime. However, Hendricks (2019) argued that “*...the police, the army, they ran out from the Castle (raises voice) because the Castle (raises voice) was right at the parade*”. Hendricks (2019) further expressed that whenever he and his fellow activists walked past the Castle, it “*... was filled with the army and some were standing with guns, but most of them were standing with the whips... they had those whips to beat you up*”. Thus, the Castle of Good Hope was like an extension of the apartheid government’s institutionalised structural oppression, physical violence, and immense individual and collective trauma in communities.

In addition, the Castle was viewed by Mellet (2019) as the “*...dividing line between District Six and the White city... and before District Six, those farms that had those large slave holdings and the gentrified city*”. Critically, the relation between the Castle of Good Hope, District Six and many other areas that were affected by the Group Areas Act of 1950 – Constantia, Claremont, Simon’s Town – was that the decisions were made at the Castle of Good Hope to forcibly remove the people. Hendricks (2019) viewed the forced removals as “*the master plan of ethnic cleansing the CBD of people of colour*”. Thus, the apartheid era was recalled by the participants as the period in their lives where they witnessed intense political unrest, forced removals, and police and army invasions in their communities and schools. They also emphasised on their resilience when they mobilised themselves in various student formations, political education spaces, rallies, school boycotts, mass protests, and

stoning of police cars. However, there are many untold narratives of the torture and trauma that many anti-apartheid student protestors endured at the Castle of Good Hope.

6.3.2. Untold Narratives of Anti-apartheid Students' Detainment

“You look at the Castle, then you actually swear, and you say: ‘yasis, this fucken place was used to oppress and detain our children’. That was what the Castle represented at that time”
(Hendricks, 2019)

During the 1970s and 1980s, the country experienced heightened levels of apartheid repression, increased violence throughout the townships, and the imprisonment of many anti-apartheid activists by the ‘security forces’ which were enforced by the State of Emergency legislation (Gunn, 2007). Hendricks (2019) stated that he was a learner, teacher, and principal at Trafalgar High School in town. He further emphasised that in his teaching years, he was a member of a committee of teachers – who were also part of the anti-apartheid activists group, the NEUM. During the 1970s and 1980s, the committee was alerted by their intelligence – underground activists – that learners were being captured during protests and imprisoned at the Castle of Good Hope.

Hendricks (2019) noted that this is only the second time that he is speaking about the torture and trauma that he witnessed at the Castle. He emphasised: *“When I was in the Castle... it was purely to do investigations around the detention of learners who were marching, who were on strike, who were protesting, throwing stones... the last time we entered the Castle was in ‘76 and ‘77, and ‘82 and ‘85... we were in the Castle in a very arrogant and revolutionary way... we wanted to see where the learners are being kept”*. Although the Castle of Good Hope was not functioning as a prison during the apartheid era, the military and police detained students there because the jails were full of detained protestors and the dungeons served as a jail. Students were simply picked up from the streets where they were protesting, imprisoned at the Castle of Good Hope without sentence, and held captive for five

days until they were released at various locations.

Boys and girls were held in separate cells and experienced inhumane conditions in the dungeons: “...yoh (*pauses*), *how those learners were kept there in the dungeons, wet grounds, musky, cold, no bedding, no facilities, no toilet facilities, nothing in those particular dungeons... the kids had to defecate in these cells, they had to pee over there, they had to eat over there, they were thrown the food over there, it was terrible*” (Hendricks, 2019). He further stated that his role was to go to the Castle of Good Hope, see the conditions of the students, and get them out. Hendricks went with R.O. Dudley²⁷ and their committee of teachers to fetch the students at the Castle and returned them to their families. However, no personal relations were developed with them because the nature of the anti-apartheid struggle was to move on and release other students who were detained. Even though no personal relations were developed, students expressed various traumatic accounts of their experiences in the dungeons.

Hendricks (2019) stated that students expressed many accounts of the guards beating them, and that the girls were excessively beaten: “...*we found horror stories in terms of the abuse of the girls at the time... they were not only excessively beaten, but they were targeting to beat them at their private parts. The girls were treated with the same viciousness as the boys, even worse you know... girls were [sexually] abused with the batons... the girls were abused with the whips*”. However, a decision was made by the committee to not talk about these traumatic accounts that students expressed, because their main mission was to get the students home and not to develop personal relations since their fight was to eradicate apartheid. Also, there remains a silence in relation to the trauma experienced by anti-apartheid student activists who were detained at the Castle of Good Hope, they have not yet publically shared their encounters neither have they applied for reparations or demanded restorative justice.

In addition, the Athaan (Arabic prayer) was made when he recently attended a function at the Castle of Good Hope, and someone stated that it was the first time that the Athaan was made

²⁷R.O. Dudley was an influential left-wing anti-apartheid activist and teacher who was integral to the formation of the NEUM in 1943. See Alan Wieder (2003) *Voices from Cape Town classrooms*.

there. However, Hendricks (2019) noted that it was not the first time: “...*there were laaities (children) in the Castle that were very religious... they stuck to praying, and they made the Athaan in the cells... those boys they prayed, never mind if they were dirty, if they were beaten, and they were bloody, but they still hung onto their particular beliefs and Sundays they had services*”. Hendricks (2019) further elaborated to why there was a silence to these traumas: “...*it was a very personal... a frontation of their particular dignities... we only know what we heard and saw, it was packed with girls, girls were at the forefront like the boys at that particular point in time... and they must have experienced a lot of abuse which they probably just living with because they don't talk about it*”. Thus, the Castle of Good Hope has a silent historical trauma of being a place of abuse, violations of human rights and dignity, and experiences of gender-based violence and trauma, for anti-apartheid student protestors who were detained in its dungeons. These torturous and traumatic experiences endured by anti-apartheid student activists who were detained at the Castle of Good Hope, remained silent and this is the first time that it is written about in a research paper.

6.4. DECOLONIAL EFFORTS TO REDRESS THE CASTLE OF GOOD HOPE'S HISTORICAL TRAUMA:

*“...often, we say forgive and forget,
but we need to know what is it that we need to forgive and forget” (Gilfellan, 2019)*

Colonialism affected the colonised societies with immense cultural, economic, political, social, structural, psychological, and spatial impacts. Thus, post-colonial societies are in constant processes of decolonisation – the process whereby the colonial rule of the coloniser is relinquished in order for the former colony's attainment of political independence (Mbembe 2015). Furthermore, there has been the growth in implementing various processes to decolonise buildings and of public spaces. Thus, it has become important for African countries, which for many centuries comprised of European imperialist buildings which are not representative of Africa, to decolonise its spaces (Mbembe, 2015: 11). Importantly, the concept of decolonisation is implemented in both tangible and intangible heritage spheres, and therefore embeds contemporary as well as historical relevance.

Furthermore, the Khoi Revivalist Movement has “direct relevance and affects the practices and strategies of the Castle in a multitude of ways, [such as the] matters of representation, misrepresentation and caricaturizing of the invisible ‘other’ in the Castle narrative” (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 9). There were three ground-breaking moments that mediated the liaison between the Castle of Good Hope Management team and the Khoi revivalist movement. On 28 June 2012, the first moment occurred when a provocative billboard was put up by a group of Khoe activists outside the Castle of Good Hope, on the corner of Castle and Strand Streets. The billboard emphasised on the renaming of Cape Town as ||Hui !Gaeb – the place where the clouds gather – as well as mobilising for the attainment of legitimate land ownership of where the Castle is located on (Verbuyst, 2015).

The second ground-breaking moment was in June 2013, when the Minister of Rural Development and Traditional Affairs’ statement was viewed as officially making the Castle of Good Hope accessible to the descendants of the Khoe and San communities. Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo (2019: 10) noted that “Minister Nkwinti responded to public calls from the Khoi and San communities to use the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town as a place of healing: Among the proposals from these groups was that the Castle of Good Hope, which for them represented oppression, torture and humiliation, be turned into a ‘healing centre’”. Thus, the Castle of Good Hope Management together with its partners needed to respond and articulate to the Minister’s public call. Hence, at that time there was an absence of collective understanding among the Castle of Good Hope’s stakeholders and role-players. The Castle committed to the call, and even though the transformation was slow, progress occurred when they started to engage with various key stakeholders such as: “the Congress of Traditional Leaders in the Western Cape, Griqua Royal House, Western Cape Khoisan Legislative Council, Goringhaiqua House, Western Cape Khoisan Women's League, Korana House, National Khoena Women's League, Khoisan Kingdom of SA and the SA Foundation Nation” (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 10). Furthermore, there were some groups and individuals who opted to not collaborate as stakeholders of the Castle of Good Hope. Thus, they instead expressed their continued concerns of the need for restorative justice via protest actions at various Castle events (Gilfellan, Hendricks, and Sipoyo, 2019: 10).

The third ground-breaking moment was when the Khoi Revivalist Movement initiated the #CastleMustFall campaign around the same time of the #RhodesMustFall movement in 2015. The #CastleMustFall campaign aimed to ingrain a decolonial project that sought to challenge the Castle's symbolism of colonial dominance and reminder of historical trauma, as well as call for the need of restorative justice for historical injustices (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 168). Hence, the initial conscious of the Khoi Revivalist Movement was to collaborate with the Castle of Good Hope on programmes such as the ones mentioned before, that centred on indigenous displays. Instead, the programmes discontinued and the commemoration of indigenous culture and heritage disappeared. Thus, the Khoi Revivalist Movement mobilised through a public programme, to decolonise the curation at the Castle which they viewed as a "tangible Cape colonial space". Their efforts to decolonise the curation at the Castle did not materialise. Thus, the Castle management failed to visibilise the contemporary progressive efforts done by Khoi revivalist activists such as van Sitters and his team who creatively produced knowledge on pre-colonial history and heritage at the Castle of Good Hope. Instead, they opted for a "public tourist narrative of 'colonial victory' in spite of the site's deep historical contested apartheid past" (Bam, van Sitters, and Ndlovu, 2018: 168).

In addition, almost forty years later, the current South African government is faced with growing demands to commission new inquests for the deaths of anti-apartheid activists such as Dr. Neil Aggett, Nokuthula Simelane, Imam Abdullah Haron, and many more – who are believed to have died as result of torture and murder in police custody, and not by the apartheid perpetrators' testimonies that emphasised the deaths as "natural causes". Thus, the Castle of Good Hope is collaborating with a young heritage activist and visual artist, Haroon Gunn-Salie, on an exhibition in relation to the site as a place of trials and punishment (Gilfellan, 2019). This exhibition also focuses on the commissioning of a place of memory that is located close to the colonial execution site, Justitie Plaats – geographically located on the intersection of Darling Street and the corner of the Castle of Good Hope. Gilfellan (2019) further elaborated that the activist is busy with a symbolic burial ground of 118 unmarked grave outside exhibition with the word "Justice?". Symbolically, the 118 unmarked graves are being exhibited in relation to the number of people who died during the apartheid era in police custody. This is a progressive step to critically engage with the Castle of Good Hope's relation to the apartheid past.

6.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Inherently, the Cape was a violent society and many people died within and outside the walls of the Castle of Good Hope due to immense torture during the colonial era and the site continued as a desolate fortress of human misery during apartheid. The preservation of what remains of the traumatic colonial and apartheid pasts, are found within the prevalence of site and its multiple symbolisms. Thus, the understanding of the Castle of Good Hope's historical trauma is located in its multifaceted contexts across time and place. As a historical trauma site, it is therefore navigated in relation to: its connection to the Indian Ocean slave trade; colonial era of displacement, enslavement, trials, torture, and executions; as well as being the apartheid military base of decision-making to implement brutal structural force across townships and site of untold narratives of physical and sexual violence endured by anti-apartheid student activists. Thus, historical trauma sites such as the Castle of Good Hope, bare beyond its structural organisation, and continues to provide critical understandings of the post-conflict society's evolution from past regimes and contemporary legacies thereof. It continues to be navigated by apartheid survivors as a site of historical trauma and symbol of colonial brutality and apartheid armed brutality, that needs to be healed, redressed, made more inclusive, and to be decolonised.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

South Africa in general, and Cape Town in specific, is witness to the brutality of colonial and apartheid repressive regimes. As a result of such pasts, the Castle of Good Hope is viewed by apartheid survivors as a site of historical trauma. There were efforts made to transform it from its exclusive, culturally biased, racist, and traumatic symbolisms. Thus, the management team continues to strive for the Castle of Good Hope to be a democratic, restorative, healing, post-modern, non-racial, non-sexist, educational and interactive (comprised of all forms of heritage) vibrant space. Although it contemporarily functions as a multiple-use and multiple-stakeholder type of memorial site, it is still being navigated by apartheid survivors as a site of historical trauma.

In testimonial terms, the navigation of the Castle of Good Hope as a historical trauma site is parallel to that of witnessing historical colonial and apartheid violence and trauma. Hence, spatial and temporal conditions are created at the site in order for the individual's articulation of the colonial and apartheid pasts, which can be viewed as 'testimony'. Furthermore, counter-narratives across the memorialised landscape of Cape Town, give voice to the historical trauma that exists between place and observer. Thus, action tour guides such as Lucelle Campbell and Bradley van Sitters, challenge the dominant Eurocentric accounts of memorialised spaces when they gather archival evidence of the past that speak to the horror, torture, trauma, violence, and executions that occurred there.

7.1. Summary of the navigations of the Castle of Good Hope as a site of Historical Trauma:

The fact that the Castle of Good Hope still exists, indicates the government's decisions with regards to how the past traces should be preserved, and often reflects their denialism of historical colonial and apartheid trauma. Hence, in the democratic era, the SANDF remains the custodian of

the Castle of Good Hope as a result of the Defence Endowment Property Act. The site continues to function as a semi-active military base, and recently it has been viewed as a national key-point – an identified property that is deemed vulnerable from a national security point. Importantly, the question on preserving the history and heritage of the Castle of Good Hope is subject to change, and this depends on civil society’s assertion to lobby action to challenge the government policy, to re-evaluate the custodianship and its functioning, and to propose ways in which the Castle of Good Hope can redress historical trauma.

There are five ways in which the apartheid survivors, who were interviewed in this research project, navigated the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma:

1. The diverse relations between memory and individual and collective experiences of historical trauma at the Castle of Good Hope during apartheid era were expressed: violence and trauma of racial categories as the NP’s divide and rule strategy, military conscription, forced removals, police and military brutality in community, resistance and organising in diverse anti-apartheid movements.
2. The provision of testimony in the form of action tours and counter-narratives to the knowledge production of history and heritage are reasserted at the Castle of Good Hope. The Afrocentric counter-narratives challenge the silence and denialism of historical trauma of colonial land dispossession and torture. Rape, murder, and the destruction of indigenous social systems, are part of a global chain of trauma; as well as the apartheid structural violations of the abuse of the apartheid armed force locally and regionally (forced removals, legal segregation, violence).
3. Acknowledges the complexities and legacies of the “Coloured” identity and the collective loss of identity in relation to indigenous ancestors as the post-traumatic syndrome. The post-traumatic syndrome is viewed as a result of processes of forgetting and exclusion of pre-colonial memories from memorialised practices – further resulting in the failure to understand the prevailing legacies of trauma.
4. The Castle of Good Hope was also viewed as a site of struggle – boycotts staged on the Grand Parade because the Castle symbolised colonial conquest and apartheid brutality. In

the democratic era, it became a site of occupation for the Khoi Revivalist Movement who demand restorative justice for indigenous descendants. It also became the occupation site of collaboration for individuals who were committed to diverse indigenous knowledge teachings in order to restore connections to language, culture, history, and medicine. The nation building efforts are visible in the CEO's efforts to make the Castle of Good Hope inclusive, and his emphasis on collaborative work with diverse indigenous, traditional, and community stakeholders became essential for transforming and ingraining it in healing and reconciliation.

5. There are continued cultural, emotional, historical, social, political, physical, and spiritual demands and expectations that need to be managed by the Castle of Good Hope's management in the contemporary context. Its management's commitments include the racial heritage and cultural transformation, the implementation of decolonial projects for curatorial standpoints of tangible interventions and intangible evidence, as well as the linking of historical trauma with contemporary trauma via programmatic activities. However, the space is still viewed as holding trauma and there are still many people who hold non-collaborationist political positions to the nation-building efforts at the Castle of Good Hope because restorative justice for historical traumas and its contemporary legacies of inequalities has not yet been attained.

7.2. Further Research Questions and Ways Forward:

The Castle of Good Hope has been the 'silent witness' of historical injustices and site of historical trauma throughout the periods of colonialism, slavery, and apartheid. During these periods, it too was a site of rebellion, boycott, and resilience to these repressive regimes. In the post-TRC context, the material remains of the site serve as witness to the historical trauma and the resilient descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people. These individuals continue to demand for the remembrance of people who were victims of the atrocious past and restorative justice for the historical injustices and its legacies. Furthermore, the employment of heritage in the post-apartheid context often sanitises the country's brutal past and becomes embedded in deliberate state denialism and forgetting of a collective traumatic past. This paper elaborated on the diverse articulation of the Castle of Good Hope's heritage and history that contributes towards the critical analysis of it being viewed as a historical trauma site.

Furthermore, there are ten recommendations in relation to how the Castle of Good Hope as a historical trauma site needs redress:

1. **Cleansing and Healing of the Site:** the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma needs to be cleansed by the use of indigenous rituals and burning of indigenous herbs; people from different faiths need to cleanse the space through prayer. It needs to become a centre for healing and a site for the restoration of memory that can lead us towards restitution that can begin to heal the society. There is a need to combine performance art and heritage preservation in the showcasing of the Camisa cultural village - huts, tools, indigenous knowledge production, and storytelling – for healing of memory via these art and cultural expressions. There is need for a walk through of ceramic plaques positioned across the site that detail the uncensored information of its historical trauma. It needs a place for spiritual memory such as a Garden of Remembrance or memorial corner for people to reflect.
2. **Open space for communities to engage with their history and reality:** the Castle of Good Hope was a traumatic place for the indigenous people and people from other parts of the third world, and therefore needs to narrate the links of universal historical trauma. Communities who were forcibly removed during apartheid and then moved to the Cape Flats and townships, need to gain access to the site to learn more about their history beyond that of the brutal apartheid experiences endured by their families. The site needs to reflect the prevailing legacies of socio-economic-agrarian inequities as the result of repressive colonial and apartheid systems.
3. **Need for Pre-colonial History:** the Castle of Good Hope is an intricate part of the heritage of the Khoe and San. The pre-colonial should be inserted in a more comprehensive way to show that indigenous people had diverse family, social, and economic systems. The site needs to state how colonialism violently disrupted the livelihoods of the pre-colonial people.
4. **Creation of an inclusive space:** the Castle of Good Hope was a very exclusionist place in the past and must therefore continue in its transformational processes of being an inclusive place for all – Khoi Revivalist Movement, traditional groups, women, children,

LGBTIQA+ community, military veterans, and the homeless.

5. **Need for a cohesive African Social History:** a Southern African social history of over 3000 years can be constructed to counter the dominant Eurocentric accounts that patronised Africa's social history; and there needs to be a Southern African social history of the peopling of the Cape that comprises of information on people from diverse places and communities, as well as their social, economic, and political systems.
6. **Creating a Permanent Exhibition of the Peopling of the Cape:** the contemporary Camisa Museum project that Mellet (2019) is working on, should be implemented permanently at the Castle of Good Hope. The Camisa Museum project engages the beautifully diverse indigenous African identities that incorporate not only the San and Khoe, but also the various groups of people that have sub-Saharan African slave ancestry. Included in its 195 tributaries would be the display of heritage and history of: (1) people who were from Africa and South-East Asia who were enslaved, (2) the exiles who were captives of the Dutch in the East Indies who were forced to come to the Cape, (3) the Free Blacks of the Cape, (4) Maroons and Drosters, indigent labourers, (5) various refugees, Europeans, and Europeans who were non-conformists who assimilated and married to people of colour. Having the museum located at the site would result no longer of it being a site visited predominantly by international tourists to embrace their colonial heritage, but the site would evolve into a more inclusive site visited by local people and fellow Africans who will be able to locate themselves in the heritage and history production at the Castle of Good Hope. The divide and rule tactics of colonialism and apartheid, as well as the various false narratives of the pre-colonial and peopling of the Cape, would be challenged (Mellet, 2019).
7. **Training Castle of Good Hope Tour Guides:** the Castle of Good Hope should run a course for their guides to attend, that centres the issues of the site's relations to colonialisation, dispossession, slavery, apartheid; and there need to be a map and historic action tours that focuses on the Black experience across the memorialised landscape – the Castle of Good Hope, Robben Island, the Slave Lodge Museum, the District Six Museum, the Slave Church, street walks on the broader scale.

8. **Need for a Castle-funded Restorative Justice Programme:** the Castle of Good Hope needs to find the apartheid victims of armed brutality, provide a platform for them to speak about their youth traumatic experiences at the site, and formulate recommendations with them for redress. There needs to be acknowledgment of the apartheid brutality by those who inflicted it. The SADF personnel and police need to be held accountable; even though there are no records of the violations of apartheid student protestors in military custody. The South African military needs to apologise. The Castle of Good Hope should have a permanent psychological clinic to help the people who are living in silence with the trauma of being detained and violated at the site during apartheid.
9. **Display the uncensored truths of historical trauma:** create an exhibition room that centres on historical trauma and links to contemporary trauma of society – the dop system and contemporary issues of substance abuse, the genocide and prevalence of gangsterism and ongoing military presence in communities. The colonial and apartheid forced displacement and contemporary social crisis of homelessness should also be linked. A need for a chamber of horrors exhibition with the display of reconstructed weapons that were used to torture and kill people.
10. **Implement decolonial practices at the Castle of Good Hope:** the prevailing Eurocentric narratives of the Castle of Good Hope need to be decolonised and Afrocentric accounts of lived experiences must be ingrained in African consciousness. Curation of the tangible and intangible heritage needs to speak to how the place contributed to the making of race, racism, and socio-economic inequities that still prevail today. The site should be a place of education that comprises of an institute for anti-colonial studies for universities, communities, and NGOs to take collective responsibility to implement decolonial processes at the Castle of Good Hope.

The Castle of Good Hope and its diverse stakeholders have progressed gradually in their contemporary implementations of more radical efforts to decolonise it with tangible and intangible heritage as well as its programmatic activities. However, the site is still being viewed by resilient apartheid survivors who are the descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed people, as a site of historical trauma. Furthermore, both the Castle of Good Hope and descendants of colonial and apartheid perpetrators, victims, and survivors, have the

collective responsibilities for the development of restorative justice programmes to redress the historical trauma and prevailing legacies, as well as for the implementation of diverse processes of decolonisation for the productions of history and representation of heritage.

It is important to continue to ask the following questions:

1. How do descendants of the colonised, enslaved, and oppressed navigate the Castle of Good Hope as a site of historical trauma?
2. How should we redress colonial and apartheid historical trauma and implement restorative justice at the Castle of Good Hope?
3. How do we decolonise colonial sites that are still deeply entrenched in our contemporary landscape?

[Words: 27 878]

References:

Primary Sources:

Castle Control Board. 1995. "Castle Guide Script". Cape Town: Castle of Good Hope.

Castle Control Board. 2016. "Castle Commemoration Booklet". Cape Town: Castle of Good Hope.

Castle Control Board. 2016. "The 350-Year Commemoration of the Castle of Good Hope 1666 – 2016". Cape Town: Castle of Good Hope.

Interviews:

Abrahams, L. Interview with Johannes, S. 26 July 2019.

Baartman, R. Interview with Johannes, S. 7 August 2019.

Campbell, L. Interview with Johannes, S. 25 July 2019.

Gilfellan, C. T. Interview with Johannes, S. 29 August 2019.

Hendricks, N. Interview with Johannes, S. 14 August 2019.

Mellet, P. T. Interview with Johannes, S. 4 September 2019.

Van Sitters, B. Interview with Johannes, S. 15 August 2019.

Zahara, S. Interview with Johannes, S. 26 July 2019.

Photographs:

Kolbe, 1713 cited in Bam, J., van Sitters, B., and Ndhlovu, B., 2018. Fig. 1

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 2

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 3

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 4

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 5

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 6

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 7

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 9

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 11

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 12

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 13

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 14

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 15

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 16

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 17

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 18

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 27

Gilfellan, C. T. Fig. 29

Worden, N. and Groenewald, G. Fig. 28

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 10

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 19

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 20

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 21

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 22

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 23

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 24

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 25

Johannes, S. L. Fig. 26

Worden, N. Fig. 28

Secondary Sources:

Adhikari, M. 2005. "Not White Enough, Not Black Enough". Ohio: Ohio University Press

Aggenbach, A. 2017. "The effects of commodification on cultural significance: two African fortifications". Masters thesis. University of Cape Town.

Alderman, D., H. 2004. "Memory and place: Geographies of a critical relationship". *Social and Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 5, No. 3.

Antze, P., and Lambek, M. 1996. "Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory". New York: Routledge.

Anquandah, J. 2007. "Researching the Historic Slave Trade in Ghana—An Overview." in *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: Landmarks, Legacies, Expectations: Proceedings of the International Conference on Historic Slave Route Held at Accra, Ghana on 30 August–2 September 2004*, (eds), Anquandah, J., Doortmont, M., and Opoku-Agyemang, N., J. Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers.

- Apoh, W., Anquandah, J., and Amenyoxa, S. 2019. "Shit, Blood, Artifacts, and Tears: Interrogating Visitor Perceptions and Archaeological Residues at Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Slave Dungeon". *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*
- Asante, M., K. 1991. "The Afrocentric Idea in Education". *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 60, No. 2. 170-180
- Bam, J. 2014. "Contemporary Khoisan Heritage Issues in South Africa: A Brief Historical Overview". In Ntsebeza, L., and Saunders, C. (eds) *The Pre-colonial Catalytic Project* Vol. 1.
- Bam, J., Van Sitters, B., and Ndhlovu, B. 2018. "Considerations towards establishing equitable stakeholder partnerships for transformation in higher education in South Africa: A review of the challenges, constraints and possibilities in working on pre-colonial history" in *Whose history counts: Decolonising African pre-colonial historiography, re-thinking African History*. Bam, J., Ntsebeza, L., and Zinn (eds), 2018. Bloemfontein: African Sun Media.
- Barker, J., B. 2003. "The Castle of Good Hope from 1666". Cape Town: Castle Military Museum.
- Bell, J. 1999. "Redefining national identity in Uzbekistan: Symbolic tensions in Tashkent's official public landscape," *Ecumene*, Vol. 6, No. 2.
- BenEzer, G. 1999. "Trauma Signals" in Lacy-Rogers, K. Leydesdorff, S., and Dawson, G. (eds.), *Trauma and Life Stories, International Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

- Beverage, B. 2012. "History, Memory and State-Sponsored Violence, Time and Justice".
London: Routledge.
- Bodnar, J. 1992. "Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the
Twentieth Century". Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Bredenkamp, H., C. 1987. "'Tot afschrik van andre': Die VOC-regstelsel en geweld ten opsigte
van die Khoisan aan die Kaap, 1677-1705", *Kronos* (12): 8-32.
- Büttgens, P., J. 2010. "Restoration and Re/Creation of Lacunae: The Attitudes and Principles
of Gabriël Fagan Architect as Expressed in the Restoration of the Castle of
Good Hoop". Thesis for Masters Degree. University of Cape Town.
- Campbell, G. 2014. "The Question of Slavery in Indian Ocean World History", in Sheriff, A.,
and Ho, E (eds), *The Indian Ocean: Oceanic Connections and the
Creation of New Societies*. London: Hurst Publishing.
- Caruth, C. 1995. "Trauma: Explorations in Memory". Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University
Press.
- Caruth, C. 1996. "Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative and History". Baltimore: Johns
Hopkins University.
- Clark, L. B. 2009. "Coming to Terms with Trauma Tourism". *Performance Paradigm* Vol. 5.
No. 2. 162-184.

- Clark, L. B. 2010. "Always Already Again: Trauma Tourism and the Politics of Memory Culture". *Encounters* Vol. 1. 65-74.
- Clark, L. B. 2011. "Never Again and its Discontents". *Performance Research* Vol. 16. No. 1. 68-79.
- Cock, J. 1991. "Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa". Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Colvin, C. 2003. "'Brothers and Sisters, do not be Afraid of Me' Trauma, history and the therapeutic imagination in the new South Africa". In Hodgkin, K., and Radstone, S. (eds.) "Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory. London: Routledge
- Cohen, S. 2001. "States of Denial, Knowing about atrocities and suffering". London: Polity Press.
- Conway, D. 2012. "Masculinities, Militarisation and the End Conscription Campaign: War Resistance in Apartheid South Africa". Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Coombes, A. 2000. "Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post- Apartheid South Africa". London: Routledge.
- Craig, D. 2008. "'Total Justification': Ideological Manipulation and South Africa's Border War" in *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflicts*, Baines, G., and Vale, P. (eds), Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2008.

- De Kock, V. 1950. "Those in Bondage: An account of the life of the slave at the Cape in the days of the Dutch East India Company". Cape Town: Howard B. Timmins.
- Depelchin, J. 2005. "Silences in African History: Between the Syndromes of Discovery and Abolition", Dar es Salaam: Mbuki Na Nyoto Publishers.
- de Sousa Santos, B. 2014. "Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide". New York: Routledge.
- Dooling, W. 1992. "Law and Community in a Slave Society: Stellenbosch District, South Africa c.1760-1820". Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Edlmann, T. 2014. "Negotiating Historical Continuities in Contested Terrain: A narrative-based reflection on the post-apartheid psychosocial legacies of conscription into the South African Defence Force". Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History and Psychology at Rhodes University.
- Elphick, R. 1977. "Kraal and castle". Yale University: Alpine Press. Massachusetts.
- Erasmus, Z. 2001. "Coloured by History Shaped by Place". Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Felman, S., and Laub, D. 1992. "Testimony, Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History". New York: Routledge.
- Field, S. 2006. "'Beyond 'Healing': Trauma, Oral History and Regeneration.'" *Oral History* vol. 34, no. 1, 31–42.

- Field, S., Meyer, R., and Swanson, F. 2007. "Imagining the City: Memories and Cultures in Cape Town". Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Gilbert, C. 1994. "The Castle of Good Hope: An Examination of Controversies and Conflicting Perceptions – A Case Study in Public History". Honours Thesis Paper. University of Cape Town.
- Gilfellan, C. T., and Hendricks, D. 2017. "Interpreting our Colonial Past: Perspectives from the Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town". Paper presented at the South African Museum Association Conference on 24 October 2017.
- Gilfellan, C. T., Hendricks, D., and Sipoyo, G. 2019. "The Decolonisation of South Africa's Oldest Surviving Colonial Building: Lessons from the Castle of Good Hope" Cape Town.
- Gillis, J. R. 1994. "Memory and identity: The history of a relationship," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, Gillis, J. R. (eds), Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2008. "Radical Forgiveness: Trauma and Transformation beyond Hannah Arendt. In du Bois, F., and du Bois-Pedain, A. (eds.), *Justice and Reconciliation in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, 37-61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goodrich, A & Bombardella, P, 2016. "What are statues good for? Winning the battle or losing the battleground?". *KOERS — Bulletin for Christian Scholarship*, Vol. 81, No. 3.

- Grunebaum, H. 2018. "Debates on Memory Politics and Counter-Memory Practices in South Africa in the 1990s". <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6218-7155>
- Gubb, R. M. 2012. "Breaching the Walls (un)restricted access: The Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town". Thesis of Masters. University of Cape Town.
- Gunn, S. 2007. "If trees could speak: The Trojan Horse story". Cape Town: Human Rights Media Centre.
- Hall, M. 1989. "Towards and Archaeology of Slavery in the Cape: The Castle – Cape Town. Cape Slavery – and After Conference".
- Hall, M., Halkett, D., van Beek, P. H., and Klose, J. 1990. "'A stone wall out of the earth that thundering cannon cannot destroy'? Bastion and Moat at the Castle, Cape Town". *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 16., No. 1. 22-37.
- Hall, S. 2005. "Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'the Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation", in *The Politics of Heritage: the Legacies of 'Race'*, Litter, J. and Naidoo, R. (eds), London and New York: Routledge.
- Hall, M. 2006. "Identity, Memory, and Counter-memory: The Archaeology of an Urban Landscape". *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11. 189–209.
- Hamber, B., Ševčenko, L., and Naidu, E. 2010. "Utopian dreams or practical possibilities? The challenges of evaluating the impact of memorialization in societies in transition," *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 4, No. 3.

- Heese, H., F. and Viljoen, R. 1995. "The Trial and Sentence of Hans Jurgen Kettner: A German Scapegoat at the Cape?", *Asien, Afrika Lateinamerika* (23): 587-596.
- Henkeman, S. 2018. "Disrupting Denial: Analysing Narratives of Invisible/Visible Violence & Trauma". New Adventure Publishing
- Jethro, D. 2018. "Liberated waste: heritage and materiality at Robben Island and Constitution Hill, South Africa", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*.
- LaCapra, D. 2001. "Writing History, Writing Trauma". Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Leys, R. 2000. "Trauma: A Genealogy". Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Mamdani, M. 1996. "Reconciliation without Justice." *Southern African Review of Books* 46 (November/December)
- Manetsi, T. 2017. "State-Prioritised Heritage: Governmentality, Heritage Management and the Prioritisation of Liberation Heritage in post-colonial South Africa".
- Marschall, S. 2010. "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-apartheid South Africa". Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Masaka, D. 2018. "The Prospects of Ending Epistemicide in Africa: Some Thoughts". *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 3. 284–301

Mbembe, A. 2015. "Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive". Available at: <https://wiser.wits.ac.za/content/achille-mbembe-decolonizing-knowledge-and-question-archive-12054>

Mbilinyi, M. 1992. "Research Methodologies in Gender Issues," in Gender in Southern Africa, Ruth Meena (eds.), SAPES Books, Harare

McAuley, G. 2008. "Unstable Ground: Performance and the Politics of Place". Bruxelles: P.I.E. Peter Lang

Mellet, P. T. 2016. "Lenses on Cape Identities: Exploring roots in South Africa". DIBANISA: Cape Town

Mellet, P. T. 2017. "The Camisa Embrace: Odyssey of an Unrecognised African People".

Meskel, L. 2012. "The Nature of Heritage: The New South Africa". Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Munjeri, D. 2001. "Introduction to International Conventions and Charters on Immovable Cultural Heritage". www.iccrom.org.

Munjeri, D. 2005. "Legislation and Practices: Implications and the Way Forward", www.iccrom.org

National Heritage Resources Act of 1999, In Section (4) of General principles for heritage resources management, www.polity.org.za or www.sahra.org.za

Nora, P. 1989. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de memoire, Representations". Vol. 26. 7-25.

Ntsebeza, L. 2005. "Democracy Compromised Chiefs and the Politics of the Land in South Africa". Leiden: Brill.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. 2012. "Education in Africa "potted plants in greenhouses": A critical reflection on the resilience of colonial". *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. 47, 129-154.

Pistorius, P. 2011. "The Spirit and Aims of the NHRA", a presentation rendered by the Association of Heritage Practitioners, at the Heritage Alive Workshop, held in Cape Town on 29 October 2011

Perbi, A. 2002. "Slavery and Ghana's Pre-colonial Social Structure" in *Slavery across Time and Space: Studies in Slavery in Medieval Europe and Africa*, Hernaes, P. and Iversen, T. (eds), Trondheim, Norway: Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Portelli, A. 1991. "The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History". New York: State University of New York Press.

Portelli, A. 1997. "The Battle of Valle Giulia, Oral History and the Art of Dialogue". Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Portelli, A. 2003. "The Order has been carried out, History, Memory, and the Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome". New York: Palgrave.

- Posel, D. 2001. "What's in a name? Racial categorisations under apartheid and their afterlife". *Transformation*, No. 47, 50-74.
- Posel, D. 2006. "The Post-Apartheid Confessional" in *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Ten Years On*, Vicencio, C. V. and Du Toit, F. (eds), 86–101. Cape Town: New Africa Books.
- Prosser, J. D. 2013. "Visual Methodology: Toward a More Seeing Research" in Norman, K. Denzin, S., Yvonna, S., and Lincoln (eds) *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. SAGE.
- Punch, K. 2005. "Research Writing", in *Introduction to Social Research*. London. Sage. 55-278.
- Puppi, L. 1991. "Torment in Art: Pain, Violence and Martyrdom". New York: Rizzoli.
- Ramutsindela, M. F. 1997. "National Identity in South Africa: The Search for Harmony" *GeoJournal*, Vol. 43, No. 1, The State Idea (September 1997): 99 – 110.
- Ras, A. 1959. "Die Kasteel en ander vroeë Kaapse vestingwerke 1652-1713". Cape Town: Tafelberg-Uitgewers.
- Rassool, C. and Witz, L., 1993. "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, 447-468.

- Rassool, C. 2000. "The rise of heritage and the reconstitution of history in South Africa". *Kronos*, No. 26, 1-21.
- Rassool, C and Prosalendis, S. 2001. "Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and Curating the District Six museum". Cape Town: The District Six Museum
- Raven-Hart, R. 1971. "Cape of Good Hope 1652-1702. The first fifty years of Dutch colonization as seen by callers". Vol. 1. Cape Town: Balkema.
- Resane, K. T. 2018. "Statues, symbols and signages: Monuments towards socio-political divisions, dominance and patriotism?", *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 4. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v74i4.4895>
- Ritchie, J. and Lewis, J. 2003. "Qualitative Research Practice: A guide for Social Science Students and Researchers". London: Sage.
- Ross, F. 2003. "Bearing Witness, Women and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa". London: Pluto Press.
- Roulston, K., deMarrais, K., and Lewis, J. B. 2003. "Learning to Interview in the Social Sciences"
https://entwicklungspolitik.uni-hohenheim.de/uploads/media/Day_5_-
[online: 12 July 2018]
- Shell, R., C., H. 1994. "Children of Bondage: A social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1838". Witwatersrand University Press: Johannesburg.

- Sibayi, D. 2009. "Addressing the Impact of The Structural Fragmentation on Aspects of the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage", Master's Thesis – Masters of Public Management at Stellenbosch University.
- Soudien, C. and Meyer. R. 1998. "The District Six Public Sculpture Project". Cape Town: The District Six Museum Foundation.
- South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA). 1969. "Archival material of the former National Monuments Council". www.sahra.org.za
- South African History Online (SAHO). Establishment of the Cape and its impact on Khoikhoi and Dutch.
<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/establishment-cape-and-itsimpact-khoikhoi-and-dutch>
[online: 18 July 2018]
- South African National Society (SANS). 1906. "Being the Society for the Preservation of Places of Natural Beauty and Historic Interest in South Africa", Year Book, Rhodes Buildings, Cape Town.
- Spierenburg, P. 1994. "The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression: From a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stavorinus, J. S. 1798. "Voyages to the East-Indies; Comprising a Full and Accurate Account of all the Present and Late Possessions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope". London: G.G and J. Robinson.

- Sturken, M. 2002. "Memorializing absence", in *Understanding September 11*, Calhoun, C., Price, P., and Timmer, A. (eds). New York: The Free Press, 374-384.
- Sultana, F. 2003. "Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics ACME
- Thelen, D. 2002. "How the Truth and Reconciliation Commission challenges the ways we use history". *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 47. 162-190.
- Theuns, E. 2017. "The historical and recent socio-political context for considering racism and related concepts in South Africa", in du Rand, J. A., Vorster, J. M., and Vorster, N. (eds.), *Togetherness in South Africa*, 1–28. AOSIS: Cape Town. <https://doi.org/10.4102/aosis.2017.tsa49.01>
- Trigg, D. 2009. "The place of trauma: Memory, hauntings, and the temporality of ruins". *Memory Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1. 87-101.
- Ulrich, N. 2010. "Time, Space and the Political Economy of Merchant Colonialism in the Cape of Good Hope and VOC World" *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 3, 571- 588.
- Van Wyk, B. 2016. "Indigenous Rights, Indigenous Epistemologies, and Language: (Re)construction of Modern Khoisan Identities". *Knowledge Cultures*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 33–45.
- Verbuyst, R. 2015. "Claiming Cape Town: Ethnographic interpretations of Khoisan activism and land claims". Master Thesis - Research Master African Studies Leiden University/African Studies Centre

- Verbuyst, R. 2016. "Claiming Cape Town: towards a symbolic interpretation of Khoisan activism and land claims", *Anthropology Southern Africa*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 83-96.
- Viljoen, R. 2011. "'Cape of Execution': The gallows at the Cape of Good Hope as represented in the colonial art of Johannes Rach and Lady Anne Barnard". *SAJAH*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 156-170.
- Violi, P., 2012. "Trauma site museums and politics of memory: Tuol Sleng, Villa Grimaldi and the Bologna Ustica Museum". *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1, 36-75.
- Visagie, G., G. 1969. "Regspiegeling en reg aan die Kaap van 1652-1806". Cape Town: Juta.
- Weeder, M. 2006. "The Palaces of Memory". Unpublished MA thesis, University of the Western Cape.
- Witten, L. 2015. "Castle's Remake as Beacon of Inclusivity: for its 350th Anniversary, the Castle of Good Hope Honours its History". *Cape Argus*, 9 December: 9.
- Witz, L., Minkley, G., and Rassool, C. 2017. "Unsettled History: Making South African Public Pasts". Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Worden, N. 1982. "Violence, Crime and Slavery on Cape Farmsteads in the Eighteenth century", *Kronos* (5): 43-60.
- Worden, N. 1985. "Slavery in Dutch South Africa". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Worden, N. and Ward, K. 1998. "Commemorating, Suppressing and Invoking Cape Slavery", in *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Memory in South Africa*, Nuttall, S. and Coetzee, C. (eds), Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Worden, N. 1999. "Space and Identity in VOC Cape Town", *Kronos*, No. 25, Pre-millennium Issue.
- Worden, N., and Groenewald, G. 2005. "Trials of Slavery: Selected Documents Concerning Slaves from the Criminal Records of the Council of Justice at the Cape of Good Hope 1705-1994". Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- World Heritage Centre of UNESCO. 2018. "Interpretation of sites of memory".
- Wright, J. 2014. "Working with Southern Africa's Pasts 1500-1880". In Ntsebeza, L., and Saunders, C. (eds) *The Pre-colonial Catalytic Project* Vol. 1.
- Yin, R. K. 2002. "Case study research: Design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Zwarteveen, B. 2016. "The Castle of Good Hope".
https://www.academia.edu/26140843/The_Castle_of_Good_Hope_Research_Part_I_Introduction_and_theory [online: 22 July 2019]

Appendix One

NO EASY PATH (1974)

no reply from Minister Connie Mulder

Minister of the Interior

no reply from Minister PW Botha

Minister of Defence

one single letter

stating you will serve

you have been allocated

number 72572118N

and will report to

the Castle of Good Hope

and are allocated

to the 8 SA Infantry

Upington base

fetches, under escort

taken to the Castle

under protest

I again made it known

I was 'Coloured'

and refused to serve

in the white army

of the oppressors of our people

response –
mocking laughter
pushed from NCO to NCO
like a rag doll
ons ken vir jou Kommunis²⁸
you will do as you are told
or otherwise you go home
as a story in the newspaper
“en ons sal sê
dat dit was jou maatjies
die terroriste kommuniste
wat jou vrek gemaak
jy sal jou gat laat sien!
jou Bont Hotnot
halfnaatjie”²⁹
I refused to march
..... just ambled
refused to salute
refused to follow orders
refused to accept a rifle
let it fall to the ground
held up, pinned to the wall

²⁸“we know who you are Communist”

²⁹“we will say that it was your friends the terrorist communist friends who killed you. It will be the end of you! You multi-coloured Hottentot half-breed”.

arms forced around the rifle
refused to grip it
let it fall again
I repeated over and over again
“you can take the horse to the water
but you can’t make it drink”
rifle barrel shoved under my chin
rifle butt hit on the head
abuse upon abuse upon abuse
drilled into the ground
mobbed by others, 20 voices shouting
they were forced to exert peer pressure
or face punishment
coughed up blood
lost my voice
Chaplain asked to lecture me
urged sensibility, told me I was inspired by the devil
sent under guard to Pretoria
same procedure, feigning that they did not know about my case
“you can take the horse to the water
but you cannot make it drink
I am what I am
you will never break me”
repeatedly arrested and released

they used every tactic in the book
to try to turn me around
turned me into a servant of an NCO
a 'batman' – had to wash his clothes
and carry out humiliating menial chores
never addressed by name
always....
Kommunis³⁰
Terroris³¹
Rooi Rus³²
Bont Hotnot³³
Halfnaatjie³⁴
Kaffirboetie..... Kippie die kont³⁵
for two long years
regular arrest and interrogation
accused of sabotage
accused of transmitting
information to the enemy
told that I would be put on trial
for treason

³⁰"Communist"

³¹"Terrorist"

³²"Red Russian"

³³"Multi-coloured Hottentot" (derogatory reference often made by a white person to a 'coloured' person during apartheid)

³⁴"Half-breed"

³⁵"Little brother of a kaffir (derogatory reference often made by a white person to a black person during apartheid; non-believer) ... the ass"

abused, being rough up, assaulted
threats of death
hoisted up off my feet
hand around my throat
gun put at my head
told that I should say my last prayers
always spied on and under supervision
taken to a police indoctrination centre
lectured by former turncoat Askaries³⁶
offered to be deported as a prohibited person
finally released – labelled ‘Other Coloured’
to them – ‘Bont Hotnot’³⁷
told they will watch my every move
Kommunis³⁸, you will make a mistake
and we WILL get you
and send you to your grave.

³⁶“Soldier”

³⁷“Multi-coloured Hottentot” (derogatory reference often made by a white person to a ‘coloured’ person during apartheid)

³⁸“Communist”

Appendix Two

Biographies

(unedited versions received from participants)

Lynn Abrahams

I am a 48-year-old single parent to a 14-year-old son. I am an innovative, creative and visionary person, committed to succeed in whatever I do. I believe in equality and justice and I am dedicated and discipline in building a prosperous, non-racial and non-sexist society whereby all South Africans have access to and are able to enjoy the constitutional imperatives bestowed upon them. I regard myself as a heritage and gender violence activist who believe in the restoration of human dignity.

I matriculated from Kasselsvlei high school in 1989 and in 1990 I enrolled at the University of the Western Cape. I graduated with a Higher Diploma in education and also a Bachelors in Education (Honours degree). I then went to the University of the Witwatersrand and graduated with a BA Honours in Heritage after which I completed my Masters in History at the University of the Western Cape. I am currently a PhD (History) candidate in the faculty of Humanities at the University of South Africa.

I also completed a 6-month African Thought Leadership Programme at the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute. In addition to this, I completed a project management course (UK) as well as a policy writing course at the School of Government.

I am currently a Social History Curator at Iziko Museum.

Riaan Shane Baartman



BIOGRAPHY OF A WARRIOR (!KHAM-AO): Riaan Shane Baartman was born and bred in a small Western Cape town called Oudtshoorn. Poverty was entrenched in the make-up of his family with his grandfather being a railway worker and his grandmother being a stay at home all-rounder. The teaching he received from his grandparents, particularly his grandfather, Johannes Baartman, stimulated his inquisitiveness. He knew from a young age that his surname was synonymous with the history of the Khoi and San and having a grandfather commonly known as “Baas

Baartman” made him even more curious. From a very young age Riaan felt the divide in his society and had to hear harrowing stories of how his whole ancestral line was forcibly removed from place to place. From the valleys of the Great Gamtoosriver to small town living, first in Suikerbult and then Bridgton. Riaan matriculated at Bridgton Senior Secondary, one of the epicenter schools fighting apartheid. In 1996 he joined the South African National Defence Force mainly to provide for the extensive family. His grandparents started preparing him for the role he needs to play in society, although at that time, to him it was old peoples tales.

While in the SANDF, Riaan enrolled at Technicon SA to study towards a Diploma in Human Resource Management. He became involved in activities promoting cultural diversity in the SANDF. While on this drive to enlighten, Riaan found no mention of the Khoi and San and began reading up. Startlingly, and to his dismay, the history of the Khoi and San was given a backseat role in the broader history of South Africa and that spurred him to action. He started by being more active in the issues that pertained to the Khoi and San, even joining with the group that had the Deputy President then, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, sign their memorandum on Christmas Day 2017. Riaan moved to Cape Town where he started learning more about the ways of the Khoi and San, eventually being culturally put through the !NAU.

Riaan assumed the role as a young Korana Chief in the House of Damaqua !Kei Korana under Paramount Chief William Human. His active love and passion for the history of the First Nation

people served as encouragement for him to want to do more and learn more. He enrolled at the University of Cape Town for their Basic language course on Khoekhoegowab and it was while doing this, he discovered the role he needs to play in the Indigenous peoples' emancipation. He is an active member of the Western Cape Language Committee, dealing with official languages as well as Indigenous languages and have been involved in translation existing books into Khoekhoegowab. One example is Die Kokerboom and an article he wrote for the Western Cape magazine, Better Together. His passion for the languages of the First Nation peoples will always be at the core of what he does, even going as far as to start a small training group within the Korana House, teaching Khoekhoegowab to this day.



Lucelle Campbell

My interest is uncovering stories of people who prided themselves on the richness of their environment, heritage and culture. This knowledge provides me with clarity about my humanity, identity and the mission that defines my world view.

I am a !Xam, KHOE women, aboriginal descendant of the first indigenous peoples and later our enslaved fore-bearers on whose backs the phenomenal wealth of this land was built. I make no apologies for rejecting the authorised narrative and telling authentic stories which have been untold for centuries as a form of resistance.

I worked and studied at Iziko National Museums of Cape Town for 10 years (1998-2008), first at Groot Constantia Museum followed by an internship at the Slave Lodge Museum.

My studies and work in heritage and museum management allowed me to engage with other countries - Sweden and Zimbabwe - and museum practitioners who, like ourselves, were challenged to turn colonial collections into African peoples' museums.

As part of the internship I concluded a mini thesis on Cape Slavery at UWC under mentorship of historian Dr. Andrew Banks. With this learning I started building Transcending History Tours (THT) in 2008.

THT is a labour of love, reflecting a deeply personal story. It is not a mainstream tour company. We reach behind the veil of shame to draw out inspiring stories of people that crossed borders and mixed their blood centuries ago. Those who transcended dispossession, genocide, slavery and servitude.

We acknowledge the scars of colonialism and apartheid. By speaking our truth, we are starting to heal the archaeological trauma of the genocide of the First People and the legacy of the Afro-

Asian slave trade to Cape Town. We affirm our cross-cultural relationships and intermarriages between Khoi, San, Nguni and enslaved peoples. Part of our work includes addressing the legacy of prejudice between 'Black' and 'Coloured' people.

My work is about creating a deeper consciousness about freedom and democracy which includes dismantling patriarchy and the acceptance of LGBTIQ+ persons.

Walking In The Footsteps of Our Ancestors, My Transcending History Tours:

This tour is not mainstream and is not everyone's cup of tea. This is treading on ancestral ground, healing, light work. It is a true local experience you will never forget. It is not just a tour, it is an experience. We visit invisible traces of Memory that is not seen in the City of Cape Town.

Our Walking Tours in the Mother City engages primarily with and speaks to pre-Apartheids Cape history. It will incorporate our local history of our local Indigenous /Xam-ka !Eis 'San' later joined by the Khoena 'Khoi' and the Coboqua-//Kosa the Nguni and later the enslaved peoples who were here through the Asian-Indonesian-Indian-African slave trade to the Mother City Cape Town which stretches across oceans of seas both the Indian and the Atlantic. We visit the old Slave Lodge on the corner of Wale and Adderley Street which was a warehouse for slaves brought to the Cape in the 1600's.

We engage with questions like, who are you? Where do you come from? And speaking to our past (history) first, into the current settler legacies.

We choose to highlight and emphasize topical issues for example, race and racism, inter-generation trauma and wealth (economy), identity and the loss of it, stereotypical notions of ourselves and how and what we were taught to believe, we speak of genocide and its denial including language, culture and our polyglot/diverse communities we were born into.

Calvyn Travers Gilfellan

Calvyn Gilfellan (57), the current CEO of the Castle Control Board, has over 30 years of experience in tourism, training, academic research, marketing, consulting, public administration, strategic planning and governance. Under his leadership, the image of the Castle of Good Hope has been transformed from a bastion of armed colonial conquest and Apartheid oppression, into a symbol of inclusion, education, healing and nation-building.



After completion of his BA Honours degree in Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of the Western Cape in 1984, he joined UWC as a junior lecturer / researcher in February 1985. Whilst lecturing, Calvyn completed his Master's Degree in Geography and Environmental Studies at UWC in 1991. His thesis is titled *“The Socioeconomic, Cultural and Morphological Impact of Tourism on Historic Mission Stations in the Western Cape: Genadendal, Elim Wupperthal.”*

In 1997, he received the prestigious Ernest Oppenheimer Fellowship to do post-graduate research at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies. He returned to spearhead the development of UWC's first full degree course in Tourism in 1999.

In 2000, after more than 14 years in academia, he took up the challenging position of Director: Tourism Development in the Provincial Government of Mpumalanga where he significantly contributed towards the development and transformation of the provincial tourism industry.

After his stint in government, he spent the next 8 years of his professional career in tourism marketing when he joined the Western Cape Province's Destination Marketing Organization as Executive Manager in September 2004. In March 2007, he took over as Chief Executive Officer, a position he held for the following five years. Some of his many achievements whilst in this position were the spearheading of a highly successful 2010 Soccer World Cup marketing campaign as well as 5 consecutive clean and unqualified audit opinions from the Auditor General of South Africa. This trend continued in his current position with clean audit outcomes over the last 3 years.

Before joining the Castle in April 2013, he completed three government sponsored research projects namely: “*Youth Development In The Northern Cape: A Ten Year Review*” (with Anix Consulting-Northern Cape Department of Social Development, 2012), “*An Integrated Tourism Development and Marketing Strategy for the Cederberg*” (with Chervent Consulting, Cederberg Municipality, 2013) and “*A Review of Drakenstein’s Tourism Strategy*” (with Chervent Consulting, Drakenstein Municipality, 2013).

Gilfellan is very active in the field of critical heritage studies and research. Besides his many public opinion pieces on contemporary heritage debates, he has published the following papers: “*The Castle of Good Hope: Re-imagining a relic from our haunted past*” (Ubuntu, Issue 5, 2013); *The Commercialization of Heritage: Key Insights from South Africa’s Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town, South Africa* (InterpNews, Vol.5, No. 3, May/June 2016) and “*History of the Department of Geography, Environmental Studies and Tourism at University of the Western Cape*” (In: Gustav Visser, Ronnie Donaldson, Cecil Seethal, 2016: The Origin and Growth of Geography as a discipline at South Africa Universities). Gilfellan served as external moderator for graduate and post-graduate tourism students at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University and the University of the Western Cape.

This former anti-apartheid activist has held various leadership positions in community and professional organizations *inter alia* ANC Councillor on the Paarl and Cape Winelands Municipal Councils (1995-1996), the National Education Crisis Committee (1985 - 1987), Paarl Students Association (1985 – 1990), Paarl Teachers Union (1987 – 1993), South African Democratic Teachers Union (1994 – 1997), Paarl Museum (1997 – 1999), National Tourism Standards Generating Body (1999 – 2001), Paarl Rugby Union (1987 – 1990), Mpumalanga Tourism Board (2000 – 2004) and South East Africa Tourism Committee (2000 – 2004), the Castle Control Board (since 2013) and the School Governing Body of New Orleans Senior Secondary School, Paarl.

Gilfellan is resident in Paarl and is married to Rochelle. The couple has three children namely Travers (23), Nicole (20) and Lenice (15).

Nadeem Hendricks

Nadeem Hendricks comes from a school of political thinking – Leon Trotsky, Karl Marx, and Fidel Castro – that seriously analyses the political landscape of education in South Africa. He matriculated from Trafalgar High School in 1975.

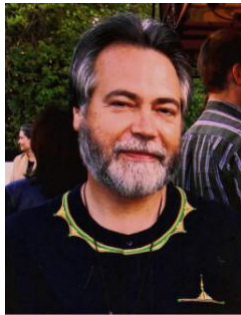
For two years thereafter, he taught at Battswood Primary School, followed by Livingstone High School. He then was employed as a teacher at Trafalgar.

During the turbulent period of 1976 and 1977, as the apartheid state felt the fury of the youth in the wake of the Soweto uprising, he helped to organise student protests.

The most challenging days of his career came during the 1982 and 1985 unrest, when the school became something of a staging point for anti-apartheid protests. This was an era when learners were being detained and beaten up, and as educators they formed a committee to protect and fetch students who were on the run. They had to drive out into the Cape Flats to rally support at rallies and meetings. He played a pivotal role with other educators to ensure the safety of the learners, as they had to organise safe houses for the kids and themselves.

He later was employed as Principal at Trafalgar High and in 2018 he retired from teaching after 40 years.

Patric Tariq Mellet



Patric Tariq Mellet, is known as a HERITAGE WHISPERER and was born and grew up in the poor working class districts of old Cape Town – Salt River, Woodstock and District Six, and was from a community defined by Apartheid as “Other Coloured”. His two grandmothers were ‘Coloured’ and two grandfathers were an Englishman and an Afrikaner of mixed heritage. In his teens, as a 16 year old young worker he joined the trades

union movement, the Young Christian Workers movement and also formed an organisation called the All-African Southern Socialist Working Youth movement. At this time he started two newspapers which one after the other were banned by the Apartheid Regime – ‘Young Voice’ and ‘New Voice’, which started his life-long journalistic and media communications activities in print media, Radio and television. Having left school without being able to finish high school he trained in two artisanship’s as a mechanical engineering fitter and turner and as a lithographic printer.

During the 1976 national youth uprising he joined the liberation movement and within four years took up arms to oppose Apartheid. As a result of subversive activities against the Apartheid state he was exiled for 15 years to other parts of Africa and the globe. He worked in the Office of ANC President OR Tambo in the Department of Information and Publicity as a printer, journalist and member of a number of publications editorial boards. Over these years he produced all of the ANC and its allies underground literature and literature for its international campaigns. He also represented the ANC and the SACTU as a public speaker throughout Europe. This was only broken during his further studies in printing and publishing at the University of the Arts – London College of Communication. Over the years he has worked and travelled in over 30 countries across the world.

On returning from exile Patric first worked in communications field within the Early Childhood Education arena before 1994, and then served as the first Director of Public Relations & International Visits in the Parliament of SA – including liaison between the office of President Nelson Mandela and Parliament. In later years he served as Special Advisor to Minister Naledi Pandor as well as Director Aviation and Maritime Ports Control where he served as Commanding Officer of border control and immigration at South Africa’s international airports and harbours. He is now retired.



Patric has also spent a lifetime in storytelling and promoting understanding of identity, history and heritage involving Cape Indigene and Cape Slavery heritage and history and was recognised for his work in receiving Provincial Honours in 2009. He has published two books on the subject, made two TV documentary series and is frequently in the news media speaking on issues of Camissa African identity still referred to by the Apartheid term - ‘Coloured’. In 1999 he attained a Master of Science degree from the University College of Buckinghamshire-Chilterns where his dissertation covered Cape Slavery and Cape Indigene heritage as a niche area in heritage tourism. Presently he is writing two more books and is in the process of establishing a museum on the ‘Peopling of the Cape’ at the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town. Patric Tariq Mellet also serves as a councillor appointed by the Minister of Sport, Arts and Culture on the Governance Council of the South African Heritage Resources Agency.



Patric Tariq Mellet’s own family tree has 28 slave ancestors from Angola, Madagascar, Ethiopia, India, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sulawezi - Makassar as well as Creole locally born slaves. He further has 5 Indigenous Cape African ancestors of the !Ammaqua and Cochoqua Khoe people, and 19 non-conformist Europeans of different nationalities. He celebrates all in his tapestry Camissa African ancestry.

Presently Tariq (as he is more commonly known) and his Thai wife Asirawan Leena Mellet live in West Beach, Bloubergstrand in Cape Town where they run a small home based project incorporating a guesthouse facility in their home, together with a traditional medicine Thai spa and a slavery heritage reflection centre. It is called Asirawan Siam Healing House & SA-Thai

Slave Heritage Reflection Centre. The centre also provides a place of mental healing for activists past and present and for cadres who have opposed corruption in the state sector and been victimised for it, to come and rest and unburden themselves. Tariq practices a syncretic faith and he describes his political beliefs as non-doctrinaire and nuanced, considering himself as a champion of underclass hegemony in society and as having a political consciousness of Socialism with African-Asian characteristics orientated to the MANY not the FEW.

Tariq has 3 sons – Dylan Mtshali, Manuel Bram, and Vuyo Beyers Joao; two step-children, Watsana and Cheyttha; and 6 grandchildren – Caleb, Tyler, Arian, Celeo, Ella and Nongnaam. Tariq further has a very special relationship with his spirit-daughter and closest friend Samantha Castle. He continues to be proudly African, proudly part of a family of Southern African communities, and proudly Camissa. It is in this context that he celebrates being South African.

Bradley van Sitters

“In all the years of service in the Cultural Industry the most memorable moments were spend with personages the likes of Oom David Kruiper of the Kgalagadi San Bushman; “Gaob” King Dr. Rev. Captain //Gawamuma /Onob Hendrik Witbooi of the /Khobese Nama in Namibia and the last known !Korana dialect speakers Ouma Jacoba Maclaire (Bloemhof) and Oupa Dawid Cooper (Bloemfontein). It struck me later realizing all the above people and many others passed away in the following year(s) after we met. In this way I became a gatherer of the old tales of the Elders; a collector of life stories of those who would soon pass on...” Active with various cross disciplinary initiatives involving indigenous languages, music, literature, visual arts, dance, drama, storytelling and traditional practices which include healing, food, fashion and heritage has all fallen within the scope of my field. Primarily focused on the advancement of marginalized Khoekhoe and San languages, operations have centred on broader themes of oral history and indigenous knowledge systems through involvement in various projects. Of which includes “Planting Seeds to Hunt the Wind” Photo and Audio Exhibition; Cultural Installations and performances at the Exuberance Project, Researcher for a documentary series called “a Khoe (Human) Story” and Project Manager of the Kaapse Kinders (/Hui !Gaeb di /Gôan) School Holiday Children Programme in Lavender Hill. As public speaker, I made numerous presentations at DST/NRF South African Research Chair in Development Education, PanSALB-Khoe and San National Language Board Conferences, Iziko Museum International Mother Tongue Celebrations, Healing Memories of Pain Conference.

More recently I have been involved the “Aba te” (Carry me) Indigenous Knowledge Legacy Programme which is a cultural offering hosted at the Castle of Good Hope every Saturday for young and old alike. It has been attracting people from different walks of life, with a particular interest of the cultural landscape of Cape Town and the many layers of histories which this place holds. This initiative presented Information / Workshop Sessions ranging from Khoikhoi language, Indigenous Herbal Remedies, Social History and Mouth-bow playing. This formed part of the Castle of Good Hope’s Decolonizing-the-Castle theme in order to create an indigenous cultural hub located at the oldest building in South Africa. Ever since its inception on 29 August 2015, the “Aba te” (Carry me) Indigenous Knowledge Legacy Programme has positioned itself favourably within the Western Cape and broader South African cultural

industries, as a cultural entrepreneur with a specific focus area in Indigenous Knowledge Preservation. The programme kicked off for the year on 30 January 2016 to increase the general knowledge within the public domain regarding the early inhabitants of !Hui !Gaeb (Cape Town). “Aba te” aims to create a safe and respectful space to generate an opportunity for individuals and groups to share their narrative (s), listen to one another and understanding their own histories better. In the course of time, the “Aba te” programme evolved holistically out of the need to peer beyond the colonial “iron curtain”. It’s an attempt to unshackle our minds from colonial anthropological gazes whereby a person or a group can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or the society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. So doing, imprisoning them in a false, distorted, reduced mode of being. We would like to make people proudly South African and welcome tourist back home to the Cradle of Humankind.

The linguistic borrowings and lending’s between South African languages

The linguistic borrowings and lending’s between South African languages is a matter of great interest for me as a Social Linguist. Known in olden days as the “Tavern of the Seas”, Cape Town has for hundreds even thousands of years been a gathering place as its most iconic landmark, Table Mountain, has forever laid the table for different world cultures to find a seating. What today is known as the “table cloth” for great millennia have given character to the original name for this location, !Hui !Gaeb, gathering place of the clouds. As a home for all, Cape Town has spawned dynamic engagements and cross-pollinations of a mosaic of cultures in cultural landscape with the constant layering of history upon history. The brushing of shoulders between languages, passing and those staying has brought together ingredients for one of the most peculiar linguistic belting pots. This underlines the nature of this investigation into the linguistic lending’s and borrowings between languages of Southern Africa. Language being the genius of any people holds the secrets and memories of its speakers and how they interacted with others leaving traces of a linguistic residue.



Khoekhoegowab—Bradley van Sitters 084 961 8794 bradlox@gmail.com

There are a number of words used everyday on the Cape Flats that have its origin within the Khoi and San language families. This workshop explores these relations and goes as far as giving its participants a foundational platform to have a basic command of the Khoekhoegowab (Khoikhoi language). Everyone is welcome to participate in this language revival programme which will be closely monitored by first language speakers from Northern Cape and Namibia. Previously the programme also attracted a host of cultural activists, musicians, poets and Khoi-San revivalists with an interest in hearing the “voice of our common ancestors”. For more information about visit our blog www.khoekhoegowab.wordpress.com and <https://yazkam.wordpress.com/2014/05/29/khoi-san-language-lessons-revives-ancient-tongue/>.

Saba Zahara Honeybush

Creative Futurist

Today she tries to navigate with an identity which is diverse, intercontinental and indigenous as a heritage, environmental, creative and cultural sector strategist, activist, artist, filmmaker, healer, facilitator of social innovative processes and Communications enthusiast.

A few highlights of her career and personal journey both locally and abroad include the following: Stories of the Nature of Cities contest, with the theme City in a Wild Garden (Reviewer/Jurist), Participant at Indigenous Leaders of the World: Third Global Indigenous Workshop - in the territory of the Sarayaku in the Ecuadorian Amazon - The Center for Law, Justice and Society (Dejusticia), Winner of two awards at the 2019 'Future Cities Hackathon': Using Cape Town as a lab, the impact-orientated Future Cities Hackathon focused on the following three UN Sustainable Development Goals: SDG 6: Clean Water & Sanitation, SDG 11: Life Below Water, SDG 14: Sustainable Cities & Communities, Co-directing/Research 'Gutted' - Greenpeace Africa's newest documentary: Gutted, which zooms in on the declining fishing culture in the Western Cape, explores how laws favour the industrialisation of fishing in South Africa and have changed the socioeconomic situation of fishing communities, Youth Artivism Workshop: Providing a safe space for all children but in particular children from historically disadvantaged communities together with artists and activists; to experiment deeply with processes of creativity and reflection about environmental crises through art. Creative Arts Facilitator - Project Playground: Coordinated a children's' printmaking exhibition at the National Museum of Stockholm, Series of Children's artwork exhibited and sold in Italy after Creative Arts facilitation with children in Kibiri, Uganda. Communications Manager -The African Arts Institute, Participant in international investment business delegation exhibition in Hong Kong and 3 major cities in China (Beijing, Shanghai and Xiamen); Arts Management Consultant - Apne Aap Women Worldwide, New Delhi & Bihar, India.

Appendix Three

The Castle of Good Hope's 350 Commemoration Programme:

Event Name	Event Description
23 Sept 2015: Khoi Cleansing Ceremony	This poignant Khoi-ritualistic ceremony was attended by a small crowd made up of 30 chiefs and traditional leaders, but the event reached 15 million through television coverage.
14 Dec 2015: Official 350 Media Launch	All significant media houses attended and through their coverage of the launch, an audience of 50 million was reached.
2 Jan 2016: Official 350 Launch Event with Deputy Minister at the exact place where the first cornerstone was laid 350 years ago.	This event was attended by 700 people and reached an audience of 35 million via media. Significantly, the day coincided and was merged with Cape Town's annual Minstrel March. The latter highlights the role of slavery in the country.
20 Feb 2016: Opening of Khoi Kraal in the Castle.	Before the Castle was built, a Khoi-settlement had to be moved to make space for it (archaeological excavations in the Castle support this). The event was attended by 250 people and the media coverage reached an audience of 15 million people. This Kraal became the subject and metaphor of many intense debates about heritage, culture and history.
3 Jun 2016: Kamers Vol Geskenke, Lifestyle Craft Market	This weekend-long event was attended by 12 000 people and reached 15 million via media coverage. In the spirit of inclusion and reconciliation, this was one of only two private sector events included in 350th Commemoration programme.
19 Aug 2016: Women's Parade & Krotoa's "Spirit" is brought back to the Castle.	This emotionally charged, significant event attracted 600 people and 20 million via media. The event was broadcast live by SABC.
26 Oct 2016: Cape Town Flower Show	This unprecedented event was attended by 11 000 people and reached another 25 million via the media.
9 Dec 2016: Presidential Closing Ceremony	This live broadcast-event, that consisted of a full military parade, an unveiling ceremony of four warrior kings' statues, opening of the Centre for Memory, Healing and Learning and a gala event with Minister Mapisa-Nqakula as chief functionary, was attended by 700 people. Another 50 million

	people were reached through the extensive media coverage received.
--	--

Appendix Four

Interview Questions

1. Can you tell me about your experiences during apartheid please?
2. When and how was your first visit at the castle?
3. Please describe a typical day for you touring/working at the castle.
4. Is the castle a site that needs to be visited?
5. How do you feel about the history that is being produced at the castle?
6. Are there inclusive reflections of South Africa's diverse heritage in the castle's tours?
7. How do you feel about the memorialised spaces at the castle?
8. What do you like and dislike at the castle and why?
9. Are there tours that provide an alternative history to that which is conducted at the castle?
10. How do you feel about the castle being regarded as a trauma site?
11. Do you navigate the places where mass trauma and torture occurred at the castle?
12. Does the memorialisation at the castle need redress?