The Relevance of the Biopic *Krotoa (2017): A Mis-Representation of History?*

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of the Master of Arts (by dissertation) in Film Studies degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Date: 01.06.20

Signed by candidate

Abstract

This dissertation examines the representation the Khoi woman Krotoa in the film of the same name directed by Roberta Durrant (2017). It draws on scholarship by Pamela Scully (2005) and Julia C. Wells (1997), who argue that Krotoa adapted well to her circumstances, following the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck at the Cape in 1652. Krotoa used her gender to influence Van Riebeeck's decision-making, regarding trade relations with the Khoi people. This thesis shows these views to be complicated and contested, especially considering evidence of victimisation and sexual assault of indigenous women by colonial authorities – as Pamela Scully (2005) has noted. Yvette Abrahams (1996) also wrote that Krotoa's alcoholism indicated some form of trauma. Simultaneously, indigenous people were also stereotyped based on race. They were deemed immoral and generally inferior to Europeans. These ideologies were perpetuated by European writings on encounters with indigenous people, as scholars like Nicholas Hudson (2004) write. Additionally, indigenous women such as Sarah Baartman, were perceived by Europeans as sexually deviant and hyper-sexual – as written by Zine Magubane (2001). It is for this reason therefore, that issues of identity, sexuality and gender are significant to this study on, *Krotoa* (2017). Furthermore, in bringing together the narratives of Sarah Baartman and Krotoa, it emphasizes how indigenous women have been marginalised and abused within a colonial society. Critical analysis of the film indicates that history has been distorted by the way Krotoa is represented. This was largely due to the perception that the film is told from the perspective of a 'white' man, as Rusana Philander (2017) discusses. Moreover, due to the extent to which Durrant's film has been influenced by the past, I argue that Krotoa is mis-represented – both in history and in her representation on-screen

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"*A mind of understanding and intellect is from You*" – prayer for knowledge from the Amidah

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Glossary

Aesthetic: 'Aesthetic' refers to the visual look and 'feel' of a filmic image. Lam (2017:90) writes,

> "Audiences inherently understand that to engage with the narrative they first need to read the images, not as a reflection of actuality but as a fictional reality, one in which the emotional reality of the construct is paramount to disengaging with their lived reality in order to enter the constructed world."[1]

Agency: Ahearn (2001:112) loosely defines the term 'agency' as, "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act."[2]

Auteur: Cook (2007:387) cites the work in the *Cashiers du cinema*, saying that, "the director, like any other artist, was the creative source of the finished product."[3]

Biopic: Biographical picture (in this context, the term 'picture' is synonymous with a film).[4] It is a film genre.

Censorship: "Censorship occurs when published or shared works, like books, films, or art work, are kept from public access by restriction or removal from libraries, museums, or other public venues" (Boyd & Bailey, 2009:653).[5]

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[1] Lam, C. 2017. Emotional Realism and Actuality: The Function of Prosumer Aesthetics in Film. *IAFOR Journal of Media, Communication & Film*. 2(1):87–101.

[2] Ahearn, L.M. 2001. Language and Agency. *Annual review of anthropology.* 30(1):109–137.

[3] Cook, P. 2007. *The cinema book*. 3rd ed. London: BFI.

[4] Petrolle, J. 2014. *The Biopic in Contemporary Film Culture*. Eds. T. Brown & B. Vidal. *Biography*. 37(3):797-799.

[5] Boyd, F.B. & Bailey, N.M. 2009. Censorship in three metaphors. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*. 52(8):653-661.

Eurocentric: (*adj.*) Eurocentrism (*noun*) "Eurocentrism is located wherever there is a defining influence of Europe or the West" (Sardar, 1999:44).[6] It was used by various colonial powers as a mechanism to erase indigenous identities and cultures, in that it characterized these social factors as, 'primitive.'

Ethnicity: Belonging to a group with shared nationality and cultural tradition (Oxford dictionary). Some scholars have argued that traditions around nationalism are, "invented" (Calhoun, 1993:236).[7] It can therefore be argued that the concept ethnicity is a social construct. "[E]thnic identity is constituted, maintained, and invoked in social processes that involve diverse intentions, constructions of meaning, and conflicts" (Calhoun, 1993:236).

Fallacy: Various scholars have done work on the fallacy theory but can be commonly understood as, "an argument that seems valid but is not really so" (Hansen, 2002:132).[8]

Gender: Often intrinsically linked to gender roles and power relations (within society), particularly in previous decades' research and understanding on 'gender' as a concept.[9]

Heterogenous: Refers to diversity, which following Merkel & Weiffen (2012:390) I link to identity and individuality.

> "Heterogeneity is logically linked to identity. Only if clearly discernible identities exist in society can we also speak of heterogeneity, which reflects the social universe of these different identities. People tend to describe their identities in distinguishing themselves from others, and they do it in modern societies in increasingly multiple ways: class, gen- der, ethnicity, race, language, religion, sexual orientation and so forth. These identities are by no means mutually exclusive, they rather coexist in different

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[6] Sardar, Z. 1999. Development and the Locations of Eurocentrism. *Critical development theory: Contributions to a new paradigm*. 44-62.

[7] Calhoun, C. 1993. Nationalism and Ethnicity. *Annual review of sociology.* 19(1):211–239.

[8] Hansen, H.V. 2002. The straw thing of fallacy theory: the standard definition of 'fallacy'. *Argumentation*. 16(2):133–155.

[9] Jenkins, S.R. 2000. Introduction to the special issue: Defining gender, relationships, and power. *Sex Roles.* 42(7-8):467–493.

combinations and forms in complex societies and nation-states" (Merkel & Weiffen, 2012:390).[10]

History: In this study I use Liu & Hilton's (2005:537) notion of history.

> "History provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going. It defines a trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges. A group's representation of its history will condition its sense of what it was, is, can and should be, and is thus central to the construction of its identity, norms, and values. Representations of history help to define the social identity of peoples, especially in how they relate to other peoples and to current issues of international politics and internal diversity" (Liu & Hilton, 2005:537).[11]

In the context of South African history, indigenous groups (like the Khoi people) did not have the right to self-determination once the Dutch landed at the Cape. This has marred South African historical development and the denial of autonomy during the colonial period was extended through apartheid.

Identity: The apartheid regime racially classified people into racialized terms such as, 'black, white' and 'coloured' (Seekings, 2008). Furthermore, nowadays, during the post-apartheid period, the author argues that racism has significantly declined. There has also been a shift in the way people frame their identities – many refer to themselves as South African (rather than simply through racial categories), or through cultural and religious aspects, such as being Afrikaans or Muslim.[12]

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[10] Merkel, W. & Weiffen, B. 2012. Does heterogeneity hinder democracy? *Comparative Sociology*. 11(3):387-421.

[11] Liu, J.H. & Hilton, D. J. 2005. How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *The British journal of social psychology.* 44(4):537–556.

[12] Seekings, J. 2008. The continuing salience of race: Discrimination and diversity in South Africa. *Journal of contemporary African studies.* 26(1):1–25.

It is the aim of this dissertation, to speak about indigenous groups like the Khoi people, in a non-racialised way.

Ideology: Scholars such as Knight (2006:623) assert that the term "ideology" first came to be used within the field of Political Sciences. The term was often used in relation to political systems such as Communism and Fascism. However, I follow the author who understands it to indicate "a set of beliefs" in more generalised terms.[13] Furthermore, it also defined as, "a set of social values, ideas, beliefs, feelings, representations, and institutions by which people collectively make sense of the world they live in" (O'Shaughnessy, 1999:191).

Marginalisation: I use this term to refer to the "involuntary exclusion from participation in one or more spheres of life. This definition focuses on the involuntary exclusion of an individual from participating in a society" (Keung Wong, Li & Song, 2007:33). [14]

Mis-representation: Francis & Francis (2010) articulate issues related to *representation* and *mis-representation*. Their study examines how the San people have been represented as hunter-gatherers in a manner that is racialized, particularly by the international community. Moreover, they argue that San people have often been defined as primitive and inferior.[15] This has reinforced negative perceptions about indigenous people, leading to stereotypes – rather than focusing on shared values and humanity. The case-study of the San people's (mis)representation is shown to be directly applicable to Krotoa's life story. Therefore, I use the term 'mis-representation' to explain the ways that certain colonial perspectives on

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[13] Knight, K. 2006. Transformations of the Concept of Ideology in the Twentieth Century. *The American political science review.* 100(4):619-626. See also: O'Shaughnessy, 1999:191. In, O'Shaughnessy, M. 1999. *Media & Society: an introduction.* South Melbourne: Oxford University Press

[14] Keung Wong, D.F. et al. 2007. Rural migrant workers in urban China: living a marginalised life. *International journal of social welfare.* 16(1):32–40.

[15] Francis, M. & Francis, S. 2010. Representation and misrepresentation: San regional advocacy and the global imagery. *Critical arts.* 24(2):210–227.

indigenous people, like Krotoa, have often been racialised, value laden and incorrect. It is inherently incorrect, as it tends to characterise indigenous people through racialised stereotypes, which have been perpetuated through the centuries.

Motif: A recurring narrative unit appearing in a story that symbolizes something deeper. An example used in this book is the snake symbolizing evil in Judeo-Christian tradition, but is, "sacred" in India (Garry, 2017:xvii).[16]

Orientalism: The term 'orientalism' was first used by Edward Saïd in 1978. For the author, it refers to the notion of, alterity, "and the validity of the concept of *the Other*" (Buchowski, 2006:464). [17]

Other(ing): Here the term is used particularly in relation to women of colour, attributing less worth to them (Beniuk, 2012:80). [18] This term relates to the way European men have exerted (sexual) power over the bodies of indigenous women in the lands that they were conquering.

> "[The] [w]oman [becomes] the object and Man the subject. In being the object, Woman becomes the Other. The Other, as object, is a fixed thing, while the subject has agency. Woman is reduced to a reproductive function, as a womb and as a means of male pleasure" (Beniuk, 2012:83).

Postcolonial(ism): As an academic field this refers to, "the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism" (Loomba, 2007:12). [19]

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[16] Garry, J. 2017. *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature: A Handbook*. J. Garry & H. El-Shamy, Eds. Vancouver: Routledge.

[17] Buchowski, M. 2006. Social thought & commentary: the specter of orientalism in Europe: from exotic other to stigmatized brother. *Anthropological Quarterly*. 79(3):463-482.

[18] Beniuk, J. 2012. Indigenous women as the other: An analysis of the missing women's commission of inquiry. *The Arbutus Review*. 3(2):80-97.

[19] Loomba, A. 2007. Colonialism/postcolonialism. Oxon: Routledge.

Race: The characterisation of groups of people based on physical and cultural difference. Some scholars argue that race is not defined through biological terms, but that it is rather a social construction.[20]

Regime: "Rules and basic political resource allocations according to which actors exercise authority by imposing and enforcing collective decisions on a bounded constituency" (Kitschelt, 1992:1028).[21] A (political) regime, like apartheid in South Africa, imposed segregationist laws on the 'black' majority, which were oppressive and racist in nature.

Representation: [See (mis)representation] Drawing on Francis & Francis (2010) the dissertation centres on issues of *representation* and *mis-representation* related to indigenous people.[22] The work demonstrates the perpetuation of a certain patterns of representation of indigenous people that reify cultural and epistemic divides.

Semiotics: Semiotics refers to the "study of meaningful signs" (Lawes, 2019:252).[23] Furthermore, O'Shaughnessy & Stadler (2012:134) define it as, "Any message, any meaning, can be communicated only through signs and a sign system."

Sexuality: "Sexuality refers to one's own urges for other sentient beings, other

things, and one's self, as well as to one's eroticism as it is projected by and

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[20] Miles, R. 1980. 'Class, race and ethnicity: a critique of Cox's theory'. *Ethnic & Racial Studies*. 3(2):169-187. Available: doi: 10.1080/01419870.1980.9993298.

[21] Kitschelt, H. 1992. Political Regime Change: Structure and Process-Driven Explanations? *The American political science review.* 86(4):1028–1034.

[22] Francis, M. & Francis, S. 2010. Representation and misrepresentation: San regional advocacy and the global imagery. *Critical arts.* 24(2):210–227.

[23] Lawes, R. 2019. Big semiotics: Beyond signs and symbols. *International Journal of Market Research*. 61(3):252–265. See also: O'Shaughnessy, M. et al. 2012. *Media and society*. 5th ed. South Melbourne, Vic: Oxford University Press.

appeals to others" (Denisoff, 2018:883).[24]

(Sexual) objectification: "Sexual objectification occurs when a per- son, typically a woman, is reduced to her sex appeal or sexuality for the use and pleasure of others. When people are perceived as sex objects, they are not seen as fully human, deserving of dignity and respect. Sexual ob-jectification can be directed at anyone, but relative to men, objectification is dispropor- ionately directed at women" [sic] (Gervais & Eagan, 2017: 226).[25]

[24] Denisoff, D. 2018. Sexuality. *Victorian Literature and Culture*. 46(3-4):882–885.

[25] Gervais, S.J. & Eagan, S. 2017. Sexual Objectification: The Common Thread Connecting Myriad Forms of Sexual Violence Against Women. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 87(3): 226–232.

1. Introduction and Methodology

Films are more than just texts that are passively consumed by audiences, solely for the purpose of entertainment. They are visual-medium texts, which possess the potential to create dialogue and disrupt societal norms (Tomaselli,1980). In the context of post-apartheid, the South African film, *Krotoa* (2017) sparked controversy and dialogue following its release. The controversy was related to the depiction of the historical figure Krotoa, which is the focus of this study. Its filmic narrative is not fictional, but rather an attempt to reflect a pivotal moment in South African history.

As the opening credits of the film declare, *Krotoa* (2017) is, "inspired by historical facts." This biopic tells the story of how a young Khoi girl named Krotoa, rose to prominence under the guidance of Van Riebeeck. After landing at the Cape in 1652, the Dutch and various indigenous Khoi groups began trading goods of all kinds. Van Riebeeck saw the benefit of having someone from one of these clans close at hand to provide him with information regarding the best traders to do business with, as well as to gain insight into where the most fertile land was. It was at this point that Krotoa's uncle, Autshumato, persuaded Van Riebeeck to take Krotoa in to assist with duties inside the Fort.

Figure 1 Jane Bennett, 2016 – Gender and History Lecture (UCT)

Krotoa soon caught Van Riebeeck's attention as he saw her potential to perform other tasks beyond working as a servant. She had initially been under the instruction of Van Riebeeck's wife, Maria, but Commander Van Riebeeck saw that Krotoa learned the Dutch language and customs quickly. Hence, he made her his official interpreter and she provided insights into various indigenous customs when he had dealings with the clans. This placed Krotoa in an ambiguous position in relation to both the Dutch and her people.

However, the more Krotoa was consulted on matters of dispute between the Dutch and some clans, Van Riebeeck suspected that Krotoa was, 'not always truthful' particularly when the Dutch sought information on acquiring cattle and better grazing land. Moreover, Krotoa's friends and relatives became more suspicious of her, as it seemed to them that she was siding with the Dutch and had forgotten her people. Various texts (Malherbe, 1990; Press, 1990; Samuelson, 2007) show how Krotoa was eager to please the Dutch, but that she also yearned for her own people. It became increasingly apparent that she was indeed, "caught between two worlds" as the film conveys (*Krotoa*, 2017; Malherbe, 1990). Her people eventually despised and disowned her. When Van Riebeeck left the Cape, Krotoa lost her sense of purpose.

While Van Riebeeck had worked closely with Krotoa, the new governor Zacharias Wagenaar did not want her opinion on trading (or anything else, for that matter). She and her husband, Pieter Van Meerhof, were subsequently sent to live on the penal colony, Robben Island. Once there, Krotoa had nothing to do and took to wandering on the beach and drinking alcohol. During this time, the relationship between Pieter Van Meerhof and Krotoa was strained. This is depicted in the film, but audiences are hardly provided with any insights into what their family life may have been like at this time (*Krotoa*, 2017). The pair had recently married and already had two children named Jakobus and Pieternella. Dalene Matthee's (2000) historical novel, works to illustrate what Krotoa's family life may have looked like for the short period that she was married to Van Meerhof, and is referred to on multiple occasions throughout the

dissertation. The novel depicts a beautiful memory Pieternella has of her father. It is written that, "*Van die helder stukkies was die skoene wat haar pa vir haar gemaak het. Van hout. Dan't hy dit met so 'n skerp ysterding uitgehol en sy moes haar voet insteek en sê waar dit knel*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:214).[26] Other memories of her father include how he told her and her brother Jakobus about the kings in his country and how he and his siblings went sledding in the snow (Matthee, 2000).

These memories that Pieternella has about her early family life suggest that she was happy, particularly when her father was still alive. When Pieternella asks Tant Theuntjie (while onboard the ship) if she ever knew her father, she replies, "*Hoe sal ek hom nie geken het nie? Mooi man gewees. Mooiste man aan die Kaap. Grootste gatlekker ook*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:116).[27] The novel presents further consensus among Krotoa and Tant Theuntjie, that Pieter Van Meerhof is a handsome man (Matthee, 2000). However, in Tant Theuntjie referring to Van Meerhof as a, "*gatlekker*", it is implied that she did not think highly of his character (Matthee, 2000:116). Such descriptive words reinforce distortion of character.

Moreover, through discovering the love that Krotoa had for Pieter Van Meerhof, it becomes clear that his death surely must have been an emotional trauma for her. The impact on her emotional state is addressed in the dissertation, particularly in the way it is presented in the film. This is also noted by Bloem (1999:9) in her historical novel, when Krotoa wonders, "How can [I] live without him?" I argue that Krotoa's drinking symbolized the deep despair she felt through losing the people that she loved and respected, including her husband.

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[26] Translation: "Some of the clear pieces were the shoes that her dad made her. Of wood. Then he hollowed it out with a sharp iron implement and she had to insert her foot into it and say where it pinched." (my own)

[27] Translation: "Why would I not have known him? [He] was a handsome man. [The] handsomest at the Cape. Biggest suck-up too." (my own)

Krotoa's heavy drinking was an embarrassment to the Dutch and she was imprisoned for her conduct. When her husband was ambushed on an expedition in Madagascar, Krotoa's drinking became excessive and the State removed her children from her care (Matthee, 2000). Sadly, Krotoa died destitute and addicted to alcohol.

Durrant's (2017) film focuses largely on her time as Van Riebeeck's interpreter and when she was banished to Robben Island. I argue that using these two significant periods in her narrative as the film's basis, adds to the way Krotoa has been mis-represented by Durrant (2017). Other arguably significant moments in her life are obscured or erased from the filmic narrative, while privileging moments in history that centre around Van Riebeeck.

Up until the release of Durrant's biopic titled, *Krotoa* in 2017, Krotoa as an historical figure had remained relatively unknown to the general South African public, unlike Sarah Baartman. Giliomee (2009), writing about the Afrikaners, argues that from the standpoint of Afrikaner nationalism, the Khoi people were the binary 'Other'. The Dutch, and later Afrikaners, viewed themselves as racially superior. Discrimination against the indigenous people was high, and there was a growing fear among the Afrikaner population that they would become idle like the 'Hottentots' (Giliomee, 2009). The trope of (Afrikaner) superiority is also alluded to by Coetzee (1994) in the following statement, "The ideal, disciplined individual is characterised in the journal as a Dutch Christian; it is possible to argue that this ideal member of society is also male" (Coetzee, 1994:35). This is depicted throughout the film and sentiments are made by people like Roelof de Man, who says that Hottentots are, "barbarians" discussed in section four of this dissertation (*Krotoa*, 2017). The above sentiment expressed by de Man, emphasizes the ideology that Europeans (which included the Dutch), believed that they were all superior to indigenous people – based on race. This is further discussed in section 3.4, "The Khoi people and their Historical Racialised representation(s)." Therefore, given that the film was expected to draw significant media attention – based on its subject matter that had a complex relationship

with history and race, the film director and script-writer had to be very up-front about the film's intention from their artistic point of view.

Before the film's release, the script-writer, Kaye Williams and lead-actress Crystal-Donna Roberts, were featured on a South African talk show, *Afternoon Express* (2017). Speaking about Crystal-Donna's role as Krotoa, it was said that, "[the film] is taken from her point of view and represents her voice" (*Afternoon Express*, 2017). However, after the release of the film, there was an outcry from various groups pertaining to the manner in which Krotoa was represented (Philander, 2017). These opinions are widely available online and in print media (Coetzee, 2017; Darangwa, 2017; *Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017; Press, 1990; SABC, 2016; Van Niekerk, 2017).

One such expression of indignation came from the scriptwriter, Kaye Williams herself, who told a *TimesLive* reporter that she had made decisions regarding the story lines herself and that she did not identify with white colonialists (Kekana, 2017). In an interview some months before the film's release, Kaye Williams said that there had been very little written about Krotoa and that what *was* written was more concerned with Jan Van Riebeeck's opinions about her (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017). Williams felt it was important to give Krotoa a, "female voice" (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017). Moreover, both Williams and Durrant emphasized that the narrative was inspired by historical facts gathered from academic analysis and speculation about Krotoa's life, while living with the Van Riebeecks (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017). Williams noted the challenge of trying to piece together who Krotoa really was (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017). One of the significances of this interview for me, was that Kaye Williams fielded most of the questions, while director, Roberta Durrant, remained relatively silent and obscure. In contrast, Armand Aucamp (who plays Jan Van Riebeeck in the film) was interviewed on the day of the film's release – 4 August 2017. The interview focused largely on his breakthrough role, overall success as an actor and reputation as an Afrikaans film star heartthrob (*Die Groot Ontbyt*,

2017). He said very little about the film, or what it was like playing Van Riebeeck; only that one could not play a scene and portray it in a way that would be received well by the film's audience. Aucamp stated that he aimed to portray the character according to his interpretation of the film's text and what will be good for the character (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017).

Many took issue with the way Khoi heritage was represented on-screen (Van Niekerk, 2017; Philander, 2017). Debates centred on the issue of land as well as the deep-seated issue of colonisation (Coetzee, 2017). For example, Denver Breda argued, "The colonialists must admit that what they did was wrong. In areas such as Manenberg and Hanover Park people are killing each other. Our land and identity was stolen" (Philander, 2017). This is alluded to in the film; however, Durrant accedes that she, "did not do in-depth research" (Philander, 2017). Moreover, in Durrant commenting that Van Riebeeck had a plan when he arrived at the Cape, he is placed at the centre of South Africa's historical narrative. The plans Van Riebeeck implemented were significant enough for Durrant to include into the film's narrative; as seen for the vast majority of the film. However, the implications of Van Riebeeck's exploits for the VOC, obscure the impact made on various indigenous communities. Furthermore, in contrast to my assertion, Durrant states in the discussion that Van Riebeeck, "had a reasonable relationship with the Khoi. Trading was one-sided and a decision was taken to take the land" (Philander, 2017; *Krotoa*, 2017). Based on what is admitted by Durrant above, I argue that the film promotes the colonial narrative, as Durrant did not research Van Riebeeck's motives for trading with the Khoi (Philander, 2017; *Krotoa*, 2017). It is a well-documented fact that trading was commonplace during this time. However, the more the Dutch needed cattle to trade, the need for land acquisition increased. Therefore, Durrant's statement implies that he was some sort of 'good businessman' (Philander, 2017), while also obscuring how the Khoi people were systematically being dispossessed of their land. Others, like Bradley Van Sitters, also argue that the film was told, "completely from a white man's perspective" adding, "You did not see

the entire Khoi tribes in it and the war between the Khoi and the Dutch was taken out of the movie… Krotoa was portrayed through the eyes of Europeans" (Philander, 2017).

But the film was viewed differently depending on the viewer and commentator. For example, as Khoi activists, for Denver and Bradley, this is not just another film or narrative one can watch purely for entertainment (Philander, 2017). I argue that in engaging critically in this manner about the film, people like Denver and Bradley assist in negating the colonial narrative subtly promoted by the director. It creates more opportunities to regain agency and identity, in that they 'speak back' to the underlying colonial narrative, which in turn offers a counter-narrative to the one being presented in the film. This point is discussed further in relation to the work of Pichaske (2009) in Section 3.3, "History and Representation in film."

However, not all views on the film were critical, or negative. Darangwa (2017) in contrast to the negative reviews of the film, writes that the film depicts a powerful female voice reflecting the relationship between Krotoa and Van Riebeeck as one of mutual respect. Durrant added that the story of Krotoa is a, "hidden history" and that she was not taught about Krotoa at school, but rather about Jan Van Riebeeck only (Darangwa, 2017). Anecdotes like this emphasize my argument that Krotoa needs to return to South Africa's overall historical narrative, as her presence has been erased by those documenting history. The unawareness of Krotoa's existence reinforces Williams' reasons for writing the film. She stated,

> "[Y]oung girls did not know who they are. And that they did not realise that they came from someone so strong as Krotoa. If I knew this when I was 15, 16 years old, I would have made different choices. I wrote the film as a gift to young coloured women" (Philander, 2017).

These words indicate the potential power of reinserting Krotoa into South Africa's historical narrative. Krotoa can possibly function as a role model to other women in the country; however,

this can only be achieved if her narrative is not distorted and represented through a colonial lens.

Linked to the issue of representation in the film is gender and gender-based violence. This theme is raised by Dr Evet Abrahams, who is reported to be one of Krotoa's descendants (SABC, 2016). In an interview done by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) when Krotoa's remains were repatriated and laid to rest at the Castle on 18 August 2016, Abrahams asserted that she looked at the silences in Van Riebeeck's journal and wanted to, "approach her story not from a white supremist point of view" but that it was necessary to understand her story as related to gender-based violence (SABC, 2016). Through Abrahams' interview, it is apparent that history and gender are very important to the story of Krotoa, which this study also aims to demonstrate, as discussed in Section 3.3, "History and Representation in film."

Another problem linked to representation and gender is illustrated with reference to a reviewer who disagreed that the film was entirely based on fact. The reviewer asserted that he did not think that Krotoa was raped by Van Riebeeck, or that he may have been in love with her (Coetzee, 2017). This assertion is problematic because it negates evidence illustrating that women of colour have historically been victims of sexual violence at the hands of 'white' men. This fact has been noted by Wicomb (2002) in the following passage, "As for the period of colonisation itself where violence, both physical and ontological, marks the erasure of indigenous cultures" (Wicomb, 2002:211). Therefore, in taking this fact into consideration, it appears ironic that the reviewer brings gender into his analysis; acknowledging the manner in which women were historically written out of history, or ignored by men [who wrote history] (Coetzee, 2017). A similar sentiment is echoed when the reviewer references the line in the film where Krotoa accuses the Dutch of, "raping their land" (*Krotoa*, 2017; Coetzee, 2017).

The issue of violence, and rape in particular, extends to conversations about land expropriation. For example, the reviewer mentioned above did not see the necessity of inserting the issue of 'land-grabbing' into the film's narrative, given the country's current political position regarding this issue. I argue that this view is flawed because it is known that once Europeans interacted with various indigenous peoples, they also began occupying land by force, as was also acknowledged by Durrant in a panel discussion (Philander, 2017). Moreover, Botha & Steyn (2016) note that because land was taken from indigenous people, they were forced to find alternative means of survival, which impacted their population groups significantly. They were, "subjected to infectious disease, possible malnutrition, trauma and degenerative joint disease" (Botha & Steyn, 2016:278). Hence, issues of representation are linked to gender and land.

Another issue present in *Krotoa* (2017) is that of mixed ancestry. One film reviewer from *LitNet* took issue with the fact that Krotoa was singled-out as an indigenous ancestor to prominent Afrikaner politicians such as F.W. de Klerk, online (Coetzee, 2017). He felt that anyone else of the Khoi community could have been named as an ancestor (Coetzee, 2017). However, the assertion by the filmmakers seems plausible due to the fact that Krotoa's daughter, Pieternella, married a free burgher named Daniel Saayman and they had eight children together; four boys and four girls (South African History Online, 2011).[28]

Moreover, it seems that an overall agenda of nostalgia for Afrikaner nationalism underpins the review, as Van Riebeeck and Wagenaar's characterisations are praised (Coetzee, 2017). The writer also notes more than once that Krotoa suffered from alcohol addiction, and was a

[28] I simply use this source for the purposes of the proper names. Particularly Autshumato, Salamon and [Daniel] Saayman, as there is are different spellings used of these names in other texts.

prostitute (Coetzee, 2017). However, more positive descriptions of the Khoi woman also exist. For example, Press (1990) has written a short novel based on the history of Krotoa's life and poetry which acknowledges her identity as a Khoi woman. Sylvia Vollenhoven (2019) recently produced the stage play *Krotoa van die Kaap*, which was performed at Artscape Theatre and is set to be performed again in 2020 (as part of a second run). For Loots (2019) the play, "reveals the Dutch disrespect of Krotoa's culture and the emotional manipulation used to get her to distance herself from her people and traditions." Her above assertion, therefore, emphasizes my argument throughout this dissertation, which aims to illustrate how colonial perspectives have negatively influenced the understanding of indigenous people such as Krotoa.

The play *Krotoa*, which was performed at the Klein Karoo National Arts Festival (KKNK), also fails to escape from representing Krotoa in a way that is embedded in the implied binary of superiority and inferiority, I argue. It is told from the perspective of her daughter Pieternella, and characterises her as the mother of the Afrikaner nation (Conradie,1997), a point also argued by Coetzee (1998). In relation to the play, scholars like Conradie also make references to the notion of the 'Other' citing the play *Kaatjie Kekkelbek* by Bain, also discussed by Shaw (2009). Shaw (2009) highlights how the play is a testament to the slavery of the Khoi, at the British Kats River Settlement and is a racist and stereotypical representation and characterisation of Khoi women. The play parodies the assimilation of the Khoi, by suggesting that the education they received from British missionaries, left them more foolish (Shaw, 2009:6). Furthermore, Khoi women were particularly perceived as drunkards, promiscuous, lazy, illiterate, active thieves and also as steatopygic (having a big behind). These sentiments are all also described in Guenther (1980); Hudson (2004); and Magubane (2001), detailed in Section 3.3 of the study. Stereotypical notions of non-European individuals, particularly women, are approached in this thesis through the lens of Eurocentrism and how history gets told through the perspective of

the European; explained in Glossary. This is an example of how Eurocentrism operated during South Africa's colonial period. The same can be said in relation to Khoi men. One of my ancestors named Nikolaas Oppelt, was always described in relation to his being 'a Hottentot'. Ludlow (1992:25) mentions my ancestor in her thesis on Groenekloof, (a church) in Mamre.

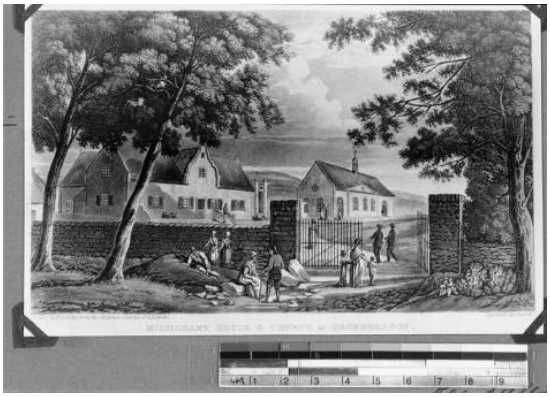

Figure 2: Groenekloof

She writes,

> "The newcomer's first contact with authority might well be with an overseer like Ni[kolaas] Oppelt who 'was possessed of a striking gift for instructing newcomers in the truth of the Gospel, and for initiating them into the rules and statutes of our congregation."

The description is from observations made by Christian Ludwig Franke, the principal missionary at Groenekloof. In the Baptist Missionary Magazine in 1843, it is written, "an organist seems already provided for us, in the Hottentot youth, Ni[kolaas] Oppelt" (Baptist General Convention & American Baptist Missionary Union, 1843:15).[29] The racialised language is clear and reveals negative connotations of people of colour.

29 Or page 113 in the overall document.

Figure 3: My ancestor, Mr. Nikolaas Oppelt.[30]

These discursive representations are indicative of the civilising mission, where Europeans sought to 'civilise' indigenous people through religious salvation. The civilising mission was legitimated by the argument that Europeans were culturally and morally superior to indigenous people.

Landman (1996) argues that accounts of Krotoa's life are told from a 'white' male perspective. Krotoa is also portrayed as immoral and uncivilised. Furthermore, there is no recognition of Krotoa's own religion by the Van Riebeecks. It is, however, noted that the Khoi had a pantheon of gods (Landman, 2009). In contrast to this, there is a moment in Bloem's (1999) novel where she refers to Krotoa's desire to be a good Christian woman and obey her husband. According to Landman (2009), Van Riebeeck's wife played a key role in informing Krotoa about

30 Nikolaas Oppelt was born in 1826, and died in 1880. He was one of the first non-white qualified teachers in South Africa, teaching at Goedverwacht between 1873 and 1880. Picture and information provided by former curator at Genadendal Museum – Dr Isaac Balie (2009); found at the Moravian archives in Germany. (See also: Boon, 2015:363).

Christianity, having come from a strong Calvinist background where the, “woman of the house was responsible for the religious education of her house workers” (Landman, 2009:2). I argue that ‘white’ women like Maria Van Riebeeck were complicit in the expansion of the colonial empire.

Press (1990) as well as Bloem (1999) note how Krotoa learned and adopted various European customs. This underlines the question of assimilation and representation of culture.

Some scholars in the field of Gender Studies and Historical Studies have researched Krotoa and the relationships she forged with men within a colonial context. Yet, the film and writings around the life of Krotoa, indicate that her identity was complex. Hence, perceiving Krotoa primarily through a colonial lens is bound to be inherently flawed. It is for this reason that this dissertation is titled, *The Relevance of the Biopic Krotoa (2017): A Mis-representation of History?*

Historically speaking, ‘white’ people have been known to erase the voices of people of colour, as they were perceived as inferior to them (Chapman, 1998; Erasmus, 2001; Harris, 2002 and Maylam, 2001). In passing down this white supremacist ideology through the centuries, history became more distorted, as only one voice was given agency to, ‘write about the facts’. This is discussed in detail in Section 3.3 of the study. In examining the manner in which the film approaches Krotoa’s life and her role in the various communities she interacted with, the analysis of the film deals with concepts including identity, gender, race, sexuality and history [See Glossary].

This study uses a qualitative approach, whereby various texts are analysed to present a particular perspective on Krotoa. Moreover, this study relies significantly on the various contributions made within the field of historical studies that relate to the figure, Krotoa. As is noted throughout this dissertation, she is an important role-player in South Africa’s historical

narrative. Therefore, the historical context of Krotoa's life is used as the backdrop through which I investigate other pertinent issues such as identity, sexuality, race and gender. Discussions on these themes are utilised to critique the various representations of Krotoa and the ways in which these representations have shifted in academia and the South African media, as the 2017 film illustrates.

The overall aim of this dissertation, therefore, is to compare and contrast the manner in which Krotoa has been depicted in academic literature, and in the biopic written by Kaye Williams and directed by Roberta Durrant. Questions pertaining to gender, race, sexuality and identity work well to explicate the overall question of (mis)representation, which is central to understanding Krotoa from an historical point of view, as well as the manner in which she has been portrayed in the film. The next section addresses how concepts such as gender, sexuality and identity have been contextualised within the sphere of academic writing.

2. Concepts explained

As mentioned, gender is relevant to this study. Lorber (1996:146) describes gender as an, "overarching category—a major social status that organizes almost all areas of social life." When looking at a brief overview of the Khoi people's way of life – which will be discussed in Section 3.3 onwards, the above definition by Lorber (1996:146) can also be applied in that context, as men were responsible for tasks such as hunting, while the women had to look after the home and children and so forth. Moreover, it,

> "is a social institution that establishes patterns of expectations for individuals, orders the social processes of everyday life, is built into the major social organizations of society, such as the economy, ideology, the family, and politics, and is also an entity in and of itself" (Lorber 1994, cited in Lorber, 1996:146).

The above statement reinforces my previous point of how gender-specific roles related to the division of labour within indigenous communities, long before the Dutch arrived at the Cape. The author furthermore describes sexuality as including, "desire, sexual preference, sexual orientation, and gender (a social status, sometimes with sexual identity)" (Lorber, 1996:146). Issues of gender and sexuality bear great significance in this particular study, due to the era in which Krotoa's narrative plays out; an era where society did not have a conception of gender equality. Added to this is the suspicion that Krotoa was sexually assaulted by Van Riebeeck. The assertion that Krotoa was sexually assaulted (Abrahams, 1996) reflects the gendered inequality between particularly European men and non-European women that was very common at the time (McKinnon, 2015).

Gender is inextricably linked to issues of identity. Krotoa was able to express her individual and collective identity – albeit somewhat obscurely in relation to historical records' depiction of her individual identity. Speaking on identity, Spencer-Oatey (2007:641) states that,

> "Psychological theories of identity typically distinguish between personal (individual) and social (group or collective) identities. Individual identity refers to self-definition as a unique individual, whereas collective identity refers to self-definition as a group member."

Simon (2004) adds, "On the one hand, people form cognitive representations of who they are that are relatively stable and enduring. On the other hand, they also construct and negotiate their identities through social interaction" (cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2007:642). Following these accounts of identity, I argue that Krotoa adapted to the needs and wants of both communities she served, but that she was simultaneously trapped, wanting to please both sides but neglecting her own wellbeing (Malherbe, 1990; Scully, 2005; Wells, 1998).

Moreover, identity and history in South Africa cannot be examined without interrogating issues surrounding race. As is commonly understood, the term 'race' can refer to "phenotypical features such as skin color, eye shape, hair texture, facial features" [sic] (Kubota & Lin,

2006:473). Furthermore, in the attempt to define 'history' Levstik (1995) argues that history, "has a human aspect", and that it is, "an ongoing participatory drama." The above description works well in the context of this study, as it is primarily concerned with the story of a human being. I argue that these concepts are interrelated when speaking about Krotoa as a figure in South African history, as well as the manner in which she is depicted in the film biopic that bears her name.

As stated in the introduction of this study, it is a well-documented fact that history has been written in a way which privileges one perspective, while other sides of history have been hidden or marginalised (Harrison, 2004). The historical aspect is important because Krotoa was a real-life person; not merely a fictional character that Durrant (2017) decided to create. The issue of Krotoa's life story being marginalised from history speaks to how hegemony operates in society to make some populations inferior, often determined along racial lines. This has occurred through the ways that certain people wrote about others who they argued were inferior to them, in ways that perpetuated colonial ideologies of legitimation. In so doing, certain identities were erased from official discourses, as is what happened to the Khoi after the Dutch and other European groups colonised the Cape.

Identity erasure is connected to racial discrimination. For example, Krotoa's daughter, Pieternella, also experiences racial discrimination as she is constantly told that her mother was a 'Hottentot' (see Matthee, 2000). Therefore, it is unsurprising that racial discrimination became one of the defining features of the apartheid regime under the National Party's rule in South Africa. Such form of discrimination had been reinforced during colonial times. The National Party used it as a tool to supress true expression of individual identity, particularly in relation to people of colour. On the issue of identity framed during apartheid, Tomaselli (1993:4) is especially critical.

> “The Afrikaner[s] established 'princely states' based on the British Indian model. This is where the term 'bantustan' came from. Afrikaner Nationalists developed discursive strategies to inhabit reconstructed indigenous cultures and discourses, aimed at encouraging cultural (or 'tribal') difference. They thereby forced idealised ideological content onto 'tribal' groups to sustain and reconstruct tribal 'identities and territories through.”

‘Black’ people therefore were ‘Othered’ by the system of apartheid, which enforced cultural and social marginalisation within the country. This sentiment is captured in the following words, “Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth” (Plaatje, 2007:21). Here, Plaatje (2007:21) alludes to the Native Land Act of 1913, which was enforced by the Union of South Africa. The Act prohibited ‘natives’ from acquiring land from ‘white' people and neither were ‘white’ people permitted to obtain land from natives (Plaatje, 2007). Plaatje (2007) saw this as problematic for his people and worked tirelessly to abolish it. However, the Native Land Act of 1913 was only removed decades later and had also been the forerunner to the Group Areas Act of 1950, under the National Party’s apartheid regime. Moreover, segregationist measures such as the Native Land Act of 1913 and the Group Areas Act of 1950, had profound impacts on identity formation – particularly for people of colour. This is alluded to through Plaatje’s (2007:21) above assertion and in the following statement:

> “Inherent in the structure of the apartheid ideal that held sway in South Africa from 1948 to 1991 was the idea that people’s behaviors were underlain by an unchanging culture that was in its own turn underlain by a rigid biological identity. With biology and culture neatly overlapped, it was easy to compartmentalize each “race” [sic] (Morris, 2012:152).

The above assertion by Morris (2012:153) demonstrates that even the field of anthropological studies held the idea of ‘fixed’ racial categories, passed down through the apartheid regime which stemmed from colonial times. Moreover, it was maintained that one’s race, or ethnicity,

was representative of one's identity. Morris (2012) further describes how typology – discussed in Morris (2008) – was used to legitimate apartheid in South Africa. "Diffusionism ensured that living African peoples were seen as existing in a kind of backwater. Negroid peoples were dismissed from the mainstream of history and denied a level of civilization, and KhoeSan people were portrayed as primitives" (Morris, 2012:159).

It is evident that anthropologists used racially distinctive characteristics when defining or classifying the remains of non-Europeans (Morris, 2012:159). Unfortunately, even within a post-apartheid context, identity is still not easily framed. As Maylam (2001) aptly articulates, "The persistence of racism in post-apartheid South Africa excites more media attention and arouses more anger, official and popular, than the maldistribution of wealth and continuing, worsening poverty" (Maylam, 2001:114). This, "tension, theoretical and political, between race and class" within a post-apartheid context which can also be applied to the time when the Cape was colonised by the Dutch (Maylam, 2001:103). As, according to historical records and the film *Krotoa* (2017), there is no evidence suggesting that the Dutch admired anything about the Khoi. There are instances where Krotoa tries to illustrate to Pieternella how simple their lives were before the Dutch arrived. This is illustrated through the following words, "*Voor die perde gekom het, kon geen Hollander 'n Hottentot inhardloop nie*" (Matthee, 2000:133).[31] With the arrival of the Dutch, the Khoi people's way of life changed irrevocably. The Dutch perceived the Khoi as different and instead of accepting that difference, it was understood as a marker of inferiority. These attitudes reinforced the ideology that the Khoi were unintelligent people, for example.

The notion of 'difference', as described above, can be applied to Krotoa's overall narrative. By her assimilation into Dutch culture, she was perceived as an outcast by her own people, but

31 Translation: "Before the horses came, no Dutch person was able to out-run a Hottentot." (my own)

she was also rejected by the Dutch colonials when her behaviour became troublesome to them. Furthermore, when she disgraced the Dutch, she was perceived as disruptive, returning to 'barbaric' ways (Matthee, 2000; Press, 1990; Samuelson, 2007). Therefore, Krotoa is both a "woman in-between" (Malherbe, 1990). She faced constant oppression and was relegated to the margins of society, when she attempted to find a way out of her oppression by those who oppressed her.

In framing the relationship between Africa and Western colonisation more broadly, Tomaselli (1993:8) warns that colonisation of Africa by 'the West' cannot be posited as the problem in every debate. He asserts that, "The notion that Africa is a helpless mass at the mercy of international capital and superpowers' foreign policies is partly of the making of African governments themselves" (Tomaselli, 1993:8). While this may be the case in some (more recent) contexts, in the context in which Krotoa's narrative is situated, Western hegemony and colonial violence are central, problematic issues. These issues are repeatedly show in Durrant's film. Therefore, I argue that, *Krotoa* (2017) does not serve to celebrate Krotoa or anything relating to indigenous people and their cultures, as they are relatively obscured from its entire narrative.

The following section explicates the politics of South Africa's film industry, which were at work during apartheid and which remain evident in the democratic era. It is important to note the ways South Africa's past and present shape the way films were and are made, and how films are interpreted by the audiences that view them.

2.1 Concepts in context

While historical sources are significant, it is imperative that the South African film industry is discussed briefly. One can surmise that films produced under apartheid (in particular), are vastly different from those produced post-apartheid. During apartheid, films had to adhere to

stringent codes, or risk being censored or banned. Films produced during apartheid promoted the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism and would never have had a person of colour (let alone a female lead) be portrayed in a positive manner on-screen. Hence, any discussion about film in South Africa tends to centre on themes of identity and representation. Scholars such as Blignaut & Botha (1992) and Broodryk (2016) criticize some Afrikaans films produced under apartheid as being apolitical.

However, *Krotoa* (2017) was produced post-apartheid, and hence it has a political message. It tells the narrative of a young Khoi woman and her relationship with the Dutch and her own people. Hence, analyses from Gender Studies scholars become important in attempting to dissect gender relations in the context of the film. Some scholars have argued that Krotoa is a feminist figure; however, this is contestable considering the social hierarchy enforced during the burgeoning colonialism in the Cape. However, social hierarchy motivated by supposed racial superiority will be contested throughout this dissertation. I argue that identity should not be dependent on ethnicity. In framing identity in relation to ethnicity, I contend that the essence of identity is erased, particularly when assimilation occurs. It is for this reason I maintain that Khoi identity has been mis-represented, as colonialism has erased agency within South Africa's historical narrative (Besten, 2006; Bystrom, 2009; Charos, 2009; Martin, 2006; Erasmus, 2000; Jonker & Till, 2009; McDonald, 2016; Scully, 2012; Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2001).

Another site of controversy is the way the sexuality of indigenous women is conveyed. The subject is contentious due to the legacy of Eurocentric approaches, characterising indigenous women as hyper-sexual and immoral (Sanger, 2009; Schippers, 2007; Young,1999). These stereotyped views demonstrate an example where women of colour have been mis-represented historically.

This thesis also addresses the question of motherhood. There is no academic writing detailing how Krotoa was affected by her children being taken away from her, without her consent. Her longing for her clan is, however, expressed by Press (1990), who writes that Krotoa was warned not to go and live with the Dutch. Furthermore, it is stated that Krotoa was plagued by nightmares when she first arrived at the Fort (Press, 1990). These factors foreground the trauma that Krotoa experiences through her later interactions with the Dutch. Moreover, I argue that the film's failure to explore Krotoa's motherhood is regrettable. I argue that focusing on her motherhood would have accentuated her individualism and could have potentially altered her representation on-screen. The above assertation therefore alludes to the work that South African filmmakers have done, in relation to producing narratives that are well-rounded.

During the 1990s, there was a move to, "establish and develop a representative and indigenous South African film culture which redress[ed] the political imbalances of the past to ensure all South Africans have equal access to film structures" (Botha, 2012:165). However, this would be a long process, as various production companies had monopolies on films produced in the country (Burns, 2000). These companies had the power to export films made during apartheid, specifically for the consumption of international audiences. Scholars such as Treffry-Goatley (2010), are critical of the South African film industry, particularly in relation to how gender is represented on-screen. In pointing out how the concept of representation functions in South African film, she asserts that her analysis contrasts current historical cinematic representations of Africa, "which have been exceedingly pessimistic [which reinforces stereotypical notions]" (Treffry-Goatley, 2010:20). Furthermore, she emphasizes that, "Stereotyping can be linked to questions of difference, representation and power: 'the power to represent someone or something in a certain way – within a certain 'regime' or representation'" (Hall, 1997:259 cited in Treffry-Goatley, 2010:20). Embedded power relations in filmic representations of people and things are discussed later in this dissertation, through Pichaske's work (2009). In relation

to this study on, *Krotoa* (2017), the question of representation is raised once again, when considering that the film is written and produced by a 'white' woman. I argue that placing Krotoa alongside Durrant subverts her power to be a disruptive image on-screen, as it relates back to the coloniser observing and 'speaking for' the colonised. This in turn functions as another example of the danger of having an indigenous woman mis-represented and marginalised within a post-apartheid context. What follows in the next section, is a brief evaluation of the literature used in relation to uncovering issues of gender, sexuality and agency, and how it has impacted work done in the discipline of film studies – both in the past and present.

3. Literature Review

There is much scholarship in the discipline of film studies in general and in South African cinema in particular (Tomaselli, 1980). Afrikaans cinema has been researched and critiqued in depth by Botha (1992; 2007; 2012). This section covers scholarly approaches to cinema in South Africa and accounts of the film, *Krotoa* (2017).

Tomaselli (1980) and Botha (1992; 2007; 2012) map the various trajectories of South African cinema both during and after apartheid, drawing attention to the manner in which the state used film to reinforce particular ideologies around nationalism and race. The apartheid state censored films that did not portray apartheid South Africa in a favourable manner. However, there was a shift in 80s the 90s, when locally produced films became more politically conscious and critical of the apartheid regime. This created a significant change in the way the international world perceived and reported on events happening in the country during apartheid. While there is acknowledgement that South African cinema has changed to an extent, recent scholarship has also asserted that films produced in the present-day, particularly Afrikaans cinema, remain, "politically impotent" (Broodryk, 2016).

A strong legacy of apartheid in South African cinema is that, "People were expected to behave and think within the codes imposed by apartheid" (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2001:94). This statement demonstrates the hold that apartheid had on society. Furthermore, it is written that, "The public signs [semiotics – defined in the Glossary] of people's everyday lives were determined by apartheid, which prevented the emergence of new ways of doing things" (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2001:97). They offer interesting insights into the framing of racial inequality through the study of semiotics, addressing the complexity of identity of race and ethnicity during the post-apartheid context. This is seen in the following passage, "Non-racialism, which once indicated colour-blindness, was re-articulated in the early 1990s to mean `black', especially as far as affirmative access to social resources was now concerned" (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2001:99), which signals a shift in the way that race and ethnicity have both become theorised and understood since the fall of the apartheid regime. Secondly, I argue that this statement foreshadows the sentiments shared by Mellet (2010), discussed in Section 3.7 - "The Problem of Framing one's Identity as a Multicultural individual: How does one frame one's Khoi identity and Motherhood in South Africa today?"

I argue that Durrant's film, *Krotoa* (2017) possessed the potential to allow audiences to critically engage with the country's painful past. Krotoa's identity has been overshadowed by Van Riebeeck's overwhelming presence, particularly in relation to South Africa's colonial history, both in academic literature and this film. Therefore, this dissertation argues that Krotoa's identity has been mis-represented in history, particularly in the biopic made about her in 2017. My interest in this topic stems from the fact that women of colour have been historically marginalised in society, as noted in the study's introduction. Therefore, this dissertation aims to remove Krotoa from the margins of history and reinsert her, centrally, into South African history.

Among these scholars, there are conflicting opinions around Krotoa's narrative – particularly in relation to the Dutch. Some, like Scully (2005) and Wells (1998), state that Krotoa asserted herself within the context of the arrival of the Dutch, particularly while she served them as a translator. An opposing view of the seemingly 'privileged' life that Krotoa could have led in the employ of the Dutch, also exists. Scholars like Abrahams (1996) argue that Krotoa likely faced excessive exploitation and sexual abuse at the hands of Van Riebeeck. However, it should be noted here that this claim is not supported by other scholars. Moreover, countless academic sources speak to how there is a history of women of colour experiencing violence at the hands of European men, which I draw on in section 3.6 of my study. Lastly, other scholars like Malherbe (1990) argue that Krotoa has always been a, "woman in-between." Therefore, based on the above scholarly writings on the life of Krotoa, the following analyses are largely informed by academics in the gender studies field. This is since these scholars highlight the social complexities (such as gender inequalities) at play during that time. In highlighting the social complexities during the time in which Van Riebeeck established a refreshment station at the Cape, this study's relevance and importance extends into the current social milieu of South Africa as a whole.

Furthermore, in considering Abrahams' (1996) assertion that Krotoa may very well have been raped by Van Riebeeck, the issue of representation becomes more important to critique. The film, as well as the many articles written on her life, focus predominantly on her sharp decline after Van Riebeeck left the Cape and the underlying issue of their alleged sexual relationship. As previously stated, Abrahams (1996) asserts that Krotoa was raped by Van Riebeeck and while she admits that there is no written evidence of this in Van Riebeeck's diary, she maintains that if it *did* occur it would not have been mentioned. It was rather something that would have been silenced. This is an important point noted by Gender and Historical Studies scholar McKinnon (2015), who further asserts that social standards were so high during the 17th to 19th

centuries, that if a member of the elite dared to transgress the accepted moral-code that person was cast out. Hence, while it is very likely that Krotoa experienced trauma of a sexual nature at the hands of Van Riebeeck; this would not have been documented officially, nor admitted by Van Riebeeck due to the ideals he was supposed to uphold established by the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

The topic of sexuality is further complicated by the added layer of religion. Van Riebeeck described himself as a Christian. Therefore, the alleged sexual encounter between him and Krotoa would have been perceived by his peers and superiors as immoral. McKinnon (2015) writes that there was an established service both for soldiers already at the Cape and those arriving, whereby they could engage in sexual activities with indigenous women. Hence, it becomes problematic to characterize Krotoa as sexually immoral, even though she had several sexual encounters with different men following the death of her husband, Pieter Van Meerhof. This characterisation of Krotoa as hyper-sexualised distorts her identity and portrays her in a negative light. Scholars who have taken to characterising Krotoa in this manner seem to have conveniently forgotten that this was commonplace – as noted above. Furthermore, there are scholars who highlight Van Riebeeck's fascination with indigenous women (Wells, 1997).

Another important facet of representation concerns identity. Mellet's (2010) work is valuable in this regard in that he consciously chooses to frame identity in a manner that is not bound by the ideology of race, as will be discussed in Section 3.7 of the study. It is precisely this ideology of race which the apartheid state used as a weapon against the people of South Africa. Moreover, I assert that if identity is defined in racially biased terms, the chances of distorted identity are greatly increased. The problem with existing work on Krotoa is that her narrative tends to be understood only with reference to Van Riebeeck or the people that are now known as Afrikaners. This study attempts to address these gaps in the historical representation of women such as Krotoa. Although the works of Bloem (1999) and Matthee (2000) are historical

fiction, both present good starting points in trying to uncover Krotoa's identity as distinct from Van Riebeeck's. Added to this, is the assertion that an overall context of Khoi culture and interracial marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans would be beneficial in explicating the theme of (Khoi) identity. Such insights can be found in the work of Heese (2013) and Morris (2002; 2008; 2012; 2014), as pointed to in Section 2.1 of this discussion. These accounts are valuable in that they are not dependent on racial bias and can shed light on the culture in a manner that is not as condescending as it has historically been portrayed – particularly in relation to non-European individuals.

Heese (2013:11) acknowledges that Europeans exerted power over non-European people during various conquests across the continents. Both then, and when South Africa was governed by the National Party (1948 - 1994), racial discrimination was rife (Heese, 2013:11). According to Morris (2014) anthropologists and the like struggled to 'define' the origins of Khoi people. He suggests that the indigenous people of the Cape belonged to three groups: "Bushmen (the hunter-gatherers), Hottentots (the pastoralists) and Strandlopers (people who gathered sea food on the coast)'" (Morris, 2014:2). My understanding of Krotoa and her people stems from the work of Besten (2006), cited further in the discussion. Additionally, Bloem (1999) writes in her work that the Goringhaicona clan was not recognised by other indigenous groups since it was believed that this group of people were outcasts from the clans they originated from.[32] Furthermore, Durrant's (2017) film suggests that Krotoa and her people were 'Strandlopers' – given that they did not own cattle and had to barter from other clans.

[32] I note that Bloem (1999) is not an academic source, as well as Matthee (2000). However, it is simply inserted into this study for contextualisation surrounding Krotoa's life that does not focus solely on her time at the Fort. Both these texts are valuable in that they provide insights into her husband and children, as well as their perceptions of Krotoa as a wife, mother and individual.

However, the film does not express such existing nuances between the indigenous people. This, therefore, is another example of the mis-representation of Khoi people in the film.

Bloem (1999) also describes the different indigenous clans present in the Cape during the time Van Riebeeck set up his refreshment station for the VOC. Hence, there were distinctive differences between clans, even if Europeans perceived them to look the same. These differences also have a bearing on hierarchies between clans, which the Dutch were unaware of. This demonstrates the relevance of Saïd (1978) to discussions around the themes of identity and representation, as his work on the 'Other' and Orientalism provides tools with which to critically engage with the issues of identity and representation – central issues that are not adequately addressed in Durrant's (2017) biopic. Saïd (1978) defines 'Orientalism' as, "the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority" (1978:39). Saïd (1978) has faced criticism for his work because it only focuses on the binary of the West versus the East ('Other'). However, it remains applicable in the context of this particular South African biopic.

The representation of history on-screen is another core theme of this dissertation. Work by historians Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007) explore the way history has been represented on-screen. They detail both American and South African films produced during apartheid, analyses which complement the work of Botha & Blignaut (1992) in particular. Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007) provide valuable insight into the representation of people of colour on-screen, which is applicable to the film, *Krotoa* (2017). The issue has also been discussed by Pichaske (2009).

It is important to note that the film is a biopic, which presents its own set of complexities as it is a particular 'genre' of film. These complexities are mapped out in the work by Bingham (2010), which pays attention to the specific role that women have played in biopics in the context of Hollywood cinema. His work is still relevant to this South African biopic, because

of the universal oppression of women that has occurred on-screen since the inception of cinema. It is for this reason that the thesis also takes a gendered lens in its analysis. Krotoa was a non-European woman, which caused her to experience abuse that a Dutch woman may not have experienced at that time.

The way Krotoa has been portrayed in the South African biopic is problematic. It situates her within the broader narrative of the colonisation of the Cape, primarily during Van Riebeeck's time at the settlement. In so doing, it fails to recognise and acknowledge her heritage or personality as an independent Khoi woman of the Goringhaicona clan. This lack of recognition on the part of South African historians, indicates that Krotoa functions on the periphery of South African history.

Once again, the depiction of Krotoa as a mother is also a point of interest. "This representation of Krotoa-Eva as reluctant or inadequate mother speaks to the European's anxiety that the children - with European blood in their veins - will degenerate into their maternal line" (Samuelson, 2007:38). Additionally, Matthee's (2000) novel details life for Krotoa's children, namely Pieternella, Salamon and Jakobus [sic] – where they were brought up as orphans soon after their father's death. The first chapter of the book details how Pieternella tried resisting being sent to the island of Madagascar by ship, demonstrating the sense of injustice and indignation she felt at being forcibly shipped off to an unknown land. The novel is written with a complex style; a mixture of description, direct speech and reported speech interwoven into the overall text. This allows readers to experience the emotions and see what Pieternella sees. Readers are transported back in time, and essentially become spectators who accompany Pieternella on her journey. Matthee's (2000) writing style presents an image of Pieternella as similar to her mother Krotoa, in terms of her indignation. Furthermore, it is almost as if, in giving Pieternella agency, or the space to express her emotions, it acts as a way for Krotoa to reclaim her agency, albeit through her daughter.

Scholars such as Press (1990) are also valuable in that they present Krotoa's life among her clan and neighbouring clans before the arrival of Van Riebeeck and other Hollanders. It provides insight into the existing social hierarchies between the clans that lived in the Cape, while simultaneously foregrounding Krotoa as an exceptional youth. There is, however, no mention or implication in Press's (1990) work that Krotoa was a victim of sexual assault. She rather emphasizes that Krotoa loved to please both the Dutch and the Khoi and that she would lie about her own people so that the Dutch would be pleased with her. These narratives do much to illustrate Krotoa's point of view, constructed from Press's research (1990). While the novel may present problems of bias or Eurocentrism; it also expresses instances where the various Khoi clans openly state their distrust of the Commander and his intentions at the Cape. The issue of 'land-grabbing' is also mentioned repeatedly, demonstrating that the issue of land restitution today, is indeed nothing new. Above all, the novel by Press (1990) is yet another representation of Krotoa and her experiences living and working with the Dutch.

Bloem (1999) also provides insights into Krotoa's familial life before the arrival of the Dutch. Readers learn that there was a strong bond between Krotoa and her uncle Autshumato. She was expected to do all the household chores and look after children, which signals towards Krotoa's relationship to motherhood (Coetzee, 1998).

Nsele (2012) describes Krotoa as an, "uncanny mother" (Nsele, 2012), although there has been a tendency to frame her as mother of the nation. Samuelson (2007:46) is critical of framing Krotoa as the mother of the nation, as is shown in the following passage,

"The once-divided nation is re(-membered) as rainbow nation through these domesticating inscriptions or abjections of Krotoa-Eva. This narrative of national belonging depends on the fragmentation of women's bodies."

Moreover, as previously mentioned, many characterisations of Krotoa that support her as mother of the nation allude to the fact that she is almost a slave that reproduces for her master. She is reduced to her reproductive organs, while being side-lined in colonial society because she is not a European. I have already pointed out that Krotoa was viewed with contempt by both the Dutch and her own Khoi people and she was banished and died at Robben Island, an alcoholic and prostitute. An interesting point that Bloem (1999) draws readers' attention to, is the fact that Krotoa grew up without her mother. Her mother went to live with another clan after Krotoa's father died. She was raised by her grandmother, until she too passed away. It was at this point that Krotoa permanently lived with Autshumato, who she viewed as her father-figure. This demonstrates that Krotoa experienced many losses and was forced to become independent at an early age.

Bloem (1999) also details that the Khoi were used to trading with Europeans; it was not something that was only instituted when the Dutch landed at the Cape in 1652. This reaffirms what McKinnon (2015) has written in her work, that there was already evidence of interaction between Europeans and indigenous people – such as the Khoi. Autshumato began to teach Krotoa some of the English words he knew, which is what made Krotoa interesting to the Dutch and catalysed the complex relationship she would eventually forge with them as Van Riebeeck's interpreter.

However, there are also limits to how the representation of Krotoa on-screen can be contrasted, because it is a, "representation of a representation". This notion is emphasized in the work of Bingham (2010) regarding biopics. Biopics do not necessarily function as, "absolute truths" (as cited in, Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87) but represent a fictionalised account of the life of a particular historical figure. However, as many have argued in relation to the representation of people of colour or historical events, history is often manipulated to suit the needs of the ruling class (McKinnon, 2015).

As I have already stated, scholars framing Krotoa's motherhood tend to do so in relation to Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner nationalism. Nsele (2012) states that Krotoa has been accepted as the "*stammoeder*" by some Afrikaners. However, nothing has been written on Krotoa having her children taken away from her without her consent, and the various implications that this traumatic experience may have held for her at the time. If these issues are not discussed, Krotoa exists as a symbol of failed imperialism. Leipoldt (1936) who conducted a biographical study on the life of Van Riebeeck could not ignore the frequent mention of Krotoa's name in Van Riebeeck's diary, whom he refers to as Eva. The author has a negative view of Krotoa, characterising her as someone who was prone to lying. In the characterisation of Krotoa as 'untruthful', her identity is once again being mis-represented in history. It is for these reasons that this dissertation argues that Krotoa's identity has been mis-represented in history.

The above section has provided a cursory theoretical framework for the ways in which history has mis-represented Khoi people, which informs my analysis of the film, *Krotoa* (2017). Specific topics in this study include the South African film and its industry, identity, race, gender, sexuality and stereotyping within the film's narrative. These issues convey that the debate around Durrant's (2017) film is multifaceted, offering many different opinions and interpretations that will depend on one's positionality within South African society. It is important to remember however, that it would be beneficial if debates around these issues pertaining to the politics of, *Krotoa* (2017) helped to shape a discourse that did *not* mis-represent the identities of Khoi or other marginalised groups of people within the post-colonial and post-apartheid South African society today. The next section turns its focus to how film in South Africa has been shaped by events like apartheid, and how contemporary narratives still incorporate its legacy.

3.1 South African Cinema during and Post-apartheid

It is noted by Burns (2000:118) that by the early 1980s South Africa had become an, "international pariah." The statement demonstrates that internationally, South Africa had acquired the status of social outcast because of its racial policies under apartheid. Moreover, "South Africa, which has produced more films than the rest of the continent put together, is generally excluded from the category of Anglophone Africa" (Tomaselli, 1993:2). Tomaselli's (1993:2) statement alludes to how South Africa was not actively making stories about African or indigenous people – particularly during apartheid.

Filmmakers saw an opportunity to use film to illustrate the gross injustices enacted through the apartheid regime in South Africa, as is written about by Botha (1992; 2007; 2012) and Broodryk (2016). However, the, "South African film industry has been in crisis since January 1990 and an urgent answer to the question, why, needs to be found" (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:100). A reason for this is offered in the following words, "Far too few South African commercial films have subjects or themes that reflect the aspirations and realities of our diverse society, that our unique audience can identify with" (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:100). It is also argued that, "There is still no national film school; the industry continues to be fragmented, offering few opportunities for mentorship and on-the-job training" (Saks, 2010:37). However, it is noted by Botha (2012:173-174) that the NFVF's role was to address issues around content. There was also an arrangement between the NFVF and the South African Revenue Services (SARS) to regulate funds that were distributed by the NFVF (Botha, 2012:175). Additionally, a National Film School – and its implementation was also discussed by the NFVF (Botha, 2012:176). These assertions highlight the problems faced by the South African film industry – one being opportunities for young local filmmakers to grow, while the other is the issue of funding. This is emphasized by Botha (2012:176) who notes that the challenges faced by the NFVF were great.

Because *Krotoa* (2017) is a biopic it urges one to question the contestation between historical fact and fiction as depicted by film. This is since film is typically used as a medium which portrays fictional accounts of various kinds of subject matter. On the other hand, official history functions to disseminate information as fact, implying a claim of veracity. Therefore, it is imperative that one remembers that the biopic by Durrant is a fictional representation of the life of Krotoa, and it is important to note that in filmic portrayals, elements of bias will always be present. This is especially true of events occurring throughout history. Questioning history as an institution and disseminator of information raises the issues of, "Who 'writes' history'?; "What is considered a defining historical event in relation to a particular nation?", and lastly, "How does one prove that an event really occurred and should be considered important to the development of a nation's national identity?" These questions are important when considering, critically, another historical figure in Durrant's film – the man Jan Van Riebeeck, in relation to the historical mis-representation persistent in South Africa.

It is clear that history leaves a mark on South African film, the way it is perceived and the way it represents the contested past and present. The film deals with Van Riebeeck's landing at the Cape in 1652 and the construction of the refreshment station and the settling Dutch called 'free burghers'. Steyn (2015) writes that in order to understand the South African film context adequately, one should start from the time the Cape was colonised by the British (Steyn, 2015:16). Then when the National Party came into power in 1948, it claimed control over the film industry in the midst of immense racial tension between the population due to racial segregation under apartheid (Steyn, 2015:16). This means that although the film industry is one of the oldest in the world, it faces many issues. Steyn (2015:16) goes on to quote Fourie, who writes that,

> "*Hoewel die Suid-Afrikaanse rolprentbedryf een van die oudstes in die wêreld is, beleef dit reeds vir etlike dekades 'n krisis. Hierdie krisis kan aan verskeie redes toegeskryf word: gebrekkige staatsubsudie en ondersteuning, morele en politieke sensuur,*

gebrekkige opleiding, apartheidspolitiek, 'n gebrek aan 'n rolprentkultuur en nog vele ander" (quoted in, Botha & Van Aswegen, 1992: vii; Steyn, 2015:16).[33]

Within their recent editorial piece entitled, *Special Edition on contemporary South African cinema*, Ian-Malcolm Rijsdijk & Andrew Lawrence (2019) question the social and political landscape of South African society. Their central question is whether there are films being made currently, which depict and represent such a landscape (Rijsdijk & Lawrence, 2019:5). As previously asserted, there remains much work to be done by both filmmakers and film scholars so that dialogue is facilitated through the production and discussion of films in South Africa. Almost twenty-five years since South Africa held its first democratic election signalling the fall of the apartheid regime, the country remains plagued by economic inequality and racist stereotyping. The reactions demonstrate that the mis-representation of people who are non-Europeans remain rife. Considering the above assertion, it is necessary to examine the ways in which the country's film industry has overcome this legacy – if at all. This is done in the following section.

3.2 Transformation in the South African Film Industry after Censorship: Is it Possible?

Greig (1980:14) wrote that the South African film industry or film production is an, "industrial process." This implies that films are created merely to make money and not to inspire critical debate, which resonates with Broodyk's (2016) diagnosis of Afrikaans cinema. Greig (1980) provides insight into the manner in which Afrikaans films operated as a disseminator of cultural domination and racial oppression. This is seen in the following claim that, "films made for the

[33] Translated: "Although the South African film industry is one of the oldest in the world, it has been experiencing a crisis for many decades. This crisis can result for various reasons: a lack state subsidies and support, moral and political censorship, lack of training, politics of apartheid, a lack of a film culture and many others" – (my own)

Black market project the ideology of class domination: they explain to the Black audience the fact of class/race domination" (Greig, 1980:15). In characterising the underlying ideology of Afrikaans films, Greig (1980:16) cites Tomaselli who writes,

> …"the Afrikaans film is based on a conflict between the outsider and the group. Up till recently, the group representative is based upon a farm, usually a Cape wine farm. This outsider is usually a city-dweller and often a woman. Conflict is usually in the form of competition for the soul of the pure young farmer. He is tempted to abandon his blonde fiancee, also a farm girl, for the outsider, frequently a flashy unscrupulous city girl" [sic] (Greig, 1980:16).

The notion of the villainess is also described and discussed in the article mentioned above. In relation to the notion of villainess, I wonder whether Krotoa functions as an implied villainess because Van Riebeeck – the '*boereseun'*, is suggested to be sexually attracted to her in the film (Greig, 1980; *Krotoa*, 2017). While these represent some of the tropes that were present in Afrikaans films produced during apartheid, the same can be said of South African films such as, *Krotoa* (2017) being produced today. Films have begun to move slowly away from solely presenting images that pay homage to Afrikaner nationalism. Film and ideology often went hand-in-hand (Gavshon, 1983). As also seen in the work of Tomaselli & Shepperson (2001) and Greig (1980), the apartheid-state controlled film production (Gavshon, 1983). The cinematic imagery represented on-screen had to portray South Africa in a positive light, while simultaneously providing audiences with entertainment, as well as instruction. This demonstrates the complex power films had, which promoted the ideologies of the ruling class, while also needing to serve as a form of entertainment. An example illustrating the manner in which the status-quo was enforced on a cultural level, is seen in the way rural and urban life was often contrasted, while poverty would scarcely be shown or critiqued (Gavshon, 1983).

Today, the South African film industry holds promise to provide the country with economic growth through Cape Town being a prominent location for the industry (Visser, 2014). It is

also seen as a site to showcase South Africa's transformation narrative and political agenda. The film sector operates in accordance with a national framework set by South Africa's National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF). According to Botha the NFVF is,

> "a statutory body mandated by Parliament to spearhead the development of the South African film and video industry. The NFVF was created by an Act of Parliament, Act 73 of 1997, and was officially launched at Sithengi '99, the 4th Southern African International Film and Television Market" (Botha, 2003:182).

The body was formed after the fall of the apartheid regime to facilitate the making of films in a manner that was different to those made during apartheid. There was a move for films produced to be uniquely South African, ostensibly in relation to the film's narrative. As stated by Botha (2003:182),

> "In 1995 the new government instructed the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) to embark on the restructuring of the South African film industry and to further investigate ways and means which would contribute towards the development and growth in the sector. In 1996, DACST published the Film Development Strategy, which acknowledges that film is a high-risk industry, and that in many countries it is supported by the State for cultural and investment reasons" (Botha, 2003:182).

The above assertion indicates that it was a massive task undertaken by the democratic government, which sought to restructure the South African film industry (Botha, 2003:182). But indeed, as it was stated in the Film Development Strategy, "film is a high-risk industry" (Botha, 2003:182). Hence, it is both high risk, but also promises economic development. The above assertion stems from unequal access to resources which enable the production of content within South Africa and its filmmakers, which has been noted in this discussion.

Therefore, transformation remains an issue. Currently, film narratives are being inspired from outside the country and not many films are drawing from local experiences in South Africa (Visser, 2014). Moreover, the industry itself remains intensely male-dominated and

marginalizes women. Engel (2018) discusses the problematics of the film industry's lack of transformation. She cites a report conducted on the Sundance Film Festival (SFF) in 2014. The report which surveyed the years 2001 to 2013 stated that there was, "a large gender discrepancy reflected in the number of female fiction versus non-fiction directors and the subject matter female directors focused on in their films…" (Engel, 2018:17). According to Engel (2018:17), "One of the three main career barriers for female directors described in the SFF report was stereotyping on set. When industry stakeholders think of directors, they tend to think of males". Female directors in the South African film industry also face this type of marginalisation due to embedded patriarchy in the industry. The theme of gender discrimination permeates the film through Krotoa's experiences. In the film, Krotoa is sexually assaulted by Van Riebeeck and is also nearly assaulted by the French diplomat visiting the Fort. Ironically, the French Diplomat is intercepted by Van Riebeeck, who asserts that Krotoa is only a "child" and under *his* care, hence he cannot allow harm to come to her (*Krotoa*, 2017). This too reflects the gendered ideology in the film.

Shifting the focus back to literature on South African cinema, particularly Afrikaans cinema, we can return to the work of Tomaselli (1980). Tomaselli (1980:1) cites the Directorate of Publications (Judge Lammie Snyman), who stated that,

> "The duty of the Publications bodies is, they must ask the question, 'What does the man in the street with a Standard Seven education think?'... The Publications Bodies, the adjudicators, must decide what the moral standards are of the general community, the bulk of which is not sophisticated…." [sic]

This statement implies that the 'black' majority were not highly educated and people on 'Bodies' have to decide how moral these people are based on how many years they spent at school. It is another example of the way in which non-European people have been mis-represented by 'white' people. Furthermore, Tomaselli (1980:1) asserts that censorship was

defended by the state in order to, "control reflections and interpretations of social experience." His critical stance states, "Censorship is one of a number of state apparatuses employed by National capital to maintain its dominant position over labour or the working class" (Tomaselli, 1980:1). The idea is that if 'black' people repeatedly saw images on-screen of themselves being portrayed as servants, they would begin to internalise that they were only good enough to be subservient to 'white' people, reinforcing my earlier assertion that film was used to perpetuate the ideologies of the ruling-class. In his conveying of ideology as a concept, Tomaselli (1980:1) draws on Bennet (1979) and the Marxist scholar, Althusser (1970). These scholars define ideology as,

> "Those myths through which individuals are reconciled to their given social positions by falsely representing to them those positions and the relationships between them. This body of knowledge, beliefs, values and attitudes are posited to form part of some inherently significant, intrinsically coherent plan or process. Ideology inexorably permeates all human activities: it is found in political attitudes and judgements, cynicism, in honesty, in resignation and rebellion. It governs family behaviour, social relations, attitudes to the environment and contributes to interpretations of the 'meaning of life'. Ideology is unconscious, invisible and always present" (Tomaselli, 1980:1) [.]

In short, ideology as a concept is a societal force which governs people's everyday actions in social life. Moreover, its depiction as "myth" implies that it is a social construct (Tomaselli, 1980:1). The term, "myth" (Tomaselli, 1980:1) implies that something has been made up but told in such a manner that some argue it to be true, as in the case in children's fables. It is a figment of someone's imagination. It also alludes to the, social "myths" which have historically been constructed about non-'white' people that enforce racialized discourses and ideologies. These "myths" and ideologies are repeated over through centuries and become part of everyday life until they are confronted. This was the case with the French revolution when the working class had had enough of their unequal living conditions and exploitation whilst seeing the lavish life of the Monarchy of King Louis-Auguste XVI, when they stormed the Bastille in 1789.

Much in the same way, the National Party which governed South Africa during its period of apartheid, used national films to portray 'white' people as superior to 'black' people. As the film, *Krotoa* (2017) demonstrates, the Dutch exploited the Khoi people depriving them of cattle and grazing land. As Sadr (2008:179) asserts, "The availability of livestock was one reason why, in the mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch East Indies Company established a refreshment station where Cape Town now stands."

"[N]umerous documentary and propaganda movies which have been made since 1896 [which depicted...] the *verkrampte* (hardliner) Afrikaner's attitude towards the origin of the coloureds and his possible integration into white society" (Tomaselli, 1980:2). It is ironic that *verkrampte* Afrikaners were weary of 'coloured' people and their origins when it is a fact that the Cape was colonised by the Dutch soon after their arrival (Tomaselli, 1980:2). Moreover, in relation to the issue of censorship in the South African film industry during the apartheid era, Tomaselli (1980:5) writes that it functions as a, "manifestation of the values and ideology of the most powerful elements of the society it serves. Censorship is a formal state apparatus engaged in the function social and ideological control." Moreover, he writes that, "Cinematic honesty is permissible for imported film, but not for local offerings. Any filmmaker who tries to explore local issues and stories is considered to be acting irresponsibly by an industry conditioned on cliche's and slogans" [sic] (Tomaselli, 1980:11). This implies that local filmmakers could pose a threat to the image apartheid state was attempting to convey, but that foreign filmmakers were not subjected to the same measures of censorship. Moreover, it is written that,

> "Together with other state apparatus, the incapability of local filmmakers to stand apart from their ideological determinations, the Directorate of Publications has been directly instrumental in fully preparing the average South African white and many of its non-whites to withstand the consequences of its political and economic strategies: the so-called "total onslaught". Our roles are pre-determined by the political economy, our actions politically delimited and our responses ideologically pre-empted" (Tomaselli, 1980:12).

Tomaselli (1980) is stating that the Directorate of Publications has perpetuated racially-motivated ideals of Afrikaner nationalism and that their, "responses [are] ideologically pre-empted" (Tomaselli, 1980:12). This demonstrates that the mis-representation of non-Europeans was reinforced. As will be discussed, another example where mis-representation occurs is in the film's characterisation of Van Riebeeck, both in relation to literature, as well as the film, *Krotoa* (2017).

In context of South Africa's current democracy there seems to be another radical shift that starkly contrasts the description of right-wing measures of censorship mentioned above. In recent debates surrounding the Copyright and Performers Bills among others, Tomaselli (2019) strongly opposes the decision to allow free access to materials for educational purposes. One of his concerns is that textbooks will become obsolete, directly impacting the process of decolonising the curricula in universities (Tomaselli, 2019:31). Another concern is that authors will stop producing local content due to having to pay for the dissemination of their own content because publishers are cut out of the production and supply chain of textbooks (Tomaselli, 2019: 33). With local scholars and others struggling to make their content available freely for students, it creates a gap whereby international scholars' work replaces that of local academics due to a shortage of local information (Tomaselli, 2019:34). Content production and access to finance are crucial for scholars in academia or filmmakers to sustain the market in terms of dissemination of information. It is difficult for consumers to engage with film content being produced, due to the issue of restricted access in terms of internet and finance to consume the products that are produced locally. Therefore, censorship or restricted access, relating to the Copyright Bill remains a contemporary problem that is complex and not easily resolved (Tomaselli, 2019). This question is linked to whether South Africa has a national cinema and what this national cinema or film culture can be described as. Flanery (2009:245) notes that,

> "If a ‘‘national cinema’’ produced ‘‘only one type of national film, its claim would be hugely undermined’’; instead, the answer, and the goal of any project that seeks to advance the place of cinema in South African society should be a ‘‘flourishing film industry’’ in which different kinds of films directed at and being accessed by different audiences can develop, because South African society is ‘‘so heterogeneous that the thought of the cinema speaking ‘to and for the nation’ is a modernist fantasy’’ (152), as well, one might add, as a dangerously exclusionary form of social engineering."

He has also argued that South African films produced currently, are not made for local audiences but rather target international audiences (Flanery, 2009:239). Due to the diversity of people in the country and the kinds of narratives that can unfold through such diversity, one would think that a plethora of films would have been produced reflecting this diversity. Flanery (2009:244) attributes issues to a lack of formal film training in the country, drawing on the work of Saks (2003:134). Moreover, there is a monopoly held on Afrikaans language films and television produced in the country, making others' access to content restricted. This restriction limits engagement with local content.

Steyn (2016) discusses the monopoly of Afrikaans on cultural resources, even after the fall of apartheid. He argues that this was exacerbated by a fear that the Afrikaans language was facing 'endangerment' (Steyn, 2016:481). This fear of the 'extinction' of the Afrikaans language can lead to filmic depictions that exclude other cultural groups on-screen; insinuating that the Afrikaans language only belongs to a particular group of people. The next section details representations of marginalised groups in film, as well as how history has been affected by these representations. It is my view that the representation of multiple voices in South African film and television becomes stunted due to limited access, which restricts engagement with these visual-medium texts.

3.3 History and Representation in film

"Generations of South Africans have been denied a history, while others have been offered a highly selective and restricted one" (Southey, 1990:169). Southey (1990:169) is particularly critical of those writing history school textbooks, asserting that they have been guilty of distorting history and (re)presenting, "well-worn untruths." This reinforces my earlier assertion that the way history has been written shaped conceptions of people and reflected ideological biases of the authors or directors. This is partly indicated in Matthee's (2000) historical novel in reference to the Cape. "*Die Kaap was nie lank die Kaap, toe vertrek die retoervloot eendag uit die Ooste op die terugvaart Amsterdam toe*" (Matthee, 2000:67).[34] The above passage implies that the Cape only became 'the Cape' when the Dutch settled on the land in 1652. The Cape was not 'the Cape' when the Dutch initially passed through from their voyage in the East, back to Amsterdam.

This is, I argue, an incorrect assertion made by one of the sailors who visited Barbara Geens. It implies that the Cape was an uninhabited piece of land before the Dutch arrived. Moreover, this is the type of statement that aims to justify the colonial project. He goes on to says that, "*Toe maak die Here van Amsterdam 'n kosplek-rusplek onder op die voet van Afrika. Toe's die Kaap die Kaap. En Mauritius weer verlate – net 'n klompie drosterslawe wat die bosse ingevlug het*" (Matthee, 2000:67).[35] This passage affirms the discourses that legitimated colonial rule, that European colonisation was good, in that it brought progress or civilisation to the 'primitive' that were forcefully settled in. Another notion is that the European makes

[34] Translation: "The Cape was not the Cape for long, when the return fleet departed from the East one day, back to Amsterdam." (my own)

[35] Translation: "So the Lords of Amsterdam made a refreshment station at the tip of Africa. Then the Cape became the Cape. And Mauritius was deserted again – only some runaway slaves who ran into the bushes [were left]." (my own)

history. It is this fallacious perception (and others) that have been reiterated throughout history and led to events such as these being misinterpreted and therefore mis-represented in cultural artefacts.

Saks (2010:21) argues that the past and the present of history impacts the social formation significantly, particularly in relation to representation, "[T]o rapidly construct new terms and images of state, society, citizenship and identity". Images that come to mind are those post-apartheid films that depict the, 'Rainbow Nation', such as Durrant's earlier film, *Felix* (2013). *Felix* (2013) depicts the narrative that things have become better and easier for 'black' people, particularly in a post-apartheid context. Even though Felix lives in the township, he is awarded a scholarship that allows him to attend a private school in grade eight. It is also at this school where Felix discovers his talent for playing the saxophone. However, it also enforces the narrative that opportunities can be grasped if a rich benefactor is involved. I argue this, because Felix's mother is a domestic worker and cannot afford to give him everything he needs while at his new school. It is when her rich employer hears that Felix is attending his *alma mater*, that he takes a more keen interest in the boy's schooling. This demonstrates another example of Durrant placing those with wealth and authority at the centre of her filmic narratives, as Felix's mother's employer is a retired, 'white' male. Furthermore, Saks (2010:33) writes how academics accused the former government of using film as a mechanism to deny the country's African history, in favour of a white heritage.

In relation to the 'genre' of the historical film, Rosenstone (2007:112) asserts, "misrepresentations [in films create] overwhelming attacks [on directors]." The above statement alludes then to the contestatory nature and power of film, particularly in relation to the depiction of a historical figure. Although Rosenstone (2007) is writing about American films produced in the country, the statement is applicable globally, and is particularly relevant to the discussion of this dissertation. While films are primarily visual texts of fiction, historical

films are held up to intense scrutiny by the audiences viewing them. This is because historical films, "eschew fiction" (Rosenstone, 2001:60). To cite Rosenstone (2007:115) once more on this point, "Reviews of films in the press continually make directors aware of the sharp boundary lines drawn by the culture between what might be dubbed 'proper' history and the dramatic film". In another article, Rosenstone (2001) asserts that the medium in which history is represented, influences the way it is perceived. This is demonstrated through the following statement:

> "whatever historical understanding the mainstream film can provide will be shaped and limited by the conventions of the closed story, the notion of progress, the emphasis on individuals, the single interpretation, the heightening of emotional states, and the focus on surfaces. These conventions mean that history on film will create a past different from the one provided by written history" (Rosenstone, 2001:59) [.]

Hence, apart from (re)presenting history through the visual medium of film, the manner in which film allows facts to be (re)presented, influences how the filmic narrative is perceived or interpreted overall. More specifically, the diegesis and the other factors which enhance the diegesis (mentioned in the above statement), contribute to the level of alteration that takes place when history is depicted on-screen through the filmic medium.

> "Accepting the changes in history that mainstream film proposes is not to collapse all standards of historical truth, but to accept another way of understanding our relationship to the past, […] Film neither replaces written history nor supplements it. Film stands adjacent to written history, as it does to other forms of dealing with the past such as memory and oral tradition" (Rosenstone, 2001:65).

What the above statement alludes to, is that historians and reviewers should be less critical of how film can influence past conceptions relating to important historical events. Furthermore, films should be recognized for the different perspectives they have the potential to create regarding history. This seems like a near-impossible task when considering *Krotoa* (2017), given our complex political narrative as a nation. However, people like Coetzee (1998) has

written about Krotoa in relation to a post-apartheid context in a manner that attempts to positively reinsert her into the centre of South Africa's historical narrative.

An important voice speaking out against the problematic representation of the 'other' is Pichaske (2009). She asserts that filmmakers are generally seen to possess more power than the subject that they are filming, particularly in relation to documentary films. I argue that the same can be said in relation to Durrant's *Krotoa* (2017), as her authorial voice as filmmaker may present some complexities to the ways the film is received by people of colour in South Africa.

For example, a key question the film raised for me was how a 'white' person could tell the story of a woman of colour. Was Durrant somehow excused from such criticism because she is a woman? However, when examining articles of public opinion on the film, this is not the case. In issues of representation, particularly of non- 'white' individuals such as Krotoa, ethics come into play (Pichaske, 2009:45). The issue of ethics has not surfaced in the debates around the biopic, *Krotoa* (2017), in the way it did in relation to Sarah Baartman.

Baartman's equally tragic story allows not only the issue of representation of a female of colour to be debated, but also the sexual objectification of indigenous women. Scholars such as Magubane (2001:817) assert that Baartman's narrative, "cannot be separated from the growing popularity of poststructuralist analyses of race and gender." There are many more accounts of Baartman's narrative which indicate the way she was scrutinised due to the appearance of her body, particularly her genitalia. It is well known that Baartman was sexually objectified by the Europeans as her body was displayed in London and Paris. As (Magubane, 2001:817) asserts, "theorists […] focused obsessively on Baartman's body and its difference." Moreover, because the European scholars of the time chose to define Baartman through the lens of science

and medicine they, "placed Baartman *outside* history" (Magubane, 2001:818). The same can be said about Krotoa.

For Conradie's (1998) the renaming of Krotoa to 'Eva' is, "an appropriation of the indigenous woman in which the adopted Christian name marks the conquest" (Conradie, 1998:56). Added to this, I argue that Krotoa lost her identity as a Khoi woman when she took on the name Eva, while at the Fort. The loss of identity in relation to one's name is referred to in relation to domestic workers in the apartheid era (Erasmus, 2000). I argue that the name 'Eva' connotes that Krotoa was primitive or simplistic, negating the role that she played within her community before working for Van Riebeeck.

Moreover, it is noted in the film that Krotoa had relatives who were rich with cattle. Van Riebeeck came to know of these relatives and desperately wanted access to their supply of livestock for the betterment of the Company Fort (Malherbe, 1990). The association with Krotoa bred the assumption that she was a, "Dutch collaborator" (Conradie, 1998:56). This view has allowed future generations of historians to mis-represent her in relation to South Africa's historical narrative. As Conradie states, "Morality abounds in the works reflecting on Krotoa. Cultural (racial) differences, religious fervour, civilised norms, injustice, sexual assault and guilt are but a few of the common factors. […] Each narrator partakes in a textual 'truth' about Krotoa" (Conradie, 1998:61).

I agree that morality tends to be the prominent feature in debates concerning Krotoa's narrative. Her narrative tends to be framed within a discourse of immorality and her connection to Van Riebeeck's involvement in the Cape. Moreover, "The narrators insist on knowing what they themselves overlook: they are unaware that their act of looking at Krotoa is, besides an identification with her, already a fixed point of observation" (Conradie, 1998:61). This statement asserts that difference implies the onset of observation, and it is because Krotoa is

both aesthetically and culturally different that she was and is observed by critics today and those Europeans she interacted with. However, it must also be remembered that the observation is complex and contests with her personal narrative. This risks her being mis-represented by those who observe her.

In recent years, people of colour have begun to make films of their own. This may be read as an act of, "reclaiming control over their own identities and correcting the false stereotypes of the past…and…balancing hegemonic structures within the media industry" (Pichaske, 2009:73). This led me to question why it was that a person of colour did not take on the project of bringing Krotoa's narrative to the screen. It, I argue, would be a particularly important endeavour for the following reasons. In relation to Baartman's sexual objectification by the Europeans it is asserted that, "in the nineteenth century, the Hottentot remained representative of the essence of the Black, especially the Black female" (Gilman, 1985:225, cited in, Magubane, 2001:822). This show how issues of gender and sexuality are interlinked to issues of identity. Furthermore, Magubane (2001:827) writes, "I maintain that Baartman represented far more in the European imagination than a collection of body parts. [… there was a] universal human fascination with embodied difference." [sic]

Moreover, Young (1997:706) notes that, "The positioning of Black women as "the ultimate other" allows the overall ideology of domination and race, gender, and class oppression to endure." This reinforces the notion asserted by various scholars such as McClintock (1995:78-79) who assert that, "class, gender and racial power […] shaped the inherently imperial project of Victorian empiricism." Moreover, "colonized peoples were figured as *sexual* deviants" (McClintock, 1995:182), as has been noted. Scully (2005) notes that 'black' women's bodies have often been the site of sexual violence. Ward (2007:165) writes that,

> "Both Sara and Krotoa were determined by the Company to be civilised enough to have their bodies treated in the manner of Christians. While they were both vilified personally, Sara as being diabolical and Krotoa debauched, the treatment of their corpses was consistent with Company law and practice. Sara had the condemnation of Dutch colonial society inflicted on her dead body. Krotoa, however, was brought back into the fold of the Company in her death by being buried as a Christian." [sic]

Ward (2007) is concerned with the way the VOC controlled the bodies of those in the colony in death. The Company decided who would be given burial rites and who would be punished for crimes such as suicide. At the time of her death, it was thought that Baartman had taken her own life. Her punishment was that her corpse was dragged through the streets and hung on a gibbet with hers being the only female subjected to such punishment (Ward, 2007). Baartman's punishment in death, is another example of the marginalisation of people of colour, particularly women, in colonial society. Young (1997:706) cites Collins (1991:71) who asserts:

"Representing Black women as the "Other," or outside the "mythical" norm in terms of physicality and alleged sexual behaviour, served to legitimize the commodification of the Black woman and to mask contradictions in social relationships."

I argue therefore, that the European obsession with bodily differences such as *steatopygia* served not only to marginalise and negate their identity and expose women of colour to sexual exploitation – it ultimately worked to dehumanise them, which reinforced colonial ideologies of domination. This negative, sexualised representation of the 'black' body becomes the site whereby, "whiteness stages its purity", as noted by Enwezor (1997:23).

Furthermore, 'whiteness' signifies the nation, as well as citizenship and a sense of belonging; whereas, "blackness [was perceived] as anathema to the discourse of whiteness; […these markers of identification are] constructed [through whiteness], and everything else that is prior is negated, defaced, marginalised, colonised" (Enwezor, 1997:22). This foregrounds a sense of displacement in terms of identity and in relation to place and the home, which can be ascribed

to the narratives of Baartman and Krotoa. Easton (2002:246) argues that Krotoa's narrative has travelled through history and joined with Baartman's narrative. As stated, Krotoa was rejected by both the Dutch and her people and her alcohol abuse brought her into disrepute with the Dutch, particularly after Van Riebeeck left the Cape.

Hence, as Enwezor (1997:25) asserts, "Surely the colonised [wo]man is an envious [wo]man. For [s]he wants to write h[er] own history, to retrieve h[er] own body from the distortive proclivities of white representation." Enwezor (1997:25) further notes that in the post-apartheid context, while 'black' bodies are no longer ignored and dehumanised, there remains a tendency to, "control the black body." This assertion is relevant to the overall filmic representation of Krotoa by Durrant, as Krotoa is portrayed primarily as an obedient and submissive individual. This is a stark contrast to Wells' (1998) representation of Krotoa, discussed later in this dissertation. Is the fact that the post-apartheid nation is "frail" and that 'black' people are still on the margins of society (Enwezor, 1997), the reason for the seeming resurgence of 'white' domination in films such as, *Krotoa* (2017)?

But stereotypes are common in film. Bickford-Smith (2001:183) notes that, "the brutal White/Afrikaner and the Saintly Black Political Leader" were constructed filmic images which abounded in South African films produced during the late apartheid era. He further cites through the work of Hayward (1996) who argues that stereotypes were used in films to allow audiences to, "understand the narrative" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:184). Regarding stereotyping in American films, it is noted that not much study has gone into psychological analyses beyond that of, "the binary division of the active male/passive female and feminist critiques (and counter-critiques) of the 'male gaze'" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:185). However, I argue that it is important not to discard and disregard such constructed images in film – particularly in relation to historically marginalised individuals such as Krotoa.

It is my view that the indigenous people's way of living in the Cape before and during the arrival and settlement of the Dutch is not adequately explored in the film, *Krotoa* (2017). Therefore, the work of scholars such as Morris (2008; 2012; 2014) and Heese (2013) will be explored to shed light on the different indigenous groups living in the Cape at the time, their differences and how interaction with various European settlers changed society, giving us the diverse South African population we have today. These works are valuable to the overall historical foundation of the dissertation in that they steer clear from offering up accounts that are heavily influenced by biases present at the time of publication. Hence, there is an attempt to accurately present the history of individuals who have been marginalised in South African historical narratives.

Heese (2013) is particularly instrumental as he demonstrates that it is a fallacy to assume that any group of people ('white' in particular) are racially pure. This is a good indicator that the book will *not* promote the values of people of European descent over those who identify as 'Coloured' people and may be viewed in tandem with Mellet's (2010) work, mentioned earlier in the dissertation. A pattern begins to emerge where more literature is being produced that speaks out against framing societal issues against the backdrop of the apartheid regime and its 'othering' people of colour. This creates a space where the 'new generation' of South Africans can embrace diversity and be critical of its oppressive and racialised past, which is the aim of this dissertation. Moreover, as mentioned in the introductory section of this dissertation, representation is an important area of discussion, particularly in *Krotoa* (2017). This is because the film depicts the life of the historical figure, Krotoa. What makes the portrayal of Krotoa's life complex, is that the depiction is racially charged. This raises the question, "How can (Durrant) be seen as an authoritative voice in the telling (or depiction) of Krotoa's narrative, if she has no personal claim to Krotoa's story?"

History and its framing are of particular importance in the study of *Krotoa* (2017). In Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn's (2007) book, Worden (2007) provides a useful illustration of how history was manipulated to suit the Dutch ruling the Cape during the eighteenth century. He asserts that the film *Proteus,* produced in 2003, garnered the attention of film critics and historians alike as it, "raise[d] questions about the representation of history in ways which consciously reject mainstream conventions" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:83). The two main characters in this film were tried in a Dutch court on alleged charges of sodomy. The film highlighted the governing social hierarchies in the Cape during the eighteenth century, where through personal biases and "half-truths" presented as evidence, the two accused were characterised in similar ways. This demonstrates that perceptions play a huge role in the ways individuals are represented and perceived, whether evidence is accurate or not.

The film *Krotoa* (2017) also reminds us of the impact of Dutch rule at the Cape, which is at risk of being underestimated. As Worden (2007:87) asserts,

> "Apart from the controversial founding of the colony by Jan Van Riebeeck in 1652, the history of the 143 years of the Cape Colony under the rule of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) has made relatively little impact on public awareness of the South African past" (in Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87).

Information about the past is still found primarily in museums, which must be understood in their political and cultural context and nationalist goals. As (Crooke, 2005:134) notes,

> "The representation of the past in museums must always be considered within the political and cultural contexts. European museum development, for instance, can be tied directly to the development of national consciousness and the need for new nations to assert a national past."

In the context of our country's national history of colonisation and apartheid reflecting on the past is likely to be a painful and traumatic experience for many, particularly in the representation of those who have been subjugated and objectified. As Davidson (1998:144)

states, “The compellingly lifelike casts gave tangible form to stereotypes of KhoiSan physical difference that had been well established during the preceding century in photographs and drawings.”

Hence, we can think of museums (such as the South African Museum) as a state institution that replicates and can reinforce racialised stereotypes of indigenous people like the Khoi. Moreover, “Museums that emphasized their research role were reluctant to recognize the relationship between knowledge, power, and privilege” (Davidson, 1998:149), as the institution distanced itself from such displays thereby denying its complicity. Another critique that can also be levelled at institutions like museums, or the overall narrative of South Africa is that, “They have to renounce the indigenous as a cultural problem, to be discarded in pursuit of democracy and equality” (Scully, 2012:589). I agree with McDonald (2016:67) who argues that history should represent, “the past in ways that promote plurality and multi-perspectivity in the present and for the future.”

On the topic of representation, and guided by the work of Cooke (2016), I ask the question, ‘How are South African stories classified?’ We can see from the work of Wicomb (2002) and Samuelson (2007) that talking about the past is not easy. This is in a large part due to the level of oppression that people deemed as ‘inferior’ had to endure, along with the blatant denial of such oppression by its perpetrators.

The following statement encapsulates this disturbing fact, “History can also be told in a way that denies the past, manipulates the truth and deliberately misleads” (Crooke, 2005:135). The TRC was supposed to be a chance for South Africa to achieve national catharsis after the fall of apartheid. De Kock (2016:37) argues that stories told in the TRC comprised a, “restoration of narrative” and that the quest for recuperating a sense of the self within a post-apartheid context is bound to be a challenging process (de Kock, 2016). Van der Vlies (2008:950) writes

of the TRC that, “It might thus be said [that the TRC] actively [..] invited an ongoing process of creative assessment and ‘writerly’ engagement with the archive of colonial- and apartheid-era suffering.” Similarly, to the work of Chapman (1998) and Charos (2009) who write about the past and literary fiction, de Kock (2016:40) emphasizes that the politics of story-telling is coming to the fore, “where the most telling stories more often than not have a strong relation to the perceived real, including the datum of people’s lived experiences.” However, this statement is complicated by the following quote from (Charos, 2009:275) who states, “In South Africa, a nation burdened with the memory of apartheid violence, a prevailing theme of the country’s literature has been the persistence or intrusion of the past in the present.” The issue and prevalence of racism and oppression in the country after the demise of the apartheid regime is a testament to the above statement.

Considering the scholarship on forms of institutional remembering of a painful past, I argue that *Krotoa* (2017) could also be perceived as an, “intrusion of the past on the present” (Charos, 2009:275). This is evident due to the emotive responses it elicited in the South African press following its release. Moreover, “It makes sense that South Africans might want to turn their backs on the disgraceful past of apartheid and the shameful feelings a past of violence may have evoked—to start over with a ‘‘clean slate’’ (Charos, 2009:280). “Representing abused, isolated, and pathologized bodies in their fiction, several post-apartheid South African writers have turned to textual translations of shame that complicate notions of ‘‘telling’’ and ‘‘unspeakability’’ after bodily violence” [sic] (Charos, 2009:284). Charos (2009) argues that literary works of fiction allow narratives of shame to be imagined in a more ethical sense. In relation to film, however, this project is considerably more complex.

In scholarship, mnemonic forms, like museums and indeed film, are conceptualised through the concept of the ‘archive’. The ‘archive’ is defined as, “[That which] houses what could best be described as ‘traces’ of particular aspects of the Past in the form of documents. These

documents were produced in the Past and are subjective constructions with their own histories of negotiations and contestations" (Harris, 2002:161). In the South African context, it is probable that historical accounts [in the archive] were subjective, as non-'white' people's narratives were not recognised by the national government. Films which were not sympathetic to Afrikaner nationalist ideals were censored or banned, as previously stated (see Botha, 1992; 2003; 2007; 2012). Therefore, groups deemed as inferior by the apartheid regime had no agency or freedom of self-expression and if they were represented on-screen it was likely to be in a subservient manner. Such representations have been echoed during and after colonial times.

Yet, this period laid the foundations for the later colonial conquest of the region and, some would argue, for much of South Africa's subsequent pernicious racial structuring" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:83). Racial prejudice and social hierarchy have indeed contributed to ideologies of racial superiority, which is the driving-force behind the mis-representation of people of colour, particularly in South African history and film. Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007) complement the work of Blignaut & Botha (1992). Films such as, *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951) and, *Come Back, Africa* (1959) are cited as examples where change for the 'black' majority under the apartheid regime was on the horizon. "It was in this immediately pre-Soweto context that Hollywood (in the form of United Artists) made its first stab at depicting 1970s Apartheid South Africa" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:260). Bickford-Smith recounts that Lord Richard Attenborough persuaded Hollywood to finance, *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1951).

> "Attenborough was undoubtedly sincere in emphasising his own political motivation in making the film: 'My objective was straightforward – to ensure that having seen the movie, nobody will be able to remain indifferent to the situation in South Africa, and to encourage them to stand up and say, "This is intolerable" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:263).

It is possible that if Durrant used her filmic skills in the way that the director Manie van Rensburg did in the '90s film, *The Fourth Reich* (1990), she would not have received backlash for *Krotoa* (2017). *The Fourth Reich* (1990) was lauded by many as critical of the apartheid regime (Broodryk, 2016). Much of Broodryk's (2016) work on Afrikaans cinema's, "political impotence", was inspired by Botha (1992; 2007; 2012). Botha's (1992; 2007; 2012) work details South Africa's filmic landscape during and after the apartheid era. It illustrates that film directors (who were predominantly white males), were given film subsidies to produce films that cast the regime in a positive light and promoted 'white' Afrikaner values. If films deviated from these standards, they were often banned. The censorship that directors endured forced them to go into exile to create films from abroad. During this time, film was primarily a mechanism of entertainment for the 'white' minority in the country, but would not dare to depict 'black' people as intelligent or voice dissent against the oppressive apartheid regime. However, some directors, such as van Rensburg, refused to comply and he was disliked by the national government.

Another critic of Afrikaans cinema is Tomaselli (1993). Some of his contributions will be explored in this dissertation, when dealing with issues of representation. Building on the issue of representation, the work of Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007), is also relevant to analysing *Krotoa* (2017). Their view foregrounds, "a convergence of two historiographical streams: African history, and 'film and history'" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:1). This is important because Africa's history has been side-lined for far too long in favour of narratives concerning Western imperialism on the African continent. In choosing to shift the focus from the imperial powers, Africa reclaims its place in history, subverting the sense of dislocation and dis-remembering that took place when African countries lost their autonomy under colonisation. Furthermore, in re-asserting themselves into the global historical narrative,

misrepresentations of marginalised peoples can be combated more effectively. As noted by Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007:1):

> "Though historians occasionally used film as a teaching aid in the classroom, there was a collective scepticism about the value of film as a means of engaging with the past." This is illustrated by the following passage, "Feature film was seen as inherently flawed as a means of 'doing history'; when historians condescended to discuss these 'historical' films, they were summarily dismissed for their many inaccuracies and errors large and small" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:1).

I argue that Durrant is attempting to "engage with the past" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:1) through the film *Krotoa* (2017). However, the film's portrayal of history appears particularly one-sided because it focuses on the arrival of the Dutch at the Cape in 1652. It also perpetuates the way South African history has predominantly been shaped and mis-represented, particularly in schools. Furthermore, it is stated that,

> "Pioneering attempts in the 1970s to grapple with film's possibilities focused primarily on its uses as evidence. How might film footage surviving from the past supplement other more traditional forms of evidence — the written word in particular — in broadening historical understanding" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:1)?

In other words, "Is there anything of historical value or importance that can be learnt from a film such as, *Krotoa* (2017)? From what Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007:1) write, it becomes clear that some scholars doubted that film could be used as a credible mechanism in the retelling of a historically grounded narrative. However, it is soon recorded that,

"Th[e] focus on film as evidence expanded to include fiction films", where Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007:1) ask, "What might these reveal about the values and pre-occupations, the mentalités, of the societies and times in which they were produced? What might they tell us of the ideologies that shaped their production?"

In terms of the film's production, both the film's director, Durrant, and scriptwriter, Williams, claimed that they were fascinated by the story of Krotoa and wanted to make a film that celebrated her life. However, the question remains, why was the film met with some much media backlash following its local release? It is therefore interesting that the film won many awards and was praised at the international film festivals it was screened at. *Krotoa* (2017) is a film that attempts to represent a problematic period in South Africa's history. It is also a fictional, feature film. This is the inherent difference between that of a biopic and that of a documentary. More of these differences will be discussed. In coming back to Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn's (2007:2) assertions on historical films, they draw on the work of Rosenstone, who states:

> '[A] film must engage, directly or obliquely, the issues, ideas, data, and arguments of the ongoing discourse of history. Like the book, the historical film cannot exist in a state of historical innocence, cannot indulge in capricious invention, and cannot ignore the findings and assertions and arguments of what we already know of from other sources. Like any work of history, a film must be judged in terms of the knowledge of the past we already possess.'

In using Rosenstone's assertion (cited in Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:2) it becomes clear that the narrative of Durrant's film, *Krotoa* (2017), was informed by, "the knowledge of the past [they] already possess[ed]" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:2). The documentation detailing Van Riebeeck's arrival at the Cape for the purposes of establishing a refreshment station have been written about extensively (Leipoldt, 1936). However, the story of Krotoa does not feature in the story of the Dutch arriving at the Cape. Before the film, historians had uncovered that Krotoa's name was mentioned in Van Riebeeck's personal journal, shortly after he landed at the Cape to establish a refreshment station in 1652.

The film depicts the beginning of racialised segregation and colonisation. Nothing is shown of indigenous resistance, except in the way that Krotoa's clan conducted cattle raids as a form of

revenge on the Dutch. I find this disappointing, as the film was released in the context of a democratic South African society, yet seems to be promoting domination over a particular group of people (the Khoi) by another group of people (the Dutch). The domination of the Khoi implies that they were weak. They were tactically outnumbered by the Dutch through their use of firearms. Moreover, by the film depicting the Khoi's cattle raids, they are presented as thieves. The Dutch interpreted the raids as a fact of Khoi character, which formed another mis-representation of Khoi identity through the colonial-gaze. This demonstrates that the film fails to, "engage, directly or obliquely, the issues, ideas, data, and arguments of the ongoing discourse of history", as asserted by Rosenstone (cited in Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:2). Therefore, it seems ironic that Durrant should have directed such a film.

Furthermore, I do not understand why there was not an outcry from the public for someone else to direct the film, in the same way that others rejoiced in Hollywood when Norman Jewison was not chosen to direct the biopic on Malcolm X, but rather Spike Lee (1992). This highlights the question of whether 'white' people have the right to make films about the 'black' subject? This issue is explored with reference to Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007) and Pichaske (2009). Moreover, as mentioned in the previous discussion about the South African filmic landscape and it consisting heavily of 'white' male directors, the issue of *funding* 'black' *female* directors will also be explored through the work of Treffry-Goatley (2010). Treffry-Goatley (2010) deals with how film was supposed to promote the new democratic values that South Africa now stood for after the fall of apartheid.

A national film funding scheme, called the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF), was established to help filmmakers produce films that promoted these values. It also aimed to assist female filmmakers. However, data compiled by Engel (2018) illustrates that progress in this regard has been slow in South Africa. *Krotoa* (2017) was partly funded by the NFVF and the film might have been seen as a pioneer on all fronts in South African cinema and the institutions

that surround it. Instead, the film seems to be choked by its colonial narrative content, struggling to be a film which fights against the old powers of 'white' domination. Moreover, in relation to the film, it is asserted that,

> "One of the key themes of the film, as we shall see, is the construction of colonial knowledge and the framing of the colonial subject, a topic prominent in recent British and North American work, which uses the techniques of the new cultural history" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:84).

It has also become common practice for historians to use the technique of the micronarrative. This is described by Worden (2007:84) as,

> "analysing a specific episode in great detail, usually one involving ordinary people who were not 'significant' in a conventional historical and political sense, in order to illuminate the kinds of social and mental processes that could exist at a particular time and place" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:84).

In the case of *Krotoa* (2017), there is indeed evidence of certain historical and social processes at work, in terms of the growing tension between the Dutch and the Khoi. However, not much of the mental processes at work on the side of the Khoi people are explored in the film. One is given the impression that Krotoa's descent into drunkenness is brought on because she longs for the return of Van Riebeeck to the Fort, the man who 'valued' her. If this is indeed the case, it is then no surprise that people of colour, in particular, have come out strongly against the film and are deeply disturbed by it. The following assertion by Worden that, "Past and present are not separable in film any more than they are in the production of any other form of history" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:85), is a testament to the complexity of the film, *Krotoa* (2017). In terms of micronarratives in history Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn (2007:84) assert:

> "Historians of the early colonial Cape have used micronarratives to investigate otherwise hidden topics, such as the conflicts between settlers and Khoisan on the pastoral frontiers of the interior, cross-racial adultery, slave consciousness and the significance of concepts of honour and status at all levels of the social hierarchy."

Unfortunately, these conflicts are just barely depicted in, *Krotoa* (2017). Worden (2007:87) insists that *Proteus* ([2003]) is more honest than most films (and most historians) in revealing that the history we produce through the medium of film is a construction" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87). *Proteus* (2003) uses filmic conventions to explicitly point audiences to the constructedness of the history it presents; whereas *Krotoa* (2017) does not. In emphasizing that *Proteus* (2003) actively constructs a type of history for audiences, Worden (2007) writes, "To underscore the point that the historical record is a construction of truths, half-truths and imagination, at the very end of *Proteus* [2003] a caption declares, "'Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are not true'" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87). Moreover, in questioning the claim to truth given to history, Worden (2007:87) continues, "there is no absolute historical truth, only textual representations" (cited in Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87). Therefore, in framing *Krotoa* (2017) as an historical feature film, as well as considering the public backlash it received in the media, Durrant's film fits into the 'category' of, "[a filmic] representation" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87).

I also asserted in the beginning of this dissertation that *Krotoa* (2017) can be seen as a representation of a representation. Hence, it follows that there cannot be any, "absolute historical truths" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:87). The question of any historical truth is further contested when confronted with questions such as,

> "How far can the historian rely on testimonies given to a courtroom in which inequalities of power and authority were so evident? How truthful is the evidence of those seeking to save their own lives or to (possibly) curry favour with the authorities? Bribed and terrified witnesses and accused persons are typical of any courtroom" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:91).

More importantly, however, it is acknowledged by the directors of *Proteus* (2003) that it is truly 'difficult to know history', "since it shows the silencing of the indigenous voice in the archive" (Bickford-Smith & Mendelsohn, 2007:91). It is this silencing of Krotoa's voice in the film of the same name that will be addressed throughout this dissertation.

This is something that Durrant's film, *Krotoa* (2017) is guilty of, although the film was made more than a decade after the book was published. I agree that something is, "terribly wrong with the South African film critics'[‘] approach to cinema in general and South African cinema in particular (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:100). The problem with South African films at the time, seen by these two men, were that films produced were Americanised in their narrative approaches. Therefore, it is advised that,

> "film critics [stop] evaluat[ing] South Africa films only from an indoctrinated (US imperialistic) base, [to prevent] undermin[ing] a potentially vibrant industry at the cost of developing an indigenous film culture and keeping the public informed of such important developments in our industry" (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:101).

Blignaut & Botha (1992:102) cite the South African filmmaker Manie van Rensburg, who said that, "There is a lot of pressure when one considers making a film in South Africa. It is never prescribed, yet there is an unseen and unwritten pressure to make films about South Africa's dilemma." Perhaps it can be said that in some way or another, Durrant felt compelled to make the film, *Krotoa* (2017)? Nonetheless, her representation of suffering is controversial, as it seems as if the *Dutch* are positioned as victims in the film. Van Rensburg further warns,

> "The challenge for the South African filmmaker is, like anywhere else, first and foremost, to make a good film, to explore the areas of South African society; to be intolerant of any form of discrimination, not to lose track of various shades and perspectives of South African life. The challenge is not only to further the struggle for freedom and democracy in South Africa, but also to create a work of art which doesn't depend on sensationalism to reach its audience" [sic] (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:103).

If it can be said that the Dutch are positioned as victims, it demonstrates that the film works to misrepresent the intense exploitation that the Khoi experienced at the hands of the Dutch. This would indeed be a great tragedy. Furthermore, Durrant shows herself to be struggling in relation to the above warning as a similar trope can be seen in, *Krotoa* (2017). Krotoa was defined by Maria Van Riebeeck and other Europeans visiting the Company Fort as belonging to nature, or primitive. It is for this reason that Maria Van Riebeeck decides to (re)name Krotoa, Eva.

It has been mentioned that *Krotoa* (2017) is a biopic. Moreover, I stated that there is a distinction between a documentary and a biopic. Blignaut (1992) notes that South Africa does not have a film culture. If this remains the case, how might recent films such as *Krotoa* (2017) be perceived by the public? What does, *Krotoa* (2017) represent? This question becomes even more pertinent in relation to the first film that was made in South Africa. Van Nierop (2011), Botha (2007) and Le Roux & Fourie (1982) are cited as texts illustrating the Anglo-Boer War as a point of departure and start of the film industry in South Africa (Steyn, 2015:17). At this time the types of films made were primarily news films, documentary films and shots from war scenes (Steyn, 2015:17). It can therefore be said that the South African film industry, had its beginnings in the production of films, dealing primarily with the topic of actuality.

> "Apartheid South Africa was one of the few 'foreign problems' to move beyond the confines of news bulletins or documentaries into a wide variety of anglophone (in the sense that they were produced by, and primarily aimed at, English-speaking western audiences, predominantly in the United States and United Kingdom) popular cultural forms in the 1980s" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:183).

The above quote indicates a tension between film's function in society, particularly during the apartheid era. On the one hand, film was used as a form of escapism, while on the other hand it was also employed as a vehicle which showed the painful truth (Steyn, 2015). This is seen particularly in the film dealing with the Great Depression during the 1930s. This was a real

event in South African history, but it was also marketed in a way that promoted escapism by the film's production company. People at the time went to see the film because they could relate to it, despite its bleak narrative (Steyn, 2015). Another important aspect pertaining to film production is the visual imagery, specifically the image itself. On the image, it is written that,

> "Both still and movie cameras can, as Anthony Easthope puts it, 'construct a signifying effect' through (for instance) the use of the camera angle, depth of focus, special focus (e.g. soft focus), special lenses, framing or the accompanying (and immensely variable) lighting effects. Equally both might 'signify' through particular choice of film type (e.g. colour or black-and-white) or by referencing (more or less covertly or overtly) previous (photographic or filmic) contents or styles — which might also suggest assumptions that the camera person is making about his/her audience — or by 'structured absences'" [sic] (Bickford-Smith, 2001:184).

The above quote by Bickford-Smith (2001:184) indicates the importance of reading or analysing the visual techniques employed in a film and provides depth to the analysis of the filmic narrative. Visual techniques employed in a film are important when discussing emotion and, "filmic meaning can be created through the editing of shots" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:184).

The emotion of sadness, broadly-speaking, is a recurring motif in *Krotoa* (2017). Specifically, the motif in the context of the filmic narrative pertains to Krotoa's grief. Nothing is said after Krotoa is raped by Van Riebeeck and the subsequent miscarriage she suffers when returning to her clan. Abrahams (1996) is cited as one of the scholars who is adamant that Krotoa was raped and that the traumatic event left psychological scars on her. Perhaps Pieternella is expressing this trauma her mother experiences in the words, "*Eintlik word alles wat 'n mens sien, in jou oë gebêre. Haar oë het al baie dinge in hulle gehad*" (Matthee, 2000:13).[36] Building on Abrahams' (1996) article, it would be beneficial to add a brief point on mental health and

[36] "Actually, everything that one sees is stored in the eyes. Her eyes had many things in them already" – (my translation)

illness that may result from a traumatic experience such as sexual assault, I assert. It appears that such scholarship is not available or may be few and far between. Another problematic facet in the study on Krotoa, is the fact that much of the scholarship written about her has been done by males. There are only a handful of female scholars dedicated to the topic. Most sources used in this study came from male voices and perspectives. It is therefore difficult to counteract the erasure of Krotoa's agency that is brought about through much of the scholarship by some males. This is why the aim of this dissertation is to 'give back' agency through female scholarship which may have been erased by some male academics' writings.

This task has been somewhat hampered by the fact that female scholars' voices are limited in this discussion, as mentioned above. Hence, a narrative on Krotoa may still run the risk of sounding generic in the facts that are presented. Yes, the 'facts' show that scholars have (broadly-speaking) reached a consensus on how Krotoa may have lived and what she did for Van Riebeeck; however, it becomes apparent that some sources (such as Leipoldt, 1936) mentioning Krotoa are not critical of the manner in which she may have been 'othered' by the Dutch, which risks them being guilty of perpetuating the status-quo in their literary works. Furthermore, one is left to infer how things 'really were', as is the case with Abrahams (1996) and her writing on Krotoa's sexual assault by Van Riebeeck. Despite my criticism, I still believe that Durrant's, *Krotoa* (2017) is a good starting point where people can learn about one of South Africa's marginalised historical female figures. The challenge that this study presents is using the sources at hand, as well as the film itself, to put Krotoa at the centre (rather than on the margins) of history, as much as possible.

Furthermore, in relation to another fundamental issue pertinent to *Krotoa* (2017) and other films produced in the context of South Africa, is that of stereotyping. According to Bickford-Smith (2001:185),

> "the use of stereotyping [is] commonplace [,] from Griffith's crude images of degenerate African-American politicians and glorious Klansmen in *Birth of a Nation* (1915) onwards. Equally, and as Hayward has stressed, stereotypes — whether filmic or otherwise — need to be located within specific and changing socio-historical contexts."

Stereotyping allows for pre-conceived and racially-charged ideologies to creep into society. In dealing with Khoi people as subject-matter in films they have often been depicted as 'primitive' because they are hunter-gatherers. I assert that this should not be the case, as this runs the risk of historically misrepresenting Khoi people once again. Moreover, it creates the assumption that indigenous people, such as the Khoi, can only be defined and associated with and by hunting and gathering, which negates realisations of their intelligence and so on. Furthermore, it is stated that,

> "Changing depictions of South Africa and South Africans from *Cry the Beloved Country* to *The Wilby Conspiracy* were predictably rooted in changes both in the reality of South African politics after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 as well as in western perceptions of that reality. Before Sharpeville, western coverage of the establishment of , and particularly news rather than documentary coverage, had generally attempted 'balance' and 'objectivity' rather than giving much, if any, space to sharply critical views of developments in South Africa. This changed almost as soon as still pictures of the dead and wounded anti-pass protestors, many of whom who had been shot in the back, were shown on television news bulletins in Europe and America on the day of the Sharpeville massacre, followed by a couple of days later by what BBC News described as 'grim' film footage" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:186).

The statement suggests that films are based on perception. This implies that institutions outside of Africa run the risk of presenting images of the country's apartheid state in a manner which has the capacity to create the wrong impression on those elsewhere, who may view these particular images. Furthermore, it is stated that such coverage often steered away from, "sharply critical views of developments in South Africa" (Bickford-Smith, 2001:186). It appears that the filmic narrative of *Krotoa* (2017) leans towards this type of 'reportage' of the

time in which Van Riebeeck landed at and subsequently colonised the Cape. Moreover, the question of the interest and value that institutions such as BBC News had in reporting on South Africa's Apartheid state surfaces. One is tempted to question why Durrant chose to make a biopic depicting the life of a Khoi woman named Krotoa, later renamed Eva by the Dutch. It also leads one to question how reality is framed in the context of documentary films and news bulletins during the apartheid regime. Who would these European journalists be interviewing and what type of questions were being asked before the massacre at Sharpeville occurred? Why was the historical event of the massacre the final turning point for international news broadcasters such as BBC News to start shifting the way apartheid was represented in international news? This may be linked to how the 'West' was initially silent on the atrocities committed under Nazi Germany, which is now called the Holocaust. The Allies acted when it was almost too late – about six million Jewish people had already been murdered simply for being Jewish. Linking the genocide of Jewish people during World War II to this discussion on the biopic on Krotoa, the issue of stereotypes becomes pertinent. For centuries, Jewish people have had to bear the brunt of racial slurs and stereotypes, much in the same way that non- 'white' people have endured them. The use of stereotypes is frequently employed in the film, *Krotoa* (2017).

It is evident through the above example that filmic characters are used by filmmakers to make political statements. This is not limited to the film and is what Vollenhoven's play showcases. The play has characters set in both period 1652 and current times, critically engaging with history and its implications on the present day. In this way, mis-representations evident in South Africa's historical narrative can be critiqued so that the next generation knows what to contest. Plays and films that have discursive natures can do much to continue the debate around negotiating identities, which requires transformations of its own. However, the following section focuses on stereotyping of Khoi people.

3.4 The Khoi people and their Historical Racialised representation(s)

"[T]he colonial view of the Cape held that they came from two different racial stocks" (Fauvelle-Aymar, 2008:77). This claim is further substantiated in more descriptive terms by Besten's (2006) work, where he writes that the term 'Khoisan' was coined by Leonard Schultze. However, many scholars referred to hunter-gathering and herder indigenous people as San. These indicated indigenous people located in the southern region of Africa and it was understood by the Nama group to refer to those who foraged, had a low-social economic standing, or were thieves (Besten, 2006:3). Therefore, given the fact that not all indigenous groups had material wealth such as cattle, they often bartered goods with passing trade ships, so that they could barter with other clans for cattle.

> "During the 16th and 17th centuries, European voyagers to the Far East often landed on the western or southern Cape coasts to barter metal items, tobacco, alcohol, and other European goods for the sheep and cattle tended by native herders. The first permanent European settlement in South Africa, established by the Dutch East India Company on Table Bay in 1652, in fact functioned largely as a trading post to procure meat for passing ships. From the Dutch perspective, the natives appeared reluctant to trade" (Goodwin 1952, cited in Klein, 1986:5).

The extract above indicated that trade had already existed before the Dutch colonised the Cape, where the indigenous people been lived for centuries (Klein, 1986:5). It can also be inferred that the indigenous people were suspicious of the Dutch when they landed since they appeared, "reluctant to trade" (Klein, 1986:5).

> "Khoi tools weapons were made mainly of stone, bone, wood, and other Age' materials, though metal was fashioned whenever it was able. The Khoi made distinctive pottery, including conical vessels with lugs for tying onto cattle and spouted vessels for pouring milk" (Rudner[,] 1979 cited in Klein, 1986:5).

Surely the above example should have made Europeans, such as the Dutch, realise that the indigenous people were not inferior to them? However, it is possible that the fact that the Khoi

made ceramics was of little consequence to the Dutch. In relation to the Dutch's interaction with Krotoa and her people, Matthee (2000:118) writes:

> "*Die hoofman van die Hollanders, Jan van Riebeeck, laat sit haar ma se oom Autshuma[t]o op Robbeneiland sodat hy kon ophou keer dat die Hottentotte self by die Fort kom vee ruil. Haar ma woon toe al vir die tweede keer by mynheer Van Riebeeck en sy huisvrou*" (Matthee, 2000:118).[37]

The above passage illustrates that Autshumato wanted to oversee the amount of cattle the Dutch procured through trade with other clans, but that Van Riebeeck prevented this by banishing him to the Penal Colony. Autshumato was accustomed to negotiating trade deals with other European ships passing through – particularly with regards to the English and appears to have developed a liking to their treatment of him. This is described in the following passage:

> "The people he called Englishmen had told [him] to watch that other ships did not barter all their cattle and sheep from the Khoikhoi, because they would make them better deals. They had promised that they would return and give him good rewards for fetching men with livestock to barter" (Bloem, 1999:14).

Due to the 'service' that Autshumato 'rendered' to the English (as described above), he received, "good rewards", from them (Bloem, 1999:14). The highlight for Krotoa's uncle, however, was that the English referred to him as, 'King Harry' – albeit in a joking manner (Bloem, 1999:14). Krotoa notes that,

> "since then he had not been the same man. When men came in ships they gave him food and tobacco and beads and treated him like the leader of many men. Even although he had no livestock of his own to barter they always asked for 'Herrie'" [sic] (Bloem, 1999:14).

[37] Translation: "The Dutch's chief, Jan van Riebeeck, put her uncle Autshumato on Robben Island so that Autshumato could not prevent the Hottentots from trading livestock at the Fort themselves. It was the second time already that her mother was living with Mr. Van Riebeeck and his wife." (my own)

The two extracts above indicate that Autshumato longed to be respected by all Khoi people and to be a man of high stature. However, this became complicated given the that the Goringhaicona were despised by other clans (Bloem, 1999:11). Bloem (1999:15) notes that Autshumato's main goal was to store up goods received from the Europeans so that he could barter for cattle of his own. "Autshumato wanted to build up a herd so that other men would respect him" (Bloem, 1999:15). He may have believed that in securing clans who were able to trade livestock with the English, he could use goods like copper that he received from them for further trade to accumulate cattle of his own. Having one's own herd earned the respect of other clans (Bloem, 1999:15). However, Autshumato was not aware that the English were not giving him "rewards" because they appreciated him (Bloem, 1999). It was rather a mechanism used by the English to secure cattle.

Moreover, it was during this time that European powers like the English and Dutch sought opportunities to further their projects of colonial expansion. I argue that Autshumato would have been oblivious to the underlying goal that the English and Dutch had, as discussed in Section 3.6, "Agency vs. Sexual Objectification of Women through the Centuries: Freedom Stolen in *Krotoa*". Autshumato would have been delighted because he was getting the respect that he craved from his people and from the English. Autshumato acted as an interpreter between the European traders and other indigenous clans and was not about to give up that authority when Van Riebeeck settled at the Cape. As I have previously argued in this section, he was accustomed to negotiating trade deals with the passing Europeans and the other clans that owned livestock. Therefore, he would want the status-quo to remain. It can also be argued that when Van Riebeeck banished Autshumato to Robben Island, he had stripped Autshumato of his honour, which must have been devasting for Autshumato.

This brings patriarchy to the fore and emphasizes the importance of gender in the analysis of *Krotoa* (2017). The concepts of gender and patriarchy highlight the impact that masculinity

can have on exerting dominance over other groups. This is relevant in the context in which Krotoa was growing up. Autshumato was an ambitious man, and not an imbecile as colonial accounts of indigenous people have implied. Autshumato was referred to as 'King Harry' by the English, which he may have enjoyed. This substantiates Krotoa's observation that, "since then he had not been the same man" (Bloem, 1999:14). In contrast to his relationship with the English, it can be argued that Autshumato wanted to outsmart Van Riebeeck when the Khoi people started perceiving the Dutch as a threat. This desire to outsmart Van Riebeeck and foil his plans is detailed below.

According to Matthee's (2000) text, Autshumato's actions were strategic. This is evident in the words to Krotoa, "*jy moet fyn luister wat hierdie Hollander-hoofman praat. Jy verstaan hulle taal al mooi. Ons moet hulle deurmekaar kry en goed bevrees maak sodat hulle skippe hulle kan kom haal en wegvat*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:119).[38] This puts Krotoa in a complex position, and she tells Pieternella that she became a, "*tweekopvrou. Een is Eva, een is Krotoa. Jy moet slim wees om 'n tweekopvrou te wees. Jy moet leer om te seil soos 'n slang sodat die leeu nie wakker word nie*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:170)![39] The second part of the statement above is somewhat idiomatic. Krotoa did not really turn into a snake and the Dutch were not really lion(s). Yet through her words, Krotoa rather suggests the way she is expected to adapt so that the Dutch did not realise that they were being fooled. In other words, she had to be cunning in her dealings with the Dutch to benefit her people (Matthee, 2000:170). In contrast, the Khoi were not aware that the Dutch had a plan of colonial expansion. However, it was important for Van Riebeeck to successfully establish the refreshment station and accumulate profits that trade

[38] Translation: "you must listen carefully to what this Dutch-chief says. You understand their language well now. We must confuse and alarm them so that their ships come and take them away." (my own)

[39] Translation: "Two-person woman. One is Eva, one is Krotoa. You have to be smart to be a two-person woman. You must learn to slither like a snake, so that the lion does not wake up!" (my own)

would catalyse (discussed in Section 3.3, "History and Representation in film"). As Leipoldt (1936) notes, Van Riebeeck's eligibility to travel to the East again would be considered by the Company if the refreshment station at the Cape proved successful.

As already asserted, Krotoa was placed in a complex position, or, "caught between two worlds" as she had to go back and forth between Van Riebeeck and Oedasoa (Malherbe, 1990; Matthee, 2000:176). "*Tweekopvrou. Boodskapper. Heen en weer*" (Matthee, 2000:176).[40] However, it appears that Krotoa was cunning in the way she delivered her messages. Van Riebeeck and his men were unaware of the Khoi people's objectives, assuming that they were, "reluctant to trade" (Klein, 1986:5). These types of idiomatic expressions were not represented in the film. Therefore, it appears that the Khoi are fighting a battle with the Dutch that they are bound to lose. It is another indication of the way the indigenous people of South Africa have been misrepresented, because their plan to drive away the Dutch was not fully explored in the film.

Moreover, I argue that in failing to acknowledge that the Khoi sought to drive away the Dutch from the Cape, the film negates the reality that the Khoi were not ignorant savages, as the Europeans perceived them to be. Secondly, the episode described by Matthee (2000:176) above, is another example of Krotoa's capacity as a go-between. She is in the service of both, but it does not show her demonstrating her agency as a woman, as scholars Scully (2005) and Wells (1997; 1998) have argued she does. Krotoa has no agency in this instance, because she is being used as a pawn by Oedasoa and Van Riebeeck. These men have agendas they would like to see come to fruition and Krotoa is the catalyst used by both to achieve their ambitions.

Therefore, I argue that the patriarchal nature of both men usurp the identity and agency that Krotoa possesses within herself in this moment. Nonetheless Wells (1997) may be correct in

[40] Translation: "Two-person woman. Messenger. Back and forth" (my own)

her argument that Krotoa uses her gender to her advantage. This is because there is no written recorded evidence that Van Riebeeck or Oedasoa considered her intelligent in her perceptions regarding trade. She was aware that land and cattle were valuable to both parties. She knew that the Dutch wanted cattle so that they could trade with other European countries. This ensured that the VOC made regular profits from the settlement at the Cape, which was Van Riebeeck's main objective. She also knew that the Dutch needed cattle for their subsistence purposes at the Cape. In contrast to the Europeans, the indigenous clans used cattle to barter for other raw materials amongst themselves. They also occasionally traded with European ships that were passing by.

> "Fleets of ships visited the Cape to take in fresh water and wild greens, and bartered livestock from the wealthier tribes for copper, beads, tobacco and pipes. When the visitors slaughtered bartered animals on the beach, the beachcombers would beg for the entrails, most of which they would grill and eat immediately, rubbing the dripping fat into their skins. As important to the impoverished beachcombers was the bread, tobacco, wine or arrack which could sometimes be procured in exchange for ostrich eggs or tortoises or bunches of sorrel and other greens" (Bloem, 1999:12).

The "beachcombers" to which the above passage refers are Krotoa's clan, the Goringhaicona. These people did not own their own livestock as they were hunter-gatherers. For this reason, meat was a highly valued commodity among the Goringhaicona, as stated in the above description (Bloem, 1999:12). The fact that Autshumato received bread from Europeans is also noted by Twidle (2013) in his analysis on the novel *Eilande* (2002) by Dan Sleigh.

However, land was still essential for cattle-grazing. They were also pastoral people and frequently moved around in search of grazing land for their cattle. Secondly, in relation to social hierarchies that existed between Khoi clans at the Cape, it is stated that, "The other tribes

despised her people, the Goringhai[c]ona, because they were not a proper tribe but outcasts from other tribes, and almost never owned any cattle" (Bloem, 1999:11).[41]

When the Dutch landed at the Cape in 1652 the existing barter system was disrupted. This is alluded to in Smith (1986:40) where it is argued that hunting peoples had difficulty adapting to herding people moving into their area. The relationship between the Khoi and the San was already complex, and was put under further strain with the Dutch arrived. Trade relations were also unequal. The Dutch traded things like beads and tobacco in exchange for cattle. It is clear that the Dutch benefitted more from this system. Krotoa appears to have been aware of these inequalities, as is briefly referred to in the film as she tried to, 'level the playing field' for both groups. I argue that this makes her a pioneer of her time because she was a Khoi woman who understood both cultures and wanted her people to live in harmony with the Dutch. I argue that this is not emphasized enough in historical records or the film's narrative, which leads to Krotoa being misrepresented.

"San and Khoe peoples, although they are divided linguistically and economically, are all the descendants of one common pool of Khoesan people" (Morris, 2014:1). Here, Morris (2014) emphasizes that differences between indigenous people groups were not due to bloodline and that the groups had similar genetic coding. "It was recognised that populations overlapped in physical features and that distinctive features could be explained in terms of adaptation and gene flow rather than discrete ancestry" (Morris, 2014:2). Therefore, it is evident that Morris (2008; 2012; 2014) shifts away from defining indigenous peoples through the lens of race,

[41] Bloem spells the clan, "Goringhaikona", but for the purposes of uniformity throughout the discussion, I have chosen to stay with the spelling of, "Goringhaicona". There seem to be other name discrepancies in relation to Krotoa's uncle Autshumato and Oedasoa, as well as Pieternella's husband – Daniel's last name and their son Salamon.

accentuating commonality between groups, which was developed by studying genetic sequences.

However, these indigenous groups were subjected to intense racial 'othering' and Hudson (2004) argues that racism existed for a long time before it was theorised or written about. He writes that Khoi people were perceived as abject and barbaric by the Europeans; characterisations that were informed by literary texts conjured up by the imaginations of writers in Europe (Hudson, 2004). This entrenched the notion of Khoi people as 'savage' in the minds of European travellers and ordinary folk (Hudson, 2004).

However, there were those who thought that Khoi ways of living were not entirely barbaric, even if it was viewed as strange by some Europeans (Hudson, 2004). For example, Wittenberg (2012) writes about how Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd tried to preserve Khoi literature, as their languages (except Nama) became extinct and had assimilated into other cultures. Wittenberg (2012) does, however, criticize Bleek's efforts to preserve Khoi literature, as it was done from a European perspective which attempted to 'civilize' the Khoi. In contrast to Bleek and Lloyd, Wittenberg (2012:296) compares the work of Leonhard Schultze who was critical of German colonial efforts. He wrote, "We have to admit openly by now that the Hottentot knows us better than we know him . . . He never loses interest in studying the white invader' [sic] (1907, 174).

Hence, we see how in South Africa, travel narratives influenced how European travel writers viewed the land, some of which were imperial narratives (Guelke & Guelke, 2004). Like Hudson (2004), Guenther (1980) discusses how the 'Bushmen' were characterised by Europeans as either, 'brutal savages', or 'harmless people'. It is disturbing to see the indigenous people of the Cape defined as savages when their cultural practices were simply not understood by the Europeans (Guenther, 1980). But on the other hand, they are described as harmless.

Again, this is another way in which they have been misrepresented by the European imagination, as it, "does not acknowledge the fact that conflict and aggression are, in fact, everyday problems of these people, too" (Guenther, 1980:137).

The anthropologist, Shrubsall, focuses on genetics and argues that Khoi people can be classified into three distinct groups, those being: Bushmen, 'Hottentots' and Strandlopers (Morris, 2008:223). I find Morris's concept of "human adaptability" of particular interest (Morris, 2008:227). The Khoi adapted to the presence of the Dutch and it caused their subordination, which was accelerated by the Dutch needing labour (Elphick, 1985:175). It is further noted that the Khoi were migrating people that had their own cultural and social systems in place. However, demand for labour increased when the settlement was established and, "many whites began thinking of the Khoikhoi population as a permanent labouring class, or even as a subdivision of the slave force" (Elphick, 1985:181). Apart from the Khoi people being subjugated by the Dutch and losing their identity, they also faced extensive land loss through Dutch settlement (Elphick, 1985). "But the passing of [the] Act and its operation have rudely forced the fact upon us that the Union parliament is capable of producing any measure that is subversive of native interests" (Plaatje, 2007:57-58)[.] Plaatje (2007:59) also writes that there was nothing they could do to amend the Act once it was implemented, saying that the, "the native's position in his own country was not an enviable one" (Plaatje, 2007:59). The denigration of indigenous people was extreme, regardless of different temporalities. The Khoi people had also faced competition from the San for land as they were 'hunter-gatherers' (Smith, 1986). Moreover, it seems that cultural identity is only reclaimed through archaeological digs as is seen in the following passage:

> "The old bones that are the objects of the analysis do not represent the person from the past; they are part of that person, and therefore have a rich potential for information about the life and death of that individual. Hence the continuing need to study archaeological skeletons alongside the genetic studies of the living" (Morris, 2008:229).

Krotoa faced the same denigration alluded to by Plaatje (2007). This was particularly intensified during Wagenaar's arrival at the Cape when he became Van Riebeeck's successor. I have argued throughout this dissertation that Krotoa was marginalised in the film and this is emphasized when she is banished to Robben Island until her death. Krotoa is not the first symbol of a woman that has been marginalised because of patriarchy. The films produced in Hollywood showing the marginalisation of women in society generally are prevalent and will be discussed in the section that follows. This highlights the importance of gender specifically in relation to women of colour, as seen through the work of Bisschoff & Van de Peer (2019).

3.5 Biopics and Female Characters

Who was Krotoa and why has a film been made about her life? Why have academics and the general public of South Africa found this historical female figure to be so intriguing and important? These questions guide this section. As mentioned previously, historical figures and historical narratives can be controversial while simultaneously inspiring debate among scholars. One point of discussion primarily from Gender Studies, is whether Krotoa was sexually assaulted by Van Riebeeck when working as an interpreter under his employ. Scholars are undecided on this issue. However, I argue that the possibility of Krotoa suffering such abuse, cannot be ignored. This study has already attempted to indicate instances where history recounts abuse that women were subjected to by men. The film portrays a rape scene and further alludes to the notion that Van Riebeeck is (sexually) attracted to Krotoa. It can therefore be argued that this infamous scene was part of the film for dramatic effect – taken from the

director's perspective. However, I argue that writings on Krotoa's narrative suggest a pattern of abandonment, rejection and trauma.

A staunch advocate asserting that Krotoa *was* a victim of sexual abuse, is Abrahams (1996). Krotoa sank into alcoholism and prostitution, which Abrahams (1996) argues are telling markers of someone who has suffered the trauma of sexual abuse. Moreover, as was stated before, during the period that this incident may have taken place, Van Riebeeck would not have openly admitted to the incident. Aside from this controversy, it is important to note that women generally were excluded from the various narratives of history, particularly women of colour. This was a period where women lacked agency and autonomy. They were subjected to male scrutiny and perceived through a patriarchal lens. It is also important to note the ways in which women and film have a long and complex relationship, particularly in Africa, as noted by Bisschoff & Van de Peer (2019).

Durrant's film had the potential to subvert the dominant portrayals of history, especially regarding women in history. This is because it had a female director and concerned a female in South African history. As Bisschoff & Van de Peer (2019:30) advocate for in their book, albeit on a broader scale, "[There should be] a view of cinema that recognises the potential of film to address socio-cultural issues of contemporary importance." Hence, the potentially destructive effects of film may be subverted when it is not used as a mechanism that perpetuates images reinforcing social and cultural divides, but rather breaks down those divisive images. Moreover, I argue that in perceiving African cinema's, "potential[…] to address socio-cultural issues of contemporary importance" (Bisschoff & Van de Peer, 2019:30), film asserts itself as a tool to help the nation - or continent - heal itself from its painful past. Both Bischoff & Van de Peer (2019) and Durrant's (2017) film have the potential to, "address socio-cultural issues of contemporary importance", such as gender, identity, race and sexuality; to mention a few (Bisschoff & Van de Peer, 2019:30).

These are issues of importance because they relate to the impact of colonialism. African cinema, and Afrikaans films like, *Krotoa* (2017), reproduce images informed by their respective colonial pasts. Furthermore, evidence of this notion is seen through the assertion that, "Africa is a vast heterogenous continent with diverse cultural traditions and different colonial experiences, which have left distinct aesthetic baggage in terms of filmmaking" (Bisschoff & Van de Peer, 2019:30). Despite this potential "baggage", Bisschoff & Van de Peer (2019:67) argue that film should be used as a tool that facilitates self-expression, asserting that, "film can be used as a form of cultural self-determination that is such a powerful tool in postcolonial Africa."

Film can be used to interrogate issues related to gender, race, sexuality and identity following apartheid, which has also been a prominent feature of the narratives of South African films. Apartheid oppressed non-'white' individuals, silencing the voices of the 'black' majority (Bischoff & Van de Peer, 2019:39). The issues of gender, sexual assault and representation will be explored at greater length in later chapters of this dissertation, along with a discussion on enduring inequalities experienced by the vast 'black' majority such as gaps in wages. Social inequalities such as the lack of access to education and healthcare remain prevalent today. The lack of access to education, particularly education offered at tertiary level, was epitomised in the 2015 and 2016 protests by students from various tertiary institutions – the Rhodes Must Fall (#RMF) and Fees Must Fall (#FMF) movements. Students urged university management and government officials to heed their call for radical change. They maintained that they had not been heard for far too long and subsequently took matters into their own hands.

In the same way that students were seen reclaiming their space in society and fighting for a better future, Durrant's, *Krotoa* (2017) can be seen as a symbol. The film (re)inserts people of colour into the historical narrative of South Africa, celebrating narratives that have been marginalised and side-lined for centuries by the 'writers of history'. The film's importance is

emphasized considering her role as a mediator between the Dutch and the Khoi in the years following Van Riebeeck's establishment of the Company's Fort at the Cape. This depiction, evident in the film, offers a portrayal of Krotoa as an individual who possesses agency, as some scholars in the field of Gender Studies have also asserted, however it is not a consistent theme throughout the film, or in academic writing. This is discussed later in the dissertation.

Bingham (2010) and Marx (2014) provide significant insights into the way biopics function and how representations of real-life individuals can alter the way a particular individual can be perceived by the audience viewing an interpretation of their lives on-screen. Marx believes there is a need for more female representation in film but is also critical of the women in certain films. For example, regarding Heyns' films, she asserts:

> *"Fiela se Kind* (1987) is more concerned with the varying images of women, and with celebrating those images. She seems less concerned with analysing how those images are constructed by social and political demands. There is also a much stronger 'essentialist' impulse in this film: women are a part of nature and the natural woman is a wife and mother or a wood nymph who will grow into a wife and mother" (cited in Blignaut & Botha, 1992:234).

It is good that the above characterisation of the way women have been traditionally represented on-screen seems to be shifting, particularly as there is no sexual objectification present in this example. However, it remains problematic that women associated with nature, or as being "part of nature" particularly in the context of, *Krotoa* (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:234). The notion of women being, "part of nature" is problematic because it presents a narrow characterisation of women (Blignaut & Botha, 1992:234). It should be noted that the above characterisation in Blignaut & Botha (1992:234) discusses certain feature films directed by Heyns; whereas Durrant's (2017) film is a biopic. Bingham's (2010) work focuses on biopics and will be explored in the passages that follow.

For Bingham (2010), biopics of influential American men and women were created in a manner that gave audiences relief from historical events such as the Great Depression, which had made them feel helpless and hopeless. Biopics had often depicted individuals who dared to do extraordinary things in their societies. In the context of, *Krotoa* (2017), was her working as Van Riebeeck's chief interpreter extraordinary? One is inclined to argue that what makes Krotoa's interaction with the Dutch extraordinary is because her opinion regarding trade was valued by Van Riebeeck. This is the opinion of scholars such as Wells (1997; 1998) and Scully (2005) who comment on the working-relationship the young Krotoa had with Van Riebeeck. Even Leipoldt (1936), in the biographical study on his life, recognizes that after a particular date Krotoa (whom he refers to as Eva) is referenced multiple times in the Commander's log. It also appears that the Commander liked Eva and that her only 'fault' was that she sometimes told lies (Leipoldt, 1936). This is more than what he notes about Krotoa's uncle, Autshumato (called Harry or Herry, by the Dutch). Autshumato was tolerated by the Commander and the other Dutchmen and was depicted as a sneaky man who provided information that worked to his advantage (Leipoldt, 1936). Leipoldt (1936) asserts that Autshumato was used to gain intel on the other interior, 'native' clans, but was never considered a full member of the Dutch colony. As time went by, Van Riebeeck began to depend increasingly on Krotoa for information. If we keep sight of the fact that Van Riebeeck depended on Krotoa, then she is seen in a light that does not marginalise her, but rather celebrates her. This in turn operates to rectify the way she has been historically *mis*represented.

The Dutch's main goal was to gain more access to cattle and land (Leipoldt, 1936). This is depicted accurately in the film. It also demonstrates the veracity of the following claim, "the biopic genre finds itself in a liminal space between fiction and actuality" (Bingham, 2010:7). The most controversial 'fictional' part of *Krotoa* (2017), is the rape scene. This has caused much tension and debate among scholars, while simultaneously pointing out to audiences and

film critics alike, that, “the biopic is by no means a simple recounting of the facts of someone’s life. It is an attempt to discover biographical truth” (Bingham, 2010:7). However, it should be asked, “Can we accept a depiction of an historical figure’s life, if it is racially stereotypical?”

On various levels this quote is reminiscent of what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) proceedings aimed to do after the fall of the apartheid regime in 1994. There were many atrocities committed to people deemed as sub-human under the apartheid regime, which had been covered up or denied. The TRC proceedings were important in exposing these crimes of the past. Similarly, certain films produced during apartheid depicted the country in a way that covered up the violence. The TRC proceedings assisted in exposing apartheid as a system premised on racial bias, which stripped people of colour of their identity and humanity, and perpetuated stereotypes by those who thought themselves superior. Hence, people of colour were marginalised in society. Moreover, the enduring the prejudice of people of colour became normalised so that most people thought it was correct to treat someone from a different background with contempt. Contempt played a huge role in continuing racialised segregation, enforcing misconceptions and mis-representations that have filtered through South Africa’s historical narrative.

In the same manner, the rape scene in *Krotoa* (2017) probes what may very well have happened during the time that the Cape was effectively colonised by the Dutch from 1652. Rosenstone is cited once again saying that, “Visual medium history must be fictional in order to be true” (Bingham, 2010:8). This highlights the complexity of the biopic as a film genre, as well as film overall, as was alluded to in the introductory section of this dissertation. Furthermore, it is stated that,

> “Indeed, since historical fiction stems from the desire to see biographical and historical figures living before us, there are instances where the filmmakers see the need to “complete” history, to fill in what didn’t happen with what a viewer might wish to see happen” (Bingham, 2010:8).

However, in relation to, *Krotoa* (2017), I do not think that audiences would have readily, "wish[ed] to see" Krotoa being raped by Van Riebeeck (Bingham, 2010:8). That type of abuse remains something that is painful and deeply traumatic to the psyche. Rape statistics in South Africa are staggering and in depicting this violence on-screen, it confirms the pain and silences surrounding such brutal acts of trauma. This makes the article by Abrahams (1996) on Krotoa's rape important (*Krotoa*, 2017). It related to the core function of the biopic.

> "At the heart of the biopic is the urge to dramatise actuality and find in it the filmmaker's own version of truth. The function of the biopic subject is to live the spectator a story. The genre's charge, which dates back to its salad days in the Hollywood studio era, is to enter the biographical subject into the pantheon of cultural mythology, one way or another, and to show why he or she belongs there" [sic] (Bingham, 2010:8).

This, relates to the work of Rosenstone (2001; 2007) in relation to how historical films often face more criticism compared to other genres, regardless whether the film is a work of fiction. It is also important, however, to include the mechanics of biopics on females specifically. It is stated that,

> "Female biopics play on tensions between a woman's public achievements and women's traditional orientation to home, marriage, and motherhood. In consequence, female biopics often find suffering (and therefore drama) in a public woman's very inability to make her decisions and discover her own destiny" (Bingham, 2010:213).

Therefore, despite the criticism Durrant has endured for her filmic representation of the Khoi woman named Krotoa, the above quote alludes to the parameters the biopic her film operated in.

Moreover, the sequence of events in Durrant's film cannot be blamed on her as director or auteur. Looking at the sources Durrant and her team consulted, Krotoa was represented in a manner consistent with texts like Coetzee (1994; 1998), Malherbe (1990), Scully (2005) and

Wells (1997; 1998). Therefore, depicting Krotoa in a manner that steers away from privileging a colonial lens is almost impossible. I argue that the film could have done more to highlight Krotoa's intellect and independence, as I have stated in previous sections of this study. In missing instances where Krotoa could have displayed agency, it reinforces the argument that the film has been told from Van Riebeeck's perspective (Philander, 2017).

3.6 Agency vs. Sexual Objectification of Women through the Centuries: Freedom Stolen in *Krotoa*

Van der Spuy (1997) asserts that she is interested in, "the influence of race and gender." Furthermore, Schippers (2007:87) argues that, "gender hegemony operates not just through the subordination of femininity to hegemonic masculinity, but also through the subordination and marginalisation of other masculinities." In the same way that women can be (sexually) dominated by men, men can also dominate or by dominated by other men (Schippers, 2007). However, this study focuses is on the (sexual) domination of women by men. Interest is also given to the rite of passage into womanhood that was observed by indigenous people like the Khoi.

According to Bloem (1999:78), "It is unlucky to look at a girl when her blood is flowing for the first time". Young Khoi girls were not allowed to have contact with members in their clan for six days during menstruation, besides elder female figures who instructed them on womanhood (Bloem, 1999:79). Khoi girls were also forbidden from coming into contact with water during their six-day period of isolation (Bloem, 1999:79). Once the girls came out of isolation, their bedding and clothing would be burnt (Bloem, 1999:80). When Krotoa herself began menstruating, she was at the Fort and did not want to bother Maria Van Riebeeck, as "she did not want [her] to have bad luck because of looking at one whose blood was flowing for the first time" (Bloem, 1999:78). Instead, she left and went to her elder, Mamas Guassi to

observe the abovementioned rites (Bloem, 1999:78). Furthermore, "On the morning of the sixth day Krotoa was woken by the bleating of a ewe. It was the ewe that was to be slaughtered for the women's feast to celebrate the completion of the purification rites" (Bloem, 1999:79). These passages provide insight into another cultural practice of the Khoi people, which was omitted in the filmic narrative. This is unfortunate, because it was an event which occurred during Krotoa's first years of living at the Fort. It is also another demonstration of how historical records have marginalised Krotoa's identity as a Khoi woman. These purification rites indicate the role of symbolism among the Khoi people, which is typified in Krotoa, "exchang[ing] her maiden's apron for [a] full woman's dress" (Bloem, 1999:80). This emphasizes how the film erases an aspect of Krotoa's Khoi identity.

Moreover, "Western constructions of heterosexual sex still reduce it to penetrating and being penetrated and that relation is consistently constructed as one of intrusion, "taking", dominating particularly within a colonial context (Senegal, 1994 cited in Schippers, 2007:90). Scully (2005) refers to how indigenous women had to endure sexual violations and submissively accepted their fate. This is a problematic statement. As Sanger (2009:138) states, "[P]articular parts of the feminine body are consistently located as in need of policing, regulation and 'fixing' to conform to a specific but unnamed and unmarked form. For black women, this norm appears to be white heteronormativity". Therefore, it is implied that 'black' women and their bodies are held to greater scrutiny compared to 'white' women. The former group of women must conform to, "ideals of white heterofemininity" (Sanger, 2009:140). Young (1999:68) writes:

> "The final pervasive image was that of the black woman whose lasciviousness and hypersexuality were inscribed on her body in the form of excessively proportioned genitalia and buttocks. None of these images of black femininity have been conducive to allowing women of African descent to share the position on the pedestal of transcendental beauty with white women on equal terms."

The film depicts many instances where Krotoa's beauty becomes an object of desire for the 'white' men. It is was framed in a way that makes her being objectified – by the male gaze – obvious to the audience. This is also experienced by Krotoa's daughter, Pieternella when she is on a ship on her way to Mauritius. An example of this is seen in the following passage:

> "*Toe kom die man wat langs die roerganger in die middel van die dek gestaan het en kom vra met geel tande in die donker of sy 'n bietjie afgenaai wil wees. Die Lubbert-man. Sy het so groot geskrik, sy't amper van die trap afgeval in haar haas om weg te kom van daar bo af"* (Matthee, 2000:135).[42]

Images of non- 'white' women in magazines typically frame them in ways which are highly sexualised, as previously stated. This caters to the sexual fantasies of heterosexual men who are consumers of magazines targeted primarily for the 'empowerment' of the women. According to Cutler (2017:10), "Though all women, regardless of race, experience the threat of sexual objectification on some level, expressions of sexuality are much more fraught for black women, given, of course, the historical context behind the violent exploitation of their bodies". Culter (2017) cites Baartman as an example of a women depicting a sexually deviant nature, and the way that black women were denied the right to sexual agency. Ideas around sexual primitivity were synonymous with the 'Hottentot Venus' (Cutler, 2017:9). The same skewed perception is discussed by the work of Netto (2005:151), citing ICA (1995:150), who argues that the contemporary 'refiguring' of the 'Hottentot Venus' image allows, "a negotiation and representation of Black female subjectivity" and this enables, "the 'body to speak with vengeance.'" Hence, it seems that Krotoa's image is subverted through her (re)inscription into the South African narrative as the founding mother (Coetzee, 1998). However, according to

[42] Translation: "Then the man who stood beside the helmsman in the middle of the deck, came with yellow teeth asking if she wanted to have violent sexual intercourse for a bit. The Lubbert man. She got such a fright, that she almost fell off the step in her haste to get away from up there" (Translation my own)

Samuelson (2007) this characterisation points to her body, albeit in a less violent way as Baartman's. Furthermore, Netto (2005:152) states, "By constructing a deviant sexuality, 19th-century medical and colonial discourses assigned a nature to the 'Hottentot' that was different to the point of abnormality." Hence, the continued gazing on Baartman's body signalled an ambivalent sexual desire for her in the European imagination (Netto, 2005:152-153). Romero Ruiz (2013) has also done work on how Baartman was a symbol of sexual objectification and deviance in the nineteenth century. On this topic it is stated, "The experience of being '"the other" as a prominent importance and significant political implications as far as women and ethnic writers are concerned. Reclaiming black women's identities and bodies is one of the main aims in the feminist agenda" (Heilmann & Llewelyn cited in Romero Ruiz, 2013:139). Human exhibitions or 'freak shows' sparked debates within societies and contributed to the notion that Europeans were intellectually superior to non-Europeans (Romero Ruiz, 2013:149). As Romero Ruiz (2013:150) asserts, regarding Baartman:

> "[She became] the victim of the objectification and commodification of the female body, following the trend of the slave trade in the fetishization of the dark skin. She also became an icon of sexual depravity and ugliness in the white mind, making the story of black women's sexuality a silent one marked by oppression and discrimination."

Wells (1998) notes that Van Riebeeck had a noticeable fascination with indigenous women at the Cape and, like Abrahams (1996), does not dispute that he may have had a sexual relationship with Krotoa at some point. However, Krotoa's memory lives on in literary works such as Wicomb's, *David's Story* (2000), where van Loocke (2008:22) likens one of Wicomb's characters, Dulcie, to Krotoa, stating, "[Dulcie's] role as a middle man between two groups of people reminds us of Eva's middle position between the Khoisan people and the Dutch colonizers".

Another aspect of women in indigenous societies, according to Scully (2005:3), is that, "Local women worked as providers and growers of food, clothing, medical aid, sexual servants, and indeed in the case of the more famous, as translators and mediators between cultures." De Jong (2015:5) similarly asserts that, "Historically, the formation and sustenance of colonial and settler societies relied on persons who negotiated between different communities." De Jong refers to Krotoa and other indigenous women and argues that indigenous women's bodies are often sexualised in a colonial context, during times of contact with European men (de Jong, 2015).

Returning to Wicomb's (2000) novel, *David's Story*, van Loocke (2008) writes that the protagonist, David, struggles with his identity because of his green eyes and Griqua heritage. In the post-apartheid context Chapman (1998:85) writes how literary texts have tended to be, "constructed upon assumptions of linguistic-racial exclusivities." Therefore, notions of race remain relevant to interpreting literary texts produced in the 'new' South Africa, demonstrating that the legacy of erasure of 'true' identity still runs deep. But literary works have also become a means for the previously oppressed to self-expression (Chapman, 1998:86). "The distinctive feature of South Africa's layers of difference is that identities have always been … too fragmented" (Chapman, 1998:90). This statement affirms my argument that much catharsis still needs to take place in the country. It is asserted by Worden (2009:27) that after apartheid, indigenous minorities such as the San and the Griqua were searching for new social and political identities.

It was stated previously that film technique contributes to narrative. This is seen in the somewhat revisionist work on Baartman in the film, *Vénus Noire* (2010) by director Abdellatief Kechichie. It is revisionist because he uses camera angles to give Baartman her agency back (Mattoscio, 2017). The camera moves in such a way that she is not made to be the centre of the gaze of those looking at her. The camera focuses on the gazers in such a manner that they are

also looked at by Baartman, making them part of the spectacle and holding them accountable. The spectator looks at Baartman in a way that comes across as subtly 'Othering' (Mattoscio, 2017).

However, "Eva-Krotoa offends and transgresses precisely through speech that proclaims her difference, and so asserts her resistance to translation. The scandalous speech-act falls in the space between her two names" (Wicomb, 2002:213). This statement suggests that Krotoa is reclaiming her identity, when she has no strength left. As Wicomb (2002:214) states, "The gesture may well be the disavowal of a stigmatised whiteness, but its appeal is to the symbolic nature of her translated name, Eva, originary woman, a name that may be suitable for a revised identity but one that also embodies the violence of colonial translation." This statement contrasts the views of Coetzee (1998) and Nsele (2012).

A seemingly more favourable account of the indigenous women at the Cape is offered by McKinnon (2015). This book adds richness to the debate around history and genealogy. McKinnon (2015) pays attention to the stories of the females in history, women from different walks of life. It indicates a conscious shift away from framing histories through a perspective that privileges male stories, which has been done for centuries, as previously mentioned. Through study of friends and family members' genealogies, McKinnon (2015) notices that there was much shock expressed by individuals who learned some of the scandalous things their ancestors may have been involved in. This is illustrated in the preface of her book:

> "For many readers, a history book means ploughing through a list of boring dates, battles and statutes. But with a larger number of movies, novels and television shows focusing on the more human side of history – on the personal stories of those who populated the past rather than simply role in a broader narrative – people have discovered just how interesting it can be to learn about times long gone by. Historical figures have suddenly taken on new dimensions in their portrayal and shown to be individuals – people who were fallible and vulnerable to temptation, who could laugh, cry, succeed and fail. The Cape of Good Hope was populated with characters just like

> these, whose lives seemed like something straight out of lurid reality shows, or read like fiction or scandal columns in magazines and newspapers" (McKinnon, 2015:vii).

I find McKinnon's (2015:vii) emphasis on, "Historical figures" particularly relevant in the context of this study on Krotoa, because she was one such, "Historical figure" (McKinnon, 2015:vii). Moreover, the characterisation of these, "Historical figures", is further interesting as they are said to be, "individuals – people who were fallible and vulnerable to temptation, who could laugh, cry, succeed and fail" (McKinnon, 2015:vii, emphasis in original). McKinnon (2015:vii) further writes:

> "As an amateur genealogist, I often deal with families who tend to idealise the straight and narrow histories of ancestors whom they assume lived in deadly but righteous monotony. When you dig among the roots of their family trees, however, there is usually at least one black sheep whose exploits are kept a deep, dark family secret for generations."

This assertion can be linked to my analysis of Durrant's film, *Krotoa* (2017). It indicates that there can be silences present in history that while some people may know about, witness or experience something, they may never speak about it. This is seen often in relation to the family sphere (McKinnon, 2015:vii). For example, someone may be aware their mother was raped and they are the result of that traumatic experience. The mother and the senior matriarchal members of the family may have purposefully decided not to tell the child the details behind their birth to ensure that the child does not feel shame or like a burden. On the other hand, where people have chosen to keep quiet about a past traumatic event in the family, when the one from whom the truth has been hidden is made aware, the pain caused by the realisation is often unbearable. These experiences are often shown on reality television shows in South Africa, like, *Khumbul'ekhaya* (2006–), for instance. It takes a lot of love, support and understanding from friends and family for the individual to gain closure and be able to carry on with their lives in a manner that is healthy and functional. Although the shame or guilt may

never fully disappear, through love and support from a trained professional, the individual may become better equipped to deal with the trauma. Far from removing the trauma of such an event, it should be reiterated that it is important to bring the traumatic silences of the past to light. These anecdotes suggest that it would be a fallacy to assume that women of colour such as Krotoa were promiscuous. Women who have experienced sexual trauma, if and when they choose to come forward and make themselves vulnerable in vocalising that they have been sexually assaulted, should not feel guilt or shame.

There have been shifts in the wat historical figures are portrayed in film. McKinnon (2015:vii) asserts:

> "Historical figures have suddenly taken on new dimensions in their portrayal and shown to be individuals – people who were fallible and vulnerable to temptation, who could laugh, cry, succeed and fail. The Cape of Good Hope was populated with characters just like these, whose lives seemed like something straight out of lurid reality shows, or read like fiction or scandal columns in magazines and newspapers."

This erases (moral) superiority by focusing on the fact that people are human and are hence, fallible (McKinnon, 2015:vii). Based on the above statement, both men and women (regardless of their backgrounds) should be viewed similarly in relation to their actions because the only difference between them is sex. Moreover, one perspective is not valued against another merely because it is written about by a man in a way that contends with gender-bias. Moreover, the crux of McKinnon's (2015:vii) book is, "a means of educating people to look beyond the surface story told to them by the history books, and for my own and others' entertainment." We need to look beyond the story we are told about Krotoa too. As McKinnon (2015:viii) writes:

> "The Cape of Good Hope has been an excellent location in which to concentrate my research, an area that was a hive of activity in the years spanning the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. In this short period, the southern tip of Africa underwent changes that would alter the way world history would be written and affect countless lives up to

> this day. From the moment Jan Van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in 1652, the region, first as a Dutch and then as a British colony, became the setting of numerous important events. People from around the world settled in the Cape during this time, slavery both thrived and was abolished, and tensions constantly raged between the native peoples of the Cape and its European settlers, and between the Dutch and the British over a valuable piece of territory they each argued they were entitled to. These events naturally affected the Cape's inhabitants on a domestic and individual level too, and it is towards these very personal stories that my research has gravitated."

Once again, the above passage demonstrates that looking at historical events through a perspective that favours Europeans is an unbalanced approach. It ought to be remembered that the European settlement at the Cape between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries had a profound effect on the indigenous inhabitants (McKinnon, 2015:viii). McKinnon (2015:ix) also reminds us of the rigidity of social structures in the past, stating that, "In some instances…people in the past had it harder than we do. Social and class systems were more rigid during this time, and expectations of how ones 'better' should behave were high" (McKinnon, 2015:ix). This emphasizes the role of culture and the ways the social norms of a particular society colour the 'historical picture'. She continues, "If members of the ruling elite or the clergy took one step outside the boundaries set for them by their social class, their fall from grace would be swift and seldom forgotten" (McKinnon, 2015:ix).

This may be a reason why there is no direct evidence in Van Riebeeck's diary linking him to a sexual encounter with Krotoa before leaving the Fort for Batavia. Van Riebeeck had only just cleared his name with the Company through the work he had done in establishing the Fort, where he was previously censored from doing work for the Company. The Company had suspected him of robbing them of profits and enriching himself personally while he was working in the East (Leipoldt, 1936). Therefore, if it had become known that Van Riebeeck had sexual relations with a Khoi woman he would have brought irreparable dishonour to the Company, himself and his family. He would then no longer enjoy the title of former governor

of the Cape colony and he would not be remembered as a loyal servant of the Company. Unfortunately, it seem that the scales have always been tipped in favour of European, 'white' men, because they do not tend to be caught and convicted for wrongdoings against women. While there is no evidence that Krotoa was raped by Van Riebeeck, the possibility cannot be dismissed as it may have occurred.

What there is evidence for, is that indigenous women were forcibly taken from their homelands and shipped off to faraway places on the African continent. They were imported specifically for the fulfilment of the sexual desires of the European men in the new colonies. The women had no autonomy and any children born from the sexual encounters were given citizenship or in the case of slavery would become the property of the slave owners (McKinnon, 2015). Hendricks (2001:32) notes how the colony permitted sexual activities between the settlers and indigenous women, provided that it did not interfere with the overall running of the settlement. Moreover, "the control of sex[ual activities] had been an important part in the maintenance of a racial hierarchy" (Hendricks, 2001:42). Coetzee (1994) notes how it was more likely that slave women would be coerced into sexual relations with European men, since Khoi women were averse to sex before marriage and adultery, even though they have been presented in history as immoral.

Furthermore, it is noted by Malherbe (2006) that there were contestations between the two institutions of religion and marriage. Women had no agency regarding the laws of marriage and abortion, as these areas of life were governed by men. There were similar problems faced by people such as van der Stel after Van Riebeeck's departure. During the time Simon van der Stel was at the Cape the economy was struggling, which encouraged the VOC had to allow French Huguenots into the country to make wine to boost the settler economy. Because there was an unequal ratio of male 'free burghers' to European women, many of the men had liaisons with slave women. Certain officials, namely Commissioner Von Reede Tot Drakenstein, was

appalled by the number of mixed-race children at the Slave Lodge (McKinnon, 2013). “He urged van der Stel to encourage white men to marry these female mulattos on condition that the women converted to Christianity” (McKinnon, 2013:3). Leipoldt (1936) recognises that such interactions took place and were commonplace. However, he still refers to non-‘white’ people in a stereotyped and racialised manner. This framing of women and historical events does not stimulate critical thinking about and around the past. Rather, it facilitates the perception that it is correct to view women, and particularly non-‘white’ women, as sexual objects, fit only to please the sexual fantasies of ‘white’ males.

Furthermore, as many gender scholars will assert, such notions fed the perception that non-‘white’ women were exotic, hypersexual beings (Sanger, 2009). ‘White’ women on the other hand, were characterised by their ‘white’ male counterparts as prudent, obedient and sexually submissive. While it is true that both groups were sexually dominated by ‘white’ men, ‘white’ women were seen as less of a threat to their male counterparts. ‘White’ women were thought of as submissive and possessing good morals. Non-‘white’ women were viewed by ‘white’ men as immoral and hypersexual, an ideological trop which has been sustained throughout history.

This is echoed by McKinnon (2015) when she sketches the sexual undertones of the Cape settlement during the time of Van Riebeeck’s arrival.

> “In 1652 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) established a refreshment station at the foot of Africa and called it Die Kaapse Vleck (the Cape Settlement). It soon gained a dubious reputation for offering more than fresh water, fruit, vegetables and meat. Men who had been starved of female company for six to nine months on sea voyages joyfully fell off the ships and headed straight for the delights on offer from the Cape’s fleshpots. Among these passengers were soldiers who, while in the service of the VOC, were not allowed to marry. Not surprisingly, they were frequent visitors to brothels. As alcohol has always been an excellent bedfellow with the sex trade, the canny Cape burghers enthusiastically grabbed the opportunity to make a bit of extra cash on the side and the liquor business soon flourished. Company officials grumbled that soldiers spent much

> of their free time boozing it up with prostitutes and nursing hangovers, when they should have been on duty" (McKinnon, 2015:1).

The above statement is an example of the long-term effects that colonisation had, and continues to have, on South Africa. Moreover, the abuse of women and alcohol addiction remain rife, where indeed the two are seen to go together, as alcohol abuse can lead to domestic violence. There have been many campaigns in an effort to combat the national scourge of gender-based violence. Yet, more needs to be done to eradicate this social-ill from communities. The battle is far from won. The passage also suggests that shows that society in those days, seemingly catered solely for the needs of its men. The women of society were voiceless and were only perceived as valuable to men when it was to fulfil their sexual needs. Hence, this was a patriarchal and misogynistic period of South African history.

McKinnon's characterisation of the VOC soldiers leaves much to be desired. The Europeans were quick to assert that non-'white' people were savages, barbarians and immoral, despite this being an inaccurate representation of people of colour throughout history. They portrayed themselves as righteous, and as bringing the 'native' to civilisation through religion, specifically Christianity. No one dared to portray them in a less than positive light. In their own minds, they argued that they could not and did not do any wrong. In effect, they had begun believing their own lies that were spread to the rest of the world masquerading as the 'truth'. This fed into the manner that history misrepresented both indigenous peoples as well as Europeans.

Another stereotype that readily escaped from the lips of Europeans and later Afrikaners was that 'natives' were lazy drunkards. This is additional evidence of the mis-representation of indigenous individuals. However, there is evidence to indicates that the Dutch and others

cultivated a habit of over-indulging in alcohol at the Cape during this time. As stated by Mckinnon (2015:2):

> "The good burghers from the Cape nonetheless continued to imbibe local liquor with gusto and profited from a roaring trade with sailors on passing ships, bartering with their produce – or anything else for that matter – in exchange for imported liquor. For law enforcers, this was a more troublesome affair, and the older Van Riebeeck complained in all his journals that whenever there was a fleet in the bay, the local community spent days in a drunken stupor, swearing, fighting and doing no work whatsoever" (McKinnon, 2015:2).

This passage illustrates presents a deep irony. It becomes obvious that the trade in wine and beer carried economic advantages for the Company, which is why the Company established a refreshment station at the Cape. It was the goal the Company be the greatest maritime trading power. Rediker (1989:276) notes that, "French, Dutch, Spanish, and Anglo-American pirates usually cooperated peaceably, only occasionally exchanging cannon fire" as they were all competing for wealth, being global colonial powers. However, in creating a market for alcohol consumption, it appears that the expansion of the settlement was jeopardized, because, "whenever there was a fleet in the bay, the local community spent days in a drunken stupor, swearing, fighting and doing no work whatsoever" (McKinnon, 2015:2). Moreover, men and women were treated differently regarding alcohol consumption. As Mckinnon (2015:6) asserts:

> "women who depended on alcohol to down their troubles were treated differently from men who imbibed with too much gusto. While the latter could usually indulge freely, and sometimes made a profit from their addiction, a female who enjoyed the distraction afforded by the drink would be shunned by her family and the public, or even locked away. The same treatment also applied to women who overstepped the boundaries of accepted female sexual behaviour."

While McKinnon (2015:6) refers to European women in the above passage; the same conclusion can be drawn about the manner Krotoa was characterised towards the end of her life. However, conversely to what I have argued in the above section, it is asserted that:

> "Historians studying this period tended too easily to assume that slave women were silent and invisible, without necessarily using their skills to unearth slave experiences. By re-evaluating enslaved women's history, it became clear that slave women were instrumental in building their families. Historians were challenged to recognise the biases within themselves that closed their minds to women's perspectives and women's experiences and reduced slave and settler women to factors of fertility" (Ntwape, 2016:74).

This passage demonstrates the value in attempting to uncover individuality, specifically in relation to women of colour like Krotoa. This is because these women were viewed as sexual objects to the colonial 'white' male gaze (Ntwape, 2016:74). Hence, exploring questions that concern the identity of women of colour become relevant.

3.7 The Problem of Framing one's Identity as a Multicultural individual: How does one frame one's Khoi identity and Motherhood in South Africa today?

Van Loocke (2008:16) asserts that, Eva/Krotoa is positioned as the Mother of South Africa, but that there are some things about her that do not fit in with this description. She was wild and needed to learn to act in a more passive manner, which spurred her "civilising project". This is yet another example where Krotoa is depicted as the mother of the nation; however, only in relation to colonial standards. I assert that the above statement negates the loss and trauma that Krotoa experienced as a result of colonial encounters. This is also alluded to in Bloem's (1999) novel, where Krotoa has a dream.

> "She is on a big ship, [where] it fe[els] [just like] she [thought] it would feel when she watched ships moving along the horizon like birds in the air, wishing she could travel like her uncle Autshumato had done. She sensed other people around her, but when she looked in their direction or tried to approach them they disappeared. She felt as sad and abandoned as she had felt every time her mother returned to her second husband and left her in her grandmother's care" (Bloem, 1999:12-13).

I assert that the above passage is interesting for two reasons. First, Krotoa's dream is interesting because her looking in the direction of other people and trying to approach them is linked to

the abandonment she felt when her mother left her to return to her second husband, and when Krotoa tries to approach the people they disappear (Bloem, 1999:13). Secondly, it relates to the sense of indignation and alienation elicited through Pieternella's reaction having to go to Mauritius (Matthee, 2000). Therefore, I argue that through the imagery used in the dream, particularly the ships, both Krotoa and Pieternella's narratives are interlinked. It is almost as if Krotoa's dream foreshadows how her future children, Pieternella and Salamon, were forced to leave their birthplace on the ship that took them to Mauritius. However, even though Krotoa experienced feelings of abandonment, scholars such as Bloem (1999) and Press (1990) have remarked that she was a strong and independent person. As Bloem (1999:10) writes, "her grave, dainty features and solemn, oblique eyes reflected the maturity of one who had been responsible for her own well-being almost from infancy". In addition, and as alluded to previously, Press (1990) mentions that Krotoa had the ability to rise above her difficult challenges she faced during her childhood. Therefore, too, Press (1990) succeeds in highlighting that Krotoa was an independent and capable young girl. These accounts demonstrate that young Krotoa possessed much emotional strength and fortitude. It can be argued that this is somewhat remarkable, given the fact that Krotoa was not raised by her mother.

It is regrettable that such a scene was not included in Durrant's (2017) film. It would have given the audience insight into what Krotoa was like as a young girl before she went to live at the Fort with the Van Riebeeck family. Furthermore, I assert that if such scenes were included in the filmic narrative, it would be more difficult to argue that the film misrepresents Krotoa in its portrayal of her life. Instead, almost as soon as she arrives at the Fort, she assumes the role of one of Maria Van Riebeeck's servants. This is a mis-representation of her identity as a young Khoi girl, and is rather a depiction of how Europeans slowly started bringing indigenous people into subjugation.

The marginalisation of people of colour in South African history was and is apparent. There is much to discuss and critique, specifically in relation to how women of colour have been sexually objectified and 'othered' by the European gaze. In my discussion, I have drawn on the parallels between the lives of Krotoa and Sarah Baartman who were both Khoi women. Though Baartman's life story surpasses Krotoa's in relation to the extent abuse and tragedy, it also offers an important lesson for society today. Scholars who focus on the life of Sarah Baartman expose those of the European middle class who took advantage of her for financial gain, presenting her as a 'freak of nature'. The fact that Baartman was displayed in public to be mocked and sexually abused makes it apparent that her body was used to justify the Eurocentric notion that 'natives' are inherently immoral and sexually perverse. Baartman, like Krotoa, is silenced. Other people 'speak for' her and she is silent. In this way, I argue that Baartman is also marginalised from her own narrative. Furthermore, she is judged on her physical appearance.

Similarly, Krotoa is labelled as a drunken prostitute and seen as an embarrassment to the Company, since she ends up failing to act in the modest, Christian way that was expected of her. There has been little attempt to interpret her behaviour as a sign of grief and trauma resulting from the husband and family she lost. Sarah Baartman also died tragically. In her death, the contempt that Europeans had for her reached its climax, depicted in the act of her body being dragged through the streets and hung on a gibbet, as I stated previously. In contrast to Baartman's treatment in death Wagenaar, Van Riebeeck's successor as governor at the Cape settlement, reluctantly allowed Krotoa to have a Christian burial. This is despite the fact that he demonstrates disdain for her in the film.

It has been noted that women of colour were used for the sexual gratification of European men stationed at the Cape, as well as in other parts of the world. McKinnon (2015) notes this in her book, which is why it becomes more apparent as to why gender is included in the overall

discussion of this dissertation. I have also argued that the film presents Krotoa as sexually immoral before her final banishment to the Penal Colony, which I argue amounts to a mis-representation. There is a double standard because the film omits to depict how the soldiers were lazy, used their free time to drink and be in the company of women for sexual gratification, as history tells us was the case. Instead, Krotoa is singled out as an immoral woman, who is not capable of caring for her own children.

Moreover, the film neglects the social hierarchy in place in Krotoa's clan, as well as the other clans that they either traded with or in conflict with. Krotoa's hopes and dreams to be married to someone with much cattle is also not acknowledged nor explored as Press (1990) has done. Wells (1997) demonstrates how well Pieter and Krotoa worked together during expeditions inland when the Company wanted more cattle from the Khoi. I have mentioned Wells' (1997) assertion that the marriage between the pair was the first interracial marriage recorded at the Cape; however, she does not explore what their married life may have been like. Wells (1997) does, however, state that the couple appeared unperturbed by the fact that they had been parents for four years but remained unmarried. The fact that they were still unmarried after Krotoa had given birth to two children is noted in the following statement, "*As jy twee kleintjies by haar kon gemaak het, kan jy met haar trou ook*" (Matthee, 2000:117).[43]

Moreover, Pieter's own journal does not offer any commentary on their married life (Wells (1997). Hence, I argue that this is a disappointing analysis, as it does not fulfil what the title promises, which is to explore the manner in which Pieter and Eva interacted with one another: *The Story of Eva and Pieter: transcultural marriage on the road to success in Van Riebeeck's colonial outpost* (1997). If there was a written record of what Krotoa's marriage to Pieter was like, this would have shed light on her character and her individuality. However, I do accede

[43] Translated: "If you made two children with her, then you could marry her as well" (my own).

that the above assertion may be problematic, given that it would not be Krotoa's own thoughts and emotions, but another person imposing their interpretation of her personal narrative. This would be another way of usurping her agency.

Another critique I have of Wells (1997) is that the narrative is not centred around Krotoa. It references her presence when her actions benefit the plans of the males around her. Hence, it can be argued that Wells (1997) focuses primarily on the successes Van Riebeeck attained in expanding the Cape Settlement and securing more cattle for the Company. His success was achieved through using Krotoa's skills as a negotiator; what Krotoa told him about the migration patterns of her people. The film portrays many instances where, when Van Riebeeck and Krotoa are alone, he admits that he could not have achieved any success at the Cape without her help. The film shows Krotoa being happy at receiveing this praise and suggests that she enjoys negotiating trading agreements, even though they seemingly benefit the Dutch more. The audience is shown that Van Riebeeck consults Krotoa increasingly on issues relating to trade. In contrast to Van Riebeeck's approach, the film shows that Wagenaar changes the conditions of the trading agreement. Krotoa attempts to intervene and further the interests of her people, but Wagenaar cuts her off. He makes it clear to her that he will not enter any negotiations with her on the matter and that his word is final (*Krotoa*, 2017). These interactions are elaborated on in Section 4 of my analysis of the film.

Another instance where Krotoa is side-lined, is when Wagenaar has a dinner party and instructs all the women to leave the table to allow the men to discuss matters of business. Krotoa refuses at first, as she is used to being involved in matters that concern the Company. However, Wagenaar instructs Krotoa to leave with more force. The film depicts how Krotoa tries to defend herself (with the help of Pieter), but fails and returns to her room disappointed (*Krotoa*, 2017). This reinforces my assertion that Krotoa's agency and ability to think independently is usurped by the patriarchy displayed by Wagenaar.

The discussion on patriarchal displays by Van Riebeeck and Oedasoa inform my understanding of Krotoa's marginalisation and is a demonstration of the relevance of gender in the analysis of *Krotoa* (2017). Gender impacted social relations at the Fort, both during and after Van Riebeeck's time at the Cape when he was Commander and then Governor. I challenge the assertion made by Scully (2005) that Krotoa adapted well to her circumstances and used her gender to her advantage, as was discussed in Section 2.1. Whilst Krotoa could be seen as a manipulator in some instances, the encounters with Wagenaar in the film suggest that this assertion cannot be applied in this context. Rather, Krotoa seems to be struggling to find her place in relation to the Dutch, particularly since Wagenaar did not want to work with Krotoa.

Moreover, this compounds Krotoa's understanding of self-worth and negatively impacts her relationship with Pieter Van Meerhof. Prior to Van Meerhof's 'promotion' to superintendent of the Penal Colony Krotoa is seen to have begun drinking, which sets their relationship into steady decline, and they argue more frequently.

There seems to be another gap in the literature surrounding Krotoa and Pieter Van Meerhof's relationship. There is no evidence to demonstrate how Krotoa's decline into despair affected her husband, Pieter Van Meerhof. The same can be said about her children, both in literature and in the film. To compare, Matthee's novel (2000) uses the character Pieternella to gain perspective on her mother, Krotoa. I argue that the film should have used Krotoa's children more in the narrative. This may have allowed audiences to gain more insight into the role she played as a mother. It is acknowledged in Matthee's (2000:92) novel that Krotoa had a mis-carriage, and where her children, particularly Jakobus and Pieternella, knew that she was pregnant again. This is seen through the following words, "*Mamâ het weer 'n kleintjie*."[44]

[44] Translated: "Mother has another child" (my own).

Furthermore, I argue that the children deserved to be seen more in the film as they were all born at the Fort during the time during which the film's narrative is set (*Krotoa*, 2017). Therefore, the issue of representation comes to the fore again. While Krotoa's children are depicted in Matthee (2000), the main criticism that I have of the novel is that Pieternella and Salamon both experience marginalisation, particularly in the first part of the novel. Pieternella is of interest within this discussion because she faces similar challenges to her mother, including sexual harassment and being belittled while on the ship (Matthee, 2000).

In reworking her image to be that of a mother figure, her identity is once again appropriated to make her more civilised, while underplaying the factors that contributed to her 'denigration.' Van Loocke (2008:14) focuses on the fact that during the period of the Cape's colonisation, "Eva was associated with treachery and alcoholism". Furthermore, she was the first to be, "associated with miscegenation" (van Loocke, 2008:16). Tropes relating to racial purity and impurity resurface here in this statement regarding, "miscegenation" (Jonker & Till, 2009; van Loocke, 2008:16). It is also interesting to note the attention which Martin (2006:170) affords to the concept of creolisation. Drawing on the work of Caribbean scholars it is asserted that, "creoleness is basically defined as an identity, and a specificity, however open and complex it may be" [sic] (Bernabé et al., 1989:13; 27-28 cited in, Martin, 2006:170). The above theorisation of 'creoleness' posits itself as yet another way to think about identity in relation to this study on *Krotoa* (2017). In reference to Krotoa in particular, the writer argues that racialised perceptions of indigenous people by Europeans became the norm due to theories of social evolution in the nineteenth century (Martin, 2006:172).

On the 6th of April 2017 a decree of restoration was signed by Khoi and San royal groups. Following this, on 13 June 2017, presenters on the televised morning-show, *Expresso,* interviewed representatives from the four royal houses. The historical decree was said to signify the unification of the two groups. Moreover, it signified that indigenous people were

free to govern themselves rather than being subject to laws instituted under colonial rule (*Expresso*, 2017). Indigenous people were said to be reclaiming their identity and land, as well as their belonging to Africa (*Expresso*, 2017).

This is important because many people, like Krotoa, had their history erased. Krotoa was only deemed useful as Eva when she had fully adopted the ways of the Dutch and when she was baptised into the Christian faith. However, when she chose to return to her old traditions she was berated for acting like a barbarian. Mellet's (2010) work is relevant as it deals with identity, particularly how 'being 'coloured' was framed during apartheid and how this can be compared to its framing in a post-apartheid context. One of the strengths of Mellet's (2010) book is that he advocates and challenges readers to shift their thinking away from race. Instead, he argues that all people should come together. This is an important stance, taking into consideration that debates around identity are often linked to race, ethnicity and difference. Furthermore, it should be noted that Mellet's book (2010) has a particular audience in mind. He wants to appeal to those who identify as 'coloured' to rethink the manner in which their identity as 'coloured(s)' have been framed in the past and currently. It is also asserted that:

> "[the] discourse [on] coloured identity has often worked to silence narratives of slave ancestry. Lingering myths of racial purity and impurity have, in this way, been reinforced after apartheid, and those who have neither 'purely African' or 'purely European' ancestries remain characterized as having a lesser claim to belonging in the new nation" (Adhikari, 2005 cited in, Jonker & Till, 2009:305).

The above statement illustrates the complex nature of identity formation in relation to 'coloured' people. This links to Coetzee (1998), who covers the relation between Krotoa and the Afrikaans people of the country, who have claimed her as their mother as they become part of the new South Africa (Coetzee, 1998). It also links to the work of Bystrom (2009:224) who asserts that, "genetics make it possible to affirm that all human beings have an African 'mother.'

Furthermore, in keeping with her familial motif, Bystrom (2009:224) writes that, “genetic analysis has proven scientifically that we are all one evolutionary family after all”. Considering this fact, she discussed the interest shown in Krotoa-Eva by ‘white’ Afrikaners (Bystrom, 2009:227). Speaking about genetics, Soodyall et al. (2008:46) assert, “The approach adopted by geneticists or molecular anthropologists when examining population history makes use of the patterns of genetic diversity found in living peoples to reconstruct their past connections (convergences and/or divergences)”. Soodyall et al. (2008) emphasize that genes mutate, meaning that divergent population groups can still be traced back to a ‘common’ ancestor. Genetics or biology phenotypically express identity, but for the purposes of this study, identity refers to ethnicity and personality.

Furthermore, the significance of Mellet’s (2010) work to the study on Durrant’s biopic, *Krotoa* (2017) is emphasized through the discourse on cultural identity, which offers a rich framework to uncover the complexities of Krotoa as a character. As will be demonstrated in the analysis of the film, Krotoa is consistently othered by the Dutch and is portrayed in a demeaning manner. However, as indicated in the section on sexuality, it would be incorrect to solely perceive indigenous women as hyper-sexual beings. This shows that the portrayal and representation of Krotoa is deeply flawed, and is indeed a, “mis-representation of history”.

Moreover, Mellet’s (2010) discourse can be characterised as unique because his book is partly based on personal experience. It would be interesting to compare Mellet’s (2010) framing of cultural identity with the work by Gqola (2010), as Mellet’s (2010) perspective will have less of a feminist approach than Gqola (2010).Throughout his book, Mellet (2010) is critical of dominant modes of framing or classifying identity through a racialised lens. This offers an approach to the analysis that is more objective and gives the impression of there being less bias. Therefore, I assert that Mellet’s (2010) work may be considered a positive counter-narrative to Leipoldt’s work (1936), in relation to its characterisation of non-‘white’ individuals

in the Cape, because people are not further marginalised through his writing. In so doing, he limits further mis-representations of history. While it is acknowledged that these two works were written decades apart, it is clear that Mellet (2010) is critical of his work, whereas Leipoldt (1936) has a worldview which perpetuates colonial perceptions that were dominant at his time of writing the biography. The latter text does not challenge the status-quo and is rather highly stereotypical, reinforcing the trend of mis-representing history.

Despite my reading of Leipoldt, Oppelt (2012:51) argues that Leipoldt has been, "misread as a nationalist writer." He furthermore asserts that Leipoldt was opposed to racial inequality, writing under a pseudonym in the local newspaper that non-whites, "[be recognised] as equals" (Oppelt, 2012:53). The article argues that Leipoldt was somewhat of a liberal 'politician'; However, it does not reference Leipoldt's earlier (1936) work, where these particular sensibilities do not come to light. Even if Leipoldt did seek to promote cultural inclusivity in his later works, it would be incorrect to disregard non-'white' voices which better articulate oppression through segregation, for example. Therefore, Mellet's (2010) book breathes much-needed new life into the ongoing debates on the politics surrounding cultural identities in South Africa. Another pivotal quote in his book asserting this point is seen in the following passage:

> "[we] as a nation [need to] drop race terminology while acknowledging that we have a common African heritage as indigene Africans, Creole Africans, Eur-Africans and Indo-Africans. My argument is that we cannot run away from the fact that there are different groups and can proudly celebrate group identities but these should not be misrepresented as races, and our first emphasis should be on our South African and African" (Mellet, 2010:11).

The above assertion is important in its advocacy for social cohesion that is not based on race, or racial superiority, where one is not disadvantaged by being non-'white'. Disregarding racial categories may diminish forms of mis-representation of particular individuals, because everyone would be celebrated. Moreover, in the introductory passages of his work, Mellet

(2010) is critical of some stereotypical framings of the 'coloured' identity that have become commonplace among locals in South Africa. This is depicted in the following words:

> "Nine months after Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape the 'Coloured' people were born. Another crude caricature which many 'Coloured' people have come to adopt is the race or colour notion of being '*Bruin mense*' (my emphasis), regardless of the fact many 'Coloured' people may be as fair in complexion as some 'whites' or Eur-Africans and many are darker than Nguni or Sotho peoples. Then again, some people classified as 'Coloured' erroneously try to find a sense of belonging in an ethnic haven by claiming that the 'Coloured' people are actually the only true descendants of the San or Khoe people" [sic] (Mellet, 2010:10).[45]

The above quote illustrates the complexity of framing one's identity. Interpretations based on identity may be viewed as controversial by certain individuals. Moreover, the identity of 'coloured' people is, once again, framed within the context of the arrival of the Dutch in 1652. I argue that this emphasizes the fact that racial difference and segregation is a colonial import. Besten (2006:57) elaborates on the shifting meaning of the term 'coloured':

> "Whilst the Coloured category was much used in reference to people who were considered not to be European or White before the 1890s, as reflected in official population censuses of 1865, and 1875, by the 1890s the term was increasingly used in reference to people considered to be neither White nor from Bantu-speaking African communities."

This is an interesting framing of the racial category 'Coloured' as it connotes an identity that is in flux or in-between, showing, "racial fluidity" (Hendricks, 2001).

To turn our focus back to *Krotoa* (2017), these complexities of race are not raised in the film. This illustrates a lack in the approach to representation. The issue of 'colouredness' is not addressed in the film. Does this, then, suggest that the film is erasing Krotoa's children? All

[45] Translated: 'Brown people' (my own)

academic scholarship on Krotoa's life states that her marriage to the Company's surgeon, Pieter Van Meerhof, was the first ever interracial marriage recorded at the Cape (Wells, 1997). However, it is noted by Malherbe (2006:1159) that, "as the union failed to serve the purposes foreseen for it, further pairings with indigenous women lacked official support."

Therefore, framing what it could mean to identify as 'coloured' is useful in furthering analysis on the film, which is done later in this dissertation. I have also mentioned the issue of Krotoa being lauded as the mother of the Afrikaners. This claim is also not explored in the film although some scholars have asserted that certain 'white' Afrikaners have begun reclaiming Krotoa as their '*stammoeder*' (Nsele, 2012:41). I argue that this notion is still a contested one, because she was not celebrated in the filmic narrative, but rather tolerated by the Dutch. The film itself only makes a brief reference to Krotoa as a '*stammoeder*' during the final credit roll, which states that certain Afrikaner men such as Paul Kruger and F.W. de Klerk are descendants of Krotoa (*Krotoa*, 2017; Nsele, 2012:41). The film's acknowledgment of Krotoa's familial legacy presents itself as an attempt to bridge the racial divide that has plagued South Africa for so long. If this film had been released two decades earlier it would not have dared to make such a statement. It would have been considered sacrilege to admit that Afrikaner men had any genetic ties to a Khoi woman. Therefore, it can be considered as one of the few ways in which the mis-representations of the country's historical narrative are trying to be rectified.

Moreover, the fact that many other cultural identities are enmeshed together to 'form the 'Coloured' identity, as was alluded to by Mellet (2010:11), indicates that settler migration to various parts of the world are important to making sense of racial identities and their fluidity. The mixing of the Europeans and indigenes is illustrated in Leipoldt's (1936) chapter on Van Riebeeck's exploits in the East.

> "When Van Riebeeck arrived at Batavia, Atjeh was still the strongest nation in the archipelago, and its monarch was the Princess Sultan Tadjoe d'Alam Tsafiatoe'ddin. It

> was to this princess that the Council of India deputed Commissioner Peter Soury as ambassador in 1642, and attached to his staff the clerk, Mr. Jan Anthonyson Van Riebeeck, in the capacity of chief secretary" (Leipoldt, 1936:62).

The passage demonstrates that the princess Sultan was a powerful woman, and the VOC wanted to gain access to her country's (Atjeh's) wealth. This is another indication of the colonial project of expansion, which was the Company's main goal. The passage also tells us of how important the expedition that they were embarking on was, which Van Riebeeck was a part of. Furthermore, it is stated that:

> "At the *kraton* or palace the Sultan came out to receive the distinguished Dutchmen — an act of courtesy never before vouchsafed to mortal not directly descended from the Prophet. But Tadjoe d'Alam Tsafiatoe'ddin was a broad-minded and progressive sovereign, and the Kadi of Mecca had not yet fulminated so ungallantly against womankind as to make her morose and prejudiced. [...] When the Hollanders were in her favour she made love to one of them and petitioned the higher officials, most humbly, that she might be permitted to marry him, but the Company, getting wind of the affair, promptly intervened. The Company had no objection to concubinage, but it very seriously objected to a legal contract between one of its employees and a reigning sovereign" (Leipoldt, 1936:63, emphasis in original).

There are undertones of the way the princess Sultan would have been sexually objectified by the European men who saw her when travelling through that region. As the aim of this dissertation is to highlight instances where women of colour like Krotoa, or the princess Sultan, may have been sexually objectified through the gaze of 'white', European males the passage is illustrative in showing this.

It is unfortunate, however, that the actions of these European men are not labelled as harmful. Rather, the men are praised for their bravery for venturing into the 'uncivilised' parts of the world. Again, I see this as a mis-representation of history. Another point that the above passage by Leipoldt (1936:63) points to is that woman like the princess Sultan possessed no sexual agency in the European understanding. This can be seen through the use of the word,

"concubinage", the role which existed for 'white' European male pleasure, while women of colour remained voiceless and it illustrates how their marginalisation was set into motion by imperial and sexual domination.

Here, Saïd's (1978) concept of orientalism is useful in explaining the discursive ways in which women have been 'othered', often regarding imperial relationships. Secondly, in relation to film studies, the pioneering work of Mulvey (1975) pertains to the sexual objectification of women, on-screen. Furthermore, work by Guelke and Guelke (2004) is relevant as it argues for the reassessment of travel narratives written by Europeans, especially those that foment an imperial perception of indigenous people living in the Cape during specific periods in history. This scholarship reiterates the importance Gender Studies scholars' voices, to ensure a nuanced discussion in the dissertation. Adding views from Gender Studies scholars, as well as historians, is to ensure that pre-conceived notions of women and sexuality are critiqued adequately.

3.8 The Portrayal of Jan Van Riebeeck in, *Krotoa*: Founder of a Nation, or Colonial Villain?

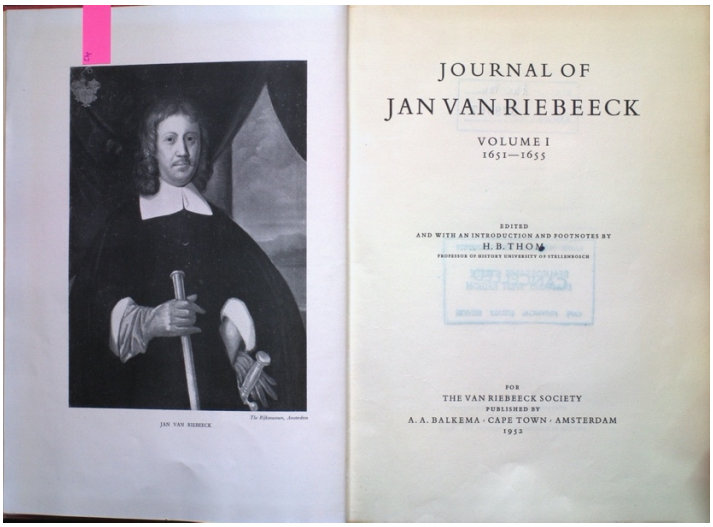

Figure 4: Jan Van Riebeeck – in Thom, 1952

> "Van Riebeeck was born at Culemborg in 1618 or 1619. (The author confirms that his birthdate was documented as 21 April 1619) It was during the time of the twelve years' truce between Spain and the United Dutch Provinces; it was the time of the session of the Synod of Dordrecht, when the principles of Calvinism were laid down for Holland; it was sixteen years after the establishment of the Dutch East India Company; it was the time when Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the great Dutch empire builder, was about to commence his first term as Governor-General in the East. In England, Elizabeth had died fifteen years before, and the Stuarts had succeeded to the throne; British colonisation on the east coast of North America had commenced; the English East India Company, which had been formed eighteen years earlier, had entered into competition with her great Dutch rival, and Englishmen and Dutchmen had already come to blows in the East. These were the salient features of the world scene when Jan Van Riebeeck first saw the light of day. He was destined to live in a world of colonial and commercial competition" (Thom, 1952:xvi-xvii).

In academia, Van Riebeeck's diary is often cited as the primary resource through which information about his life is constructed. However, centuries after Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape to establish a settlement, Leipoldt (1936) wrote the first and only biographical account of Van Riebeeck's life in English. This biographical study was first published in 1936. Through Leipoldt's (1936) act of writing a biographical study on Van Riebeeck, it becomes apparent that history is controlled by certain forces that possess influence in society as a whole. The reason for this assertion is that in those days, men wrote about and interpreted history for the broader public. Therefore, it is beneficial to delve into Leipoldt's own character and the reason for his fascination and admiration of Van Riebeeck.

Pooley (2009) argues that Van Riebeeck was a pioneer in the way he conserved species of fauna and flora at the Cape. He is not critical of Van Riebeeck as the first coloniser of the Cape. Gericke (1947) also provides a favourable account of the man's life. Similarly, Snijders (2011) writes about the work that went into the formation of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, while paying particular attention to the purpose and importance that Robben Island served for the

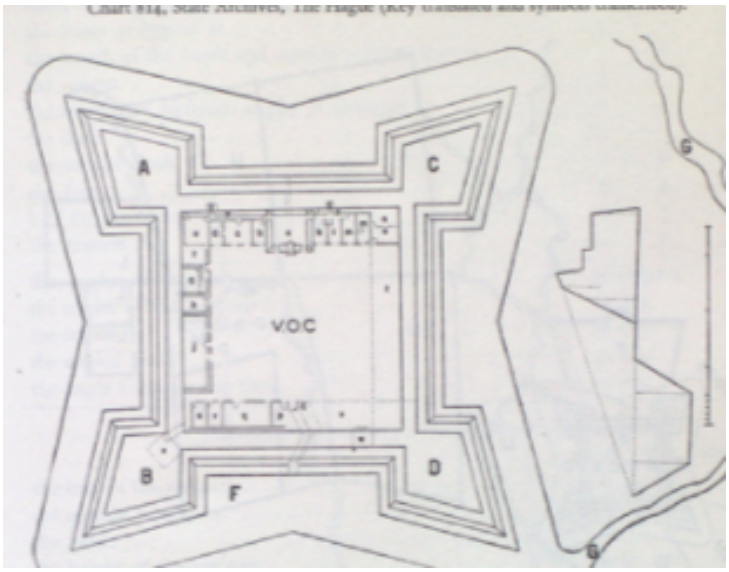

Figure 5 VOC Fort

colony. However, the dark underbelly of these "achievement" is that people like Krotoa suffered. Krotoa's identity was overshadowed through her being remembered as a 'native' woman who worked for Van Riebeeck.

Additionally, Van Riebeeck's presence changed the landscape and social dynamics that previously formed part of the Cape, I argue. Krotoa and her people were a tight-knit community and Van Riebeeck's presence disturbed this equilibrium. It can be argued that this sentiment is expressed by Krotoa in Matthee's novel, when she tells her daughter, "*Toe op 'n dag, toe kom hulle terug. Die Hollanders. Ons eet ewe lekker van hulle kos en drink van hulle wyn, ons dink in ons domme harte hulle sal net twaalf volmane bly*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:80).[46] Through the use of the above words such as, "*ons domme harte*", it can be inferred [sic] that Krotoa is despondent and frustrated as she recalls how the Hollanders' return to their shores impacted the lives of her and her people (Matthee, 2000:80).[47]

[46] Translated: "Then one day, they came back. The Dutch. We eat just as much of their food and drink of their wine, we think in our stupid hearts they will only stay twelve full moons" (my own).

[47] Translated: "our stupid hearts" (my own).

It is sad that Krotoa comes to this realisation near the end of her life, when she has been banished to Robben Island. Before this, she lived at the Fort working as the mediator between her people and the Dutch. Unfortunately, she lost favour with both her people and the Dutch. As she was rejected by both communities whom she loved and wanted to belong to, it is no wonder that she became increasingly depressed, drinking excessively and unable to afford her children the proper care and attention that they needed. Instead, Krotoa was vilified for her drunken behaviour, particularly by the Dutch, and I argue that this caused her to be further isolated from those whom she longed to be close to. Her banishment caused her to experience marginalisation from Dutch society. This demonstrates that marginalisation of women took place constantly those days. Furthermore, in relation to cinema, and particularly females' roles in biopics, Bingham (2010) sheds light on how women were misrepresented on-screen in Hollywood cinema.

What these passages and opinions demonstrate are the different ways in which women have been marginalised in patriarchal society, both then and now. Patriarchy works to misrepresent women as individuals. The above section has provided a theoretical framework of the ways in which history has misrepresented Khoi people, which informs an in-depth analysis of the film, *Krotoa* (2017) in the section which follows. Specific topics such as the South African film industry, identity, race, gender, sexuality and stereotyping have been discussed. These issues demonstrate that the debate around Durrant's film is multifaceted, offering many opinions and interpretations that depend on one's positionality in South African society today. It is important to remember, however, that it would be beneficial if debates around these issues pertaining to

the politics of *Krotoa* (2017) helped to shape a discourse that does *not* historically misrepresent the identities of Khoi or other marginalised groups in South African society today.

Figure 6

There is a moment in the film where Durrant briefly departs from portraying Van Riebeeck in a manner that is 'highly moral' and diplomatic. It is when Van Riebeeck awakes during the night and goes to watch Krotoa while she lies asleep in the servants' quarters. The mise-en-scene in this shot visually manifests the dark desires that Van Riebeeck has been harbouring in his thoughts about Krotoa. Low-key lighting is used and Van Riebeeck's face is shrouded in darkness. The window bars are framing his face, which implies that Van Riebeeck feels trapped by his thoughts about Krotoa. Moreover, since Krotoa is unaware of Van Riebeeck's gaze on her, it creates the sense that there is danger lurking within him that is predatory and obsessed with her indigenous, female sexuality. This view is supported by the scholarship surrounding Baartman's narrative noted previously.

4. Analysis of, *Krotoa* (2017)

Figure 7

The problem I have with the overall filmic narrative, is that it does not follow a chronological sequence. It therefore can cause confusion among the audience viewing the film, as little context is provided regarding the real-life person Krotoa.

The image above [Figure 7] is the first glimpse that we get of Krotoa in the film. She is shrouded in darkness and looks like a villainess. The audience has to watch the entire film in order to be able to make sense of this image above, and what has occurred in the narrative. This is an example of how Krotoa is mis-represented in the film. Apart from the fact that the shot has little to no lighting, connoting a strong sense of foreboding, Krotoa has been positioned to the right of the frame, which symbolises her marginalisation in a filmic sense. She is also alone in the shot, which is another indication of her personified alienation that builds up during the film, which culminates in this point in the narrative.

Figure 8

Another arguably 'iconic' image in the film is when Krotoa is renamed by Maria Van Riebeeck. It occurs shortly after her Uncle, Autshuma[t]o, has agreed to send Krotoa to live with the Dutch at the Fort. In the shot above [Figure 8], Durrant subtly demonstrates the power relations that existed between Europeans and non-Europeans – between the servants and masters – in that the camera focuses predominantly on Mrs. Van Riebeeck. The camera is angled so that Mrs. Van Riebeeck appears to dominate Krotoa, a relation which is enforced through her renaming her in the speech act, "I'll call you Eva". In contrast to the previous shot [Figure 7], a younger Krotoa faces away from the camera. This signifies the attempt to remove her agency. In this scene, she is blatantly mis-represented through her being given the new, European name, "Eva". Moreover, I argue that Maria being the one who renames Krotoa demonstrates the way that 'white' women have historically exerted power over non-'white' women, aiding their male counterparts in the expansion of the colonial project, as Landman (2009) has argued.

Figure 9

Another example demonstrating the manner in which Maria Van Riebeeck played a role in trying to undermine Krotoa's identity and culture, is seen in how she forbids Krotoa to attend an important ceremonial rite. Krotoa's mistress is perturbed that she would want permission to leave the Fort for such a reason seeing that she now was a Christian. Maria Van Riebeeck states that it is more important for Krotoa to remain at the Fort as a French dignitary would be visiting and she was the only maid who understands French. In this, scene the audience sees the contempt for indigenous customs from the European perspective, as well as the superiority placed on Christianity over indigenous religious and cultural practices.

The discourse of Dutch superiority and Khoi inferiority continues when Commander Van Riebeeck inquires how many of 'their' cattle were stolen by the indigenous people. Van Riebeeck's profile is portrayed through a frontal shot, signalling his authority. His facial expression demonstrates annoyance and frustration. I argue that the use of the word, "steal" in this scene is ironic, since the Dutch depended heavily on the indigenous people for cattle, as I have already mentioned in this dissertation.

Figure 10

Furthermore, when the cattle is taken Van Riebeeck is urged by his advisor, de Man, to use force against the Khoi clans. Van Riebeeck refuses, stating that he received strict instructions from the Company not to use force against the 'natives'. De Man is of the opinion that the 'natives' should be taught a lesson because they were 'treated well' by the Dutch, yet continued to steal from them (*Krotoa*, 2017). The fact that de Man believes that force should be used on

the Khoi, implies hegemonic notions perpetuated by Europeans that indigenous people, such as the Khoi, are highly immoral (*Krotoa*, 2017).

Despite perceiving the indigenous people at the Cape as inferior, the European men are shown

Figure 11

to express fascination, and even obsession, with Krotoa. As Krotoa reaches puberty, there are instances where Durrant illustrates a growing desire that Van Riebeeck seems to have towards her. Wells (1998) asserts that Van Riebeeck took a keen interest in the non-European women who entered the Fort and does not dismiss the fact that there may have been a sexual relationship between him and Krotoa.

I argue that in order to preserve Van Riebeeck's historical integrity, the film's producer inserts Jean Bassette into the narrative. Bassette plays the role of the lecherous, sexually perverted European man. This character seems to typify the men (and women) who went to 'freak' shows to view 'Hottentot Venuses' such as Sarah Baartman, specifically to see if what they had heard about their genitalia was true [Section 3.6]. In light of Wells' (1998) work, Van Riebeeck's glance in the direction of Krotoa as Bassette 'praises' her beauty in the above scene [Figure 11] is telling. It conveys the growing tension that Van Riebeeck experiences as Bassette

comments on Krotoa's beauty. His feelings are displayed in the shot, which focuses on him and his facial expression, alluding to his sexual desire for Krotoa (*Krotoa*, 2017). Moreover, the overt and covert sexual objectification of Krotoa's body that both men enact, demonstrates my argument that indigenous women's bodies have historically been sites of sexual violence.

The notion of sexual objectification in the film reinforces the work of McKinnon (2015), particularly in relation to how she details the way women were shipped to the Cape from various parts of the world for the sexual gratification of European men, like the indigenous women used for the same purposes. An example of this is when Daniel Saayman warns Pieternella not to sit on the upper deck of the ship for too long. He tells her, "*Jy kan nie te lank hier sit nie*" (Matthee, 2000:65).[48] Pieternella, however, seems to be oblivious of her positionality. She is a young girl of fourteen and is vulnerable because her parents are no longer there to inform her of the dangers that can possibly befall a young girl. It may be argued that Saayman is both concerned for her and wants her to be an independent person. His concern is expressed through the following passage, "*Omdat dit nie 'n jonge dogter se plek is nie. As dit donker word, nog minder*" [sic] (Matthee, 2000:65).[49]

However, the predatory and sexually obsessive nature of European men such as Bassette is contrasted with that of the respectful and insightful nature of Pieter Van Meerhof. The camera pans over him as he delights those gathered at the table with his adventurous exploits with a zebra. Van Meerhof is visibly intrigued by Krotoa, which is shown as the camera focuses on his face as he watches her in a bemused fashion. Playing on his intrigue, we hear him directly

[48] Translation: "You cannot sit here for too long" (my own)

[49] Translation: "Because it is not a place for a young girl. Less so when it gets darker" (my own)

ask Krotoa if her people have ever tried taming a zebra (*Krotoa*, 2017). This, I argue, sets Krotoa and Van Meerhof's relationship in motion.

However, even though this is the case, Durrant still plays on the contested and controversial notion that Krotoa had an intimate relationship with Van Riebeeck. An important scene is when Van Riebeeck appears suddenly in the shot, after Bassette tries to sexually assault Krotoa while she was walking alone on the beach. In this scene, Van Riebeeck is seen vehemently reprimanding Bassette for his indecent actions towards Krotoa, who was running away from him. Bassette tries to downplay his lust for Krotoa, by saying that she misunderstood his intentions. Free from his grip, the scene shows Krotoa hiding behind Van Riebeeck, who is ready to draw his sword in defence of her. In this scene, both Krotoa and Van Riebeeck are framed in a long shot, which emphasizes their closeness. This literal closeness links to their figurative closeness and connotes Van Riebeeck's protectiveness over her. Moreover, it is clear that Durrant wants to subtly portray the sexual desire for Krotoa on Van Riebeeck's part, a desire which is emphasized by the camera movements.

Furthermore, Van Riebeeck asserts himself as valiant and noble, while positioning Bassette as

Figure 12

immoral for attempting to abuse someone that is, "still a child" (*Krotoa*, 2017). It is also

implied that Bassette has insulted Van Riebeeck through his actions which is made clear through the phrase, “you abuse my hospitality”!

Apart from the fact that Van Riebeeck may have been sexually attracted to Krotoa, noticing her beauty, he also saw that she possessed much potential and could help him gain information on indigenous clans to benefit the settlement. This was necessary as meat and other supplies were badly needed. Therefore, Van Riebeeck sought to do everything in his power to strengthen trade relations with the indigenous populations at the Cape.

Figure 13

The above image is an interesting segway into the eventual proposition that Van Riebeeck gives Krotoa of becoming his interpreter. It is the point where he has just received news from the Company that he has been promoted to the role of governor. The scene is an interesting example of how gender roles are addressed in the filmic narrative, as it is asserted that Krotoa would be of more significance to the Dutch, and her own people, if she were a man.

After hearing his proposition, Krotoa is evidently hesitant to accept the offer. She asserts that although it would be a great privilege for her, she would like to give more attention to her life with her own people, especially as she was about to marry Doman (*Krotoa*, 2017). Through

Van Riebeeck's tense expression, it is evident that he expects Krotoa to accept his offer without hesitation. Moreover, through the tight framing of the shot, a sense of intimacy is conveyed and emphasized, considering that Van Riebeeck has just 'saved' Krotoa from the hands of Bassette (*Krotoa*, 2017). The tension is amplified through the fact that Krotoa mentions Doman, and her plan to marry him in the near future. The framing and positioning of Van Riebeeck in the shot, once again serves to assert his dominance in relation to Krotoa, as the camera is more focused on him and the technique of racking-focus has been employed, almost completely blurring Krotoa out of the shot. This is another visual example of how Krotoa is stripped of her agency in the film, which ultimately leads to her being mis-represented.

When Krotoa finally agrees to work as Van Riebeeck's interpreter, it is her role to settle disputes between her people and the Dutch. Like Malherbe (1990) asserts, Krotoa wanted to find a middle ground between the people of the Cape and the Dutch in the hope that they would learn to live together in peace.

Figure 14

It is at this point [Figure 14] when the audience catches a glimpse of her vision for the future and that she felt committed to her role. However, her elders and Doman did not share her view.

Figure 15

Krotoa brings intelligence to her elders that Van Riebeeck planned to give land to the 'free burghers' along the Liesbeek. Subsequently, her clan begins to understand that the Europeans are encroaching further upon their land. Krotoa looks visibly shocked hearing this news, but refuses to take it to heart (*Krotoa*, 2017). To contrast this scene in Durrant's (2017) film with Matthee's (2000:80) novel, it is worth viewing an instance when Pieternella has a memory of her mother recounting the Dutch coming to the Cape.

> "*Dit was Hollanders. Die meeste van hulle het die wal gehaal. My oom Autshumato gaan sê toe vir hulle: Julle kan nie hier kom skuiling bou nie, dis ons plek. Ons was toe nog Kwenkwena. Hulle sê hulle wil net die goed optel wat uitspoel en wag dat daar weer 'n skip verbykom. Twaalf volmane lank het hulle omgewag. Toe die skip uiteindelik kom, was daar 'n man by wie se naam Jan van Riebeeck was. Autshumato het hom duidelik gesien. Toe haal hulle al die goed op die heel skip en gaan weg.*"[50]

The above passage describes a 'flashback' from Pieternella's mother's narrative, which is retold to her. It is an instance illustrating how Krotoa's narrative is preserved through

[50] Translated: "It was the Dutch. Most of them reached the shore. My uncle Autshumato told them that they could not build shelter here, it is our place. Then we were still *Kwenkwena*. They said they just wanted to pick up stuff that were spilling out and wait for another ship to pass by again. For twelve full moons, they waited. When the ship finally arrived, there was a man whose name was Jan van Riebeeck. Autshumato clearly saw him. Then they got all the stuff on the whole ship and left" (my own).

Pieternella's memory (Matthee, 2000:80). It depicts the way the indigenous people were poised to protect their territory. This type of exchange is not included in the 2017 film, which suggests that some important parts of indigenous history have been ignored. The film shows Krotoa rather advocating that the Khoi people must, "learn to understand [the Dutch] (*Krotoa*, 2017).

The elders take decisive action, by telling Krotoa that she must return to the Fort, to be their eyes and ears on the inside. Reluctantly she agrees to go, but only to bring peace between the two groups and help the Dutch understand the ways of her people (*Krotoa*, 2017). In agreeing to act as a cultural broker of sorts, Krotoa's marriage to Doman is put on hold for a year. It becomes more and more apparent that Krotoa was indeed an individual who was, "[caught] in-between," as Malherbe (1990) asserts. Moreover, it is hard to ignore that males influenced and dictated the movements of this Khoi woman from both sides. Hence, I argue that Krotoa's agency is overshadowed in this moment by the agendas of the men in her life, which are motivated by egoism and hunger for power.

In contrast, when Van Riebeeck is away on an expedition and Krotoa requests permission from her mistress to leave the Fort, she is forbidden to leave. Krotoa attempts to escape but is quickly apprehended by de Man and locked up in her room, upon the instruction of her mistress. It is obvious that Mrs Van Riebeeck did not like being defied by Krotoa, which led her to discipline Krotoa in the way she thought was appropriate. Because Krotoa was forbidden from attending Doman's welcoming ceremony, I argue that Mrs Van Riebeeck demonstrates contempt for Krotoa and her people (*Krotoa*, 2017).

Upon his return to the Fort, Van Riebeeck is informed that his wife locked Krotoa in her room for three weeks. He is livid and reprimands his wife for what he perceived to be unnecessarily harsh actions. In trying to make amends the way she was treated in his absence, Van Riebeeck goes to apologise to Krotoa. Krotoa is angry and expresses that she has had enough of being treated like a prisoner at the Fort. She is adamant that she wants to go to Doman and her people. As soon as Krotoa mentions that she wants to be with Doman, Van Riebeeck says, "No" (*Krotoa*, 2017). He proceeds to begin touching her face and kisses her, aggressively backing Krotoa against a wall and forcing himself on her [Figure 16]. As I have mentioned, this scene may have been inspired by the work of Abrahams (1996), who argues that it is highly likely

Figure 16

that Krotoa was raped by Van Riebeeck.

In this scene, Krotoa's silence signifies the 'taboo' that is taking place (*Krotoa*, 2017). I argue that it is a 'taboo', since scholars like McKinnon (2015) have asserted that European members of a particular social class were held in more esteem than others. Individuals belonging to a higher social class were considered more moral than others in the society, particularly compared to people of colour. Therefore, the above scene [Figure 16] works to subvert the notion of moral superiority on the part of Van Riebeeck and the social group he represents. Furthermore, this scene would have been perceived as a 'taboo' historically, when considering

how ‘white’ people prided themselves on racial purity in South Africa during colonial and apartheid times (see Hendricks, 2001 cited in Erasmus, 2001; Jonker & Till, 2009).

Moreover, this scene speaks to the endemic problem of sexual and gender-based violence in South Africa, which, considering a surge in publicised attacks against women in the country in 2019, resulted in the crisis being called a, “national emergency” (Merten, 2019). Based on reports released by the South African Police Services (SAPS):

> “Police recorded 177,620 reported crimes against women in the 2017/18 financial year that ended 31 March 2019, according to the latest available SAPS annual report. These statistics list 36,731 sexual offences, including rape, assault and the murder of 2,930 women, which was up by 11%, from 2,639 murders of women in the 2016/17 financial year. The increase in the number of women murdered bucked the national priority of reducing crime” (Merten, 2019).

From the above numbers alone, it is evident that violence committed against women and children is getting worse by the day. It is a deeply disappointing situation considering the promises of the 1996 constitution that promotes values such as gender equality in South Africa. Moreover, these attacks on women were not perpetrated by men of a specific ‘race’, as may have been the case in Krotoa’s time. The attacks drove university students from universities around the country to come together to demand decisive action be taken by the President. The brutal murders of young women in the country highlights the extent to which men can go in asserting their dominance over women in the most grotesque manner. This reinforces the endemic fear women have that men will violate their bodies.

It could also be argued that Krotoa’s silence while she is assaulted by Van Riebeeck and her agreeing to working as his primary interpreter meant that she, in some way, also desired a sexual encounter with him, which would be highly controversial.

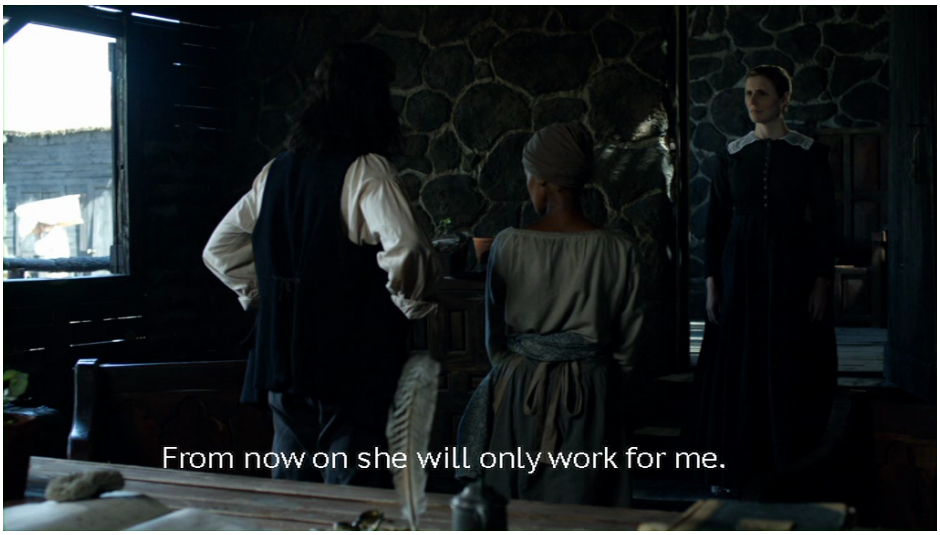

Figure 17

In taking Krotoa into his personal employ, Van Riebeeck asserts a type of 'ownership' of her. The scene [Figure 17] signals a rift between Van Riebeeck and his wife, illustrated in the way Krotoa and Van Riebeeck are positioned together in the frame, in opposition to Mrs Van Riebeeck, who stands alone in the right-hand corner of the frame. Mrs Van Riebeeck is both visually and relationally isolated in this shot, which works to emphasize the underlying relationship between her husband and Krotoa, a relationship which has been enforced through Van Riebeeck's sexual advances on the Khoi woman. Van Riebeeck's wife's superiority over her Khoi maid, is undermined by her husband promoting her to his interpreter; subverts the power dynamics that were dominant in that context. The move by Van Riebeeck reinforces the assertion made by Wells (1997) that Krotoa used her gender, as well as her skills as mediator,

to her advantage. Van Riebeeck making Krotoa his primary interpreter demonstrates the influence she had over him, which supports Wells' claim (1997).

Another twist is thrown into the narrative when Mrs Van Riebeeck confronts Krotoa about her nausea and, gauging from her symptoms, tells her she is pregnant. Krotoa informs Mrs Van Riebeeck that she was impregnated while at the Fort and not while she was at home. Upon hearing this, Mrs Van Riebeeck is not concerned for Krotoa's wellbeing, but rather worries about how badly this news would reflect on the settlement. Mrs Van Riebeeck believes that

Figure 18

Krotoa's pregnancy makes them look, "so immoral" [Figure 18]. Needless to say, this statement is laden with irony.

Figure 19

Van Riebeeck informs Krotoa that she is not permitted to have the baby at the Fort. She proceeds to admonish him for ruining her life. She is aware that the fact that she is carrying a child will ruin her planned marriage to Doman. Her indignation is compounded because she was not consulted about going home with her uncle, Autshumato. Krotoa says to Van Riebeeck, "You know nothing about my people" (*Krotoa*, 2017). The shot is loosely framed, with Krotoa positioned alone against a black backdrop, signalling the beginning of her alienation from her people and the social ruin she is to face. The statement is telling in that it acts as a prophecy. Her elders had said that the Dutch need to learn about the Khoi, not the other way around.

When Krotoa's uncle confronts her on the beach about her pregnancy, Krotoa's grief is palpable. The scene is a long-shot with the audience barely able to make out the characters' faces. Autshumato's words, "Have you not shamed him enough," hang in the air above Krotoa like a dark cloud. The use of the long-shot makes the two of them look insignificant, and one's eye tends to drift to the sea, which can be read as a symbol representing the tumultuous period Krotoa finds herself in (*Krotoa*, 2017). Krotoa's trauma is not taken into consideration. Instead, she is admonished for the shame that she has brought on her clan.

Figure 20

As previously stated, soon after Krotoa enters her new role as interpreter, cattle are stolen from the settlement again. The Hollanders have reached their breaking point with the 'natives' of the Cape and decide to retaliate with a violent attack. Despite Krotoa's compromised position with her people, she manages to persuade Van Riebeeck not to attack the Khoi (*Krotoa*, 2017).

Figure 21

This presents another example of Krotoa's influence in striving to bring peace between these two cultures when she worked as an interpreter for Van Riebeeck (*Krotoa*, 2017). The scene

relates to my assertion that Krotoa was put in a complex position when she was instructed by both Van Riebeeck and Chief Oedasoa to provide information on each other's movements [see Section. 3.4]. Once again, Krotoa is, "caught between two worlds" (Malherbe, 1990). In spite of all the abuse she experiences, she still tries to assist the Dutch and Khoi people find an understanding.

Figure 22

The film does not present Krotoa as entirely submissive. She is shown to be an advocate for her people when she tells Van Riebeeck, "The land was never yours to give away" (*Krotoa*, 2017). However, Krotoa is acting within the parameters of her role as mediator and audiences do not catch a glimpse into her personal psyche. It somewhat alluded to when she is imprisoned on Robben Island for the last time until her death, where she is seen to be tormented by her two identities encapsulated in the names, "Eva" and "Krotoa" (*Krotoa*, 2017).

Figure 23

Moreover, in her acting as Van Riebeeck's interpreter, her relationships with men like Autshuma[t]o and Doman become further strained and tense. This is emphasized when Doman says to Krotoa, "You curry favour with the Governor" (*Krotoa*, 2017).

Figure 24

Figure 25

Despite the insults directed at her, Krotoa manages to convince both parties to come to an agreement. In this shot, Krotoa is positioned in the centre of the frame. This can be read as an indication of her mediating role, and her potential to bring the Dutch and Khoi people together [Figure 26]. This is before Van Riebeeck starts to distrust Krotoa, in suspecting that she does

Figure 26

not always tell him the truth. In Matthee's novel (2000:197), Van Riebeeck's suspicion of Krotoa is indicated in the passage, "*Eva, hierdie Chobona en Namaqua, lieg jy oor hulle vir*

ons"?[51] When Krotoa says that she is not lying, adding that even her uncle could confirm she was telling the truth. Van Riebeeck sends an expedition to the Olifantsrivier and Pieternella's father, Pieter Van Meerhof, is part of the group sent to search for the Namaqua people. One of Van Riebeeck's officials becomes frustrated with the long journey and proclaims that Krotoa has deceived them again. But Van Meerhof responds that Krotoa does not lie to him. Then they find the Namaqua people.

This representation in Matthee's novel shows how Krotoa was only believed when her words were validated by men in positions of authority, such as Van Riebeeck and Van Meerhof. It is also an example of how her agency as a woman was usurped through patriarchy, which has been discussed throughout this study. In the usurpation of her agency Krotoa is being mis-represented again. However, the scene depicted above [Figure 23] also depicts Krotoa's ability and confidence as a negotiator. She, Van Riebeeck and Autshuma[t]o are all standing in this scene, suggesting that they are equals in relation to their power in decision-making.[52]

After the agreement, Krotoa and her entourage go to visit her brother in-law, Chief Oedasoa. When she Krotoa is alone with her sister, Krotoa confides in her that she does not think she

[51] Translation: "Eva, these Chobona and Namaqua, are you lying about them to us?" (my own)

[52] I revert to the spelling with a, "t" as that is used in the IMDb page – specifically when referencing scenes in the film.

can go back to her old life as Krotoa. This is one of the few instances where the filmmaker delves into Krotoa's personal state of mind.

Figure 27

Figure 28

Her statement that she cannot go back to being "Krotoa alone" [Figure 27] is because she has assimilated into Dutch culture. This exacerbates her sense of alienation and abandonment by her people. Krotoa confirms this in her own words at a dinner hosted at the Fort.

Figure 29

At this dinner, Krotoa is well-spoken and self-assured, and is not afraid to offer her opinion on matters, even when it was not asked for. Her confidence makes Mrs Van Riebeeck uncomfortable, as she simply sits in silence at the table.

However, characters like de Man continue to express racist views. De Man does not believe that any good will come of the Dutch attempting to maintain civil relations with the Khoi

Figure 30

people. This is reflected in his retort following the discovery of Doman's suicide: "We should've taken a firm hand with you people a long time ago" [sic] (*Krotoa*, 2017). However, it is historically inaccurate that Doman committed suicide during this time. Rather, the Dutch believed that they had shot him. In Matthee's (2000:187) novel it is stated, "*Doman was nie dood nie, hy was by Oedasoa en die Chocoqua. Sy een arm tot niet van die koeël wat agter by sy blad in is*." [53] The above statement is another example of how Khoi history has been distorted and that the film perpetuates this distortion throughout the narrative.

Similarly, racist sentiments are echoed in the film by Van Riebeeck's successor, Zacharias Wagenaar. Wagenaar declares that, "Natives are always resistant to a civilised way of life" (*Krotoa*, 2017). Van Meerhof finds Wagenaar's attitude distasteful and promptly leaves the table. The following day, when the new governor refers to Krotoa as Van Meerhof's concubine, he states that she is the mother of his children and not his concubine (*Krotoa*, 2017). Wagenaar insists that the pair be legally married and that Krotoa be baptised. I argue that in Wagenaar's characterisation of Krotoa as a concubine" he 'others' her and casts suspicion on the validity

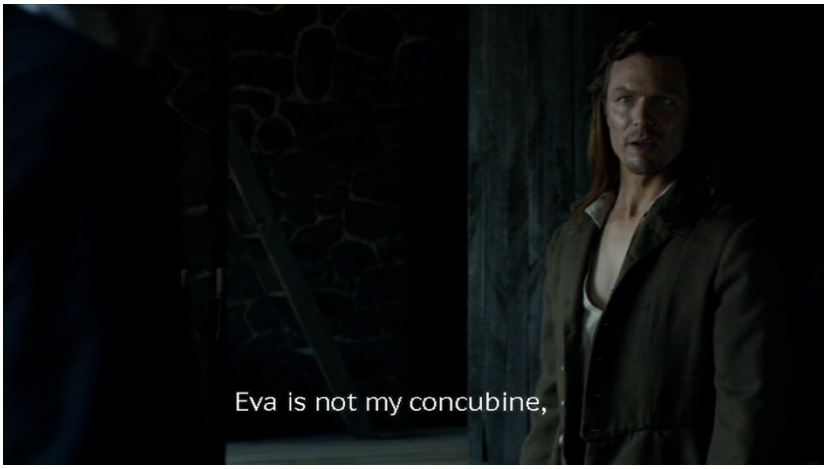

Figure 31

[53] Translation: "Doman was not dead, he was with Oedasoa and the Chocoqua. His one arm made ineffectual through the bullet that was lodged in his shoulder." (my own)

of her relationship with Van Meerhof. It is another instance in the film where Krotoa has been mis-represented.

Figure 32

Soon after they are formally married, Van Meerhof is promoted from surgeon to Superintendent of the penal colony. However, he surmises that the 'promotion' is really a disguised banishment because their marriage is viewed as an embarrassment to the Company.

The environment is harsh on the island and Krotoa struggles to adapt to her new surroundings. The struggle is compounded by the fact that her relationship with Van Meerhof seems to be deteriorating, despite their love each other. The film depicts Krotoa's growing dependence on

alcohol, which appears to worsen when Van Riebeeck has returned home to Batavia. It is clear that both of them crave to be useful again.

Figure 33

In relation to the portrayal of Van Meerhof and Krotoa's relationship in the film, I argue that more screen-time could have been allocated to their love story, considering that their union is written about in a positive light in academia. My critique of the film in this regard, is that the relationship does not have much substance and it is instead implied that Krotoa and Van Riebeeck had a relationship, or that Krotoa misses him. One gets this sense as when housed at the penal colony, it seems that the married couple do nothing but fight, apart from the scene where Van Meerhof carries Krotoa back home after he finds her lying on the beach. Later,

Krotoa is informed that her husband was ambushed during an expedition in Madagascar and that he is dead.

After receiving the news of her husband's death Krotoa is ordered to return to the Fort. The film shows how her behaviour becomes more unruly, and her children are forcibly removed from her care.

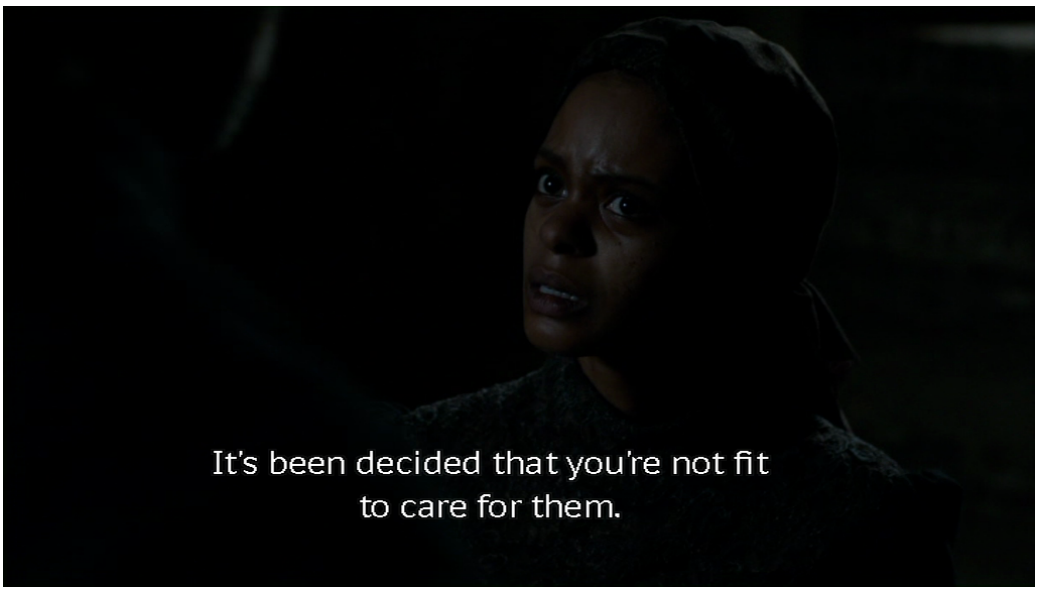

Figure 34

This brings me to discussing the way the film presents Krotoa's role as a mother. I maintain that her role as a mother is not adequately explored in the film. Some insights into this role can be gathered from Matthee (2000), as I have already argued in this dissertation.

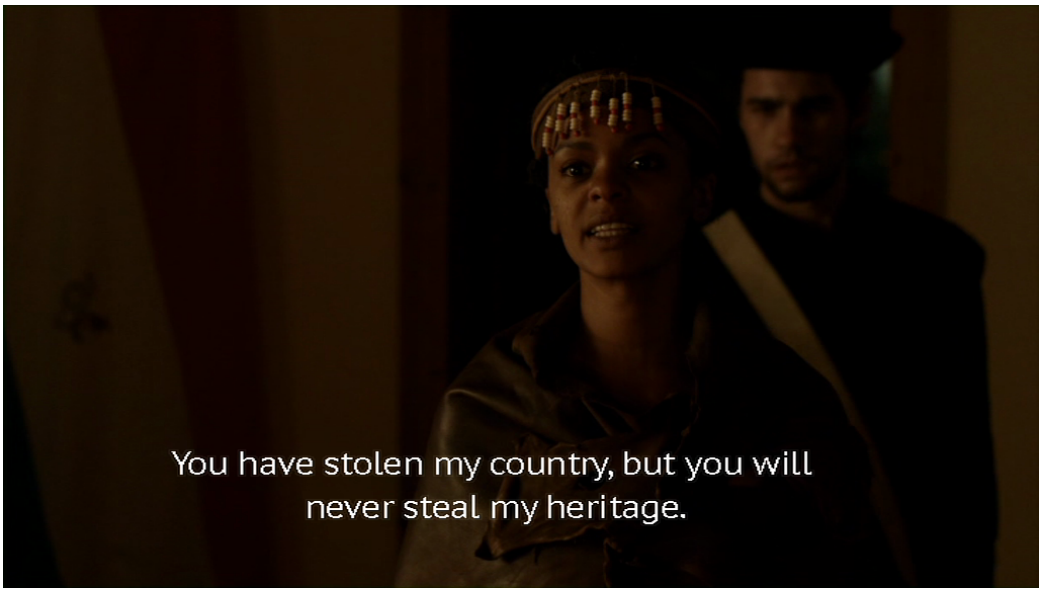

Figure 35

In the film's final scene of the film, when Krotoa makes her last speech, she is seen to take one last stand in defence of her people. She is defiant and accuses the room, full of Europeans, that they have stolen the land of the Khoi, but maintains that they will never be able to steal her heritage (*Krotoa*, 2017).

It is evident that Krotoa has also fallen victim to such distortion – both in academia and in the biopic by Roberta Durrant in 2017. This is another example which demonstrates that Krotoa has continuously been mis-represented in history.

5. Conclusion

This dissertation was concerned with the relevance of the biopic, *Krotoa* (2017) and interrogated whether the film was indeed a mis-representation of history. It argues that the film is relevant given that the filmic narrative was, "inspired by historical facts" (*Krotoa*, 2017). However, I argue that because the film's subject matter concerned a Khoi woman, the narrative risked misinterpreting the main character.

The potential for mis-representation is rooted in historians' accounts of how indigenous people were stereotyped by Europeans who encountered them, as well as the Europeans writing about such encounters, as was discussed in Section 3.3 of the dissertation. I described how indigenous communities have been perceived by Europeans historically, as racially and morally inferior. For this reason, scholars who offered a counter-narrative to this argument, like Mellet (2010), were valuable in this discussion on, *Krotoa* (2017).

The problem which launched the thesis was that the film, *Krotoa* (2017), invoked negative responses from those who identify with and support indigenous people like the Khoi. This was displayed in the panel discussion covered in Philander (2017). Criticisms of the film centred on representations of both Krotoa and Van Riebeeck, as described in Section 3.4, as well as in the Introduction. Many felt that Durrant's film had perpetuated images linked to colonialism (Philander, 2017; *Krotoa*, 2017).

In contrast, there were those who argued that the film depicted a "powerful female voice" (Darangwa, 2017). This view, however, becomes complicated as both the director and script writer of *Krotoa* stated that it was difficult to determine who Krotoa really was, because the narrative was historical (*Die Groot Ontbyt*, 2017). Additionally, Durrant remarked that Krotoa's story comprised a, "hidden history" (Darangwa, 2017). I argue that it is difficult to see the filmic representation of Krotoa as a, "strong female" the way Kaye Williams has argued,

and that rather, Van Riebeeck's presence aids in how she is marginalised in South African history (Philander, 2017). The film's own director acknowledged that she had not been taught about Krotoa when she was at school, but was instead taught about Jan van Riebeeck, as was noted in the introductory section of this study (Darangwa, 2017).

The notion that Krotoa is a, "strong female" that other women can admire is further complicated when considering how women of colour have historically endured violence. I cited literature conveying how European men exerted dominance over their bodies, while indigenous women were perceived as hyper-sexual and fascinating to the 'white' male gaze (Cutler, 2017; Darangwa, 2017; Netto, 2005; Sanger, 2009 Scully, 2005). This was discussed extensively in Section 3.6 of this study. This argument was exemplified through reference to the most iconic figure in South African history that was subjected to such abuse, Sarah Baartman.

As previously mentioned in Section 3.3 on, "History and Representation in film," Easton (2002) asserts that the narratives of Krotoa and Sarah Baartman have been brought together through history. I noted that they are further united in that they experienced gross marginalisation within the European contexts that they were situated in. I also noted how all historical accounts on Sarah Baartman explore how she was sexually abused and suffered great public humiliation, and she was displayed and portrayed as a wild savage, as expressed in Section 3.6, "Agency vs. Sexual Objectification of Women through the Centuries: Freedom Stolen in*, Krotoa.*" It was described how Krotoa's daughter, Pieternella, also faced sexual harassment as has been depicted in fiction.

Moreover, in comparing the narratives of these two Khoi women, Krotoa and Sarah Baartman, a pattern of sexual abuse and sexual objectification of indigenous women begins to surface. This further complicates the notion that Durrant's film portrays a powerful female voice. When examining Krotoa's narrative, historical records are vague on whether Krotoa was a victim of sexual abuse, but there are scholars such as Abrahams (1996) who argue that Krotoa exhibited

signs of sexual trauma. Krotoa was located in a patriarchal society, in which women could exercise very little agency, if any at all. I highlighted the possibility that Krotoa was a victim of gender-based violence and that if it were the case, that it would not have been recognised by those in authoritative positions at the time.

In contrast to this, it can be argued that Durrant's auteur presence is problematic, as it subverts Krotoa's power to work as a disruptive image on-screen. This notion is emphasized through scenes relating to Krotoa being disowned by her people, as well as the scene depicting her children being taken away from her, as was discussed in the analysis of the film in Chapter 4 (see also: figures 24, 25 and 34). The film had various shortcomings of representation, as it did not depict Krotoa interacting with her children. I have attempted to highlight instances of Krotoa's interaction with her daughter Pieternella through Matthee's (2000) novel. Moreover, there is no real exploration of Krotoa's marriage to Pieter Van Meerhof in the film (*Krotoa*, 2017). I presented the mixed academic views concerning Krotoa and Van Meerhof's relationship, where some – like Wells (1997) – assert that the pair were well-suited to succeed at the Cape; while others – such as Malherbe (2006) – assert that imperial officials had no real interest in the union between Van Meerhof and Krotoa, as it did not bring any advantages for the Company and the colonial project.

In contrast to the film's lack of representing Krotoa as having a meaningful relationship with her children; I cited scholars such as Coetzee (1998) and Nsele (2012) who write about the growing movement by Afrikaners to claim Krotoa as their ancestral mother. This was addressed in the Introduction and literature review. However, this was found to be problematic, due to the view that framing her in this manner equates to an erasure of her identity as an indigenous individual. I argue that it is important not to lose sight of the fact that Krotoa was, and always will be, an indigenous woman from the Cape, first. This is due to the long history that indigenous people have endured of having their identities as indigenous people erased,

because they were oppressed and most likely forced to assimilate. This highlights the underlying ways in which representations of indigenous people like Krotoa were distorted through history.

Moreover, the film makes no reference to Krotoa's belief system, but rather depicts her assimilation into Dutch culture. This was discussed in the previous section of this dissertation [see also: figures 28 and 29]. I compared the film to the historical novels by Bloem (1999) and Matthee (2000), which do cover Khoi religious beliefs. These novels acknowledge that Krotoa had her own belief system before the Dutch arrived at the Cape, which negates arguments that she was without a religious ethic. The film's portrayal of Krotoa's 'complete' assimilation into Dutch culture operates to subtly erase another layer of her identity as an indigenous woman, where the erasure of her religion implies that it was inconsequential to her. This, I find to be another example of the gaps in representation that have been present throughout South African history. Simultaneously, there are moments both in the film and in the above mentioned novels where Krotoa is admonished for wanting to leave the Fort and return to her people in traditional dress. It was as if her longing to return back to her former life is used against her by the Dutch, particularly when she was seen to be drunk and in anguish [Figure 20]. This indicates yet another way in which the film and other texts relating to her life have reinforced Krotoa's mis-representation, historically.

Apart from the importance of history in this discussion and its impact on Krotoa's narrative, the issue of gender and patriarchy was pertinent. As I have already stated throughout this discussion, Krotoa lived in a patriarchal society. Moreover, when Europeans started interacting more with the Khoi, there was a high possibility that indigenous women would be preyed upon by European men. The influence of patriarchy was discussed with her abandonment by her elders when it is brought to light that she is pregnant [figures 12 and 20]. Krotoa's elders accuse Krotoa of bringing shame on her family and implying that she had purposefully fallen

pregnant. I mentioned the scene [figure 12] when Van Riebeeck saves Krotoa from the intentions of Jean Bassette, where Van Riebeeck is portrayed as a father figure. Moreover, through the disappointment of Krotoa's elders in her pregnancy, the audience is made aware that the Khoi also perceive marriage to be a sacred institution, which is hinted at when Krotoa shouts, "My virginity was stolen!" (*Krotoa*, 2017; Figure 20) As mentioned in Section 3.6, McKinnon's (2015) work provides interesting historical context, documenting that the Company shipped in women to the Cape for the soldiers' sexual gratification. Hence, I argued that it is inaccurate to represent Krotoa as sexually immoral in the film and historical texts, as European men were engaged in illicit sexual encounters with women during this period. McKinnon (2015) was used to affirm how gender operates to marginalise women. I also demonstrated how the issue of gender is multi-layered, as 'white' women have historically enjoyed more agency than non-'white' women. Therefore, through exploring the work of Bingham (2010), I demonstrated that Hollywood cinema has also produced films that perpetuate the notion of women as the weaker sex, as discussed in Section 3.5, "Biopics and female characters."

Moreover, in relation to the South African film, I noted how female directors are struggling to assert their place within the industry. Citing Engel (2018), it was found that female directors continue to be subjected to stereotyping on set, and that stakeholders in the industry predominantly think directors are male. This suggests that female directors lack agency within the industry, and puts diversity of narrative and stylistic output at risk. I assert that the stereotyping of female directors within the industry runs the risk of these directors being scared to produce their work due to the fear of having to face victimization based on gender. These challenges are further complicated when considering how history has impacted film, as was discussed in Section 3.3 of this study, a point highlighted through the work of Blignaut & Botha (1992), as well as Broodryk (2016).

These scholars highlighted that the South African film industry struggled to produce films which engaged critically with the social and political context it was located in, particularly during apartheid, with Broodryk (2016) arguing that Afrikaans cinema has been politically impotent. I argued that as a post-apartheid film, Durrant's filmic narrative has not engaged critically with the context it was situated in and that this is due to the sources she consulted as well as Durrant's positionality as a 'white' female director. The historical sources used are problematic in that they not critical of the Dutch presence at the Cape. Hence, part of the problem of the narrative is that most sources that exist on Krotoa are biased. The sources barely speak about Krotoa as an individual. She is only ever mentioned in relation to Van Riebeeck, even in works done by scholars like Abrahams (1996). If Krotoa is not mentioned in relation to Van Riebeeck, she is spoken about with reference to another male figure: Autshumato, or Van Meerhof. Therefore, emphasizes the impact that patriarchy has in marginalising Krotoa's agency as an independent woman.

I interrogated the question as to why Krotoa's story was told by a 'white' female director, and not a women of colour who would have had the potential to position Krotoa more as a Khoi woman than the interpreter of a 'white' man. Through Durrant embarking on the project of representing Krotoa's life (or parts of it) on-screen, she subtly positions herself as the coloniser observing and 'speaking for' the colonised, which I argued in Section 2.1 of this study (Pichaske, 2009). It reinforces how Krotoa's identity as a Khoi woman was erased in the film, because the film's narrative privileges the European perspective.

One of the study's limitations is not adequately defining the differences between the indigenous groups that lived at the Cape. There was a complex network of people living at the Cape before the Dutch settled, as well as when Van Riebeeck returned to Amsterdam. Despite the differences, Europeans would refer to all indigenous groups of people derogatorily as 'Hottentots'. There was no will on the part of the European settlers to learn anything

constructive about the Khoi, or the other indigenous groups. This was depicted in the scene when Krotoa accuses Van Riebeeck of not knowing anything about her people [Figure 19]. Krotoa's admonishment of Van Riebeeck reiterates the significance of identity, both historically and in relation to the film. Identity is a pertinent theme, because indigenous people's identities were erased through colonial oppression. This was explicitly exemplified early on in the film when Maria Van Riebeeck 'renames' Krotoa Eva [Figure 8]. The moment was used in conjunction with Landman (2009) to argue that European women aided colonial expansion through their instructing indigenous women about the religious institution of Christianity. Religion was used as a tool by the European imperial powers to assert their dominance over indigenous populations, thereby declaring themselves morally superior through their various religious dogmas.

The dissertation was an attempt to address the gaps in historical representations of indigenous women such as Krotoa, and religion is another area in which gaps are prevalent. Religion was found to feature strongly in Krotoa's narrative, both historically and in the film. I referred to the scene where Krotoa expressed a desire to go to her people's 'Full Moon Feast' [Figure 9], and Maria Van Riebeeck's expresses dismay that Krotoa would still feel the need to go to such an event as she was now 'a good Christian' (*Krotoa*, 2017). Maria Van Riebeeck's remark implies that the cultural practices of Krotoa's people are inferior and improper, compared to the practice of Christianity. This reinforces the historical perception which Europeans held of indigenous people; they were inferior and required civilising. I referred to Saïd's (1978) concept of the 'Other' and Orientalism, to highlight the discursive binary between the 'West' and the 'East', which is relevant to understanding the discourse of the 'west' and 'the rest'.

I suggested that it would have been beneficial for the film writers to interrogate sources where the relationship with her children is documented, like in the work by Matthee (2000), as this was something that was neglected in the film. I also argued that there is no literature that

explores Krotoa's psyche. If someone were to undertake research relating to her psyche, perhaps the trope of Krotoa as a drunken prostitute would dissipate. These two neglected areas are the main factors that led to Krotoa's identity being mis-represented. Given the extent to which Durrant's film was influenced by the past, Krotoa *is* found to be mis-represented both in history and in her representation on-screen. Let us continue to critically debate and examine issues of identity, gender, sexuality and representation in the attempt to negate the way historical figures like Krotoa have been misrepresented on-screen and by the way history has distorted indigenous narratives.

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