

PLACES OF DISCOURSE AND DIALOGUE:

**A STUDY IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CAPE DURING THE
RULE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1652 - 1795.**

**YVONNE BRINK
August 1992.**

Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, Department of Archaeology, University of Cape Town.

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

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



"Toon mij uw huis, en ik zal zeggen wie u bent".
(Show me your house and I will tell you who you are -
Old Dutch proverb). Dwelling: Vrymansfontein, Paarl

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I need to thank a number of people who, by means of a variety of gifts - film, photographs, various forms of work and expertise, time, and encouragement - have made it possible for me to produce this thesis. They are:

My husband, Bredell, and my children and their spouses - Hilde and Raymond, André and Lynnette, Bredell Jr. and Salome. My family has supported me consistently and understood my need to complete this research project. Bredell Jr.'s contribution was special: not only has he been my main pillar of support through all the hard work, but he taught me to use a word processor with great patience, and undertook the important job of printing the manuscript. Without his assistance the task would have been much more daunting. Raymond's photographic expertise has been invaluable.

My sister, Anne, whose joyful presence on field excursions was a great antidote to flagging spirits.

My colleagues in the Historical Archaeology Research Group, especially Antonia (for taking me seriously and allowing me the use of her data base), Jane (for making me laugh and helping with photography) and Cathy (for her calming influence).

My general well-being in the Department has been largely dependent on my "old" friends in the Spatial Archaeology Research Unit, Royden and Tony, and also on "newcomer" Chopi. Their stimulating discussions keep me in touch with Stone Age archaeology.

Professor John Parkington has read some of my work and criticised it from a different theoretical viewpoint. I value his opinions greatly and appreciate his always finding time for discussion.

I have benefitted a great deal from provocative exchanges of ideas with Anne Solomon, especially about various theoretical problems in archaeology. She has frequently directed me towards useful source material.

Secretary Dawn is a pillar of strength to everyone. Without her the Department would simply not be "the Department".

Mrs. Reickert of Kenhardt lent me the original of a precious family photograph to copy.

Carol Hampshire drew the map.

I also thank the owners of the farms I visited and photographed, especially Mr. and Mrs. Myburgh of *Joostenberg*, and the Briërs-Louw family of *Eenzaamheid*.

In Professor Martin Hall I have had a very special supervisor on whom I could rely in all respects. While well aware of his eagle-eyed, critical watch, I nevertheless felt entirely free to research the topic in my own way. I am deeply grateful to him.

ABSTRACT

The main object of study in this thesis is the architectural tradition commonly known as "Cape Dutch". The aim is to make sense of this architecture by answering questions about its coming into being, the people who created it, and their reasons for doing so.

Contrary to the suggestions of most existing works on Cape Dutch architecture, an earlier substantial form of domestic architecture, which resembled the town houses of the Netherlands, underlies the tradition .

Analysis of existing literature, archaeological excavation, and inventories, indicates that gradual changes towards the basic traditional form during the first decades of the the eighteenth century took a dramatic leap during the 1730s.

Moving away from the shapes of the dwellings to the people who changed them involves a major theoretical shift, away from formalism towards post-structuralist theory: discourse theory, literary criticism, feminism.

These frameworks enable me to identify contradictions underlying historical events; to deconstruct documents, thus revealing their rhetorical devices for constituting subjectivities and establishing social hierarchies; and to see the architecture as a body of works or texts - a discourse.

From 1657 free burghers were given land to farm independently. These farmers were an anomalous group whose view of themselves no longer coincided with the lesser subjectivities structured for them by Dutch East India Company (VOC) documents. Together the latter constituted a discourse of domination against which the anomalous group, in the process of establishing new identities for themselves, developed a discourse of resistance.

Since the VOC maintained a strict monopoly over the word, the discourse of discontent was manifested in other forms of inscription, most notably in free burgher architecture. Using a particular type of gender theory, it becomes possible to envisage the two discourses in conversation with each other.

The theoretical component of the thesis involves, first, writing historical archaeology into the gaps of existing post-structuralist perspectives which were not designed for archaeology; second, demonstrating the two discourses at work in the practice of their everyday existence by the people concerned.

NOTE ON ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

The term "inventories" refers to the probate inventories compiled for the Board of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. These documents are lodged in the Cape Archives, Roeland Street, Cape Town under the reference MOOC. The various MOOC categories are denoted by a number, for example MOOC 8/1. Each document within the category is also numbered and dated, for example MOOC 8/1:69, 1701.

Spelling in these documents varies, as there was no standardisation of Dutch spelling in the eighteenth century. When quoting from them, I have used the spelling of the original.

CONTENTS

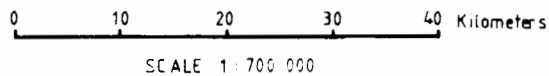
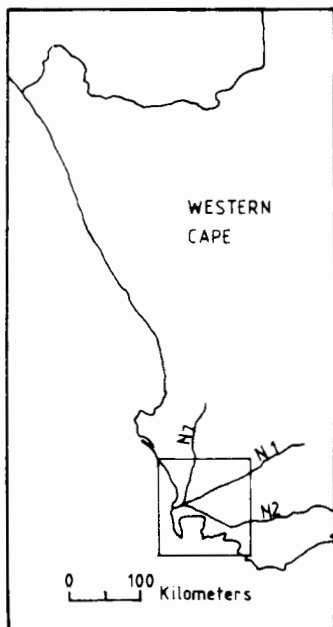
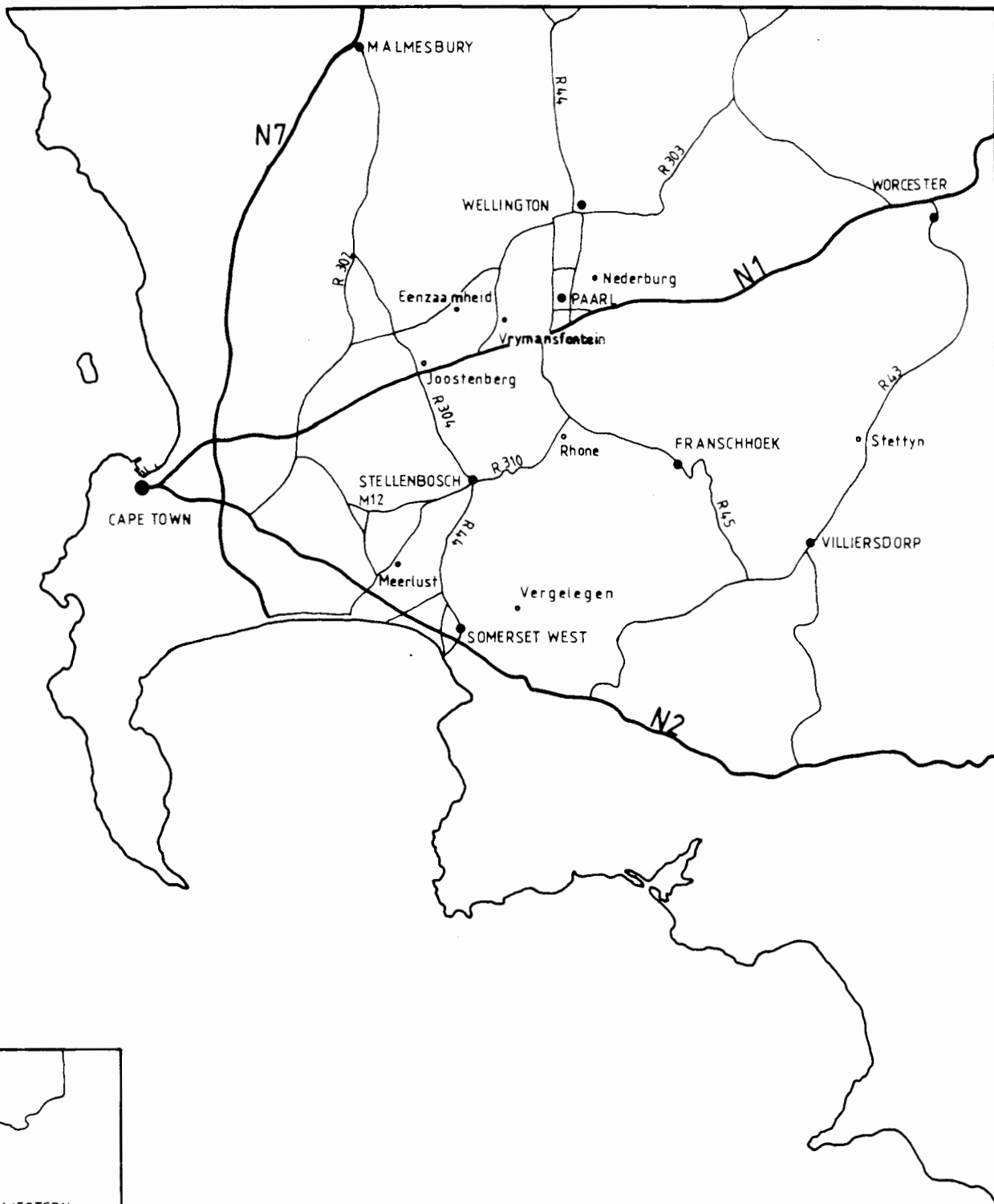
Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	iii
Note on Archival Documents	iv
Contents	v
List of Illustrations	vi
Map	ix
Chapter 1 Beginning	1
Chapter 2 The Origins and Development of Cape Dutch Architecture: A Critical Review	8
Chapter 3 The Voorhuis as a Central Element in Early Cape Houses	31
Chapter 4 "People out of Place": An Anomalous Group at the Cape During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries	47
Chapter 5 Texts as Artefacts: A Discourse of Domination Manifested in VOC Documents	65
Chapter 6 Discourse at Work in Rural Areas	89
Chapter 7 Artefacts as Texts: A Cape Colonial Discourse of Dwelling	105
Chapter 8 Hermeneutics and Historical Archaeology	121
Chapter 9 The Theory and Practice of Visiting	135
Chapter 10 Intertextuality and the Discourse of Dwelling	161
Chapter 11 Concluding	181
Illustrations	186
List of References	221

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece	"Toon mij uw huis, en ik zal zeggen wie u bent". Dwelling: Vrymansfontein, Paarl	
End of Text	Sunshine and shadow at Rhone, 1795, Franschoek	186
Figure 1	A traditional Cape Dutch dwelling, Meerlust, 1776	187
Figure 2	Pearse's tracing of a map of Cape Town in 1693	188
Figure 3	Floor plan of Meerlust showing the unusual T/H-combination	189
Figure 4	Huis Reinier de Klerk, Batavia	190
Figure 5	Longhouse at Eenzaamheid	191
Figure 6	Gabled house at Eenzaamheid	192
Figure 7	Stone cottage near Sutherland	193
Figure 8	Dungblock longhouse near Brandvlei	194
Figure 9	Dutch town house plan with undivided voorhuis	195
Figure 10	Dutch town house plan with the voorhuis divided to provide a side room	196
Figure 11	Dutch town house with inside room	197
Figure 12	Dutch town house with very narrow voorhuis	198
Figure 13	The wider Dutch house	199
Figure 14	House in the Bo-Kaap	200

Figure 15	The wider Dutch house with narrow central voorhuis	201
Figure 16	Mulder's drawing of Oude Molen, ca. 1700	202
Figure 17	The "Braak", Stellenbosch, by Davis 1779, with the Oude Molen dwelling on the left	203
Figure 18	Floor plan of Libertas, Stellenbosch	204
Figure 19	Plan of Stettyn, near Worcester	205
Figure 20	Floor plan of Nederburg showing development of H-plan from T-plan	206
Figure 21	Joostenberg, 1756	207
Figure 22	Diemermeer country villas: Frankendael (above); Reigersbrug (below)	208
Figure 23	Diagram of Rustenburg	209
Figure 24	Engraving of Constantia by J.W. Heydt 1741	210
Figure 25	Diagram of Nieuwland, Netherlands Topographical Services, Delft	211
Figure 26	The Vergelegen dwelling was incorporated into an octagonal garden	212
Figure 27	Approaching Rhone in winter	213
Figure 28	Front door of Rhone	214
Figure 29	The magnificent Rhone screen, looking into the voorhuis from the gaanderij	215
Figure 30	Oriental porcelain on display behind glass, Boschendal Museum, Franschoek	216

Figure 31	Gabled stinkwood and yellowwood wall cupboard in the voorhuis of Doornrivier, 1790	217
Figure 32	Slave bell at Eenzaamheid	218
Figure 33	Slave bell at Joostenburg	219
Figure 34	De Kempenaar's engraving of a seventeenth century Amsterdam kitchen	220



MAJOR FARM LOCATIONS

CHAPTER ONE

BEGINNING

"SW AND SW BY S TOWARDS THE HEADS"

An hour after sunset on Sunday 24th December 1651, three small ships of the Dutch East India Company set their course on the open sea beyond the harbour of Texel to commence a long voyage southwards (Thom 1952:4).

This was not the first fleet to set such a course, for the Company had been founded in 1602. Its trade with the East was flourishing. It was a pioneering voyage nevertheless, for aboard the flagship *Drommedaris* was Commander Jan Van Riebeeck with orders to remain at the Cape of Good Hope, to build a fort and a hospital and, most important of all, to plant a garden with fruit and vegetables for the provisioning of Company ships. The settlement was meant to be no more than a refreshment station for combating scurvy and a place of recuperation for the many who suffered the hazards of the high seas.

The *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) was a private undertaking owned by shareholders and managed by the *Heeren XVI*, an executive council of seventeen members. The Company was an amalgamation of once independent undertakings. Known as *kamers* (chambers), each of these had its own managing directors. All directors were shareholders. All were wealthy regents from the upper echelons of Dutch society (Schutte 1989).

There were close connections between the States General (the governing body of the Republic of the United Netherlands) and the Company. The latter had received its charter, by which it was granted sovereign rights in its territories, from the States General. The aim was "to promote the welfare of the United Netherlands, to secure and develop trade, and to operate for the profit of the Company and the inhabitants of the country" (Schutte 1989:286).

While the *Heeren XVI* was the policy-making body at home, the Company's overseas affairs were controlled by its seat in Batavia. The Cape received instructions from both bodies until 1732, but after that date from the Seventeen only. In the early years Commissioners - most often admirals of visiting fleets acting in this capacity - were responsible for periodic inspection and control (Boeseken 1938, Schutte 1989).

Van Riebeeck's fleet began arriving at the Cape on 6th April 1652. By the end of the next day, the last of his small band of about one hundred mostly poverty-stricken, illiterate and unskilled men (a few with wives and children) had splashed ashore in Table Bay and erected a canvas-covered shelter of planks (Thom 1952). The colonial history of the Cape settlement had begun.

AN ARCHITECTURAL TRADITION

My particular field of interest is the material culture of this settlement from its founding in 1652 until the end of VOC rule in 1795, when the Cape was taken over by the British and kept in custody until 1803. By this time the Company had been liquidated and the Cape was handed back to the Batavian Republic.

For the purposes of this project, I have narrowed the field of research by focusing mainly (although not exclusively) on the unique style of architecture which developed at the Cape during the early eighteenth century.

This architectural tradition is broadly and commonly referred to as "Cape Dutch". The validity of labeling the architecture "Dutch" instead of "European" has been questioned by Obholzer *et al* (1985), who see the term as nominalistic - naming its country of origin, which they do not believe to be exclusively the Netherlands. I prefer, however, to retain the term "Cape Dutch", first because it is a tradition which originated during Dutch rule. Second, and more importantly, because purposively changing the name of a concept well-embedded in present day South African cultural life would cause something of a controversy and only serve to refocus a surfeit of attention on the already over-emphasised significance of the origins of the architecture. I am not averse to the possibility of controversy. But if there is to be controversy about my work, I would not like it to be over old and barren questions about origins. I explain my devaluation of the importance of geographical origins for understanding the architecture in the next chapter.

The tradition reached its peak in the later eighteenth century when substantial, and what are to-day considered to be aesthetically pleasing, country mansions of a group of people known as free burgher farmers dotted the Cape landscape. At first all labourers at the Cape were Company employees, but the free burgher farmers were people who had contracted out of Company service to become full time agriculturalists (Chapter Four).

The following are some of the essential features of traditional Cape Dutch dwellings: a symmetrical facade with front entry immediately beneath a main gable into a *voorhuis* (reception room) flanked on either side by one or two *voorkamers* (front rooms). Most of the houses have wings built on at the back which give the floor plans the so-called "letters of the alphabet" shapes: L, (inverted) T, U and H (De Bosdari 1953, Fransen and Cook 1980).

Numerous characteristic but variable smaller features include *stoeps* (verandahs) with plastered benches at either end, symmetrically placed windows, shutters, and ornate front doors with fanlights (Figure 1).

The traditional farm complex comprises the *opstal* (main dwelling) and a number of outbuildings in an orderly arrangement. The *werf* (farmyard) is enclosed with a *ringmuur* (perimeter wall) of low to medium height in which the gateway is important. From the gateway an avenue most often leads to the steps of the *stoep* and ultimately to the front entrance.

UNDERSTANDING THE ARCHITECTURE

The underlying aim of this project is to make sense of the architecture. This means being able to answer the research questions I have formulated. These are: 1) Was this very specific style of architecture in use at the Cape, perhaps in a simpler form, from the beginning of the settlement, or were there changes through time? 2) If there were changes, when did these take place? 3) Who were the people responsible for changes? 4) Why did they experience a desire for a different kind of architecture? 5) Were the dwellings able to perform some kind of social work for their producers? If so, was the architecture able to affect social relations and practices at the Cape? In other words, how are changes in material culture and changes in social relations interrelated?

The basic premise here is that history, society and material culture are all interconnected. Changes in one dimension will have been affected by - and will in turn affect - the other two. What I am concerned with, then, is the way the ordinary people who dwelt and sojourned at the Cape conducted their mundane lives, how they interacted with each other and how they made and manipulated artefacts to suit their various purposes. Practice and process, communication and performance are key words in this endeavour.

Most artefacts have formal features which have to be taken into account when we study them. With architecture form is, perhaps, more

overpowering than with any other type of artefact. With architecture form cannot be ignored.

The first set of research questions above involves recognition of the formal qualities of an early type of dwelling and its changes during the first four decades of the eighteenth century (Chapter Three).

But while formal methods are useful for descriptive purposes, they lack explanatory value and even detailed structural analyses have little to contribute in terms of understanding. A problem thus arises: having established and described changes in house forms through time, how do we get from description to meaning? How do we integrate formalism and hermeneutics? I argue that looking upon the dwellings of the Cape Dutch architectural tradition as a body of works, as texts in a silent language of symbols (Hall 1989), enables such integration. This does not mean moving out of the discipline of archaeology, which Deetz (1977:4) defines as: "the study of past peoples based on the things they left behind and the ways they left their imprint on the world". It merely means looking at the things left behind in a new light, the better to understand the people of the early colonial Cape and the imprint they left on the southernmost tip of Africa.

A BODY OF WORKS

Introducing the notion of artefacts as texts into the study, means turning away from the positivist approaches of the New Archaeology with its tendency to borrow theory and method from the natural sciences and looking, instead, towards the social sciences for support. It means drawing on discourse and literary theory, an idea which might be construed as a break with the more traditional way of working in archaeology.

I do not, however, see this move as a break. Rather, it is a shift in focus necessitated by the fact that history and literature, always close, have drawn even closer to each other of late due to the development of theoretical work which problematises interpretation in both disciplines.

It is, perhaps, not always fully appreciated that when we incorporate history into our discipline, we already incorporate literature - in the form of documents, journals, diaries, travelogues and so on; and we cannot incorporate history and literature without also incorporating their current problems, that is their involvement with textuality and the literary nature of historical narrative.

The complexities of textuality (for example, questions about the nature of texts, the nature of the relationship between authors and their texts, and how readers interpret texts) have become closely interwoven with the complexities of the interpretation of historical events. This can be ascribed to the intense awareness these days of the close relationship between historical knowledge and narrative.

Hunt's view of history gives us an idea of the degree of this awareness: "History is a process of telling stories about the consequences of actions in the world. ... History is not an unproblematic ground of truth, but it is unavoidable because actions do have consequences in the world (they have a before and after and therefore an inherent narrative structure)" (Hunt 1991:103). It is because of this inherent narrative structure that historiography is often thought of in terms of emplotment (for example, by White 1973 and by Ricoeur 1982h, 1984 Volume I).

"Story-telling", "narrative structure", "emplotment" - these are terms once belonging solely to the field of literary criticism, but now very much a factor in historical studies. The reason for the historian's involvement with literary theory is that the historian's knowledge of past events rests upon texts. As Hutcheon (1988) points out, events are named and constituted as historical facts by selection and narrative positioning. We only know of past events through their discursive inscription, through their traces in the present. When theories about textuality become more complex, history is immediately affected - and so is historical archaeology.

To historians "traces in the present" are written texts. Archaeologists, however, examine other types of traces in addition to the written texts in the belief that when document and artefact are analysed together and set off one against the other we gain a wider knowledge and a clearer picture of what happened in the past.

Recent theory enables us to go a step further, to extend the concept of text so that it includes archaeological traces in the present. Looking upon material culture as texts offers us advantages in allowing us "to set material assemblages against documentary sources in a new way" (Hall 1991c:1). We gain, as Hall says, "a new way of comparing things".

In addition, we gain a whole new world of theoretical work upon which we may draw with the aim of enriching our own discipline. We open up the possibility for authors like Foucault and Derrida in their various writings to condition us into looking at things differently. This enables us "to shift the level of our analysis out of our traditional disciplinary divisions and into that

of discourse" so that "discontinuities, gaps and ruptures" receive our attention rather than "continuity, development, evolution" (Hutcheon 1988:97). This, then, is the type of approach I take in this thesis.

In endeavouring to understand the production process of the Cape Dutch houses, I re-examine an important historical event in the early years at the Cape: the granting of land to a group of poverty-stricken Company employees in 1657. Instead of discussing this event in terms of continuity, as has been done in the past, I look at the ruptures it caused in Cape society, the new gaps that were opened up in attempts to close old ones, the changes it brought about in artefacts, people and relationships. As I see it, the granting of large tracts of land to penniless peasants resulted in the coming into being of a group of anomalous people, the free burgher farmers, who needed to establish a new identity for themselves. Within a society in the process of changing, they were "people out of place", people in the process of reconstituting themselves as subjects (Chapter Four).

Shifting my viewpoint in order to look at Cape Dutch architecture differently, as a body of works or texts, as a discourse of dwelling, has made it impossible for me not to make use of established theories from the field of literary criticism. Literary theory becomes doubly important when taking this view: first, it guides our analysis of documents in ordinary language; second, it helps us to grasp interpretative procedures by which symbolic languages may be read and understood.

The dialogical model I set out, under the guidance of Yaeger (1988), in Chapter Five to Chapter Ten enables us to envisage two discourses engaging in conversation at the Cape. The first is a discourse of domination, the discourse of the top VOC officials. It is manifested in the written documents of the Company, and actualised in practice by constant inscription of both Company employees and free burgher farmers as the lesser people in Cape society.

The second is a counter-discourse of resistance, produced by the anomalous free burgher farmers in the process of shaping their own new identities. It is manifested in their dwellings, and actualised in the practice of their everyday lives, for example through mundane social activities such as visiting.

In designing this model, I have freely used as a framework theories from elsewhere in addition to literary theory. I draw mainly on the principles of Ricoeur's discourse theory (Thompson 1982b), but Yaeger's (1988) gender theory, for instance, and the literary and art history theory of Iser (1978) and Baxandall (1972) respectively are also important. I do not, however,

slavishly apply these theories to a special kind of text for which they were not in the first place designed. I use them, rather, as a basis upon which to structure a modified theoretical framework for historical archaeology. Understandably, there are gaps in these theories as far as archaeology is concerned. It is precisely these gaps which I see as challenging, as spaces into which archaeology can be theorised.

I believe that the shift in viewpoint discussed above has enabled me to answer the questions about Cape Dutch architecture in a satisfactory and thought-provoking way. I make no pretense that my answers to these questions are the ultimate and irrevocable "truth". Rather, they represent one way - a different way - of explaining Cape Dutch architecture. My aim is to produce as valuable a contribution as possible to hermeneutical discourse; to raise a new, and I believe important, talking point in an ongoing discussion. In this sense I see my work as a kind of beginning.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF CAPE DUTCH ARCHITECTURE: A CRITICAL REVIEW

ORIENTATING OURSELVES

Ricoeur (1982e) has said that as interpreters of texts we are never at the beginning or end of a discourse. Rather, we suddenly arrive in the middle of a conversation which has already begun and in which we try to orientate ourselves to be able to contribute to it.

Culler (1981:100) has expressed similar thoughts: "For a discussion to be significant it must stand in a relation to a body of discourse, an enterprise, which is already in place and which creates the possibility of new work".

This chapter summarises the conversation already begun with a brief critical review of the major works on Cape Dutch architecture from 1900 up to the present. Many of the earlier works are "popular" publications and their academic value varies. One aim of the authors was to make the general public aware of the elegance, the aesthetic value, of this part of their "national heritage". Another was to record what was left of this heritage before its possible destruction in the name of progress. At the same time, a need to explain the style of the architecture resulted in the tracing of its origins, most notably that of the gables, to their roots in Europe.

During the late 1980s, when this conversation had grown somewhat stale, it was interrupted by the new and insistent voices of professional archaeologists. Their work gives evidence of a leap in subtlety of thought about all of Cape Dutch material culture.

The seemingly logical way to deal with a review is by strict chronology. I have adhered to chronology until Van der Meulen's work in 1962. From then on, the logic of chronology makes way for other kinds of logic. Although Fransen and Cook's (1980) work was first published in 1965, before that of Trefois (1968), the latter wrote in direct response to Van der Meulen (1962), and it makes more sense to discuss him immediately after Van der Meulen. Another major break in the chronology comes with Biermann (1952, 1955), whose work I group with the much later Fransen thesis (1987). The similarity in approach between these two authors,

however, warrants such a grouping and enables me to avoid a certain amount of repetition.

The chronology is finally disturbed by my electing to discuss Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe (1985) after Fransen (1987). I do this partly because of the grouping of Biermann and Fransen together, but mainly because I find Obholzer *et al*'s work more thought provoking and helpful for my own work and I need to devote a separate section to it.

A PATTERN SET BY ARCHITECTS

It is generally accepted that Trotter's *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope* (1900) was the first publication to focus on the aesthetic and cultural value of Cape Colonial architecture. While not in itself an academic work, the introduction by the renowned architect, Sir Herbert Baker, is important for scholars. This essay set the pattern for future studies on Cape architecture and it is here that the first theory about origins was set out. From this point on, that theory, with variations in details but not in principles, was propagated with few exceptions right up to the present. Obholzer *et al* (1985) suggest that it was because of Baker's status that his work had great impact and because of this impact that Trotter's (1900) term "Old Cape" was changed to "Cape Dutch".

Baker argues from the basis of two assumptions: first, that the Netherlands had indubitably and solely to be the country of origin of the architecture at the Cape. Second, that all the workmen sent by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) were Dutch and therefore naturally built copies of Dutch houses at the Cape. In describing a gable in Stellenbosch, for instance, he sees it as "a most interesting and obvious example of the rude attempts of a colonial craftsman to copy what he remembered of the buildings of his native town" (Baker 1900:4).

Clinging doggedly to these assumptions, Baker chose to disregard the very real differences he had noted when comparing the floor plans of the Cape and the Dutch houses, attributing these somewhat nonchalantly to differences in climate and building materials. Instead of floor plans, he selected as the basis for his research that single element of the dwellings which pointed most clearly to the correctness of his assumption: the gable. Obholzer *et al* (1985:12) concisely point out the subjectivity involved in Baker's study: "Having stated that the houses are in reality different and the ground plans not Dutch, he nonetheless takes a feature (the gable) out

of context and uses it to prove that the origin of the Cape house is in fact, Dutch". In classifying the gables into seven different types, Baker finds all of them to be of Dutch or Belgian origin.

In allowing himself to be blinded to the importance of the differences between Dutch and Cape floor plans, Baker set a further pattern followed by later authors under his influence: they tended to create what Lyotard (1984) would call "master narratives", not in the sense that their work can be considered great, but in the sense that, large or small, they plastered over the differences in the Cape Dutch architecture turning it into a unity, an amorphous whole. To these authors there is only a single Cape Dutch architecture. They make no major allowances for changes through time or space. The seventeenth century house is treated in the same way as the nineteenth century house. Except for minor details, the town house is dealt with in much the same way as its rural counterpart. The only differences consistently focused on are gable details and enlargements to the houses which are seen as functional extensions to the earliest dwellings made possible by prosperity.

Another renowned architect/author, Pearse (1959, first published in 1933), also does not seem to have delved deeply into the differences between Dutch and Cape floor plans, despite reproducing a Cape Archives map of the town dated 1693. This map, which shows the shape and placement of the houses (Chapter Three), has also been reproduced in his 1956 work (Figure 2).

It is not easy to determine Pearse's precise stance on the origins of Cape architecture, because he tends to make contradictory statements. While stating quite clearly that he considers the source from which Cape architecture mainly derives to be "the architecture of Holland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", Pearse almost immediately contradicts himself by saying that "houses at the Cape were in complete contrast" to the Dutch houses, except for the gables and a few minor features (Pearse 1959:7). Furthermore, he says that Cape rural architecture bears little resemblance to its Dutch counterparts.

While agreeing principally with Baker in ascribing differences to climate and building materials, and in believing that all VOC craftsmen were Dutch, Pearse (1959) nevertheless suggests that many Cape gable designs were influenced by dormer types introduced to Holland from France. Baroque types, on the other hand, are more likely to have had a northern Italian origin.

The impression that emerges from this confusion is that Pearse has definite misgivings about the Dutch origins of Cape architecture and tentatively points to a more general European influence. His arguments, however, are not well developed, possibly because of insufficient research.

Pearse is aware of the fact that the very earliest Cape houses were simpler timber frame structures covered with mud, or wattle and daub dwellings. This is the first hint of changes in the dwellings through time that we find in the literature, but Pearse does not concern himself further with the early architecture.

The trend, however, is continued by a third architect turned author, albeit only slightly less tentatively. Although De Bosdari (1953:11) says that there was "little building of consequence" at the Cape during the first half century, the suggestion is that there must have been a type of dwelling in use different to the traditional Cape Dutch house. He maintains that, even as late as 1800, many homesteads on the Cape Flats were still simple as "their enlargement and adornment with gables was to come in the second half of the century" (De Bosdari 1953:13). The majority were built between 1750 and 1825. He is aware of the fact that it was not the first grantees of the land who built the houses he describes. The beginnings of the first settlers were too humble and the manor houses were only built two or three generations later. Like Baker and Pearse, De Bosdari (1953) is only interested in the grander architecture and we hear nothing more of buildings of little consequence.

De Bosdari ascribes the coming into being of the traditional Cape Dutch architecture mainly to three spells of prosperity, 1758-1763, 1780-1790, and 1796-1820. Wealth enabled people to build country mansions. A further spur to this achievement came from 1788 onwards when the south coast forests were discovered. Good quality timber such as stinkwood and yellowwood for ceilings, floors, furniture, and so on, then became more readily available.

Like Pearse (1959), De Bosdari (1953) distinguishes between town and country residences when discussing elements of style, including floor plans. He identifies the three main "letters of the alphabet" types, **U**, **T** and **H**, the former being found most often in and around the Peninsula and the **T** and **H** further inland. He identifies the **T** as the basic small house type as it allows for easy extension "as family and fortune grow" (De Bosdari 1953:19). The inverted **T** is then seen as the earlier type, the **H** being common by 1770.

As far as the origins of the gable, "the most striking feature of Cape Dutch houses", is concerned, De Bosdari (1953:18, 24) is emphatic: "The gable came from Holland". He offers a rather loosely defined but complex classification of thirteen types. More important than his classification, however, is the fact that he briefly describes the deviations from the Dutch prototypes. At the Cape the gables are wide and low as opposed to the tall, narrow ones of Holland. The result is that "the proportions of the main gable in relation to the rest of the building have changed and its significance is much enhanced" (De Bosdari 1953:25). This is an important difference which Baker (1900) smoothed over by illustrating his Dutch prototype "which nearly every eighteenth century house in Amsterdam possessed" as a centrally placed main gable on a house with its long end facing the street (Baker 1900:2). Truth is, nearly every eighteenth century house in Amsterdam had its narrow end to the street and the prototypical gable was an end gable, not a main gable as shown by Baker.

Overall, however, and despite the presence of French and German craftsmen, De Bosdari sees Cape architecture as originating in the Netherlands. It is not until the end of the eighteenth century that he sees marked European influence, and then it is largely French. He finds it especially in the neo-classical gable.

De Bosdari (1953) includes a section on important architects and craftsman: a Frenchman and four Germans. Obholzer *et al* (1985) fault De Bosdari for insisting that the roots of Cape Dutch architecture lie in the Netherlands in spite of singling out these "foreigners" for special attention. But it is Obholzer *et al* who are at fault here. De Bosdari's aim in singling out these very few craftsmen is precisely to make the point that "most of the architecture is anonymous". Of the free burgher farmer he says: "His farm was isolated, and the little community on it attempted itself to do all the work required to keep farm life going, including the work of building" (De Bosdari 1953:15). He agrees with those who suggest that "Malay" slaves did a great deal of work on early farm buildings.

Obholzer *et al*'s suggestion that De Bosdari ought to grant more importance to the influence of these craftsmen - "De Bosdari ... does not consider the ... possible influences indicated by the nationalities of the craftsmen" (Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe 1985:14) - is therefore unfounded. These men all arrived at the Cape during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the influence they undoubtedly had, was on an already well established tradition. It can thus be seen as qualitative rather than fundamental. Thibault arrived from France in 1783 and the Germans Graaf,

Anreith, Schutte and KÜchler in 1775, 1777, 1790 and 1795 respectively (De Bosdari 1953:15-17). By that time many H-plan houses had already been built.

CONTROVERSY

The selection by De Bosdari (1953) of four Germans out of the five most influential building craftsmen at the Cape was grist to the mill of a controversial scholar, Van der Meulen (1962), who seized upon their importance to validate his argument for a German-Scandinavian-Schleswig-Holsteinian origin of Cape architecture. But Van der Meulen, too, failed to appreciate the significance of the late arrival of these builders and their relatively superficial influence on an already established tradition. With Van der Meulen the problem is compounded by his argument that German colonists outnumbered the Dutch from the time of the granting of land to the first free burghers in 1657. This is misleading. It was not until 1725 that the Dutch *began* to be outnumbered by Germans (Obholzer *et al* 1985). As with Baker (1900), the weakness in the argument here derives from not taking the historical context into account.

Before returning to Van der Meulen's (1962) arguments about the early burghers and their influence on local architecture I need to point out that his work is different to that of his predecessors in a number of ways. To begin with, Van der Meulen studied over two hundred Cape houses before comparing them to counterparts in the regions of Europe in which his interest lay. Since most of these were in the country districts, his work is mainly about rural architecture.

Second, Van der Meulen (1962) is highly critical of authors who singled out the gable as the sole element for comparison with European prototypes. By studying the floor plans, he focuses on differences which authors such as Baker (1900) and Pearse (1959) had suppressed. He attributes the differences between Dutch and Cape floor plans to the fact that Cape houses stem, not from the Netherlands, but from northern Germany, Schleswig-Holstein and southern Scandinavia.

Third, he endeavours to associate the architecture with certain social conditions in the countries of origin. In contrast to the Netherlands, a feudal system prevailed in Germany and Scandinavia until the end of the eighteenth century and he believes that Cape architecture under German influence must be seen as a concrete expression of this system. Peasants

at the Cape could replicate the homelands' system with themselves in the role of wealthy barons, and slaves as their labourers.

Although Van der Meulen's work is more comprehensive and scholarly than any predecessor's, its promises never materialise. At its roots his work remains primarily a search for origins and contributes little, if anything, to our understanding of why Cape Dutch architecture came into existence only at the Cape and specifically during the mid-1730s. It contributes not at all to the question of how Cape Dutch houses worked for the people who built them. There are also major problems with some of his lines of argument. I shall discuss one of these in some detail.

Looking at floor plans rather than gables only, Van der Meulen finds his German prototype to be a transverse house (*Querbau-typus*) of which the basic Cape form is comprised of three adjacent rooms with a central axial entrance and gable (Van der Meulen 1962:63). He sees such houses as very different from the "longitudinal" houses typical of Dutch urban architecture. Dutch town houses are indeed very different to the transverse type described above. They appear to be relics of the old triple-aisled houses with the aisles omitted due to lack of space. The central aisle was reorganised internally so that rooms were placed one behind the other with a passage most often running from front to back (Jones 1986). The end result was a longhouse with its narrow end to the street. I argue in Chapter Three that this was the type of dwelling most often built at the Cape during the founding years.

It seems unlikely that Van der Meulen (1962) studied the map of Cape Town reproduced by Pearse (1956:63) (Figure 2), as he makes no mention of the fact that most of the houses on it have their narrow ends to the street. A few do have their long sides turned to the street, and Van der Meulen's basic unit might have fitted these. But, since none are extant, we have no way of knowing whether these houses had central entrances and/or gables or not. Van der Meulen thus attributes these features to them under influence of his prototypes. We must note, too, that such transverse houses also occur in the Netherlands: "A certain number of dwellings were built with one of the longest sides occupying the main frontage" (Jones 1986:38). There is no reason at all to believe that early Cape transverse houses were necessarily of German origin.

In discussing the adding on of wings to the basic form of the Cape Dutch house, Van der Meulen (1962) ascribes *all* of it to German influence. He correctly identifies the inverted T as the most common extended transverse

house, but his arguments for attributing this development to the influence of two Rhinelanders, Hermann Rehemagen and Jacob Kluthe, who became free burghers in 1657, must be criticised. I find nothing in Van der Meulen's argument - and nothing in the records - to lend substance to the implication that Rehemagen and Kluthe built symmetrical T-shaped houses with central gables - a Rhineland phenomenon, according to Van der Meulen. What is stressed in the records is the extreme poverty of the farmers, who lacked even the means to purchase farm animals and implements, let alone build stately dwellings.

Van der Meulen (1962) also sees German influence on Cape architecture as emanating from *Meerlust*, the home of Henning Hüsing, a shepherd from Hamburg. What he finds particularly noteworthy about *Meerlust* is that "it was the only private manor house the building of which can be proven to predate 1756.Built between 1701 and 1703 it had an H-plan ..." (Van der Meulen 1962:82-83). This hypothesis runs contrary to the theories of most other authors in suggesting that a late and reasonably sophisticated architectural form of the Cape tradition dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It therefore warrants detailed discussion.

The *Meerlust* (Figure 1) gable and a brass front door escutcheon are dated 1776, a date which Franssen and Cook (1980) maintain is correct, since it was the year in which J.A. Myburgh turned Hüsing's T-shaped dwelling into the unusual T/H-combination it has to this day. The escutcheon confirms alterations to this central part of the facade at that time. Furthermore, alterations on a grand scale in 1776 would fit Hall, Brink and Malan's (1988) hypothesis, based on findings at *Orrust* and elsewhere, which states that the last quarter of the eighteenth century was a period during which many Cape Dutch houses were vastly altered and even completely rebuilt to accommodate a new mode of dwelling. Why, then, would Van der Meulen (1962) label the 1776 alterations as minor and attribute to the house an original H-shape? Primarily, of course, because he has German prototypes firmly in mind. But there is another reason as well.

De Bosdari (1953) says there must have been a house at *Meerlust* before 1706 as Governor W.A. Van der Stel, ousted from office through free burgher action, refers in his *Defence* to this dwelling as being much taller, grander and finer than his own *Vergelegen*. I believe that it is to this citation from Van der Stel that Van der Meulen clings, granting it in all sincerity a truth value it does not deserve. It has been demonstrated (e.g. by Jansen Van Vuuren 1973) that Van der Stel's lack of integrity comes to the fore in his *Defence* and there was good reason for him to exaggerate

the size and grandeur of Hüsing's dwelling in a desperate attempt to salvage his own.

At the same time we must admit that Hüsing's house could have been larger, of better quality, and better equipped than most free burgher dwellings of the time. Before falling out with Willem Adriaan, Hüsing had connived with many high VOC officials and rapidly grown extremely wealthy by acquiring the meat monopoly. Since no archaeological investigation was undertaken when the complex was recently restored, we must try to reconstruct Hüsing's floor plan by argument alone.

Walton (1989:34) rejects Van der Meulen's hypothesis and suggests that the *Meerlust* dwelling followed "what might be considered a Cape pattern". That is to say, it began as a three-roomed longhouse and was later enlarged to a T by the addition of a kitchen at centre back. Rench (1984), too, considers Hüsing's house to have been T-shaped and believes that the old kitchen has been preserved, an opinion which he substantiates with a photograph. Rench also draws attention to the "original" gable dated 1693 at the tail end of the T-extension.

Visualising Hüsing's T-shaped dwelling with the help of these remaining features, Rench (1984) sees it as simple and giving little clue to Hüsing's immense wealth and status. A large T-shaped house, possibly even embellished with three end gables, in the early years of the eighteenth century would, however, have been a rarity. A very likely person to have had one would have been Hüsing, who also owned a house in the town. Such a house would have provided some justification for Willem Adriaan's description.

But for Van der Meulen to consider the main gable date as indicative of only minor alterations (as he does), and to attribute the H-shaped Cape Dutch house to the influence of Hüsing's *Meerlust* on the basis of Van der Stel's exaggerations, is surely going much too far. We can be reasonably certain that the *Meerlust* dwelling was T-shaped, and not an H, during Hüsing's occupation, with another T being added to the front of this structure in 1776. As can be seen from the illustration (Figure 3), the tail of the first T (K on the plan) is off-centre. With the tail of the second T being built exactly in the middle, the two extensions are not in line. If Hüsing's house had been H-shaped, Van der Meulen needs to explain the addition of a "tail" to the back leg of the H, which he does not do. It seems inconceivable that a later owner could have been responsible for such an ill-placed, off-centre appendage.

Whether Hüsing's house had three ornate end gables is also doubtful. What Fransen and Cook (1980:180) have to say about a dated outbuilding is interesting: "One outbuilding bears the date 1660, which is impossible and was clearly put on fairly recently". Could the same have happened with the back gable? Or was the gable added when the rest of the alterations were done with preservation of an old date?

These are questions we cannot answer because we simply do not have enough archaeological evidence to argue either one way or the other. If indeed the gable and its date are correct, then Hüsing's house must have been exceptional in its time, but this still does not make it H-shaped.

Van der Meulen grounds his plea for north-east European origins of the Cape architecture in his belief that German and Scandinavian colonists together far outnumbered the Dutch. He lends impact to the argument by pointing out that many of the Dutch themselves came from regions on the German border and were already under German influence when they reached the Cape. The underlying logic is that settlers bring with them to their new country ideas, ways of doing things, including the way of building a house.

Two points need to be discussed in relation to the above. The first is Van der Meulen's misuse of German/Dutch border regions for his own purposes: Germans coming from these regions might equally well have been under Dutch influence.

Second, Van der Meulen (1962) errs in assuming that the large numbers of German and Scandinavian settlers were present at the Cape from the beginning. Based on Heese's (1971) study, Obholzer *et al* (1985:21) point out that while there were "appreciable numbers of Germans in the early years" it was not until 1725 that they *began* to outnumber the Dutch. What Van der Meulen (and even Obholzer *et al*) do not take into account is the fact that by this time a specifically Cape way of building a house had been established and this would undoubtedly have influenced new settlers. While early pioneers would build in keeping with ideas brought with them (Deetz 1977), most later immigrants would enquire and be advised about the way things were done locally. By 1725, too, most labourers and craftsmen would have been experienced solely in building houses in the Cape fashion. We can expect homeland influence on architecture to be less marked with later settlers than with those who first found a settlement. The latter cannot be prepared to accept and adopt local patterns simply because there are none.

From the above it is clear that I do not find Van der Meulen's arguments for north eastern European origins of the Cape Dutch architectural tradition deeply convincing. Faulting Van der Meulen does not, of course, mean support for those who argue for Netherlandish origins.

Reaction to Van der Meulen's (1962) thesis came fast and in the case of his most vehement critic, the Belgian architect Trefois, often quite furiously. Trefois (1968:9) set out, as he unambiguously states "to testify and argue the case for the Dutch extraction of South African rural architecture".

Trefois's work is often marred by chauvinism and is not truly illuminating. He offers valid points of criticism, but then proceeds to commit precisely the same errors as Van der Meulen. For instance, he says Van der Meulen refuses to grant any Dutch influence at all to Cape architecture. From prehistoric times to the time of writing, Van der Meulen studied only German and Scandinavian architecture and therefore he found only German and Scandinavian prototypes.

In no uncertain terms Trefois explains how Van der Meulen (1962) illustrates examples of prehistoric dwellings from Germany and Jutland while ignoring all archaeological work done in the Netherlands. Nor does Van der Meulen describe farmsteads found in the Low Countries. Trefois (1968:18) elaborates on his own archaeological research as follows: "In the field of prehistoric research it was one of the major surprises to find that these extended narrow houses had their beginnings in the Neolithic period. This type of construction provided the basis for building development from prehistoric times until the early Middle Ages. In Holland its influence has persisted up to the present time".

Not only is this conclusion incorrect, but, like Van der Meulen in reverse, Trefois (1968) refuses to acknowledge any likelihood of German influence on Cape architecture. Obholzer *et al* (1985:21) comment as follows: "As convincingly as Van der Meulen traces the original T-shaped house to Germany, so Trefois traces it to Holland", while maintaining all the while that Van der Meulen's evidence is poor. Yet, as Obholzer *et al* remark, Trefois (1968) invalidates this claim by producing neither substantial evidence himself, nor providing the reader with references. Both are equally guilty of extreme subjectivity.

As a further example, Obholzer *et al* (1985) summarise Van der Meulen's and Trefois's respective discussions of the renowned Cape architect and sculptor Anton Anreith, to whom many buildings and decorative works in wood and plaster are attributed. Van der Meulen (1962) sees Anreith as

German to the core. Trefois (1968) brushes this aside by arguing that Anreith arrived in Cape Town as a mere youth of twenty-four and learnt his art from the Dutchman Leeuwenberg. To this Obholzer *et al* (1985:21) wryly add: "to whom not a single building can be ascribed with certainty". Neither side produces solid evidence or scholarly arguments.

INTRODUCING HISTORY

If De Bosdari's (1953) lament about the dearth of recorded dwellings can be seen as a plea to future authors to remedy the lack, then the work of master recorders Fransen and Cook (1980) and Walton (1965, 1981, 1989) can be seen as a response.

Cook's interest in Cape Dutch architecture began long before she teamed up with Fransen. As early as 1946 she had already searched out and counted several hundred centre gables and worked out her own classification. In keeping with the ideas of the time, she confirmed the preponderant influence of Amsterdam established by her predecessors: "Style after style was brought to the Cape from that source" (Cook 1946:50).

Cook's most notable work on Cape Dutch architecture is not, however, her gable classification, but the comprehensive work on the recording of old Cape houses undertaken in collaboration with Fransen. First published in 1965, it is a work of monumental importance. The authors recorded every single old Cape dwelling they were able to trace, supplementing with *werf* outlay and high quality photographs, and in many cases writing up brief histories.

As far as the development of the gable is concerned, Fransen and Cook agree with their forerunners about its basic Netherlandish roots. Besides giving an interesting new classification of the gables, they describe Portuguese influence on stucco decoration - a factor which Biermann (1955) has discussed in some detail - and they distinguish between end and centre gables, a distinction largely ignored by their forerunners. To the usual attribution of differences in the Cape architecture to climate and building materials, Fransen and Cook (1980), like De Bosdari (1953), add the idea of a display of wealth. Large gabled houses are seen as an expression of prosperity.

Fransen and Cook (1980) also draw attention to differences between the earliest dwellings and the traditional architecture of a later period.

Whereas awareness that there must have been a different architecture in the founding years is evident from Pearse ("wattle and daub", 1959) and De Bosdari ("simple", 1953), it is brushed aside and attention is devoted solely to the later dwellings. By contrast, Fransen and Cook (1980) devote a considerable amount of space to the development of the later T, H and U shapes. These authors see the earliest dwellings as transverse houses consisting of two or three rooms in a row along the street front. Since "deep" plans with several rooms *behind* each other, all under one roof span, as known in Holland, were at first out of the question" due to a lack of suitable timber, Fransen and Cook see these first dwellings as already completely different to their Dutch urban counterparts.

Examination of an early plan of Cape Town leads them to believe that the earliest wing expansion was a kitchen added to the back of one side producing an L-plan. Where space was not a problem, as on the farms, the kitchen was added at centre back, forming a T.

Walton (1965, 1981, 1989), who travelled widely to secluded villages and hidden valleys in many parts of the country recording everything of architectural interest he could find, must receive the same appreciation for this work as Fransen and Cook for theirs. Walton concentrated on the non-monumental, the small, the ordinary, the grubby, the unspectacular. It is of dove-cotes, pig-sties, fowl runs, mills, small dwellings and labourer's cottages that Walton writes, giving us insight into that which is most often overlooked by other authors.

Walton (1965) does not concern himself with the European origins of the traditional Cape Dutch house, but has something to say about the expansion and development of the earliest structures locally. He sees the earliest house as a single-roomed structure with a hearth at one end. It was divided into two, first by a curtain and later by a wall. Further steps were separation of the kitchen from the living area and finally the building on of another room with a separate outside door.

Three further scholars have produced academic theses on Cape Dutch architecture. Woodward (1982) is primarily concerned with the interior of the dwelling and its furnishings for which she researched the probate inventories of deceased estates until 1714. Since many of the inventories list the contents of a house room by room, she finds it tempting to try and determine the floor plans of the dwellings from the inventories.

In a later paper, Woodward (1983) introduces the question of taste when discussing changes through time in the interior of the Cape house. A

whole universe of possibilities can be opened up by the introduction of taste and its relation to material cultural objects, but unfortunately Woodward closes all the doors by not theorising the concept. Nevertheless, hers is an entirely new approach in Cape architectural studies, the value of which will become apparent in the next chapter.

Despite the timespan separating the work of Biermann (1952, 1955) and Fransen (1987) I group them together, because their work falls together into a somewhat different category. The main aim of both these authors is to link styles in Cape architecture to stylistic developments in Europe. In his later work especially, Biermann (1955) proposes that most colonial Dutch architecture was greatly influenced by the Portuguese. Although he agrees with Trefois (1968) and others that at first the colonists would "naturally" build according to the homeland style, the virtues of the Portuguese style would soon have taken over. He tends to see direct Portuguese influence on Cape building, but the argument is not well developed.

Biermann (1955) tends to fall into the same sort of trap as Van de Wall (1939) and, occasionally, Obholzer *et al* (1985), by attempting to explain architectural preferences in terms of human characteristics. Biermann (1955:3) says, for instance, that Dutch architecture was rooted in the Gothic style "a style which, after all, was the natural expression of their national character". Such statements are meaningless in the modern day critical sphere and hardly worthy of further comment. Besides, national character or not, Biermann contradicts himself by going on to say that by the time the Dutch were establishing their colonial empire, the Gothic style had been rejected and replaced with classicism. It was in this period of transition that they found it easier to assimilate the Portuguese architecture which is "naturally classical" than heavy classicism itself. He labels the Van Riebeeck style classicist.

Changes in architectural style through the eighteenth century are identified with various governors in fairly rapid succession. By the time of the Van der Stels, especially Willem Adriaan, and largely by his doing, classicism had been replaced with baroque, the style in which the Cape architecture reached its zenith. When Tulbagh became governor Cape architecture had, according to Biermann (1955), almost imperceptibly changed to the rococo style, as it had in the Netherlands. He describes Cape rococo as a child-like, carefree style with a lightening up of heavy decorative motifs. The final Cape style Biermann (1955) calls "Republican". He sees it as neo-classical and a revival of dwellings built in the Vingboons style, but often

reaching even further back to the designs of Vredeman de Vries in the sixteenth century.

Fransen (1987) is another scholar who analyses and categorises by styles based on the European models, as he finds that Cape architecture is a direct reflection of European stylistic modes. This warrants his use of the European stylistic terminology. His comprehensive study covers far more than houses and includes not only the smaller architectural elements such as benches, bell towers, burial vaults and gateways, but household artefacts such as copperwork and furniture. He includes an interesting chapter on the layout of farm complexes. All of these are related to the stylistic developments in Europe and they follow each other locally in the same order as in Europe, that is from classicism through Louis XIV/classical baroque and late baroque/rococo to neo-classicism.

Interesting though they may be, using European movements as a means of charting changes through time in Cape architecture has little explanatory value in terms of why the Cape tradition originated in the first place. While largely ignoring the earliest architecture, Biermann (1955) and Fransen (1987) recognise changes only in the already established tradition. This leads us back to a kind of mimesis theory of origins. Furthermore, in the work of these two authors the Cape "master narrative" is made to slot in with the even larger European master narrative.

What is interesting about the work discussed in this section is the increased focus on histories of various types. Fransen and Cook (1980) devote more space than any predecessor to early forms of architecture. In addition they provide brief histories of as many of the buildings in their work as possible. Walton (1965), too, is concerned with the history and development of the local dwellings. From Woodward (1983) we get some idea of changes to the interior of the Cape house through time, while Biermann (1955) and Fransen (1987) provide a kind of stylistic history.

With history, we also find people beginning to appear in the presentations, most notably in the case of Fransen and Cook (1980), who mention successive owners of many of the properties. Presentations without analysis is, however, what most of these works remain. Fransen and Cook's owners are not shown to be vitally and actively involved with the production of their dwellings. As the buildings remain static, despite the mention of numerous alterations, so the owners remain complacent. The relation between producer and product is never problematised. Underlying tensions are not brought to the surface and examined. Development of the

house is simplistically seen as reflecting wealth and prosperity and/or growth in family size.

Nevertheless, the introduction of history marks an advance over preceding work and breaks the monotony of the theme of the search for origins.

A BROADER VIEW

Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe's *The Cape House and its Interior* (1985) is a recently published major work on Cape Dutch architecture and the section on the sources of Cape architecture deserves detailed attention. It includes chapters on the available literature, the settlers' background, and the architecture of other Dutch settlements, as well as on the origin of the Cape interior and the Cape architectural tradition.

The authors are clearly aware of the complexity of the question of origins: "It soon becomes clear that it is impossible to look for the origins of the Cape interior as an isolated element, for this is as frustrating and limiting as looking for the origin of the Cape gable. One element of a culture cannot be compared with an element of another culture without considering the whole to which each belongs" (Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe 1985:11). They therefore admirably look not only at the rest of the house and the architectural tradition, but also at the social framework within which it developed. Unfortunately not very much is achieved in this regard in terms of analysis.

The social framework is seen mainly in relation to the composition of the population. To this they devote a chapter. They conclude that the majority of the settlers were Dutch and German and that they brought with them interlinked, but not identical, cultures. This amounts to a refutation of both Van der Meulen and those who see only Dutch origins for the architecture. No distinction is made between the founding settlers and later settlers entering an already well established colony.

Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe (1985) provide us with an interesting and fairly intensive study of VOC settlement in other regions of the world, especially where Dutch and Germans settled separately. The aim is to get an idea of how much of the culture was transplanted and how much developed locally and then to compare the findings with the Cape situation, where the two appear to have merged.

They also aim to demonstrate the widespread adaptation of European culture to local conditions, to investigate the influence of colonization on architecture, and to find out how the function of the settlement influenced the type of settler and therefore also its material culture. They endeavour to establish the extent of the absorption of local native traditions into the colonial social structure. The feeling is that they would then be able to draw conclusions about the relative importance of various factors in the colonies, especially the Cape. Finally they attempt a comparison of the colonies both with each other and with the European homelands.

This is a truly ambitious scheme and rather too large in scope to manage in one chapter. Understandably their overview remains somewhat superficial and their findings inconclusive. Nevertheless, Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe (1985) still provide us with a considerable amount of valuable information and the questions they address are important.

The first comparison to the Cape the authors undertake is the North American settlement of the "Pennsylvania Dutch", who were mostly Germans. They find their dwellings very different to those at the Cape. Less so are the houses of German Moravian settlers in America which are largely rectangular and L-shaped. An important feature appears to have been strict symmetry, which Obholzer *et al* (1985:30) see as "a hall mark of Cape houses". This emphasises a fundamental problem with most of the studies considered thus far: the earliest Cape houses were mostly *not* symmetrical. Symmetrification came later, and then, indeed, it was of crucial importance.

Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe's (1985) discussion of the architecture of Curaçao brings a number of interesting points to light. This small island was mainly a trading station. Farming was far less important than at the Cape. Obholzer *et al* ascribe cultural differences to the fact that Curaçao attracted a different type of settler than did the Cape and to the fact that most of the houses are town houses in the capital, Willemstad.

They argue that because space was limited, the houses resemble those in Holland with a narrow street frontage. To compensate, they are almost always two to three storeys tall. Of these houses the authors say: "The ground plan is simple and asymmetrical, often consisting of three or four rooms in line from street to the back" (Obholzer *et al* 1985:33).

Significantly, as we shall see in the next chapter, many of the early Cape inventories would fit these houses admirably. I argue in Chapter Three that

this is what many Cape floor plans looked like during the first one and a half decades of the 18th century.

Obholzer *et al* (1985) make interesting comments about rural architecture: the lower down the social scale one goes, the more resemblance is found in the houses, so the labourer's cottages from various VOC territories are very similar. But high status dwellings differ. Although the authors find resemblances in *werf* layout, "the Curaçao farmhouse does not resemble its Cape counterpart" (Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe 198 :34).

The authors' conclusion about Curaçao and Cape architecture is that differences are fundamental and must have been so from the outset. I am unable to agree with this conclusion, however, since there appears to be a great deal of similarity between the Curaçao and the early Cape town houses, a similarity with which Hall (1991b) concurs. Hall sees a common idea underlying superficial differences in some colonial buildings of Curaçao and the Cape. It is precisely this early similarity which makes an examination of the divergence in later, rural architecture of the Cape imperative.

Batavia, too, offers some interesting similarities, again with the early Cape town houses, and again missed by Obholzer *et al* (1985). The authors use Van de Wall's (1945) study of Batavian rural architecture in drawing comparisons with the Cape *opstallen*. We are immediately struck by an interesting parallel: it was the Governors-General of Batavia, indeed "most high" Company officials, who set the example of building country mansions. At the Cape the first large estates were those of Commander Van Riebeeck and the Governors Van der Stel. Interestingly, and as might be expected, these gubernatorial country mansions display French influence (Chapter Seven).

Huis Groeneveld (1756) has a white-washed walled graveyard and a driveway flanked by tamarind trees. Obholzer *et al* (19:42) say the front door is "a gilded Louis XV portal. There is both front and back outside symmetry, but the interior is asymmetrical. This is understandable as the floor plan of the main unit is clearly and unmistakably that of the Dutch town house. Again the early Cape inventories would fit it very well, with entry into a *voorhuis* and a room on the left only. This dwelling shows that it is possible to structure a mansion around the basic Dutch town house floor plan, which again directs attention to the question of why the floor plan was changed at the Cape.

Obholzer *et al* (198 :45-46) see *Huis Reinier de Klerk* (1760) as the most sophisticated of the extant Batavian country mansions and this dwelling does exhibit both interior and exterior symmetry. It, too, had a Louis XV portal and copious use was made of gilding in the French style. It is a rectangular block of a building with no gables and, symmetry aside, bears no resemblance at all to the Cape rural dwellings (Figure 4).

The Batavian town house illustrated by Obholzer *et al* (1985:47) is remarkably like the one in the Netherlands and fits the Cape inventories with its *voorhuis*, *kamer links*, *achterkamer*, *kelder* and *kombuis*. As one would expect, its narrow end is to the street. In Batavia too, then, early town houses were clearly built like those in Holland. Although none have survived at the Cape, there is really no reason to believe, especially given the inventories, that they were not also built at the Cape.

When this basic Dutch floor plan is turned through ninety degrees, as I believe it was at the Cape, we get Hall's (1991b) core form, two or three rooms beside one another with a kitchen at one end, as explained in Chapter Three of this thesis. Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe's (1985) blanket conclusion that there is little similarity between the Cape and Indonesian house is thus invalidated. As with all the other studies, the complexities of the comparison are smoothed over by not taking changes through time into account, by not distinguishing between the earliest substantial Cape dwellings and those of the later tradition.

Obholzer *et al* (1985) say Indonesian rural mansions all draw on the grandeur of Dutch merchant class architecture. Most belonged to high Company officials and wealthy merchants. The dates are very interesting as they coincide with the earliest extant gabled farmsteads at the Cape. The authors do not ask themselves what was different about social and other circumstances at the Cape, or what caused the divergence. But not recognising similarity to begin with, they could not recognise divergence and therefore cannot explain it as I endeavour to do in this study.

Overall, Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe's conclusions about the Cape architectural tradition show an appreciation on the part of the authors for the complexity surrounding the question of the origins of the Cape Dutch house. Refuting the main theses of Van der Meulen, Trefois, and those who adhere to Baker's beliefs they conclude that the Netherlands, Germany, and their neighbours all exerted a profound influence on Cape architecture. T- or L-shapes with centre gables are not only found in Germany as Van der Meulen would like us to believe. Likewise, the "Cape"

gables of Flanders and Holland can be found elsewhere in Europe. It is not possible to find precise counterparts.

Although Obholzer, Baraitser and Malherbe's (1985) work contains little to explain the actual coming into being of the Cape architectural tradition, its value should not be underestimated. They deal concisely with a vast amount of research, and there is a great deal of common sense in their discussions. As a descriptive work its worth is inestimable, with recording of interiors undertaken and illustrated on a scale not found before. The only other comparable works are those of Walton and Franssen and Cook discussed above. But the authors do not dramatically break new ground.

INTERRUPTION: "PEOPLE IN A CHANGING URBAN LANDSCAPE"

The title of Hall's inaugural lecture at the University of Cape Town (March 1992) sums up the leap in conceptual thought that approaches to material culture studies have recently undergone.

Since 1985 researchers at the University of Cape Town have been engaged in historical archaeology, with workers in this field now gathered together into a Historical Archaeology Research Group. The work of the Group is planned and co-ordinated with the aim of gaining as much knowledge about the Cape colonial past from the rich material remains at our disposal in the shortest possible time. Urgency is necessary because of the vast amount of large-scale reconstruction taking place in the city and its surrounds. Not only are remaining old buildings destroyed in the process, but deposits are ruined beyond use by bulldozing. In addition to academic research, contract archaeology is undertaken by a Contracts Office closely affiliated to the Research Group. A great deal of stimulating work has resulted from these developments.

Gribble's (1989) structural analysis of the surviving folk architecture in a region of the Western Cape known as the Sandveld, describes this architecture and classifies its many variations. This study has assisted Hall in identifying what he considers to be a core form in Cape architecture, a form central to his later analyses of both Cape and other colonial Dutch architecture (Hall 1991b).

Malan's (1990) work on probate inventories is providing a stockpile of information which supplements, and can be set against, information from other archival sources as well as from excavation. She demonstrates its

many other uses, for example in suggesting house plans, room function and changes in furnishing patterns through time, to mention but a few.

Markell's excavation of *Vergelegen*, the early eighteenth century farm complex of Governor Willem Adriaan Van der Stel is yielding invaluable information enabling her, *inter alia* to verify the accuracy of early maps and documents about this vast estate which was highly controversial in its time. At least of equal importance is Markell's (1992) ability to analyse the symbolic connotations accruing to the opulent dwelling and its surrounds: the meanings it had for both the Governor and his adversaries, who succeeded in ousting him from office.

Hall's work covers a remarkable amount of ground, considering that he only began to devote himself to historical archaeology in 1985 when large scale excavation of the Company outpost of *Paradise* began (Hall and Malan 1988).

Aware of what he calls "building power", and coining the concept "a silent language of symbols" (Hall 1989), Hall began his cognitive studies of Cape architecture with an already established idea, namely that buildings reflect the status and position of the dominant and are used by them in their ideological control of the dominated. He soon moved on from this approach, however, in order to break new ground.

His Marxist framework, in which categorization is seen in terms of class, and class is seen as a set of relationships (Hall 1991a) does not prevent him from taking a leap towards the post-modern by integrating post-modern notions of textuality into his analyses. He moves, then from language to text by looking upon the material world as "texts without words" (Hall, in press). He argues that the concepts of class and text together enable him to focus on discord and contradiction and to interpret them in terms of domination and resistance (Hall 1991a).

All material culture is of interest to Hall, whether it comes in the form of food remains (Hall 1991a), bits of broken crockery from a well (Hall, Halkett, Klose and Ritchie 1990) or massive fortifications like the Castle at Cape Town (Hall, Halkett, Huigen van Beek and Klose 1990), but, as he sensibly states, buildings tend to survive better than many other types of artefacts and much of his work centres on architecture.

Using Gribble's (1989) formal study as a foundation, Hall (1991b) is able to identify a core form common to both under and upper class architecture in Dutch colonies as widespread as Curaçao and the Cape. Hall, however, is

never satisfied with mere identification. Linking Scott's (1990) concept of the "hidden transcript" with Stallybrass and White's (1986) notion of the constant presence of the low-other within the existence of the high, Hall (1991b) demonstrates this intrusion of the low in architectural forms, making it serve as an example of how the colonial high could never entirely separate itself from the low. The low-other always insidiously intrudes into what might on the surface appear to belong exclusively to the high. To Hall and his co-workers, people and their actions are at least as important as artefacts.

As a member of the research group since its founding, I work within this paradigm. It will be clear from this thesis that I have a special interest in broadening the theoretical base of historical archaeology.

As is fitting, we have come a long way since Baker's (1900) presentation of Cape buildings as uninhabited, static structures, each with a single and immediately identifiable reference.

CONCLUSION

It is to this last body of work, then, that I add my own particular voice in the belief that I have a contribution to make in the new direction that the conversation has taken. Breaking into a conversation because we feel we have something to contribute implies some kind of dissatisfaction or unease with the run of the conversation. What I found disturbing about the run of the discourse already in place when I began working on Cape Dutch architecture in 1987 was, mainly, the apparent lack of awareness among early authors of the importance of differences between earlier and later Cape dwellings.

If Deetz (1977) is correct in believing that at first people in a new country build dwellings like the ones they had known in their homelands, then we ought to find traces at the Cape of dwellings resembling Dutch houses - houses such as those described by Obholzer *et al* (1985) in Curaçao and Batavia. If traces of such houses do exist, we need to know when the dwellings changed to their more traditional form.

Many reputable researchers believe that the traditional form dates to the early years of the eighteenth century. Walton (1965:7), for instance, says: "By the beginning of the eighteenth century the free burghers were well established and gaining in prosperity. The simple rectangular dwelling was

no longer suited either to their growing families or their improved status and enlarged house-plans were evolved". Woodward (1982), taking her information from the probate inventories, draws houses with Cape Dutch floor plans before 1714. We need to know whether these suggestions are correct.

Those who claim Netherlandish origins for Cape architecture suggest that people at the Cape built houses like the ones they had lived in in the Netherlands, yet all they can demonstrate in the end is that only the gables are similar - and then only in some respects. The "Dutch" houses authors like Baker, Pearse and De Bosdari write about are, in fact, very different from houses in the Netherlands. This means people at the Cape must at some stage have changed their ideas of what a house ought to look like. We need to know when and why this happened.

The "why" question is a complex one. Numerous studies have documented the importance, in vastly differing societies ranging back to prehistoric times, of cognitive aspects of built structures. It is clear that symbolism plays an important part in the design of dwellings, landscapes and townscapes. Yet none of the early authors as much as suggest that symbolism might have had a role to play in early Cape architecture. Differences in house form are generally attributed to environmental factors (climate, different types of building materials), economic factors (reflections of wealth), and the very simplest of social factors (family size). We know that there has to be more at stake in the shaping of Cape Dutch architecture than the simplistic explanations given by the early authors. We need to find out what this "more" involves.

Finally, the works of early authors make it clear that defining geographical origins does not contribute to our understanding of the architecture. Claims to have located prototypes remain entirely subjective. We can never be certain that a nominated prototype is the correct one. Besides, none of the authors explain what the location of prototypes means. They cannot, because in itself it has no meaning. We need to devise new methods to enable us to understand the architecture.

The realisation that we need a whole new way of looking at Cape Dutch architecture in order to understand it has led me to formulate a new set of research questions and to devise ways of answering them. This is what my own interruption of the conversation is about.

CHAPTER THREE

THE VOORHUIS AS A CENTRAL ELEMENT IN EARLY CAPE HOUSES.

I argued in Chapter Two that development of Cape Dutch architecture has thus far most often been seen in terms of changes in floor plans from simple rectangles to more complex "letters of the alphabet" types (e.g. De Bosdari 1953, Walton 1965). Thus rectangles become L's which become U's, or T's, which become H's, and so on.

Other researchers have studied development in terms of decorative features (gables, etc.) which changed in keeping with "movements" in Europe: baroque, rococo, neo-classical, and the like (e.g. Bierman 1952, 1955; Fransen 1987). Latterly, there has also been an interest in interiors (Woodward 1982, 1983). While appreciating the importance of studies tracing increasing complexity in floor plans and changes in gable and interior decoration, the intention in this chapter is to examine a different, and perhaps more fundamental, question which concerns the precise period of origin of traditional Cape Dutch domestic architecture.

The chapter has a threefold aim: 1) to demonstrate that it is indeed a misconception to think of early dwellings at the Cape as being merely smaller and simpler editions of the later, or "developed", or "traditional" Cape Dutch house; 2) to illustrate, by means of a numerical examination of eighteenth century inventories, that a dramatic change in floor plans occurred during the later 1730s; 3) to offer explanations for this change by suggesting that it marks the beginning of the establishment of the Cape Dutch architectural tradition.

Devising methods to show changes in Cape house construction through time is not easy, due largely to a lack of suitable source material. Of the three types of sources, two of which involve primary data, from which information can be gleaned (archaeological excavation, earlier studies, and archival documents), none is entirely unproblematic.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND DOCUMENTS

To date, no archaeological remains of the earliest buildings have been found, with the possible exceptions of the *Posthuys* at Muizenberg and the

Schreuder House at Stellenbosch (see below). Excavation of extant rural dwellings is at present limited to only a few, and is often fraught with problems. Much of the published research is clouded to a considerable extent by matters discussed in Chapter Two. Documentation is scanty and in many ways unreliable for the study of floor plans.

Nevertheless, these are at present the only sources available to us and we must make do with them to the best of our ability.

Historical archaeology has the edge on other disciplines in research of this type, since it allows conclusions to be drawn from both documentary and artefactual evidence.

Although the interest in historical archaeology in South Africa is a relatively recent one, the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cape Town has excavated two rural dwelling sites: *Paradise*, formerly *Paradijs* (Hall and Malan 1988), an eighteenth century VOC post in the Newlands Forest, and *Onrust*, an eighteenth century farm near Stellenbosch (Hall, Brink and Malan 1988). Extensive excavation of a third rural site at *Vergelegen*, the very early eighteenth century farm of Governor Willem Adriaan Van der Stel, is in progress (Markell 1992).

Restoration work on two very early dwellings, both claimed by their restorers to be the oldest non-indigenous dwellings in South Africa, has been executed by De Jong (n.d.) on the *Posthuys*, a Company outpost at Muizenberg on the False Bay coast, and by Fagan and Fagan (1975) on the Schröder (or Schreuder) House in the town of Stellenbosch. While the date of the latter remains uncertain (Vos 1988), the *Posthuys* has been dated through the Deeds Office, Cape Town, to 1673, which would indeed make this dwelling the earliest. A small scale excavation was undertaken here, but, as with the Schreuder House, the archaeological findings have not been published.

A third Company outpost at Saldanha Bay on the western Cape coast has been excavated by Schrire (Schrire 1990, Schrire and Deacon 1989).

The Archaeological Contracts Office at the University of Cape Town has also been involved in extensive excavations in the urban centre of Cape Town, for example at the Castle, and several buildings in Sea Street and Bree Street. These sites continue to yield a great deal of information about Cape lifeways during the Dutch colonial period.

Both *Paradise* and *Onrust* have yielded evidence of more than one phase of house construction and use during the eighteenth century. At *Paradise* there is evidence of a first occupation in an early, simple, asymmetrical three roomed house which was later demolished. Towards mid-century the site was levelled, with rubble from the first house being used as fill. A second house was then erected on the site of the original dwelling. The occupant of the second house was Master Woodcutter Solomon Bosch, for whose estate an inventory was drawn up when he died in 1768. A third building phase after Bosch's death involves, among other things, the extension of the back wing of the house (Hall and Malan 1988).

When Bosch died in 1768 the dwelling comprised a right hand room, a left hand room, a *voorhuis*, a kitchen and a *solder*. A stable and a school are also listed (Malan 1986). Normally, when encountering such an inventorial listing, we have no way of knowing how the rooms were arranged. The excavation at *Paradise*, however, reveals a T-shaped house with the kitchen forming the "tail" behind the *voorhuis*. We also know that the facade was symmetrical with the *voorhuis* in the centre. We can thus be certain that, at least by the middle of the eighteenth century, this type of "traditional" Cape floor plan was being built.

From the later 1730s onwards almost identical inventories occur in increasing numbers and we may assume that many, although not necessarily all, of these houses were similar to the *Paradise* dwelling.

Work at *Onrust* has revealed that what is now an outbuilding (recently restored) incorporated an early eighteenth century three roomed house comprising a large room of 11m x 5m and two smaller rooms of approximately 3,5m x 5m each. Extensive alterations to this building through its more than two hundred years of history, as well as a dearth of *in situ* artefacts, make it almost impossible to identify the uses of these rooms, but the suggestion is that the single large room (perhaps with partitioning), and possibly one of the smaller rooms, served as dwelling space, while the other small room was a farm room of some sort (Hall, Brink and Malan, 1988).

Excavation at this site was limited for various reasons and did not include investigation of the main house or other standing buildings. It is thus not possible to say when this early mode of dwelling was found unsatisfactory and abandoned in favour of another more in keeping with the general trend through the later eighteenth century. Nor can we suggest the type of construction that would have satisfied such a mode. The present house

appears to be a much modified H-shape with Victorian elements. Documentary sources reveal extensive modifications to the farm buildings during the early nineteenth century. These included changes to the early dwelling, which thus became incorporated into the restructuring of the *werf*. Without further examination, it is not possible to tell what the original floor plan of the new house was like, but the fact that a new house was built is in keeping with methods of expansion and updating at the Cape in the late eighteenth century.

The farm *Cloovenburg* near Riebeeck Kasteel, for which we have three inventories, serves as an example. The first inventory (MOOC 8/6:44, 1739) lists a small three roomed structure (rooms to the left and the right and a kitchen). This was probably a longhouse, not unlike the early house at *Onrust*. Between 1739 and 1753, the date of the second inventory (MOOC 8/7:32, 1753), dwelling space was enlarged considerably with the construction of a *voorhuis* and a *binnekamer* (inside room) to the left in addition to the other three rooms. This could have been either a new building with a "Dutch" (see below) type of partitioning or, perhaps, additions to the old house to form an L. The presence of a *binnekamer* on the left seems to exclude the possibility of a T.

By 1870 (MOOC 8/18:13, 1870), dwelling space comprised seven rooms. The *voorhuis* was still there, but now there was only one room on the left and two on the right in addition to a *gaanderij* (dining room), a *gaanderij camertje* and a kitchen. There are too many possibilities to hazard a guess as to what this building looked like, but the inventory gives clear evidence that either this building or the one listed in the 1753 inventory was a new structure, because the list includes the *oude woonhuis* (old dwelling). Judging by the contents, this was used as a shed. Here again we have evidence of changes in dwelling modes through the eighteenth century. The buildings on this farm have been altered and modernised to the extent that a superficial examination yields no useful information. Since excavation is not possible, the inventories are our only source of information about eighteenth century *Cloovenburg*.

Even today, however, three phases of lifestyle are clearly visible on the farm *Eenzaamheid* near Paarl. First there is a very old (probably early eighteenth century), and now much altered, longhouse incorporating both farm buildings and dwelling space still standing (Figure 5). Second, there is a somewhat altered traditional Cape Dutch house with its gable dated 1783 (Figure 6). (De Bosdari 1953 feels that the date on the gable face is questionable as the gable has certain elements which speak for the year

1800 or later, while other elements accord well with the date. He tentatively suggests a partial restyling after 1800). Finally there is a house in the Victorian style built during the 1880s.

EARLIER RESEARCH

Two researchers who have contributed significantly to our understanding of early Cape material culture are James Walton (1965, 1981, 1989) and Carolyn Woodward (1981, 1982, 1983). Walton's work is based largely on observations in the field, whereas Woodward, who is primarily concerned with interiors, draws conclusions mainly from documentary sources.

The most valuable part of Walton's work is, perhaps, his research on the very earliest house types. Ranging as far afield as Natal and the Transvaal, Walton searched out remaining old houses and carefully recorded them. His legacy is invaluable as these old dwelling types are fast disappearing. Walton (1965) believes that the earliest house was a one roomed structure with a hearth at one end. It was divided into two, first by a curtain and later by a wall. The next development was separation of the kitchen from the living area, and finally, "when a son was born" (Walton, 1965:7), the building on of an extra room, or *buitekamer* (outside room), with its own exit. In his later work Walton (1989) has expanded on his hypothesis about the development of the Cape house (Chapter Six).

According to Walton (1965), all of these early types were rectangular structures, or what we have come to call longhouses. A number of such cottages can still be seen at various places. Walton (1965:7) sketches a floor plan of a Tulbagh cottage with rooms one beside the other from left to right as follows: bedroom, living room, kitchen, *buitekamer*. This is almost identical to a floor plan of a cottage still in use at Verloren Vlei in the Sandveld, the only basic difference being that the bedroom and kitchen change places (Gribble 1989). The kitchen is thus at one end of this house.

In the Lange Vlei area, westwards of Piquetberg, people still live in *hartbeeshuisies* (houses of reeds) with their interior space divided into two rooms. And in the truly secluded valley of the Renoster River near Sutherland tiny two roomed cottages of ingeniously packed local stone with mud-packed straw roofs dot the farms along the river (Figure 7). Near Brandvlei, the remains of a house built from blocks dug out of the floor of a cattle kraal still stand (Figure 8). Thus Walton (1965:5-6) is probably

correct when he says: "although no unaltered examples of seventeenth century dwellings are known to have survived we can still find hidden away in village back streets and in the more secluded valleys tiny homesteads unadorned by gables or tiled *stoeps*, which undoubtedly afford us a picture of the earlier dwellings." The important point to note here is that there is no space known as the *voorhuis* in any of these houses.

Although establishing floor plans is not Woodward's (1981, 1982) major concern, she does need to deal with this question to a certain degree before getting to details of the interiors. Despite finding "amazing" diversity in the earliest houses, she maintains that from the inventories it is clear that those with a room on the left, a room on the right and a kitchen are the most common. Again the absence of a *voorhuis* is significant, as is the fact that Woodward (1982) uses only inventories dated up to 1714.

Walton believes that the beginning of the eighteenth century brings changes in Cape architecture and that the changes are due to free burgher prosperity. He sees the first step as being "the removal of the kitchen from the main rectangular block to a point at the rear of the house, giving a T-shaped plan. Such a house had an entrance hall or *voorhuis*, flanked by a bedroom on each side and with a doorway leading to the kitchen at the rear" (Walton 1965:7).

The implication in the above is that Walton would interpret inventories such as MOOC 8/2:58, 1712, which has a *voorkamer* (front room) on the right, a *voorhuis*, a room on the left and a kitchen, as fitting into this T-plan. One wonders, however, what he would make of MOOC 8/2:71, 1712, which lists a room on the left, a *voorhuis* and a kitchen, since he appears to see symmetry arriving along with the *voorhuis*.

After scrutinising the inventories from 1670 to 1714, Woodward (1982:12) is struck by "amazing diversity": "small cottages of wattle and daub rub shoulders with timber constructions of varying degrees of sophistication, and these in turn are found next to brick and stone buildings varying in size from two-roomed cottages to substantial houses with six or seven rooms in addition to the kitchen quarters". She then attempts, tentatively, to reconstruct two of the more complex early houses, MOOC 8/1:69, 1701 and MOOC 8/2:40, 1710, from the information in the inventories. Both these reconstructions show typical traditional Cape Dutch symmetrical facades with the *voorhuis* in the centre.

THE DUTCH TOWN HOUSE AND THE EARLY CAPE HOUSE

From the above it is clear that both Walton (1965) and Woodward (1982) are influenced by the belief that the Cape Dutch architectural tradition, with the *voorhuis* as the central element in a symmetrical facade, was established by the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Two important points about the *voorhuis* must be stressed here. First, the *voorhuis* in the traditional Cape Dutch house must not be confused with the *voorkamer*, as it often is. Both Walton (1965) and Woodward (1981, 1982) illustrate it correctly as the central room in the front, while the rooms to either side are the *voorkamers*.

Second, a central *voorhuis* is an essential element of the traditional Cape Dutch house and a house with no *voorhuis* could therefore not be one. The converse, however, is not true: not all houses in which there is a *voorhuis* are necessarily Cape Dutch. Furthermore, a non-Cape Dutch *voorhuis* could occupy various positions in a house. These points need further explanation.

The term *voorhuis* is an old one in the Netherlands, dating back probably to around 1200 AD when the towns underwent rapid growth (Zantkuyl 1987). It is possible that the term might even date back to about 900 AD when it is thought by some researchers that the single interior space, or *zaalruimte* was first divided into a front and a back area with the division running straight across (Meischke and Zantkuyl 1969).

Crosswise division within the house changed in the Netherlands as the cities grew, largely because of a lack of space. Plots were deep and narrow and houses were built touching one another with their narrow ends to the street (Meischke and Zantkuyl 1969).

By the second decade of the seventeenth century, at least, we find the endmost room (*binnehaard*, or kitchen) made slightly smaller, with a passage running beside it providing exit to the yard. Often another room, the *agterkamer* (back room) was built on behind the kitchen (Meischke and Zantkuyl 1969) (Figure 9).

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, division of the front space into a narrower *voorhuis* and a somewhat larger *zijkamer* (side room) was common (Figures 10 and 11). From then on the *voorhuis* tended to get narrower and the *zijkamer* larger until, by the early eighteenth century, in many narrow houses the *voorhuis* was no more than the front part of a

passage running from front to back along one side of the house (Zantkuyl 1987) (Figure 12).

The number of rooms in the Dutch house increased with time. A room behind the *zijkamer*, and between it and the kitchen, was known as the *binnekamer*. Rooms in the Dutch house, except for the *binnehaard* (kitchen), were named according to their position in the house.

There was another interesting development in the Dutch house during the seventeenth century. People who were wealthy enough and able to purchase a neighbouring plot often built on a large room at the side of the house. This resulted in an L-shaped house with a *voorhuis* and two rooms of unequal size to one side of it. The "tail" of the L was then made up by the *binnekamer*, *binnehaard* and *agterkamer* (Zantkuyl 1987). In such houses the *voorhuis* was at one end of the front of the house and not in the centre, as division of the front into *voorhuis* and *zijkamer* remained (Figure 13). It was not until much later in the eighteenth century that larger houses in the Netherlands were built with a central passage (Zantkuyl 1987).

Thus far researchers do not seem to have realised that large numbers of the Cape room-by-room inventorial listings would fit the Dutch floor plans as well as they would any other possibilities. In the light of the above, it would be very surprising indeed if there had been no Dutch types at all at the Cape, especially when the plots were small. To-day we do in fact find old houses of this type where plots are very narrow, for example in the Bo-Kaap (Townsend and Townsend 1977) (Figure 14). These are later, nineteenth century, dwellings indicating that the notion of how to build on a small, narrow plot had persisted.

We need now to look more closely at a few of the inventories for possible reconstructions of floor plans. MOOC 8/2:66, 1712 lists two rooms on the left - a fact which would be looked upon with mistrust by most researchers and would probably often be regarded without further ado as an error in the appraisal. Besides these "controversial" two rooms, the house has a *voorhuis* and a kitchen. Woodward (1982:20 and note 33, p. 38) includes this house in a group of six which she considers to be typical examples of the three roomed house in the early eighteenth century. The inventorial listing for her prototype is as follows: a *voorhuis*, a room to the right, a room to the left, and a kitchen. Inclusion of MOOC 8/2:66, 1712 in this group shows that Woodward has already "corrected" the appraiser's "error".

This house with its two rooms to the left, however, fits in very well with two types of Dutch houses described above: the L-shape (Figure 13), or the longhouse with its narrow end to the street (Figure 11).

Another interesting example is MOOC 8/2:71, 1712, a house in the village of Stellenbosch. The inventory lists a room on the left, a *voorhuis*, and a kitchen. Woodward (1982:18) says that this house is "the only unmistakable example of a three roomed house with the kitchen at one end". She envisages a longhouse with the rooms beside each other. We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that this was a house with a typically Dutch floor plan as in Figure 10, but with no *agterkamer*, another common type not illustrated here. Although there is no *gang* (passage) in the above two inventories, the *gang* in the Dutch house was no more than a narrow corridor leading to the back garden and was usually empty (Meischke and Zantkuyl 1969). If there were no possessions in the passage, there would have been no reason for an appraiser to mention it.

Another question arises when we envisage a rectangular dwelling with rooms one beside the other, one of which is a *voorhuis*: can we speak of a *voorhuis* when there is nothing behind it? There is no unproblematic answer to this question. If the answer is positive, then the term *voorhuis* at the Cape had come to have a meaning very different to that of its counterpart in the Netherlands. It would mean that this space was no longer named for its position in the house, but for its "use" as a reception room.

If the answer is negative then, of course, it means that this could not have been a longhouse with rooms beside each other and we have to look at other possible floor plans. This is an important problem in need of thorough research. Neither Walton (1965) nor Woodward (1981, 1982) deals with it directly. We note, however, that there is no *voorhuis* in any of Walton's rectangular dwellings. The *voorhuis* only appears in his sketches when wings are added to the back. Woodward does not confront the question at all.

It would be interesting at this point to look again at Woodward's (1982:24-25, 27) reconstructions of two houses mentioned earlier on. The first is the *Nooitgedacht* house in the Stellenbosch district for which we have two inventories. Woodward's "tentative" reconstruction shows a T-shaped house with frontal symmetry as far as measurements, but not as far as division of internal space is concerned.

Woodward gives this house a large and deep central *voorhuis* with the kitchen behind it. On the right she places the large *grote kamer*. The equivalent front space on the left is divided into two, which she calls a *voorste kamer* and an *agterste kamer*. It is very strange, if not far-fetched, to place an *agterste kamer* in the front wing but, wanting symmetry, Woodward has no option because of the listing in the first inventory. MOOC 8/2:40, 1710 lists a *Groote Camer aen de Regterhand*, a *Voorhuis*, *twee Clijne Camers aen de Linkerhand* and a *Combuijs*. From this inventory alone, Woodward (1982:24-25) might thus be justified in placing the two smaller left hand rooms in front.

The second inventory (MOOC 8/2:63, 1712), however, throws further light on the floor plan and at the same time shows us how misleading inventories can be. This inventory lists, in addition to the *voorhuis*, a *Groote Kamer aen de Regterhand*, a *Voorste Kamer aen de Linkerhand*, an *agterste Camer aen de Linkerhand* and a *Combuijs*. Here we are told very clearly that one of the left hand rooms is at the back. Whatever the exact floor plan of this house might have been, it could not, surely, have been a T. It seems far more likely that it started off as an ordinary Dutch town house type, to the right of which a large room was built on, resulting in an L. There seems to be no justification for placing the *agterste* left hand room in the front of the house - unless one is driven to force onto this floor plan a symmetry it does not appear to have.

Woodward's (1982:27) second reconstruction is of the more complex Sneewindt house at Rondebosch (MOOC 8/1:69, 1701). Reconstruction of the whole house from the inventory alone is well-nigh impossible. It is, however, doubtful in the extreme that this house had the symmetrical facade given it by Woodward, and she can only succeed in making it symmetrical by assuming an error in the appraisal. The inventory lists a *voorkamer aan de Linker Zijde*, a *kamer aan de linckhand*, a *voorhuis*, and several other rooms including a kitchen. Woodward places a small, narrow *voorhuis* between the *Voorkamer aan de Linker Zijde* and the *kamer aan de linckhand*. Admittedly the placing of the second room has a question mark beside it, but unless this room is placed here, there can be no symmetry.

Again, I believe that, instead of forcing traditional Cape Dutch symmetry onto this plan, we should assume that the appraisal is correct; that the house did indeed have two rooms on the left and none on the right and that it probably fitted in with one of the more complex Dutch types. This is important, especially in view of the fact that Woodward (1982) considers this house to be one of Valentijn's (1726) "double houses". The double

house was a common occurrence in the Netherlands and developed from the Dutch L-shaped house stretching over two plots (Zantkuyl 1987). In this wider Dutch house, the *voorhuis* sometimes occupied the central space and was barely wider than the passage behind it. The internal spatial arrangements, however, were most often not symmetrical (Figure 15).

Besides the inventories, early maps also give us an idea of what the early houses looked like. Pearse's (1956:63) map (Figure 2), reproduced from the collection in the Cape Archives, shows the outlines of about twenty-seven houses as well as some public buildings in the Cape Town of 1693. There are three types of dwellings:

- 1) Rectangular dwellings with the narrow end to the street as in the Netherlands. These are likely to have had a Dutch floor plan with a narrow *voorhuis* to one side of a larger *zijkamer* and a kitchen behind. There might have been a *binnekamer* and/or an *agterkamer* as well. Where the plot was very narrow, the *voorhuis* might have been no more than a passage down the length of one side of the house (Figure 14) as in the extant old houses of the Bo-Kaap (Townsend and Townsend 1977). These floor plans are a far cry from those of the traditional Cape Dutch style, and it would be forcing the issue to attempt to squeeze them into such traditional schemes.
- 2) The 1693 map shows many small, L-shaped houses with outlines identical to those of the wider houses which appeared in the Netherlands from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards. These houses would probably have had a narrow *voorhuis* at one end, with two rooms to one side, the end room being larger than the central one. A kitchen, and perhaps an additional room or two, would have formed the tail of the L behind the *voorhuis-zijkamer* combination (Figure 13). These houses would not have had symmetrical facades and would not have resembled the traditional Cape Dutch houses. Many of the inventorial listings would fit the types suggested above.
- 3) Many houses on the 1693 map (and also on early maps of country towns such as Stellenbosch) are rectangular, but turned through ninety degrees compared to the house in the Netherlands. The length of the house faces the street and the rooms lie one beside the other. These are probably the many houses which occur in the inventories with no *voorhuis*. Perhaps this indicates that the term *voorhuis* was meaningless unless there was something built on behind it.

NUMERICAL SURVEY

This preliminary study of the inventories appears to suggest three things:

- 1) Although there are many very early eighteenth century houses with a *voorhuis*, this interior space is not always situated between two other rooms. Frequently there is only one other front room to one side of the *voorhuis*.
- 2) Even when there is a *voorhuis* with two other front rooms, these are frequently not of the same size and the facade is not symmetrical.
- 3) Towards mid-century there appears to be a considerable increase in the number of houses that do have a *voorhuis*.

These clues justified a more intensive numerical survey. Thanks to Malan's (1986) analytical research of inventories with room by room listings, her records could be used as a data base.

The inventories in Malan's survey cover the whole of the eighteenth century and include one from 1697 and two from 1800. Two of the inventories listed in Malan's (1986) Appendix B (Listing of Records in Date Order) were omitted as it is not clear from the wording of the inventories whether these houses had a *voorhuis* or not.

	TOTAL	WITH VH	%
Up to 1709	9	6	66.7
1710 - 1719	47	30	63.8
1720 - 1729	49	32	65.3
1730 - 1739	47	37	78.7
1740 - 1749	50	45	90.0
1750 - 1759	78	68	87.2
1760 - 1769	76	72	94.7
1770 - 1779	86	77	89.5
1780 - 1789	66	59	89.4
1790 - 1800	<u>58</u>	<u>51</u>	87.9
	<u>566</u>	<u>477</u>	

TABLE 1: Percentages of inventories listing a *voorhuis* through the 18th century.

The sample was thus made up of 566 inventories, and the object of the tabulation is to demonstrate the increase in the number of *voorhuise*

through the eighteenth century (Table 1). The survey focuses on the *voorhuis*, because, as has already been made clear, a central *voorhuis* is an essential element of the traditional Cape Dutch dwelling.

The tables do not, of course, show whether the *voorhuis* was centrally situated or not, but they do show that the *voorhuis* became increasingly important through the century, with a dramatic increase during the mid-1730s (Tables 2 & 3)

	TOTAL	WITH VH	%
1730 - 1734	24	15	62.5
1735 - 1739	<u>23</u>	<u>22</u>	95.7
	<u>47</u>	<u>37</u>	

TABLE 2: Breakdown of inventories listing a *voorhuis*, 1730 - 1739.

	TOTAL	WITH VH	%
Up to 1734	129	83	64.3
1735 - 1800	<u>437</u>	<u>394</u>	90.1
	<u>566</u>	<u>477</u>	

TABLE 3: Breakdown of total inventories listing a *voorhuis*: up to 1734; 1735 - 1800.

The tables also indicate that *voorhuise* are slightly more numerous in farm dwellings than in town dwellings (Tables 4 & 5).

	TOTAL	WITH VH	%
Up to 1734	43	28	65.1
1735 - 1800	<u>117</u>	<u>109</u>	93.2
	<u>160</u>	<u>137</u>	

TABLE 4: Breakdown of inventories listing a *voorhuis* for farm dwellings: up to 1734; 1735 - 1800.

	TOTAL	WITH VH	%
Up to 1734	86	55	64.0
1735 - 1800	<u>320</u>	<u>285</u>	88.9
	<u>406</u>	<u>340</u>	

TABLE 5: Breakdown of inventories listing a *voorhuis* for town dwellings: up to 1734; 1735 - 1800.

Further detailed statistical examination is necessary in order to appreciate fully the implications of the increasing importance of the *voorhuis*, but the suggestions are that the introduction of the T-shaped floor plan came with it. Rectangular houses with their long ends to the street do not appear to have had *voorhuise* (Walton 1965). Furthermore, the term *voorhuis* in a house with its long end to the street probably meant that there was another room behind it. Significantly, this is a plan found only very rarely in the Netherlands.

Perusal of the inventories suggests that by mid-century large numbers of houses had a *gaanderij* (dining room) and/or an *agterkamer* as well as front rooms and a kitchen. Fortunately, we are able to get a clear idea of what such a house looked like, as the farm dwelling *Saxenburg* (MOOC 8/15:23, 1774), which was of this type, was not demolished until the mid-1940's (Malan 1986). Obholzer *et al* (1985:157) reproduce a photograph of this house and the authors interviewed people who had lived in it for many years. We do, indeed, as the authors say, have in *Saxenburg* an example of a floor plan typical of many Cape houses. Like the second house at *Paradise*, *Saxenburg* had a T-plan. A *voorhuis* with a *voorkamer* on either side of it formed the front wing, while a *gaanderij*, an *agterkamer* and a kitchen made up the tail.

Further research is necessary before we can say for sure that symmetry in the facade and movement of the tail from side (L) to centre (T) occurred simultaneously, but there are strong indications that this was indeed the case.

Turning an L-shape into a T-shape involves a considerable amount of reconstruction. Changing a rectangular dwelling into a T seems easier, but we must take into account the fact that there does not always appear to have been levelling of the terrain before the early vernacular dwellings were erected. At *Onrust*, for example, it is clear that there was no attempt to correct for the slope along the length of the building during construction.

The building simply wanders down the natural slope of the terrain, the fall being approximately two metres (Hall, Brink and Malan, 1988).

The only satisfactory way of switching from a simple "peasant" mode of dwelling to a more sophisticated, formal mode was either to demolish the old house and build a new one on the site after levelling, as at *Paradise*, or to build a new house and put the old one to some other use as at *Onrust*, *Cloovenburg* and *Eenzaamheid*. There are without doubt many farms which still have old houses as outbuildings.

Another farm for which we have three inventories (as for *Cloovenburg*), is *Vredenburg*, near Stellenbosch. The first inventory (MOOC 8/5:52, 1732) seems to describe a typically Dutch type of longhouse. It had an *agterste zijkamer*, a *voorste zijkamer*, a *voorhuis*, and a kitchen. The next inventory is dated 1761 (MOOC 8/10:17, 1761) and lists a *voorhuis*, a room on the right, a room on the left, and a kitchen. This is almost identical to the second house at *Paradise* and could well have been a typical Cape Dutch symmetrical T-plan. It seems unlikely that the house in the 1732 inventory could have been altered to this plan without major reconstruction, or the construction of a new house. The third inventory is dated 1784 (MOOC 8/18:73, 1784) and lists the same rooms as the 1761 inventory, but with an additional *gaanderij* and *agterkamer*, thus a plan identical to that of *Saxenburg*. These alterations would have entailed no more than simple additions to the back wing some time between 1761 and 1784.

CONCLUSIONS

Research of the inventories substantiates findings in two archaeological excavations, some research by Walton and, to a lesser extent, research by Woodward, by demonstrating that the earliest dwellings at the Cape were rooted in the urban European vernacular. It further substantiates the archaeological findings by indicating that the switch from the early vernacular to a more formal, traditional Cape Dutch type of architecture did not take place until about the third decade of the eighteenth century, refuting hypotheses which maintain that traditional Cape Dutch architectural styles were established in the seventeenth century.

By using sources which explain the development of the town house in the Netherlands, and by correlating this source material with information from the inventories, this chapter also demonstrates that the extent of European influence on very early domestic architecture at the Cape is far greater, and

persisted for much longer, than has hitherto been recognised, continuing until well into the eighteenth century.

It is evident from the numerical survey that a major change occurred during the mid-1730s, and that it was reasonably dramatic. It is also evident that it must be regarded as a strong possibility that the increasing importance of the *voorhuis* marks the introduction of the traditional Cape Dutch style and the T-plan - a plan rarely found in the Netherlands.

These findings raise questions which will be addressed in the following chapters: why did the architecture change? Why did peoples' attitudes towards homeland ideas of what a dwelling ought to be like change? Why did these changes become manifest later in the eighteenth century rather than at the beginning?

CHAPTER FOUR

"PEOPLE OUT OF PLACE": AN ANOMALOUS GROUP AT THE CAPE DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

From this chapter onwards I move away from a formalist view of architecture towards various types of post-structuralist theory, most notably hermeneutics or interpretation theory. I believe that such a shift is essential when our analyses become concerned with people of the past and the way they conducted their lives. I am no longer concerned only with the appearance of dwellings after construction, but with the construction process itself, and the reasons for the need for such constructions.

In this chapter the broad historical and social contexts within which Cape Dutch material culture came into being are set out, while constantly bearing in mind that history, society and material culture act on one another reciprocally. Changes in one will have been affected by - and will in turn affect - the other two. Changes in Cape architecture cannot therefore be seen in isolation from the historical events of the time, or from the way in which peoples' lives and their relationships with both the VOC and their fellow colonists were affected by these events.

In endeavouring to answer questions about why Cape architecture changed around the third decade of the eighteenth century, this chapter presents a new way of looking at the outcome of an important and well-documented event in early Cape history: the granting of land to free burgher farmers by the VOC. It also points towards a problem which has for the main part been the concern of literary theory, but has nonetheless attracted attention in social disciplines such as sociology and anthropology: the question of the appropriation of identity.

Where the term free burghers is used in this study it refers to those free burghers engaged in agriculture, unless otherwise stated. It must be noted that some of the people who opted for contracting out of the Company's service also pursued occupations other than farming.

What I aim to do, is to unmask a measure of the social turmoil which often underlies the deceptively smooth way in which history appears to have run its course. It is not hard to think of free burghership at the Cape in the relatively simple terms of steady progress, through solid endeavour,

towards the wealth and prosperity which enabled the acquisition of country manor houses. But I want to abandon such commitment to order and cohesion, as this would necessitate linking the high points in a progressive, forward movement, while glossing over discontinuities and differences for the sake of historical continuity and closure.

Instead, I prefer to look at discontinuity within seeming continuity, difference within seeming similarity. For instance, I examine and ask questions about the difference between the person as Company servant and this same Company servant become free burgher, and the effects of such discontinuities on Cape social practice and on the material cultural objects people produced and used.

In looking anew at free burghership at the Cape, I aim to demonstrate that this intentional act on the part of the VOC had unintended and far reaching consequences which included first, major social changes, and second, the coming into being of the material culture broadly and commonly known as Cape Dutch.

First, granting of the land and circumstances surrounding this event will be discussed. Next, the hypothesis that the granting of land to free burgher farmers caused the coming into being of an unstable and changing society and an anomalous group of people will be explained. Finally, the significance of these "people out of place" in seventeenth and eighteenth century Cape society will be outlined.

SETTLEMENT WITHIN A SETTLEMENT - THE COLONIES ALONG THE AMSTEL

Burdened, perhaps, by the responsibility of supplying both inward and outward bound fleets running between the Netherlands and the East with sufficient fresh farm produce to reduce the high rate of mortality on these voyages, Jan Van Riebeeck must, during the long voyage, have brooded on the difficulties which lay ahead. Not the least of his concerns would probably have been the inefficient labour force at his disposal. It seems that the idea of implementing an already tested form of free-enterprise farming as a way of stimulating production came to him while on board the *Drommedaris*, as he suggested granting land to free burgher farmers in his first letter (13 May 1652) to Batavia (Leibbrandt 1900).

Van Riebeeck followed up the tentative suggestion with a full proposal as to how to implement the idea in a despatch dated 28 April 1655 (Leibbrandt 1900). Approval was granted by the Seventeen on 30 October 1655, and on 12 October 1656, almost a year later, we find the Company expressing surprise that Van Riebeeck had not yet availed himself of the concession (Boeseken 1938).

Guelke (1989) ascribes Van Riebeeck's dalliance to his previous experience of crop failures, in the light of which he resolved to experiment with the land he had in mind for the free burghers before handing it over. Only when he was satisfied that the five fields he had planted with a variety of crops at Rondebosch were doing well was he prepared to allocate the land. Another reason for his hesitancy could have been the fact that experiments with free burghers in other VOC territories had not been at all encouraging (Schutte 1989).

Possibly Van Riebeeck detected a note of dissatisfaction or impatience in the VOC despatch of October 1656, as he acted promptly after receipt of this document. Spurred on, perhaps, by the pending visit of the first Commissioner, Van Riebeeck hastily set about preparing the necessary documents pertaining to free burghership.

When Commissioner Van Goens arrived in Table Bay in March 1657 *vrijbrieven* (letters of freedom, that is contracts releasing them from Company service) had already been signed by the first nine free burghers and they had been installed on their farms along the river Amstel (now called the Liesbeeck). Of the nine four were soldiers and three seamen (Bosman and Thom 1955). They established themselves in two groups of five (*Groenevelt* or *Harmans Colonie*), and four (*Hollantse Thuijn* or *Stevens Colonie*) respectively. Within the allocated territory they were allowed to select their land and stipulate its size: "...parceelen lants na hun eygen sin uytgecosen wesende soo langh ende breedt al sij begeeren" (Bosman and Thom 1955:99).

PLACES OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE FREE BURGHERS

Interestingly, only three of the nine original free burghers did not hail from either the Netherlands or Belgium. The contention among many researchers (for example Obholzer *et al* 1985, Schutte 1989) is that this situation changed fairly rapidly, especially during the eighteenth century, with the majority of the later colonists coming from other parts of Europe (Germany,

France, Scandinavia, and so on). Schutte gives the percentage of non-Dutch/Belgian people as fifty-seven percent in 1700, rising to eighty percent in 1779 (Schutte 1989:293).

As we have seen, origins of settlers are considered important by authors such as Van der Meulen (1962) who try to explain Cape Dutch material culture in terms of influences from the countries of origin. I argue, however, that the coming into being of Cape Dutch material culture cannot be readily explained in terms of immigrant numbers from specific localities alone, and that the problem is more complex than any published study has thus far revealed.

Social status, for instance, played a more important role in Cape cultural development than countries of origin. In his work on seventeenth century Europe, Pennington (1970:79, emphasis added) states: "It was often easier *and more relevant* to define a man's social group than to define his nationality". Of the English gentleman traveller in Italy, or the French seigneur in Germany, he goes on to say: " little in his way of life was essentially different from that of his equals abroad. Costume, retinue and manner made apparent a man's 'degree' and assured him of the respect that was his due".

Although Pennington is obviously referring to people of higher status here, the basis of his statement would hold for those of low status as well. During the seventeenth century there were only a few main categories into which people were divided and the division was relatively simple. What is more, it was much the same throughout Europe.

By the mid-seventeenth century there had been a considerable degree of upward mobility among some members of all social ranks, including the peasants. Complex geographical mobility had gone hand in hand with social mobility.

Acquisition of country places became important to the wealthy Dutch townsmen and the increase in national wealth and technical expertise made the creation of more land for such purposes in the Netherlands possible by the development of *polders* (land reclaimed from the sea). The Diemermeer near Amsterdam was such a *polder* and here numbers of wealthy Amsterdam businessmen built themselves country retreats where they spent most of the summer months (Biermann 1989).

But a country place could only be bequeathed to one son, usually the eldest. This ensured that large sectors of the towns remained occupied by

the upper echelons. The low status rural person, on the other hand, often found it more profitable to move to the city in the second half of the seventeenth century, where he could the better ply a trade and provide menial services for the wealthy. In social hierarchical terms there was thus no simple town/country division to be made.

During the seventeenth century the army and the navy (especially the merchant navy) and the VOC itself, provided the lower social ranks with opportunities for some upward mobility, although progress to the higher ranks was slow. From the occupations of the first nine free burghers it is clear that if they had risen above the masses at all, it was only by the merest step or two.

Although Schutte (1989:298) points out that "little concrete information is as yet available on the social origins of the settlers", he, too, remarks that it is clear that the majority came from the lower strata of European society. He also points out that a career in the VOC "usually started at the bottom of the ladder" (Schutte 1989:294) and the bottom meant the soldier.

It was possible for a literate soldier to eventually move upwards into the administrative or even sales sectors, but, despite training and ability, promotion was by no means automatic and often depended more on "outside" factors such as winning the favour of superiors or marrying into an influential family.

Life in the services thus offered some opportunities, but there were many disadvantages. Some undoubtedly found excitement and adventure, but for most it meant a life of wandering, danger and hardship with no chance of settling down to life in a normal home within a community (Pennington 1970). The Duminy diaries (Franken 1938) give us a good idea of the disruption of family life caused by having a husband and father in the merchant navy.

On the other hand, free burghership offered not only a sought-after settled life, but it short-circuited the scramble for finding favour with senior officials and/or with a woman of higher social standing than oneself. Obtaining land in itself, as we shall see further on, meant a leap in terms of status undreamed of by most of the people of low standing in Europe.

The number of free burghers increased gradually at first, and fairly rapidly during the latter part of the eighteenth century. According to Guelke (1989:66) they numbered 5,000 in 1751 and 10,500 in 1780. Despite the influx of some well-educated and skilled people, especially among the

Huguenot refugees, most of whom arrived in 1688, and the German settlers, many of the burghers availing themselves of *vrijbrieven* throughout the eighteenth century were poor, even poverty-stricken people from the lower rungs of European society (Guelke 1989). Perusal of the *Requesten* (Leibbrandt 1905-1989) discloses that large numbers of soldiers and sailors continued to apply for burgher papers throughout the Dutch period and even into the first British occupation. Some Company employees who had worked on free burgher land as *knechten* (farm hands) were among those who later availed themselves of land grants (Guelke 1989). These were all poor people.

On the other hand, by the 1730s we find second generation farmers on the land, some of whom had begun to accumulate wealth. Sons of first generation farmers often became farmers themselves on new land, or on established farms bought from others. By 1731 we begin to see free burgher society itself becoming stratified into groups based on wealth (Guelke 1989). The structure of the group which had once been made up of the very poor only changed when children of the more affluent began farming on their own, and when townsmen grown wealthy by other means began buying farm land.

But restratification processes were more complex than might casually be assumed. Although the usual factors such as economic booms and recessions, improvements in agricultural methods and implements, and the increase in wealth among some colonists certainly played a part in shaping Cape society through the eighteenth century, other forces, too, were at work.

RIGHTS AND RESTRICTIONS

As far as land rights were concerned, the farmers were originally granted by Van Riebeeck in full ownership as much land as they were able to cultivate in three years. During the three years they would pay no taxes. They could pasture their stock on Company land surrounding their properties at a reasonable fee. They were allowed to buy implements at the cost price in the Netherlands and a price was fixed by the Company for the purchase of draft animals.

The grain they produced was to be delivered to the Company at a price to be determined by the Company. The Company undertook to provide them with pigs, poultry and weapons as soon as possible.

Garden produce could be grown, but surpluses should only be sold to the ships three days after the arrival of the fleet. Fishing was allowed for personal consumption only. No alcoholic beverages were to be brought from the ships and no inns could be run on land. Bartering of stock with indigenous people was strictly forbidden as was cattle trading among themselves. Cattle could only be purchased from the Company (Boeseken 1938, Thom 1954, Guelke 1989).

When Commissioner Van Goens arrived *three weeks later*, he immediately modified some of Van Riebeeck's conditions. Some of these changes were in the favour of the free burghers, while others were not. One of the most notable changes was the appointment by Van Goens of the first land surveyor at the Cape, Pieter Potter. He was ordered to duly measure and mark off the land granted so liberally by Van Riebeeck. The first land grants were thus rescinded and the farmers were each limited to their own specific plots of 40 roods along the river and 200 roods inland towards the mountains (Fisher 1984).

The farmers on the Amstel were highly dissatisfied with the land granted them by Van Goens, complaining that it was stony and not suitable for agriculture. So on 27 August of the same year Van Riebeeck offered them better land adjacent to and partly overlapping the April grants (Fisher 1984).

Fisher (1984) points out that the amended grants were amended yet again in October 1657 when the members of the original groups split into two and requested similar division of their holdings. Within a period of about seven months there were thus four different sets of land grants.

It appears that a land grant was made on 15 April 1657 to Jan Reyniersen and Wouter Cornelissen Mostert, the deed being signed by Van Goens himself. Fisher (1984) mentions this case to illustrate the fact that Van Goens varied his own instructions by enlarging the grant by 20 roods. Consistency was thus lacking.

THE DESTABILISATION OF CAPE SOCIETY

It is difficult to understand the clumsiness and uncertainty in the Company's handling of free burgher issues. As stated above, the Cape was neither the first nor the only territory that had free burghers. The Company had already experimented with free burghers in Batavia, Ceylon and the Moluccas (Schutte 1989). Although these attempts were soon abandoned, the higher

officials were to some extent experienced as far as free burghers were concerned. In theory they should have been able to foresee and identify problem areas and to deal more efficiently with difficulties as they cropped up, despite the fact that Cape circumstances differed from those of other regions.

In order to explain the apparent mismanagement, we need to look more closely at the social implications of the institution of free burghership at the Cape. Unintentionally on the part of the VOC, the granting of freehold land to free burghers caused a major disruption in the pattern of Cape society. I shall discuss this disruption in terms of the coming into being of an anomaly and look at the ways in which societies react to such anomalies or anomalous groups. I am indebted here to the anthropological studies of Mary Douglas (1984).

The free burghers were anomalous on at least two levels: first, in terms of strict VOC policy, all people wanting to come to the Cape had to be signed in as employees of the Company. From 1657 onwards, however, we find those who, by termination of their contracts with the Company, could legitimately call themselves free men.

Second, in terms of the general European world view of the time, substantial land ownership was associated with high social status. Yet at the Cape from 1657 onwards we find penniless near-peasants suddenly become owners of tracts of farmland which could be considered large by European standards.

Pennington (1970:88) has emphasised the value of land, especially rural farmland, in European social prestige: "Certainly no source of prestige could compare with the possession of land: even the mighty Dutch townsmen tended increasingly to acquire country estates when they reached the peak of success." With land at a premium and often not easy to come by, however, Pennington says: "the way to advance in the hierarchy of the land was often by moving outside it and back again". The younger sons who did not inherit were bound to first make their way in the cities before being able to invest in land of their own.

At the Cape the low status free burghers were spared this intermediate step in the process of upward mobility. They were given if not, as it turned out, as much land as they desired, at least more than they could ever have aspired to had they remained in Europe. We need to look in more detail at this anomalous group of poverty-stricken, contracted-out landowners.

"PEOPLE OUT OF PLACE"

The people who came to establish the refreshment station at the Cape brought with them a social pattern which had become firmly set in Europe by the mid-seventeenth century. It was generally believed that the social order was a divinely established hierarchy in which each person had his place. The fixedness of "place" was constantly being reinforced through social practice, for example by way of "costume, retinue and manner" (Pennington 1970:79). It was these outward aspects of a person which made clear his or her relation to the state and to the community. "The individual was part of a triangle of service and protection. One side of this was the link between master and man, landlord and tenant; the other two sides were formed by the state's connection with all of these" (Pennington 1970:79).

Everyone had his duty to the state; everyone received benefits from it; but duties and benefits differed according to the person's place in the social order. "For those most heavily dependent on their superiors, *the direct bond with state authority could almost cease to exist*, since their duties and - such as they were - rights were held to be exercised through the man they served" (Pennington 1970:79-80, emphasis added).

When analysing social changes brought about by the introduction of free burghership at the Cape, we need to bear the above in mind, as well as the fact that during the seventeenth century the main categories into which the population was divided were comparatively few and simple.

In the light of the above, the social order at the Cape was immediately different and more complex. To those in its service, "the man they served", he who was to be the direct bond between the state authorities and those in his employ as far as the exercising of duties and rights were concerned had, for all practical purposes, *become* the state. Of the VOC Pennington (1970:65) says: "The seventeen directors, mainly men of the Regent class who could ensure political support for almost anything the Company did, were nominally elected, but in fact a closed oligarchy. It was therefore not difficult for the Company to become virtually the government of Dutch overseas territories". Witness also Schutte (1989:287): "By the terms of its charter the VOC had sovereign rights in its territories."

Those who would thus normally have had mediators between themselves and the state in matters pertaining to duties and rights now found

themselves in the unaccustomed position of having to deal directly with "the state" in such matters. Pennington's triangle had become a straight line.

Whether the people concerned realised it or not, however, it is clear that the social package transported from Europe to the Cape was not as neat as it appeared to be on the surface. There was some degree of disruption in the social order from the outset. In theory each rank had moved up a slot: the Company had become the state and the employees, in a sense, became overlords (those who dealt directly with the state).

The practical implications of the above were not, however, sufficient by themselves to completely disrupt the old order, to constitute in Douglas's (1984) terms a serious offence against order. This change by itself did not result in the coming into being of an anomalous group. Because each rank moved upward, the basic hierarchy was not changed.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the Cape situation reveals that it differed from the European package in another way as well. The dissemination of control in the Netherlands, where numerous Regents ruled in the place of a single monarch, was nullified in the colonies by a Company which gathered all power unto itself. This two-fold change in relations between lower ranks and mighty state represented the first cracks in the integrity of the well-tried European system.

The driving in of the wedge which was eventually to rip the system apart began with the freeing of, and granting of land to, some former employees. Having argued that an anomalous group thus came into being, I shall now demonstrate that this anomaly did indeed constitute a major offence against order, and that the disruption of order warranted immediate suppressive action by the state.

The Company governed itself by means of a strict, hierarchical officialdom. The Commander (later the Governor) was the top official at the Cape, but he was still responsible to various higher officials (e.g. Commissioners) who stood between him and the *Heeren XVII*. Schutte (1989:287) points out that "in comparison with the Dutch Republic, the VOC was much more centralised, bureaucratic and hierarchical. The *Heeren XVII* and their confidants had immense power".

Within this hierarchy, the lowest rungs were the military and the artisans who at the same time made up much of the labour force. On arrival at the Cape, all land was appropriated by the VOC to do with as they saw fit. All

of this was totally in keeping with the European social order. Lower status people were not associated with land ownership. What, then, does it mean in social terms when a Company acts in diametric opposition to the established order by giving away its land to low status people, thus turning near-peasants into landowners?

Douglas (1984) has demonstrated that anything which offends against order, and is therefore out of order, is experienced as a threat and thus evokes disquiet, fear and anxiety. These feelings can be allayed by dealing with the disruption in set, satisfactory ways. According to social traditions going back much further in the history of social practices than the hierarchical European social stratification system, the way to deal with such disruption is to label it as dirt and then to immediately reincorporate it into the society by giving it the treatment appropriate to dirt. Insecurity caused by the dangerous is thus dealt with by turning the dangerous into the impure, the unclean, or simply dirt.

Do we have evidence for any of this having occurred in the Cape situation? We have already seen that the anomalous group of free burghers was comprised of penniless soldiers and seamen of very low social status. When such people suddenly became landowners, a disruptive element was indeed introduced which could have posed a threat to an established social order in terms of an ancient social tradition. The history of social practices is not something detached from acts in the present. It travels along with individual acts of people into the present (Douglas 1984, Schrag 1989).

The questions we need to ask are the following: did the VOC experience the free burgher anomaly as a kind of threat? If so, did they act appropriately, in keeping with age-old embedded tradition, and (a) label the disruptive element dirt, and then (b) smooth over the disruption by reincorporating the anomaly into the system in a new way? It is possible to demonstrate that connotations of both danger and dirt were projected onto that element which was sensed as being disruptive: the free burgher farmer.

Feeling uncomfortable with the blurring of the social pattern caused largely by their own action, the VOC found it necessary to immediately redefine the lines of the pattern. The offenders had to be reincorporated in a way which would minimise the blurring. The disrupted society had to be made to appear undisrupted. At least on the surface it had to appear that the old, "divine" natural order was still being upheld.

Having inscribed the anomaly by allowing free burghers to contract out of Company service on receipt of their *vrijbrieven* and their land titles, the VOC promptly and paradoxically set about subverting their own inscription.

Subversion entailed a varied and lengthy process which will be discussed in ensuing chapters, but in a sense it began almost immediately since it was virtually built into the system. The free burghers were not absolved from the oath they were made to take on becoming Company servants, and by which they had sworn total allegiance not to God, nor to the old fatherland, nor to the new country, but to the VOC. Through this oath they were drawn back into a system from which they had purportedly been freed, and the metaphor "free" was devalued of its meaning. We see evidence of devaluation of the metaphor in the many restrictions placed on the free burghers as far as their farming operations and marketing of their products were concerned. Paradox and irony (the "unfree free burghers") were employed to mask the instability which had crept into the social system, making it appear as if the old pattern had been preserved. The Company was still in total control. The low status landowner had not become the overlord.

Labelling of the free burghers as unclean was a form of subversion which insinuated itself into the VOC attitude more gradually. All the free burghers were known to the officials and, taken by and large, complaints against them had been relatively isolated. Once they had been declared free and had ensconced themselves on their farms, however, the VOC attitude changed and defamation of the free burgher character began to manifest itself fairly consistently - and more insistently from the side of local officials than from visiting executives such as commissioners.

Evidence of defamation can be found in letters and reports to the *Heeren XVII*. Van Riebeeck's successor, Zacharias Wagenaer, was adept at maligning the free burghers, referring to them as "lazy, sodden louts" (Geyl 1964:358). Three months after Wagenaer had taken over the commandship, the Council of Policy conveyed his opinion of the free burghers to the *Heeren XVII* in a despatch dated 10 August 1662. They said Wagenaer found the "careless mode of life and proceedings (*slordig leven en bedrijf*) of these free men, or common farmers" despicable. The letter continues: "He now sees daily proofs that there are not above six or eight who are either in repute or in fact respectable and industrious men; the rest are depraved from their youth upwards (*vroeg bedorven*), lazy, drunken fellows who care as little for their Dutch servants as for their beasts ..." (Spohr 1967:4).

The following year Wagenaer repeated this complaint and even recommended that some of these "*Caepse Boeren*" be deported. Before departing from the Cape in 1666 he had, in fact, banished three Rondebosch families to Mauritius (Spohr 1967).

Willem Adriaan Van der Stel and the officials who supported him also maligned the free burghers, often referring to them as the "Company's bastards", while looking upon themselves as its "lawful children" (Geyl 1964:350).

Free burghers were expected to do military duty and in this field, too, there were many complaints. Military officers called them undisciplined and rebellious (Schutte 1989).

Although there might have been more than a grain of truth in these descriptions of the free burgher farmers, reviling them before the Seventeen can be seen as a way of expressing latent, nameless anxiety. Blaming the free burghers and their laziness for early crop failures and making it clear to high officials that these were low status people who should not be encouraged to move upward socially, was also a way of preventing the higher command outside of the Cape from, perhaps, beginning to regard the free burghers with more respect.

Douglas (1984) has pointed out that reaction to dirt and to ambiguities or anomalies is consistent in most societies and includes suppression of the anomaly through abhorrence, avoidance and separation. Maligning of the free burgher character can be seen as a manifestation of this reaction. As described by Wagenaer, for instance, the free burghers would have been branded as people socially unacceptable to the elite. Defamation was a way of attempting to ensure identification of the undesirable and its separation and social isolation.

Besides derogatory descriptions, there is evidence of physical isolation. Dirt is matter man-handled: it is taken, put, gathered up, thrown out. For separation to have the desired effect there has to be some physical aspect to it, and so the free burghers were "put" out of the settlement in their own separate little settlement on the Amstel. Ironically that which was central to the success of the whole VOC Cape enterprise was marginalised physically - cast out to the edges of the colony.

Furthermore, although the land was originally granted in a rather disorderly fashion (as much as they could cultivate in three years), this untidy arrangement was changed some three weeks later when Commissioner Van

Goens ordered the farms to be properly measured. He apportioned a separate piece of land to each individual member of the two partnerships, so that it was no longer possible for the free burgher to "overflow" his farm boundary.

Finally, the various restrictions on free burghers regarding farming operations and marketing of produce precluded them from competing in the produce market on the same footing as the Company. There were separate rules which applied to free burghers.

The reactions of abhorrence, avoidance and separation towards the anomaly amount to rejection of the anomaly *and* immediate reincorporation. In the process the lines of blurred patterns were redefined. Physical space was reapportioned in an attempt to control upward movement within social space.

In the process of setting up barriers through avoidance and separation of anomalous elements the definition of that to which the anomalous elements do not conform are at the same time strengthened (Douglas 1984). When the Company defiled the free burghers, emphasising their low, unrefined social status, they were at the same time pointing to their own social and general human superiority. Thus the "natural and divine order" of government and control by the upper echelons was reinforced. Labelling as dirt also justified continued VOC control.

The next chapter deals more fully with the oppositions fashioned by VOC discourse, but it would, perhaps, not be inappropriate to register here the complexity involved in the association of the anomalous free burghers with dirt.

The major division within VOC ideology was between the civilised (European colonists) and the uncivilised (indigenous people). While this thesis focuses on the hierarchical sub-division within the category of the civilised, the presence of the ultimate other, the "uncivilised", must constantly be borne in mind. The indigenous Khoi herders were also considered to be the ultimate in dirt and were described in extremely derogatory terms by visiting seamen and travellers even before the Dutch occupation of the Cape (Ritchie 1990).

Care had therefore to be taken that, while it was essential that the anomalous burghers be associated with dirt, they were never defiled to an extent which would transfer them to the category of the uncivilised. The

major opposition had to be maintained at all times and constantly reinforced.

To sum up briefly what has been said thus far: a well-established set of ordered relationships was brought out to the Cape, but it was, nonetheless, a system in which a few cracks had begun to show. In 1657 there was clear contravention of this order when people from the lower social ranks were contracted out of Company service and given substantial farms in freehold title. Anomalous elements thus created were subjected, according to age-old traditions, to reincorporation in order to restabilise a disturbed social pattern. The VOC attempted to do this by subverting the new relationships it had itself set up.

Douglas's (1984) work on social reactions to anomalies and ambiguities deals with "matter out of place", that is disruptive objects and/or animals which can be labelled as dirt without problems. Had the anomaly at the Cape simply been made up of matter out of place, the VOC response would most likely have had the desired effect: the old order would have been made to prevail. In fact, however, the situation was far more complex, since that which had to be labelled "dirt" was not matter, but "people out of place". Matter can be washed out, swept up and deposited on a heap, or purified by burning to ashes in a fire. Not so people. People do not usually see themselves as dirt. Nor do they readily take to the idea of other people seeing them as such. The problem is therefore that the free burghers saw themselves differently to the Company. Whereas the Company looked upon them primarily as dirt, they looked upon themselves primarily as landowners and, by this fact alone, worthy of the respect meted out to such people in Europe.

What we are witnessing here is the grounding of a power struggle which was to continue until the end of the Dutch period of rule and beyond, with officials trying to keep the free burghers in the low status position they had always occupied, and the free burghers striving to find for themselves a new, more elevated place within the social hierarchy - a place more in keeping with that of the land-owner. An unfamiliar, highly complex and paradoxical situation thus arose at the Cape, with the two factions diametrically opposed to each other in many ways. What the free burghers needed to do was to create a new identity for themselves, that is to reconstitute themselves as subjects.

This was difficult since the free burghers had no official voice in the running of the refreshment station. The only local policy-making body was the

Council of Policy and consisted entirely of officials, as did three quarters of the highest judicial body, the Council of Justice (Schutte 1989). One member of the first nine free burghers was later allowed to sit in on meetings of the Council of Policy when matters pertaining to free burghers were being discussed (Boeseken 1938), and the three burgher members of the Council of Justice could be consulted on matters of government, but this was obligatory (Schutte 1989). It was not until 1783 that the numbers of free burghers and officials were made equal (six each) on the Council of Justice, but the chairman (thirteenth member) remained an official.

The situation was similar in the Courts of Petty and of Marital Cases. Even members of the Church Council were nominated by the Governor. In local government the situation improved somewhat in later years when the *heemraden* who assisted the *landdrost* in country districts were selected from the more prominent burghers (Chapter Six). The *landdrost*, however, remained a full time official (Schutte 1989). Access to the state was therefore limited, especially in the early years.

When first protesting against what they considered to be unjust treatment by the VOC, the burghers resorted to familiar forms of overt action: a minor rebellion and a petition. In 1660, with a large fleet in the Bay, fifty-seven free burghers and Company employees rebelliously declared themselves no longer prepared to stay at the Cape. Assisted by seamen, they stowed away on the ships and forty-two succeeded in fleeing to Holland (Boeseken 1938).

On 23 December 1658 the first of a number of early petitions threatening coercive action if grievances were not addressed, was presented to the Commander and his Council. The entire petition with Van Riebeeck's comments is published in Thom (1954:393-401). It is an extremely interesting document which gives insight into the VOC : free burgher relationship at that time.

The tone of the petition is subservient at first, but becomes more and more demanding. Towards the end it is even threatening. None of this is lost on Van Riebeeck and from his comments the divergent interpretations of the term "free burgher" become evident. The free burghers make it clear that they became free to support themselves by farming. Yet they find themselves forced to "slave" on the land because they are constantly hampered by Company restrictions.

Van Riebeeck, on the other hand, repeatedly reminds them of the conditions under which their freedom was granted, for example: "Their title

deeds and conditions were read out to them when it was made apparent that they became free on condition that they were to submit to all rules existing or still to be made by the local authorities - which would be subject to confirmation by our Lords and Masters in the Fatherland - to whatever else Their Honours might further direct etc. and also to the letters of freedom and title deeds, originally signed by the Hon. Commissioner Van Goens ..." (Thom 1954:391).

In reply to the burgher complaint about being forbidden to trade cattle, Van Riebeeck writes: "Our Lords and Masters *ordered* the freemen to be *forbidden* the cattle trade with the natives, and we consequently also *forbade* them to barter slaughtered animals ..." (Thom 1954:391, emphasis added).

With all the power of the mighty VOC behind him, Van Riebeeck reminded them that, "free" or not, they remained very much the lesser in the relationship: "They were told to behave as behoves obedient servants, and not to compel the Company in any way or to threaten it ... seditiously and rebelliously" (Thom 1954:392).

Van Riebeeck holds them to ransom by reminding them of the Company's magnanimity: "The Honourable Company feeds them, provides them with everything, and raises them from a lowly position at great expense to itself and with great difficulties" (Thom 1954:392).

With the eloquence and self-assurance of one who had mastered the word, Van Riebeeck was able to subdue his poverty-stricken, semi-literate peasant subjects. Of the fourteen rebel signatories, seven were unable to write their names. They submitted meekly enough in the end, admitting "that they had greatly blundered and accordingly begged the Commander not to take it too greatly amiss, for they now clearly saw that they had not only made a mistake, but that the Commander had always acted in their interests ..." (Thom 1954:401).

Neither rebellion nor petition, then, brought much by way of results. When it came to writing and speaking, the free burghers could not win. They needed to find another mode of inscription, a silent language of symbols (Hall 1989) for registering their dissatisfaction. This was to take time and would simultaneously involve the forging of a new identity in the heat of what Schrag (1989) calls communicative praxis.

Douglas (1984) has pointed out that symbolism comes into play in the rejection of inappropriate and acceptance of appropriate elements.

Sorting, classifying, separation and reincorporation is what symbolism is about. The scene at the Cape from 1657 onwards was thus set for symbolic discourse and action, and where there is symbolism, material culture objects are invariably involved. Holzner and Robertson's definition of identity is helpful in illustrating this point: "In brief, to us identity constitutes the form of presentation of the actor, both in internal and external relationships" (Holzner and Robertson 1980:5). For historical archaeologists the key word here is *presentation*, which implies performance, accomplishment, display within specific localities. The centre of our studies is the artefacts around which, and the created spaces within which performance, accomplishment, display come to fruition.

Furthermore, adopting a new identity involves redescribing reality by someone to someone (Ricoeur 1982d). How it is possible to redescribe reality by using symbolic language, and how this was done at the Cape through texts inscribed in the symbolic language of dwelling and the expressive social action involved in the process of dwelling are the topics of the remainder of the project. We begin by studying the VOC discourse and analysing some of its texts.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTS AS ARTEFACTS: A DISCOURSE OF DOMINATION MANIFESTED IN VOC DOCUMENTS

The shift towards post-structuralist theory becomes more evident in this chapter, which is written, as is much of the remainder of the thesis, within the general framework of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) discourse theory. Ricoeur's principles and the potential they open up for historical archaeology will be discussed more fully in Chapter Eight.

My reason for making use of such theory, which is generally considered to fall outside of the boundaries of archaeology, is that it has enabled me to look at past events, historical documents and material culture in a new way. As far as documents are concerned, it enables the deconstruction of common documents such as oaths and land grants. The importance of such papers has often been overlooked, because their meaning has been thought to be obvious and indisputable. Deconstruction, however, reveals their rhetorical devices for fashioning oppositions, establishing social hierarchies, and constituting identities.

In this chapter I treat documents in the same way that archaeologists treat any other type of artefact. By subjecting five VOC documents to stringent literary analysis, the aim is to demonstrate that, together, VOC documents pertaining to the Cape of Good Hope constitute an official discourse which, besides having symbolic connotations and meanings, played an active part in the constitution of subjectivities and therefore of Cape colonial society. Oppositions were structured, maintained and mediated by the texts, some of which became symbols in themselves. Documents are used, then, to problematise rather than to simplify what happened in the past.

Works by scholars in other disciplines have proved useful in building up background knowledge; for example Barker (1984), Stallybrass and White (1986), Hanks (1987), and Alonso (1988). In historical archaeology itself, the work of Hall (1991a, in press, Hall *et al* 1990) has become invaluable, although his focus is generally less on documents than on other forms of material culture.

The language of official discourse is formal in style. The texts do not on the first reading strike one as being particularly interesting. They give the impression that there is nothing to analyse. Further examination, however,

reveals that they speak a language of power and domination. Every one of the documents discussed in this chapter serves to reinforce a power relation. Ricoeur (1982d) has said that discourse is always by someone, for someone, about something. The official documents under discussion are about VOC power and the rationalisation of exploitation and domination.

Taken together, VOC texts formed an official discourse which, by the mid-1730s, had called up a counter-discourse in a silent, symbolic language. By silent I mean that the texts of the counter-discourse were not written on paper in the symbols of ordinary language, but in brick and stone, porcelain and cloth, spaces and shapes (Hall 1989). This transformative discourse of resistance was "written" by the very subjectivities constituted in the official discourse.

Chapter Four has set out one of the main lines of thought in this thesis, namely that when the VOC began granting land to the free burghers from 1657 onwards, a new group of people came into being, causing the disruption of an old order. The need arose for the establishing of a new identity for the free burgher farmers who had become "people out of place". Suggesting the need for a new identity, of course, implies the existence of an old one. By studying the discourse of the VOC at the Cape during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we get an impression of what this old identity was like and how it had been established in the first place.

The following five official texts are analysed in this chapter: the oath of allegiance to the VOC; the oath taken by a burgher councillor; the official prayer said at the opening of meetings of the Council of Policy; a free burgher artisan's letter of freedom; and a free burgher farmer's land grant.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE VOC

"I promise and swear that I shall remain loyal and faithful to the Most High and Honourable Lords of the States-General as our highest and sovereign authority, to the Principals of the General Chartered East India Company in this country as well as to the Governor-General and the Council in India and furthermore to all Governors, Commanders, and Administrators who will take charge of us during this voyage [literally: journey on the water] and thereafter on land; that I will to the best of my ability uphold and obey in all respects all laws, proclamations and ordinances already proclaimed or yet to be proclaimed by the above mentioned Administrators or by the Governor-

General and the Council and further to behave and conduct myself as befits a good and faithful subject thus bound and committed."

(Translated from Dominicus 1919:5).

This seemingly unimportant text has, as far as I have been able to ascertain, hitherto been neglected in colonial-historical studies and it is difficult to find an author who has copied, let alone analysed, it. Credit is therefore due to Dominicus (1919) who wrote about the tyrannical system of the VOC which, he says, set the progress of the Cape Colony back by a century and a half.

The taking of this oath on the quaysides of Amsterdam by all who wished to become employees of the VOC did indeed mark a moment of the utmost importance in the social history of southern Africa. The oath can be seen as the founding text in the official discourse which would regulate and control Cape social life until it was challenged by a counter-discourse of resistance which developed among the colonists. What lies hidden beneath the dry, vagueness of the oath's rhetorical promises and undertakings - "to remain" (for how long?), "loyal and faithful", "to the best of my ability", "to obey", "all laws already made and yet to be made", "to conduct myself as befits a good and faithful subject" - is a language of domination embodied in oppositions structured and mediated by the text.

As befits a document dealing with valued abstract qualities (loyalty, faithfulness, obedience, good conduct), there is no overt hint of violence in the wording of the oath, no telling what will happen should the oath be broken. No doubt the very idea of breaking the oath was unthinkable in the moment of its taking on the quay at Amsterdam in the forbidding East India Building which had once been a slaughterhouse (Masselman 1963).

Consequences of breaking the oath must be deduced from other events and documents. In the first place, breaking the oath entailed transgressing the boundary of the first-level opposition set up by the oath, namely civilised : uncivilised.

Only the civilised needed to take the oath and the swearing ensured their continued status as civilised. The oath thus unites by gathering together all who are civilised, and separates by distinguishing between civilised and uncivilised. Those who broke the oath disrupted the structure of the major opposition. They proclaimed themselves oathless, and therefore uncivilised.

Clause fourteen of the first petition to Van Riebeeck discussed in Chapter Four expresses the burghers' fear of "great danger from the Hottentots".

Van Riebeeck replied that they themselves were the cause of the danger and would remain so "as long as they allowed the Hottentots to visit their houses and observe the lie of the land, contrary to the orders of the Hon. Company". Danger thus lay, not with the Hottentots, but with those who transgressed the boundaries between the civilised and the uncivilised. Such transgressors were unfit to remain within the circle of the civilised and Van Riebeeck threatened to reduce the mutineers "to a servile state" (Thom 1954:396).

The unfit were frequently banished to less civilised or marginal regions such as Mauritius, where they became more or less invisible. Commander Wagenaer deported three Rondebosch families thence "because their heads were worthless characters and the Council of Policy thought a change of residence might bring them to their senses" (Theal 1882:128). Spohr's (1967:4) comment is that Wagenaer considered them to be "useless troublemakers".

By uniting on the one hand and separating on the other, the oath points metaphorically to a world totally divorced from the history of the civilised, a world to which, nonetheless, the civilised were *en route*. Was this, perhaps, the main reason for the taking of the oath: to ensure in perpetuity separation of the civilised from the uncivilised?

There was, no doubt, an element of some unnamed and perhaps unnameable fear behind the enforced oath-taking ritual: fear that for some the line between the civilised and the uncivilised might be so faint as to be barely perceptible. It therefore warranted careful overdrawn lest it be erased altogether to the detriment of civilisation. No doubt there were some who would discover that their desires lay beyond such a boundary.

In gathering together the civilised and separating them from the uncivilised the oath sought to tame what was still wild and close to the barbaric in the population of seventeenth century Europe. By far the most of those who took the oath were recruited from the lower strata of many parts of the Continent. They were the frequenters of fairs and carnivals and theatrical performances and pageants, lovers and partakers of spectacles in which "the grotesque human body" (Stallybrass and White 1986:23) was celebrated, the at most semi-literate in whose world textuality was hardly a factor. Certainly in the minds of elevated Dutch didacticists they were "by nature" perhaps not far removed from the *wilde en brutale menschen* to whom the Christian teaching had to be brought by the VOC. From the

outset they were on the edges of the circle enclosing the civilised and separating them from the "barbarians".

These low status people were the models for seventeenth century painter Jan Steen's domestic scenes in which emphasis falls as much on bodily symbols (mussels, pipes, pregnancy, drunkenness) as on religious symbols warning against such celebration of the flesh (Schama 1979). They were models for the characters in Brederode's farcical plays where the accent falls on slyness, trickery and other forms of sculduggery; where the language is vulgar, the situations often obscene, and the laughter raucous.

Would such sensual, earthy, even messy people not have tended to easily transgress the boundary and mingle with sparsely clad indigenes described by contemporary and earlier travellers as dirty, foul smelling and devoid of morality (Ritchie 1990)? There was no need to take the oath while people were domiciled in Europe where there was no direct contact with the uncivilised. Oath-taking only became necessary when they embarked for more marginal regions of the world.

The oath also had a role to play in various transformations and the setting up of new relationships. Taking an oath of allegiance to the States-General, and simultaneously to its newly appointed proxy, the VOC, was a way of making people aware of the fact that the VOC were more than mere employers. Henceforth they would also be the government, on a par with the States-General. Subjects of the States-General thus became subjects of the VOC. In this way the oath made all employees equal, whether they were Dutch by birth or not.

Furthermore, the oath had to be taken immediately prior to embarkation as a kind of assurance against disruptive dangers during the long voyage which lay ahead. People on the water are people become undomiciled. They are in a strange element, in a liminal state and all liminal states pose threats which need to be counteracted through the taking of specific precautions. The oath-taking ceremony was akin to rituals pertaining to rites of passage performed in many parts of the world.

Not only was the passage a literal one, with the sovereign subjects enclosed and isolated in an element foreign to them, but their state was changing: the patriot was turning into a pioneer, and if nothing else, witness had to be borne to this event. The ship served as a kind of isolation hut which would see them through this passage from citizen to colonist. When they emerged on the other side, they would be in a new state of being.

This was a social condition, novel at the time, the result of processes which had preceded it entailing the growth and development of a great mercantile nation from an early tribe of dyke-building mudworkers (Masselman 1963).

The taking of the oath can thus be seen as the founding moment of a new type of human being: the European colonist. A new type of person necessarily called for a new set of relationships, not only between state and citizen, but also, as we shall see, between subjectivity and discourse, language and meaning. All of these relationships were both fashioned and mediated by the oath. At the beginning of modern colonialism we see not only new geographical spaces emerging, but also new social spaces and new activities and all this novelty needed to be ordered, bound together, mediated through new types of ideological discourse in which new images of the loyal subject had to be introduced and made real through practice.

What the oath primarily sets up is a new set of power relations involving more than a mere translocation of government in terms of geographical space. In the oath, in itself a novel phenomenon in colonial management, we find the designation of a new kind of subjectivity and the placing of this subjectivity within a novel type of domination.

The subject is not required to pledge his loyalty to a sovereign king, or even to the representatives of a moneyed and propertied oligarchy, but to a chartered company, a business undertaking whose only concern was profit for its shareholders. The one-time slaughterhouse was indeed the site of the death of an old and the inscription of a new kind of patriot.

Besides the major opposition, civilised : uncivilised, the structure of domination was interwoven with other oppositions embedded in, and transformations mediated by, the oath. Although the States-General is the first to be honoured by the swearing of allegiance, the VOC is immediately placed on a par with this governing body and from then on we get the impression that inclusion of the States-General was a mere formality. After this first, almost casual, mention of the States-General, the oath is all VOC. Regents, Governor-General and Council of India are specifically mentioned twice. They are the top officials of the VOC. The frequently used words high, most high, sovereign principals, authorities, Governor-General, Governors, Commanders, leave no doubt about this.

Employees on the other hand are constituted as *subjects* of these high lords. They are thus immediately a kind of "other", the "lesser" in the opposition rulers : ruled. At the same time as the status of the high is reinforced by the language of the oath, the lesser are made to promise and

swear to be obedient, loyal, faithful in all respects to the best of their ability. All proclamations issued by the higher must be obeyed by the lesser. But that is not all: they must promise to obey those yet to be issued as well. A temporal element is thus introduced. The higher inscribe the lesser into the future as lesser. There is also a topographical element: the lesser will be held to the oath whether they are domiciled in India, at the Cape, or any other VOC territory. Laws were thus to be obeyed by the lesser wherever and whenever they were proclaimed.

In this way the opposition high status : low status is fashioned by the oath. The high govern and make laws. The low pledge their loyalty and promise to obey. The overall implication is that with the VOC in its heaven all will be well with the world.

The oath thus first served to transform the principals of the VOC from businessmen into sovereign rulers; then to transform those of low status into loyal and abiding servants; and finally to ensure that these relationships would be maintained through time and space. It was in terms of the oath that people were classified as civilised (*versus* uncivilised) and divided into higher and lesser within this category.

The oath is thus about people and their relationships. It is about low status people swearing allegiance to, admitting domination by, high status people, unimaginably and unreachably high status people - the "most high". It is equally about attaching high quality, civilised, abstract human values to people who are so immeasurably high that what is owed to them is that which is also high quality and good: loyalty, faithfulness, obedience and the constant striving to improve.

The picture we get is of the stained looking up in awe at the infallible as they promise to try even harder to do better. The ordinary are set up against the extra-ordinary. The dyke-builders of old stand in abeyance to those who have long since risen from the mud to master the word, and are now elevated above all menial tasks.

These sub-divisions and oppositions, however, all fall within the main category of the civilised which, by the mere fact of its *having* laws, *having* government, *having* religion, *having* abstract values is opposed to those outside of the category, the uncivilised, that is the Khoi herders who were living at the Cape before the Dutch arrived. According to travelogues of the time, the "savages" had *no* laws, *no* sophisticated government, *no* religious beliefs and *no* moral values (Ritchie 1990).

It was not necessary for the VOC to establish an identity for the Khoi. For this they were able to draw upon an already established discourse which had created subjectivities for "textualised Hottentots" (Ritchie 1990:78). Ritchie has analysed the textual fashioning of "the herders' otherness in terms of the dominant white ideology". For instance, in 1595 De Houtman described them as "people who always stank greatly since they besmeared themselves with fat and grease" (Ritchie 1990:78).

Perhaps the most interesting references, however, are to their deficiency in language: "they clocke with the Tongue like a brood hen" (1598); they have "a very strange speech, clucking like turkeys" (1601); "when they speak they fart with their tongues in their mouths" (1649) (Ritchie 1990:8)-81). While the lesser within the category of the civilised might not have mastered the word, the uncivilised, the ultimate other, had not mastered "human" articulation. Their speech was made up of "natural" sounds.

Promising and swearing loyalty are values in themselves and the oath was only meaningful for those who were aware of such values, however far removed the oath-takers might in practice have been from the ideal application of these values, however hard it might in practice have been to uphold the good. The uncivilised were those who knew nothing of the existence of such values and therefore could not swear.

This distinction between civilised and uncivilised explains the seemingly paradoxical way in which the oath at the moment when it separates the high from the lesser can also appeal to the decency of the lesser. The sense of the oath is that all who promise are civilised, but within this overall category there are further divisions. Although within the circle of the civilised the lesser may fail in upholding the values, it is untenable that they fail beyond the pale of what is civilised. They must labour at self-improvement and in their labouring serve the VOC. The appeal is for them to transcend themselves in the direction of higher norms and values on the grounds of their being civilised.

The oath is a multivocal text. It has cognitive, temporal and spatial implications. Although oaths as a textual category are highly restricted, that is governed by rules, we are struck by the oath's openness in terms of meaning. For how long do the employees promise to remain loyal and faithful? When is the oath broken? The oath itself does not tell. The oath runs ahead of history, yet binds it at the same time. The employees promise to remain subservient (for all time?), obedient to laws yet to be made. They promise to remain static, to preserve their low status, not to

grow or develop or to upset the order by changing things. "To remain" means to continue to exist, but also to be left behind.

The VOC do not need to write threats of punishment into the oath. Their safeguard is the employees' promise that *they* will not change, although other things might. The temporal element of the oath projects into the unknown future. The topographical element into unknown space. These are uncertain variables. The cognitive element lends stability. The employees promise to remain whenever, wherever, subjected, submissive, obedient.

The oath speaks for people on two levels: these people here, in Amsterdam, in the present; and these people there, in the strange land, in the unknown time. The "I" here and now promises for the "I" there and then. The lesser of the present proclaim themselves lesser in the future, elsewhere, thus maintaining the opposition in perpetuity.

THE OATH TAKEN BY A BURGHER COUNCILLOR

Oaths were important to the VOC. It seems few, if any, people could escape oath taking of some or other kind, not even an official of as high a standing as the Independent Fiscal. Willem Cornelis Boers, for example, was sworn in simultaneously as Independent Fiscal of the Cape, Member of the Council of Policy and member of the Council of Justice on 10 December 1774.

Burgher councillors served on the Council of Justice as representatives of their fellow burghers. The following oath was sworn during their inauguration:

"I promise and swear to remain loyal and faithful to the High and Most Honourable Lords of the States-General of the independent Netherlands our Sovereigns, the Principal Lords of the Chartered East India Company including the local Lord Commander and Council, to serve the office of Burgher Councillor honourably, to assist in upholding the interests of the High and Most Honourable Lords, not to accept any gifts or payments either directly or indirectly from any person appearing before this Council, not to disclose the secrets of this chamber to any person, to assist in promoting the prosperity of this residency, to treat every person impartially in the administration of justice without any outward showing of either

hatred or goodwill as befits a pious and honest judge. So truly help me God." (Translated from Theal 1882:329).

This oath also bears witness to the manipulation of discourse in the setting up and reinforcement of hierarchical relationships. It is peppered with promises to the VOC and consolidates the image of the VOC as highest power.

The councillor promises and swears to remain faithful to the "Hoogmogende Heeren Staten Generael" *and*, in the same breath, to the governing lords of the Chartered Company and their local representatives. Further, to uphold the interests of "Haer Ho.: Mo.:" and to contribute to the wealth of this residency. We have an interesting phenomenon here. According to Van Dale's *Handwoordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* "Hoogmogend" (abr. "Ho.: Mo.:") was the official title of the States-General. Individually and collectively they could be referred to as "Hoogmogende Heer(en)", while "Hunne Hoogmogenden" similarly referred to the Lords of State. There is no exact equivalent of this title in English. The most accurate literal translation would probably be "Most High" (not inappropriately, as we shall see, a title usually reserved for the Almighty), or "Highest Possible".

In the text we notice how this form of address is subtly manipulated to make it refer to the governing lords of the VOC. It is, after all, the interests of *these* "Hoog Mogenden" that the burgher councillors must uphold, *these* people whom they have to pledge themselves to serve. It is to the prosperity of this (i.e. the Cape) *residency* that they must make a contribution. According to Van Dale's *Handwoordenboek*, "residency" referred to an occupied territory "in India" with a resident Commander.

What we see here, as the burgher councillor judiciously plights his troth to the Company in order to maintain their interests above everything else, is his separation from the welfare of the people he has undertaken to represent. The new councillor is not obligated to judiciously serve his fellow burghers, but the Council itself, a VOC body in which burgher representatives were in the minority and remained so until the end of Dutch rule (Schutte 1989). His good qualities (piety, honesty, impartiality, refusal to accept bribes) were primarily directed towards the Company. Burgher councillors were thus gathered into the fold of the Company, and the local elite of the Company gathered themselves into the fold of the States-General by taking unto themselves its form of address: "Haer Ho.: Mo.:".

Here, too, official discourse becomes in practice, through the social action of the oath-taking ceremony, an instrument of separation on the one hand and unification on the other. At the same time, the transfer of rule from sovereign lords to business undertaking is reinforced as the Chartered Company is conflated with the States-General.

THE OFFICIAL PRAYER

The seventeenth century in the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands was an age suffused with Calvinist religiosity. The Reformed Church was held in high esteem and its influence was considerable. Although perhaps not all who proclaimed to do so took their religion seriously, it is not surprising that meetings of the Council of Policy were opened with the following official prayer:

"Oh Merciful Loving God and Heavenly Father, since it has behoven your Holy Majesty to call us to manage the affairs of the General united Netherlands chartered East India Company here at the Cape of Good Hope and we are presently for that purpose assembled with our Council in your Holy Name we pray for guidance in our decision making so that our resolutions may best serve the aforementioned Company, that justice may prevail, that in time your true reformed Christian Teaching may be brought to and spread among the wild and unrefined people (*wilde en brutale menschen*) to the honour and praise of your Holy Name, and for the prosperity of our High Principals, for without your merciful assistance we would not be able to achieve anything. We therefore pray oh most merciful Father that you will bless us with your Fatherly wisdom and that as you preside over this meeting you will enlighten our hearts and protect us against all sinful passions, misunderstandings and similar shortcomings so that our hearts may be cleansed of all human faults and our minds so prepared that we shall not pass any resolutions in our meeting but those which will bring honour and praise to your Most Holy Name while best serving our Lords and Masters, without any consideration of profiting ourselves in any way. For the accomplishment of our tasks and for our Salvation we thus beseech you in the name of Your Dearly Beloved Son our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who taught us to pray: 'Our Father, etc'" (Translated from Theal 1882:328).

People with heads bowed in prayer are possibly at their most humble and vulnerable and perhaps analysis of talk with God seems uncalled for. We

must bear in mind, however, that this oft-repeated prayer was a formula and no less an official document than any other VOC text. Analysis will reveal that it served the same purpose as the other documents.

There is a difference between this text and the oaths. Whereas the latter were by people, for people about the power of the VOC, the prayer is by people, for God, about the power of the VOC. Nevertheless, it is in the prayer that we find the VOC closer to a semblance of humility than anywhere else in their discourse. We cannot say that praise of the Lord, affirmation of his presence, pleas for forgiveness of transgressions and human failings are entirely absent in the prayer. The councillors *do* plead for guidance in upholding justice and in bringing the Christian teaching to the wild and unrefined indigenes. They *do* admit their inability to accomplish their task by their own strength alone and they *do* pray for selflessness and salvation.

On the other hand their humility does not stretch to the point where they see themselves as no more than equal to all others before God. On the contrary, self-importance is uppermost in their minds even as they pray. It is merely tempered with humility. Praise, affirmation, confession take second place to the immediate reminder to the Lord of his obligation to assist those chosen by him to manage the affairs of the Company. They pray that all Council resolutions will bring honour and praise to his name and at the same time best serve their lords and masters - not in heaven, but in the VOC. They do not quite establish themselves on an equal footing with God while actually addressing him, but they do see themselves as special: "the called by God", chosen by him to bring the Christian teaching to the uncivilised from their high place.

The prayer thus served to reinforce not only the major opposition between the civilised and the uncivilised, between colonists and Khoi, every time it was said, but also strengthened the elitism of the Most Honourable Company, whose principals were only just lower than God. Whereas in the oaths we see businessmen transformed to earthly rulers, here we find the governors tempted into putting themselves almost on an equal footing with the Ruler in heaven.

If this analysis seems extreme, it will appear less so when we examine the relation between VOC officials and the Almighty when they speak not directly to him, but, as it were, behind his back, to other, lesser people. First we note that the policy the Company lived by was built on the motto: "*Eerste de Commercie, dan de Religie*" (Commerce before Religion)

(Coertzen, 1988:68), a motto hardly conducive to Christian teaching. Coertzen points out that included in the instructions to the first Governor-General of Netherlands India, Compiled in 1606, was the order to place ministers and sick comforters where they could best spread the Christian belief *and* best serve the interests of the Company. Clergymen, in other words, were coerced into serving two masters.

Blatant self-importance glares forth from a document titled *School Regulations for Slave Children*. The opening paragraph is as informative about the officials' relationship with the Almighty as it is about their relationship with the slave children. There is no trace of humility here. On the contrary, this is where the VOC are at their most arrogant: "De Heere God en het welvaren van de Hoog Edele Groot Achtbare Heeren Bewinthebberen van die O I Compagnie zij de hoogste wet." (The Lord God and the prosperity of the High Noble Great Honourable Principal Lords of the E I Company constitute the highest law.) (Theal 1882:331).

Here we are back with the oaths rather than with the prayer. God, like the States-General in the oaths, is mentioned in a hasty and hushed kind of way. A surfeit of hyperbole in this rhetoric is reserved for the VOC administrators, who seem to need all these words in order to conflate the Principal Lords of the Company with the Lord in heaven.

Slaves were depersonalised into objects at the Cape, as they were elsewhere. They constituted possessions of considerable economic value and were listed along with other movables in wills and inventories. As human beings they were close to nothing. What the hyperbole stresses here is the immense distance between the highest of the high VOC officials and the very least of the lesser, the slave children, the *little* nothing.

KOOPMAN'S LETTER OF FREEDOM

In 1657 the Company, on earlier suggestions by Van Riebeeck, agreed that it would be financially beneficial if employees who so desired were released from their contracts and allowed to become free burghers. There were two types of free burghers: those who wished to practice as artisans (bakers, millers, shoemakers, and so on), and those who wished to become farmers. Those wanting to become "free" could do so by submitting written requests to be laid before the Council. If the request found favour with the authorities the applicant was issued with a *vrybrief* or letter of freedom

releasing him from Company service. The following is the *vrybrief* of Johannes Koopman:

"Ryk Tulbagh, Extra-ordinary Councillor of Netherlands India, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its Dependencies &c, &c, &c, and Council make known -

Forasmuch as Johannes Koopman of Kaiserswerth who arrived here in 1757 as gunner on the pay of 12 guilders per month in the vessel Oud Carspel, has earnestly requested us to be released from the service of the Company and to be made a freeburgher, having served the Company properly, so do we graciously grant him his request to settle here or elsewhere and to carry on all permitted civic trades, provided he shall not make any application for land, from the Hon. Company which reserves for itself the right and power of re-enrolling the said Koopman, if needed or in case of misbehaviour, in the quality and for the pay of a gunner, submitting him furthermore to live and act according to all ordinances for freemen, as have already been or may hereafter be framed.

Given in the Castle "the Good Hope"

this 15th of November 1763.

R. TULBAGH.

(Translation of the Dutch text by Godee-Molsbergen and Visscher 1913:133).

As we read this text we are struck by the importance of the higher VOC official in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The resident ruler is no longer simply called Commander of the Fortress of Good Hope. He is now Governor and Councilor-extraordinary of Netherlands India &c, &c, &c. The *etceteras* imply not only that he is much, much more besides, but also that everyone knows what other titles he holds.

The fact that Koopman *earnestly* requested to become a free burgher no doubt means first, that his request was laden with "Most Honourables" and other suitable forms of address; and second, that, had it not been thus earnest, thus laden with evidence of his low and their high status, his request might have been turned down. This is not idle speculation. The VOC thrived on laudatory forms of address and it almost seems as though people tried to outdo each other with elaborate forms of address to the "Most High". A letter found by Van Riebeeck on his arrival at the Cape, and written by no less an official than a fleet commander, begins as follows:

"To the Hon. Governor-General Carol. Reijnierssen and the Hon. Councillors of India.

Venerable, Valiant, Wise, Provident and Most Discreet Sirs - " (Thom 1952:22).

We note, in the *vrybrief*, the emphasis on *servicing* the Company *properly* (meaning that the applicant had at all times upheld the oppositions fashioned by the oath of allegiance, that is conducted himself both as civilised and as lesser) as an important condition for the granting of his freedom. Furthermore, emphasis in the granting of freedom falls on the goodness and grace of the Company, "biblical" qualities usually reserved for the Almighty.

The Devil, nevertheless, creeps in. The catch is that there are limits to Company grace and goodness. Koopman's freedom is granted only on certain conditions: first, he shall not make any applications for land; second, the Hon. Company *reserves for itself the right and power* to re-enroll him (meaning to cancel his *vrybrief*) in the event of their being in need of his services, or if he should make himself in their judgment guilty of misbehaviour (that is if he should dare to offend against the established oppositions). Finally, he is *submitted* once more into obeying all proclamations pertaining to free burghers which have already been passed or may in the future be passed. The Company thus covered and advantaged itself in perpetuity.

When we study this letter of freedom in detail, we realise how all the risks and responsibilities rest on the shoulders of the applicant; how outrageous the proposals in fact are; how the applicant is lured into signing away any rights he might wish to claim as a free citizen.

As taker of the oath of allegiance, Koopman had already written himself as lesser. He was already constituted as a loyal subject and was as such prepared to believe that the Hon. Company would not deceive him, that only those of higher status were capable of distinguishing good, right and proper from bad, wrong and improper. He thus subjects himself once more to their discernment: should *they* need him, should *they* decide that he had misbehaved, he will be deprived *by them* of his *vrybrief*.

Koopman must interpret the text only as he is meant to interpret it, that is as a gracious grant by an honourable Company. This is "the Word" to which nothing may be added, from which nothing subtracted. Indeed, this particular letter was signed by "Father" Tulbagh as, it is said, he

affectionately became known because of the friendly way in which he tipped his hat at every burgher he happened to meet.

CLOETEN'S LAND GRANT

The first land grants were given to nine free burgher farmers in May 1657, with several others, including the one below in favour of Jacob Cloeten given later the same year. From the documents it is clear that in addition to taking the oath of allegiance, a free burgher farmer required two sets of official papers: a letter of freedom, and a land grant or title deed. Cloeten would thus already have submitted himself to the conditions of his letter of freedom when he signed the title deed.

"Commander and Council of the fortress the Good Hope at Cabo de boa esperance hereby grant to Jacob Cloeten of Cologne, freeburgher here, at his request in full ownership a certain piece of land in the large veldt over the Pass between Tablebay and Bay False, behind Tablemountain and eastward of the Bosbergen, on the further or East side of the Fresh River, named Liesbeek, and on the east side with the sandy and waste land towards the mountains of Africa, deep E. by N. and W. by S at the S. side 145 and at the N. side almost to the same extent, but towards the W. end, because of the river tapering somewhat narrowly 177 roods; broad at the E. and S.W. by S. and N.E. by N. 80 roods, besides at the W. end on the aforesaid river S. by W. and N. by E. 57 roods, thus making all together 12 000 square roods or 20 morgen of ground, as shown in the exact diagram of the same, No.9 drawn by Peter Potter, Landsurveyor of the Company; with autorisation [sic.] to sow the same land without delay with wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans and rice and to take the same in possession hold it in freehold and this without any taxes or impositions for the space of 12 years, excepting some plots and corners along the bank of the river being given in usufruct, the ground remaining the property of the Hon. Company, with permission as granted to other Free-burghers to use the said plots as gardens, etc. houses and sheds to be built according to the ranges made by the surveyor; provided that he shall not be permitted to sell, let or alienate the same but with the knowledge and consent of the Hon. Commander and Council aforesaid; he and other freemen, when the said 12 years will have expired, shall remain subject to the payment of such taxes and dues

as well as to allow such high roads thenceforth through their lands, as may have been resolved upon by the authority in this country subject to the approbation of our Principals, or may hereafter be ordained in the interests of the Hon. Company and that of the public; on condition of being bound to preserve and to guard all such redoubts, and watch-houses which have already been erected or may still be erected by the Company for the protection of the lands of the Freeman; all this subject to the approbation of our Principals aforesaid. Given in the Fortress the Good Hope this 10th of October 1657. Signed Jan van Riebeeck. On the open space was pressed the seal of the Company in red wax, under which stood: By order of the above-mentioned gentlemen and was signed: Abraham Gabbema, as Clerk

For a true copy

J.G. DE GREVENBROECK." (Translation from the Dutch text by Godee-Molsbergen and Visscher 1913:132).

This early grant lacks the hyperbole evident in the Tulbagh *vrybrief*, indicating that the exalted opinion the officials had of themselves grew more burdensome with time. The next section will suggest good reasons for this.

The tone of the land grant makes it clear that the VOC saw all land in the Colony as belonging to the Company and the Company only, and that it was only after careful consideration of Cloeten's request that they favoured him by approving the grant.

This grant was made after Commissioner Van Goens had revoked Van Riebeeck's original decision to grant the free burgher farmers a kingdom: as much land as they desired (Bosman and Thom 1955: 99). The promised kingdom turned out to be a mythical one. Cloeten's farm was carefully described and duly and exactly diagrammed by the first land surveyor, Peter Potter.

Although granted "in full ownership", there were limits to the way this phrase could be interpreted by the free burghers. In Cloeten's case we see that there was a servitude on "some plots and corners" which were to *remain* the property of the Hon. Company. We note that these portions were not duly measured, diagrammed or precisely described. Nor were they left out of Cloeten's diagram. His diagram, the equivalent of his farm on paper, therefore included land that was not his. It was not a true rendering of *Cloeten's* farm. There were clearly different standards for

Company land and for free burgher land. Similarly the "other free burghers" occupying these plots and corners were not granted the same freedom as the Company. Even on Cloeten's land their houses and sheds had to be built according to the surveyor's specifications. The Hon. Company limited others, but never itself. The land, like the people, became textualised, diagrammatised, fixed and bounded.

Although having received the land in full ownership, Cloeten was still not able to sell or otherwise alienate "his" land without the consent of the Hon. Commander and Council. The latter also reserved for themselves the right to build roads over the property whenever and wherever they saw fit.

When it comes to the working of the land, the wording in the grant is misleading. The land is granted "with authorisation to sowwithout delay" certain specifically mentioned crops. As it stands this means that he could sow these crops as well as any others of his choice. What it meant in practice was that these were the crops the Company required him to sow immediately. The concept of free burgher farming was implemented solely for the benefit of Company profits and wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, beans and rice were the crops the Company needed to make the Cape self-sufficient as far as staple foods were concerned. Importing food, especially rice from Batavia, was costly and therefore detrimental to the Company. Besides, the Company did not want the free burghers experimenting with crops such as tobacco, which might have proved more lucrative for some. That "with authorisation to sow ..." is thus more of an order than it might at first seem, is clear from article thirteen of the first free burgher petition to Van Riebeeck: "...we were forced to sow peas, barley, beans and maize otherwise the depot would be closed to us" (Thom 1954:395).

Even after all these limiting conditions, the Company still found it necessary to spell out where the power to make such grants lay: the farmer was reminded that "all this" was "subject to the approbation of our Principals aforesaid". Chapter Four has explained how the granting of land to penniless peasants had led to disruption of an old European order, but that the Company had refused to acknowledge the changed status of the peasants. The land grants provide substantiation of these arguments. In the very moment of his becoming propertied, the free burgher farmer was dispossessed. This thrice-oathed person was an ambiguity: both propertied and propertyless.

The social implications of such ambiguities are complex. Types of people who disrupt order are anomalous, marginal, out of place. New places have somehow to be found for them. Drawing our attention to the work of Michel Foucault, Barker (1984:13) explains how the rising bourgeois order had its roots in what he calls the "Great Confinement" of seventeenth century Europe when those who were socially undesirable or marginal changed from the visible to the ones no longer seen: "The sick, the poor, the orphaned, the homeless, the unemployed, the criminal and the mad, were now by an act of separation excluded from the scene and then made useful."

The placing of the anomalous propertied peasants on the margins of the settlement can equally be seen as an act of physical separation which reinforced the symbolic separation in the texts. Although not incarcerated in the narrow sense, they were excluded from the centre of Cape social activity and confined to their carefully delimited farms by a distance not easily traversed in those times. Here they were made to labour for the VOC under strict regulations.

Labouring for the VOC meant more than lining its pockets through hard work. Symbolically it meant reinforcing the higher : lesser opposition fashioned by the texts. More interestingly, though, it also meant physically labouring to reinforce the major opposition, civilised : uncivilised, colonists : Khoi.

Casting the free burgher farmers out to the margins of the settlement ironically meant placing them on the very boundary between the civilised and the uncivilised, the regions where symbolic separation was given physical manifestation through palisades, hedges, watch-houses and redoubts to protect the colonists from the physical onslaughts of the Khoi. It was also the region where the symbolic boundary was most likely to be transgressed. To counteract the dangers of this possibility the grants required that the free burghers man and maintain Company redoubts and watch-houses, thus making them responsible for artefacts of separation as orphans were made responsible for that which separated them from the outside world, the orphanages.

Although physical incarceration of the free burgher farmers was limited, it was reflexively fortified by symbolic incarceration through the precise bounding of the farms. The lines on the farm diagrams played an active part in the "complete restructuring of the social whole along new productive lines" (Barker, 1984:13). Signed and sealed with the VOC stamp, as it was,

the symbolic discourse of the VOC entered every dwelling of every free burgher farmer as a continual reminder of who he was and what he was not.

The spectacle of the gory waxen blob, harking back to a time when oaths were sworn by the shedding of blood, was perhaps a more effective reminder of VOC superiority to the illiterate farmer than all the formality of officialese and thus an essential element of the document. Reminiscent, as it was, of a time not long passed when spectacle reigned over word, it was an apt way of impressing upon the lesser the superiority of the senior VOC official who had already mastered the word. Indeed, VOC rule was characterised almost by an orgy of words.

What creeps into the discourse here is a new opposition, literate : illiterate. The illiteracy of the peasant free burghers was exploited by VOC officials from the very beginning. "As most of them cannot write," says Van Riebeeck in his reply to their tenth complaint in the 1658 rebellion (Chapter Four), "and the seditious document does not reflect their real and honest opinions, no blame will be attached to them, but the responsibility will rest mainly with the writer - who is unknown to us ..." (Thom 1954:394). Van Riebeeck divides his adversaries into "the well-disposed" and "the ringleaders" according to their literacy. Those who cannot write are the well-disposed blameless. The guilty are the literate ringleaders: "The Company will see to it that the well-disposed [those who cannot write] are protected. But the ringleaders [the writers] in this coercion will not be able to prevent themselves from being reduced to a servile state in consequence of their offences and evident mutiny" (Thom 1954:393). Their main offence lay in their ability to write.

The importance of this opposition will be highlighted further in Chapter Seven when I discuss artefacts as texts and look at the counter-discourse which had developed by the mid-eighteenth century. Opposed to the official, ordinary language discourse, this was the discourse of the lesser, the semi-literate, the "other", the propertied peasant, and appropriately it was a discourse of spectacle.

The VOC jealously guarded their monopoly over the word, reserving for themselves use of this powerful instrument in the politics of domination. In never allowing a printing press at the Cape censorship was virtually total. The distribution of documents was completely under their control. The subject who spoke himself in the oath of allegiance was never meant to be a writing subject.

The contracts, like the oaths and the prayer, were texts about power. They left no uncertainty as to where power was seated or where it "belonged", despite the gracious giving of "freedom" and land "in full ownership". In reality they were merely reinforcements of the power structure which had had its inception in the old slaughterhouse in Amsterdam. Burghers could become free only on condition that they remained burghers, that is faithful to their oath of submission to the VOC hierarchy. Being loyal to the VOC implied a form of servility by which people could never fully become masters of themselves or of their land.

Although it is less obvious here than in the prayer, the letters of freedom and land grants confirm the VOC tendency to conflate their power with that of the Almighty. They are omniscient and know what is good for the lesser. They control the earth and the earthlings. The tone of the contracts is that of man proposing and God disposing. They are above sin, but if sinned against, punishment will be meted out. What they lack is mercy. Although they "graciously grant ...", there is no promise of salvation. Magnanimity is merely an instrument for the masking of the desire for power.

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE AND DISCOURSE THEORY

In terms of Ricoeur's discourse theory it can be said that the oath is *by* the VOC, *for* their employees *about* the setting up of relationships. But it is also not as simple as that. The structure of the oath makes it seem as though the people who are speaking are the authors. The oath is said by "I", first person present. Although it is discourse *by* the VOC *for* their employees, it comes to fruition when it is made to seem as though it is the other way around: *by* the employees, *for* the VOC.

This switch in interlocutory roles reinforces what the oath is about, viz. the fashioning of a status hierarchy. The authors of the oath are the high among the civilised, who are better than the marginally civilised, who are better than the unoathed, wholly lesser, uncivilised. It is about the VOC placing themselves at the top and others at various places along the spectrum of human quality. But when the interlocutory roles are tampered with, the discourse becomes one in which *the lesser set themselves up as lesser* and laud the VOC as the higher. The sentiments expressed in the oath become those of the employees, since it is they who make statements about the VOC and themselves. The interlocutors are coerced into speaking, but must speak only as they are told. In this way they are constituted as obedient and submissive.

This is a particularly tricky type of manipulation of discourse because it interferes with the way in which discourse works. Normally all discourse must be interpreted by the receiver (listener/reader/addressee). But who, in the swearing of this oath, is the receiver? In turning listener into speaker the latter is robbed of his opportunity to interpret, while the actual speaker become listener will gain as he may interpret to his benefit.

Ricoeur (1982d) has made it clear that all written discourse has the tendency to slide out from under the control of the author in terms of a concept he calls "the autonomy of the text". The aim, then, in interpreting is not to get at the original meanings intended by the author and hidden behind the text, but to concern oneself as reader with "the matter of the text", the kind of "world" opened up by the text.

Ricoeur (1982d, 1982i), however, was writing mainly about literary texts (novels, poetry, and so on.) I maintain - and I shall argue more fully in Chapter Eight - that there are circumstances under which authors do, in fact, apply strategies to ensure that their intentions and meanings are made known to readers, and that these strategies involve social action of some kind. The oath-taking ceremony was precisely such a strategy. In creating a special kind of dialogic situation and then switching the roles of the interlocutors, the VOC, (that is the authors), were eliminating the very possibility that the text could be interpreted "incorrectly" (in their terms). By placing themselves in the interpretive situation they make the text univocal.

The oath thus works not by argument, but by its structure and its discursive strategies. The oath-taking subject is constituted as lesser by being robbed of his role as receiver/interpreter. In speaking the oath he constitutes himself.

The strategies of the oath placed the employee not only under the discipline of the VOC, but under self-discipline as well. Whatever the oath-taker was to do henceforth could only be what was sanctioned by the VOC. This is an example of what Barker (1984) calls domination achieved by constitution of the subject in its subjection. In being deprived of his role as interpreter the speaker is silenced even as he speaks himself into the oath, and he was silenced virtually for all time: "I promise to remain" Small wonder then that many availed themselves of the opportunity of becoming "free". Small wonder that when eventually they did speak in protest, they spoke in a silent language - a language which placed itself above censorship, a language which could not incriminate them in a court of law, and yet,

ironically, a language which in its own way would come to reinforce the line drawn by the VOC between civilised and uncivilised.

CONCLUSION

What has been attempted here is the unravelling of the polysemy of apparently univocal texts. Before concluding with indications as to how the free burghers responded to VOC domination, we look at the attitude of the VOC officials themselves. Is it at all possible to discern how they themselves felt about their deception?

Barker (1984) sheds some light on this difficult question. Writing about a Rembrandt painting of 1632, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*, he says that the Dutch were by this time practised in viewing their own "violent acts of domination" (Barker 1984:79) with philosophical serenity. This opinion springs from his scrutiny of other paintings of the period which depict "regents and governors of the multiplicity of houses of confinement which grew up in Amsterdam in greater numbers and earlier than anywhere else" as having gazes of serene tranquility, "able not to see" the violence in which they partook (Barker 1984:79).

Isolating free burghers on the margins of the colony made the higher officials better able to avert their gaze from the real; to focus instead on the abstract, textualised subjectivities who, after all, had spoken themselves as submissive in the oath-taking ceremony and who, by signing their contracts, had written themselves as unfree. Barker (1984) sees the violence done to the dead body of Aris Kindt in *The Anatomy Lesson* as rationalised in the name of scientific knowledge. Domination in the discourse of the VOC was rationalised in the name of material profit.

Justification in the name of profit can also explain the averting of the VOC gaze from the contradiction with which the whole of free burgher history is fraught: they were promised a kingdom, but received relatively small, carefully bounded farms. Land grants said "full and free ownership", but also that the land remained VOC property. They were exempted from taxes for twelve years, but contracts in the time of Simon van der Stel stipulated that they tithe their wheat crops. They would be released from Company service, but only for as long as the Company had no need of their services. The founding text, the oath of allegiance by which the employees swore to remain loyal and faithful, covered a host of broken promises on the part of the VOC.

Threats of violence if VOC domination was not acknowledged lurk in the letters of freedom and the land grants. Force lies behind freedom, for too much freedom for the less civilised can lead to dangerous disruption of order. So there was a price to pay for free farmland, and the price was not so much the labour, nor even the tithe, but a price in the form of obedience to the high and a sense of knowing and keeping one's proper place in the VOC hierarchy.

The final question we ask here is why the silent acquiescence on the part of the free burghers? Were they really duped by the VOC ideology as many authors imply that the lesser are duped? Hall (in press) has already argued that people are not that easily deluded and with hindsight we may say no. They took what they could get, built up their own, novel form of textual identity, and flaunted their own special discourse before the gaze of the VOC in a demonstration of Foucault's (1980a, 1980b) concept of power being everywhere, awaiting only its exercising.

It is to this special discourse that we turn our attention in the following chapters. Having been made anomalous through VOC action, the pressing question of a new identity for these people out of place, the free burgher farmers, began to override the VOC's persistent reinforcing of old relationships. The result was a redefinition of themselves as subjects which involved a critique of the forms of subjectivity VOC discourse implied. As Alonso (1988) has demonstrated, establishing identities is a process in which discourse and social action play a major part, and we shall see how such a process was set in motion at the Cape and examine the part played by both discourse and social action.

Through its fashioning of the oppositions, the oath constituted the "given world" of the pre-free burgher person, the pre-free burgher's place in this world, and the nature of his subjectivity. But this given world changed with the coming of the free burgher. When he received a new "place", world and subjectivity also changed. The official discourse became in a sense outdated. It referred to a world that was no more. It thus lost its magical ability to constitute subjectivities on its own terms. It had come up against the contra-power of a discourse of resistance.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCOURSE AT WORK IN RURAL AREAS

In this chapter I look at the development of free burgher farm complexes, mainly within the context of the expanding new district of Stellenbosch. I argue that changes in architecture must not be studied in isolation, but in conjunction with important changes in local government and against a background of increasing tension in social relationships between VOC officials and free burghers. By studying these relationships the workings of discourse in practice can be demonstrated.

AN ISLAND ENCIRCLED BY FARMS

Commander Simon van der Stel gave the name Stellenbosch to an island in the Eerste River where he had camped on returning from a visit to the Hottentots-Holland in November 1679. According to Smuts (1979), Van der Stel was so enchanted by the beautiful place that he immediately resolved to settle it. Boeseken (1964), however, suggests that Van der Stel's decision had an economic base. He saw in the fertile soil, the plentiful supply of fresh water and firewood and the wind-sheltered position an opportunity for increasing the meagre Cape food production about which the Company was constantly complaining.

The first land was reputedly granted before the end of 1679, but no records of such a grant have been found. By May 1680, however, eight families had settled in the area with a further influx of fifteen or sixteen in 1682 (Smuts 1979). By 1685 most of the well known farms along the Eerste River had been established, for example *Coetzenburg*, *Libertas*, *Nietvoorbij*, *Idas Valleij* and *Oude Molen*. Smuts (1979) envisages the early Stellenbosch as an island surrounded by farms. The little settlement was, in fact, everything an orderly Dutch colonial town was not. Hall (1992) has discussed the overriding importance of order in the Dutch commercial world. This order was manifested, *inter alia* in fixed patterns of urban geography, both in Holland and abroad. Without direct VOC intervention, the farms around the island of Stellenbosch had aggregated in an irregular, organic, peasant fashion which would have contrasted sharply with the regular grid layout of Cape Town and offended the sensibilities of higher VOC officials.

The sylvan setting of the Stellenbosch farms did not prevent tensions from building up within the community. Serious quarrels frequently arose over the question of farm boundaries, water rights, and the maintenance of public roads. Such cases were heard by the Council of Justice in Cape Town, over fifty kilometers away. Few cases were brought to court as the journey over rough, sandy tracks was not lightly undertaken. Consequently old quarrels tended to fester and escalate (Smuts 1979).

In 1682 the Council of Policy, at the instigation of Simon van der Stel, attempted to deal with the problem by instituting a form of local government for the area. Four of the most civilised (*civielste*) Stellenbosch burghers were appointed to serve as *heemraden* (Smuts 1979). Boeseken (1964:60) explains that the concept of the *Collegie* of *Heemraden* originated in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages and consisted of a group of townsmen whose function it was to advise the local representative of the landowner.

The first Stellenbosch *heemraden* were Gerhard van der Bijl of *Vredenburg*, Henning Hüsing of *Welmoed* (who later also owned *Meerlust*), Hans Jurgen Grimp of *Oude Libertas* and Hendrik Elbertz of *Vredenburg* at *Vlottenburg*. This group was autonomous in that it could mediate in local quarrels and report directly to the Council of Policy. Half of the *heemraden* retired after one year's service, and two new ones were appointed. Retired members could be renominated after a year's absence (Smuts 1979). This form of local government lasted until the visit in 1685 of Commission-General Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein on his round of inspection, an event to which we shall return further on.

EARLY FARM COMPLEXES

A family moving into a hitherto unsettled area would hastily need to improvise some kind of dwelling. We do not know what the first shelters built by the Stellenbosch farmers looked like, but they were probably relatively flimsy structures of wattle and daub or *kapstijlhuisen* like those described by Walton (1981). Inventories do not normally describe dwellings, but Woodward (1982) points out that a few do give some details. For example MOOC 8/1:14, 1695 describes the dwelling as "*Een huijs van kleij seer slegt*" (a house of clay very poor), and MOOC 8/1:16, 1696 describes the dwelling on the fifty-seven morgen of the Free Black Anthonij van Angola at Jonkershoek, Stellenbosch, as "*een klijn kleijen huijsjen met lies bedekt*" (a

small clay house thatched with reeds) (Woodward 1982:14). No doubt such descriptions would fit many of the first farm dwellings.

By the time such makeshift shelters at Stellenbosch had been replaced by more substantial structures, we are able to form an idea of what they looked like from the drawings included in his farm diagrams by Johannes Mulder, the first *landdrost* and surveyor of the district.

Walton (1989) has analysed Mulder's illustrations. By supplementing the knowledge gained from them with other documentary evidence as well as *in situ* examination of extant or partly extant buildings, he is able to produce a model for the development of the renowned Cape H-plan dwelling.

Walton (1989) sees Mulder's drawings as representing the earliest substantial house types found not only at Stellenbosch, but in many Cape regions. As he sees it, the T-plan developed from the early rectangle and from that again the H by a simple matter of extension which went along with economic prosperity and growing families. Not all of the dwellings underwent the full development, the most popular form being the T. Sometimes only half of the H-extension was completed. Often an old house was abandoned as the main dwelling and put to some other use (slave quarters, storage space, even a *jonkershuis*, that is an additional dwelling for a son or farm manager), while a new *opstal* was erected (Walton 1989).

Walton's basic hypothesis is solid and his evidence convincing, but the socio-economic reasons he puts forward do not adequately explain the extension of the dwellings. In order to make sense of the architecture we need to know why farm complexes followed a particular pattern of development. Why, for instance, given more than enough space, were more farm dwellings not simply lengthened to accommodate larger families? Why were wings added at the back? Why was there such a strong emphasis on symmetrification? Why were tall gables so important when they add nothing by way of dwelling space? These are the kinds of questions which will be addressed in ensuing chapters. Here I look more closely at changes to a number of specific dwellings.

In April 1682 seventeen morgen of land on the Eerste River was granted to Douwe Gerbrandt Steijn. We may gather that he erected a mill on it which was later closed down. The farm became known as *Oude Molen* in 1687 when a new mill was built by the Company (Smuts 1979, Walton 1989).

In 1687 Steijn sold the property to Barend van den Brink, who increased its size to approximately 44 morgen. It remained in the Van den Brink family

until 1726, when Barend's son Warnar sold it to Hendrik Scheffer (Guelke and Shell 1990). The property was surveyed in 1701 by Mulder, who included a drawing of the Van den Brink dwelling on the diagram (Figure 16). It was a little longhouse with entrance at one narrow end and a kitchen at the other. Two small windows are clearly visible in one long side. It is very similar to the other houses drawn by Mulder and, by Walton's thesis, typical of late seventeenth/early eighteenth century rural dwellings (Walton 1989).

A panorama drawn by Stade in 1710 shows *Oude Molen* with the same longhouse, but with another rectangular building, a *kapstijlhuis* and a circular threshing floor added. Interesting features are the hedges around the dwelling and a rough path leading to the entrance, which is still in the narrow end opposite the kitchen (Walton 1989). The *Oude Molen* dwelling appears again on a 1779 water colour of the Stellenbosch *Braak* by Samuel Davis. This is clearly a much-altered or totally new dwelling: T-shaped, symmetrified, and sporting a stately gable (Figure 17). Smuts says that it must have looked much as it did when it was demolished a century and a half later (Smuts 1979).

Oude Molen is unique in that we have three illustrations of it in three different stages of development. But it is clear from what has already been said that many early farm complexes underwent similar, and some even more extensive, changes. *Libertas*, for instance, which belonged to Adam Tas during the early years of the eighteenth century until he sold it to Wouter de Vos in 1722 (Guelke and Shell 1990), was also shown by Mulder to have had a simple longhouse. At some time during its history it had a T-plan *opstal* which forms part of the *werf* layout to-day where it flanks the imposing H-plan dwelling with its gable dated 1771 (Figure 18) (Fransen and Cook 1980).

The type of development set out by Walton is not, as he makes abundantly clear, limited to areas in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town. Reports by restoration architects on two dwellings further afield are worthy of study.

The history of *Rhone* near Franschhoek, in the district of Drakenstein, which was once linked to the Stellenbosch district, was researched by Fagan and Fagan (n.d.) when they restored the buildings. The land was first granted to a young French refugee, Jean Gardé, in 1691. In 1700 he married his neighbour's daughter and the Fagans (n.d.) believe that the house which he probably then built forms part of what is now the *taphuis*

(tavern). They describe it as a small house "with primitive massive clay walls and small casement windows" (Fagan and Fagan n.d.:51).

Restoration was carefully effected by these architects and was so planned that the original window openings, which had been bricked up over the years when the building was used as a store and wagon house, were re-opened and replaced with windows of the same size. The extent of Gardé's house can thus be seen. A glass panel in the plaster allows visitors to view the old clay walls.

Both the Fagans (n.d.) and Fransen and Cook (1980) feel that the present H-plan main dwelling was left intact since its date of completion which, according to a front gable date, is 1795 (Figure at end of text). It appears that the early owners were content to live in the clay longhouse until late into the eighteenth century, but there are puzzling contradictions in the Fagans' report. They say of the owner, Pieter (Pierre) Joubert who purchased the property in 1751, and his wife Magdalena: "It appears certain that they started to build the house at *Rhone*, which to-day still bears their initials on the front gable, and during this time they probably lived in the old house of Jean Gardé" (Fagan and Fagan n.d.:51). But Pierre died in 1759, and Magdalena soon married Gerrit Victor, whose initials can hardly be confused with Pierre's.

Questions remain about the *Rhone opstal* as it is difficult to explain the discrepancy between the initials and the date. It is hard to accept that the owners continued to live in Gardé's longhouse until 1795 when the building of a new dwelling had been commenced while Pierre was still alive. What did the dwelling built by Pierre look like, and was this the dwelling which Victor altered to an H-plan in 1795? Or do the foundations of another dwelling perhaps lie buried beneath the fertile earth of *Rhone*? The Fagans's suggestions are intriguing, but hardly satisfactory: "Although building may have been commenced by Joubert, the gable was completed in 1795 during Victor's ownership, so that one would expect his initials to appear on the gable. One can only guess that after Gerrit Victor's death, Magdalena's thoughts once again turned to the husband of her youth and that she decided to put his initial 'P' on the gable next to her own, but keeping the date when the gable was built. For we are convinced that the present 'R' is actually a 'P' which after many layers of whitewash has become somewhat blurred" (Fagan and Fagan n.d.:52). And the history of *Rhone*, too, remains somewhat blurred. Archaeological investigation at the time of restoration might have helped us to solve at least part of the puzzle.

There are uncertainties, too, about the history of another restored farmhouse for which we have an architect's conservation appraisal. This dwelling is further away from Stellenbosch on the farm *Stettyn* near Worcester. The old farmhouse was restored in 1977 by John Rennie.

According to Rensch (1984), the land was first granted in September 1714 to Jan Cloete and Jan Jurgen Radyn from Stettin, Germany, hence the name. Rensch feels that because both partners had other properties, they did not live on *Stettyn* and that the first house on the farm, a simple rectangle, was not built until 1777, which is the date on the gable. Rensch's suggestion is that the alteration resulting in a T-plan was not executed until the nineteenth century (Rensch 1984).

Rennie's (1977) findings, correctly I believe, refute these suggestions, but are not without complications of their own. Rennie sees the *Stettyn* dwelling as "a very good example of a small country homestead dating in all likelihood from the early eighteenth century". He substantiates this view by pointing out the lack of formality, subtle asymmetry and the minimal nature of window openings. All of this makes sense, but then Rennie adds the gable date to strengthen his supposition. 1777 is hardly *early* eighteenth century. Besides, the gable is typical of a type built in the Worcester region during the *nineteenth* century.

Nevertheless, Rennie (1977) sees two phases of building in "this irregular T-plan, the front portion with its thick clay and boulder wall construction being the original, with the tail added later". This precisely coincides with Walton's (1989) model. It is the usual development of a longhouse changed into a T.

What makes *Stettyn* particularly interesting, however, is the visible amount of effort involved in effecting these changes, which indicates the dire need for this particular type of alteration. An easier way of providing more space would simply have been to extend the length of the dwelling. The original peasant longhouse had been built nestling close to the hillside and following the lie of the terrain as at *Onrust*, with the necessary internal adjustments for reasonably level floors and ceilings.

Its proximity to the hill had made the adding on of the back wing extremely difficult. The hill had to be hollowed out to accommodate kitchen and hearth which, to use Rennie's words, are tucked into the hillside. The dining room had to be stepped up from the *voorhuis*, and the kitchen stepped up again from the dining room to cope with the slanting terrain.

As the plan shows (Figure 19), complete symmetry was unattainable. Nevertheless, the facade was levelled and symmetrified and Rennie found evidence for more than one shifting of windows and door openings.

To return to the problem of the gable and its date: Rennie (1977) sees it as a typical Worcester gable of the nineteenth century and suggests that the date refers to "the traditional date of the establishment of the farm". His suggestion, which he admits is conjectural, is that the gable was added to an ungabled house in the nineteenth century. This is, of course debatable. To me the "new" gable with an old date suggests replacement of an old gable which had come to grief, but with retention of the date of the previous one. The massive buttressing contemporary with the present gable strengthens this suggestion. Rennie says the buttresses indicate a precaution against the tendency to move downslope of the soft front wall, especially when burdened by a gable. A precaution taken because of a lesson well learnt, one might suggest. I can only repeat that archaeological investigation at the time of restoration might have yielded more information.

Although the T-plan remained the most popular during the eighteenth century, an increasing number of H-plans were built as the century reached its last quarter. When a new dwelling was not built, an old T was extended. Walton (1989) illustrates this development with two examples, *La Provence* and *Nederburg*. Of these he sees the latter as being more interesting because it retains more features of the T: "The T-part of *Nederburg* presents exactly the plan of a house such as *Saxenburg* (Chapter Three), thus demonstrating the relationship between the two plans" (Figure 20) (Walton 1989:33).

Walton (1989) sees the reason for further extension of the T as lying in the fact that the latter design did not provide adequate accommodation for a large family. This idea has not been substantiated by evidence showing that people who built such houses did indeed have large families, but it is plausible. Furthermore, enlargement of the house depended on the farmer's financial situation: "Where the farmer could afford, he sought means to enlarge his dwelling" (Walton 1989:32). The fact that the H-plan doubled the space for gables has not been considered. Some of these dwellings ended up with six large gables and this has nothing to do with family size, but has everything to do with display of some kind, as we shall see further on in this thesis.

Although there are sufficient similarities in later eighteenth century Cape dwellings to enable us to speak of a tradition and to maintain that the

tradition was a later development overlying an earlier form of longhouse, no two houses are identical in all respects, while some, such as *Stettyn* and *Meerlust* (Chapter Two) might even be called idiosyncratic. There was enough variability within the tradition to allow for individual tastes, and even changes through time, for example in gable styles from baroque to neo-classical. But there were certain principles involved which determined whether a dwelling fell within the tradition or not. The most important of these were the adding of wings to the back, the addition of tall gables and symmetrification of the facade.

I believe that what we are witnessing with the development of this architectural tradition is the coterminous development of a discourse of resistance on the part of the free burghers directed at the VOC discourse of domination and coercion. The nature of this discourse of dwelling and how it worked for its producers will be discussed in the next and following chapters.

What I aim to do in the remainder of this chapter is to demonstrate VOC discourse in practice, its intrusion into the everyday lives of the free burgher people of Stellenbosch. I do so by analysing the workings of the *College of Landdrost and Heemraden* as instituted by Commissioner Van Rheede.

THE VISIT OF COMMISSIONER VAN RHEEDE

The previous chapter explained how VOC rule was characterised *inter alia* by a kind of false magnanimity. While appearing to give both land and freedom generously, much of what was given was summarily reappropriated. In 1657 when Commissioner Van Goens visited the Cape, he vastly reduced the amount of land granted to the free burghers by Van Riebeeck, and the burghers were soon made to understand that becoming free did not mean freedom from VOC domination.

In a sense the visit of Commissioner Van Rheede in 1685 was a re-enactment of the Van Goens visit in that he revoked the freedom given to the burghers of Stellenbosch to manage local affairs themselves. The practised eye of this top VOC official immediately saw the possibilities inherent in the concept of *heemraden* for becoming another mechanism for enforcing VOC hegemony. After Van Rheede's tampering with the system, there would be no more direct dealings with the Council of Policy by free burghers. Although not altogether silenced, the voice granted them by

Simon van der Stel would once again be made to speak only at the margins. It was to be an isolated voice, limited to the secrecy of the *drost*'s council chamber where it could be vetted and vetoed by a VOC official. When this voice eventually reached the Council of Policy, it would be no more than a subservient whisper.

Smuts (1979) has summarised portions of the two documents Van Rhee­de left behind: his journal and his instructions. The instructions have been reproduced in Theal (1896). From these we are able to trace the manner in which he set VOC discourse to work, and the way it affected the lives of the burghers of Stellenbosch.

First of all a disgruntled Van Rhee­de employed the regular VOC method of maligning the free burgher community in general. He accused some of them of greed in procuring more than their fair share of the river bank, indirectly blamed them for the lack of order in the community, and expressed his disdain for them: "As a faithful servant of the Company, he expressed the opinion that it would have been better if there had been no free burghers at all, and the Company had rather left all food production to its own officials, but now that matters had progressed to this extent order had to be maintained at all cost" (Smuts 1979:58). Unable to wish them away, however, Van Rhee­de promised that no new free burghers would be allowed and warned that "lazy, careless or dissolute burghers" would be banished to Mauritius forthwith (Smuts 1979:58).

Imposition of order was high on Van Rhee­de's list of instructions. He reprimanded the Cape officials for their lack of planning and for the haphazard fashion in which land had been granted at Stellenbosch. He began reorganising the whole settlement by proclaiming Stellenbosch a town in 1685.

To Van Rhee­de, order first of all meant textualisation. Roads, farms, towns and districts were meant to have clear margins drawn on maps which showed where they began and where they ended, and he left strict instructions for the layout of Stellenbosch to make it conform to the principles of Dutch urban geography (Hall 1992). Roads were to be laid out in a neat pattern. Houses had to be built close together and all facing the river: "*Huijs aen huijs met de front na de rivier*" (Theal 1896). By stamping an ancient Dutch order onto the growing community, Van Rhee­de not only grafted Holland onto Stellenbosch, but also grafted town planning principles of the Middle Ages onto the dynamic, seventeenth century peasant community, regardless of differences in time and space, climate and

environment. It was as though he invoked the power of an old text to ensure stability, to reinforce an old European order by which lesser people were naturally subservient and obedient to their betters.

Farms, too, had to be brought under the umbrella of general VOC order, that is, textualised. He left instructions for them to be duly measured, fully diagrammed, and written down in a register.

Van Rheeде thus singlehandedly made rules as his predecessor Van Goens had done: rules about land and the people who lived on it. As we shall see, the *heemraad* did not escape the net. The Commissioner's rules were uncompromising in their political objective: domination and control of the free burgher body by imposing inferiority upon it.

It was not necessary for Van Rheeде to complain about the acting *heemraden*, since they would henceforth be controlled, and he suggested that those serving continue in office. Their main task was to form a court of petty cases, but to ensure that Company interests be served first, Van Rheeде appointed an official as chairman. Known as the *landdrost*, he was to preside over all meetings of the court. No meetings could in future take place except in his presence and under his supervision. Van Rheeде makes it very clear that this precaution is to ensure order and that the Company's interests be served (Smuts 1979).

The *landdrost* was a paid official whose list of tasks was immense - so immense that it must have been clear from the outset that the Company presence in the district would not for long be limited to one representative. The *landdrost* was merely the nucleus around which a growing band of bureaucrats would soon begin to aggregate.

Domination increased with the number of bureaucrats appointed to assist the *landdrost*. A secretary was appointed as early as 1686. A *polisiedienaar* (police constable) followed soon after with a number of assistants of lower rank. By 1711 there was a prison at Stellenbosch with an official in charge of it. Like the *landdrost*, he was given a special residence and the title of "substitute *landdrost*" (Smuts 1979).

The *landdrost* was also made head of the local militia and chief of police. In the latter capacity he could arrest wrongdoers and charge them to appear before the Court of Justice in Cape Town (Smuts 1979). It is significant that the coupling of *landdrost* and *heemraden* was a local innovation. Boeseken (1964) explains that in the Netherlands the *landdrost* was nothing more than a military and police official whose task was to

patrol the countryside and keep order. *Heemraden* in Holland were not subject to the supervision of an official, as they came to be at Stellenbosch. Clearly, the appointment of a *landdrost* here was to ensure VOC domination and control of the new town and to further the interests of the Company by maintaining in the practice of everyday life the superiority of the higher over the lesser.

Landdrost, then, became an important title for an important official. To further enhance his status, he was given a special residence with a title of its own: the *drostdy*. So important did Van Rheeде consider the *drostdy* to be that he specifically stipulated that its erection had to be given primacy over that of the church, and that it was to be built on the island, at the very heart of Stellenbosch where the name had originated (Smuts 1979). The *drostdy* was completed in 1687, and it was here under the roof of the *landdrost's* dwelling that meetings of the *heemraad* took place.

The *drostdy* was an effective symbol for VOC supremacy. Its importance had already been stressed by its publicly being given priority over the building of the church. As the largest and most imposing building in the town it could adequately fly the banner of the VOC and make visible the importance of the *landdrost*. It served at once as his dwelling and as seat of justice for the whole district, a fit place, therefore for the meting out of punishment to offenders against order, and for securing the subservience of the leading burghers of the district - and thus, by implication, all the burghers.

THE HEEMRADEN

Many of the owners of well-known country estates were at some time or another associated with either one, but most often all, of the College, the military and the church council. Taking some of the owners of *Oude Molen* as an example, we see that the first owner, Steijn, was one of the very early *heemraden* before Van Rheeде changed the system. Warnar van den Brink was the ensign of Stellenbosch and was nominated *heemraad* in 1715 and again in 1723. Scheffer was a church elder in 1715 (Leibbrandt 1905-1989). Nicolaas Vlok, who owned the place in 1749, became a deacon in that year. He served the church repeatedly, first in this capacity and later as elder (1755-1768). He also served as *heemraad* repeatedly until 1773 and was captain of the burgher dragoons until he requested retirement due to old age and failing health in 1775 (Leibbrandt 1905-1989).

Serving in such public capacities must have provided a measure of social status for these men among their fellow burghers. But what was this status worth in the eyes of the Company? How much did being a *heemraad*, a military officer, or even a church councillor count for when it came to dealings with members of the Council of Policy and other high officials? Perusal of the *Memorials* (Leibbrandt 1905-1989) gives insight into the degradation involved in written requests made to the VOC. I use two documents co-signed by Phillipus Mijburgh of *Meerlust* as examples. Phillipus's father, Johannes Albertus Myburgh, acquired *Meerlust* in 1757 and appears to have been content to live in the old T-plan dwelling until 1776 when he built a new heavily-gabled T onto the front of the old one (Chapter Two).

Albertus was nominated as deacon to the church council in 1743 and served repeatedly, becoming an elder in 1782. He was nominated as *heemraad* for the first time in 1743 and served several terms (Leibbrandt 1905-1989).

Phillipus, heir to the Mijburgh property, followed in his father's footsteps as far as serving on the local councils was concerned and was already a *heemraad* in 1773 (Leibbrandt 1905-1989). He was a mature person by then, a second generation Stellenbosch inhabitant concerned about his community, with enough stable qualities to warrant repeated nomination to the College and with the acumen necessary to run a well established and prosperous farm.

Yet this character sketch is not in keeping with the tenor of documents addressed to the Company which Phillipus was required to compose and co-sign. The following extracts from a Memorial dated 30th March 1779 which centres around the banishment of a Stellenbosch burgher, Carel Hendrik Buijtendag, illustrate this point.

The Memorial took the form of a request to the Company on behalf of about four hundred Stellenbosch burghers to be given the opportunity to explain to the "the Lords and Masters" in Holland the present burgher condition of the Colony and the violence committed against Buijtendag, which they felt was a violation of their burgher rights. The Memorialists say that they were requested by the burghers "to stand up for their interests according to oath and duty, and equally participate in the same. Memorialists therefore take the liberty *most respectfully* to submit the burghers' request to you, *with the humble prayer that it may be granted by you*".

While we find Phillipus and his co-signatories humbly on their knees before the Council, we find the latter in no mood for answering such prayers. The request was refused on the grounds of their daring to wish to appeal directly to the Masters instead of first addressing the Cape Government. The right of the Memorialists to make such requests was, however, generously granted (Leibbrandt 1905-1989:114g, emphasis added).

Another example from Phillipus's experiences as a military officer is perhaps even more illuminating. As lieutenant in the local militia Phillipus was co-signatory to a lengthy complaint of 1782 on behalf of the burghers of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein about long spells of picket duty. On this occasion the request for cancellation of summonses on those who had failed to report was granted, but not without the usual stressing of the Company's generosity, and because the Company realised that the offenders had had no intention "to show disobedience to the orders of the Government".

With the VOC there was always a price to pay for generosity, and the reply continues with a warning that there is an end to VOC largesse: "On finding how much indulgence has once more been shown to them", they will in future "*conduct themselves on all occasions as faithful, right-minded and obedient burghers*" (Leibbrandt 1905-1989:219, emphasis added).

The above extracts give us insight into the way in which the VOC discourse played an active part in the construction of free burgher identity. The mature man, whether ordinary burgher, *heemraad*, or military officer, was regularly made metaphorically to kneel before the Company. In writing to the Company and reading replies to their requests, even when requests were granted, they were made to feel small, humble and insignificant, like misbehaving children.

There were small concessions of raised status for free burghers serving in local government, but this was slight recompense for the humiliation suffered in writing. That they nevertheless clamoured for such recognition is evidenced by the bickering and sometimes even vociferous arguments which arose over seating arrangements for women in church (Hall 1992). Pretorius (1986) has researched this question more fully and it is worth discussing here.

The VOC hierarchy was always deeply concerned about the public display of rank in all the regions it dominated. A list by rank was drawn up in 1718 and updated in 1755. It was strictly adhered to on all occasions. Beginning with the Governor-General of Netherlands India, it continued all

the way down to the Third Watch (Pretorius 1986). The seemingly petty obsession with rank outside of VOC circles thus becomes more easily understood. Within VOC officialdom, every person had his or her allotted place and the concept filtered through to the seating of women in church.

The unenviable task of arranging the chairs fell to the *koster* (sexton), who was often confused by the long list and frequent changes. Errors on his part led to a great deal of disgruntlement and even open confrontation during services, resulting in an atmosphere not conducive to the solemnity of the sermons. The various church councils, therefore, tried to resolve the issue, and to make the *koster's* life a little easier, by drawing up a list similar to that of the VOC (Pretorius 1986).

The list for Stellenbosch is interesting. Heading the list were the wives of the minister, the *landdrost* and the *ex-landdrost*, significantly all Company appointees. They were followed by the wives of the *heemraad* in office, the secretary's wife and the wives of retired *heemraden* in the order in which they had become *heemraden*. Next came the wives of the military in the order of the rank of their husbands, wives of members of the church council, the wife of the *sieketrooster* (sick comforter), daughters of the *landdrost*, daughters of serving as well as retired *heemraden* by age, wives of the sergeants, and the wife of the clerk of the Court of *Landdrost* and *Heemraden*. The list ends with a lumping together of all the other female members according to rank, but these ranks are not specified (Pretorius 1986:9-10).

Everything in Cape society, even family ties, took second place to rank. In church, fathers, mothers, sons and daughters were separated and placed according to their importance in the social structure.

As far as women were concerned, a husband or father becoming a *heemraad* had certain advantages and it is more than likely that men were encouraged by their women to do so and to remain in office when they might have preferred retirement. As far as the men were concerned, the seating of their women made their own status visible.

Even these concessions to free burgher status, however, could be put to use by the VOC, because the seating of women in church emphasised the stability of VOC status as opposed to the precarious and shifting nature of free burgher status. Only the position of the first three chairs remained fixed for any length of time, so that everyone could see that stability lay with the VOC. Behind these ladies, in the ranks of the free burghers, uncertainty and instability akin to the restlessness of the ocean reigned as their

men served their terms and retired, served and retired. It was here that quarrels arose. Sedate, virtuous and orderly silence in the front row could be visibly and audibly contrasted with disorderly and distasteful bickering in the back (Pretorius 1986). When the voices of free burgher women were heard in public, they were uncharitable, unpleasant and disruptive of church order and thus able, in practice, to reinforce the VOC concept of free burgher identity.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that, in order to renegotiate their status, the free burghers had to learn to speak another language and to inscribe it in something more solid than church furniture. In contrast to church chairs, dwellings could not be shifted around by any paid official, let alone one as lowly as the *koster*. The permanence of the whole farm complex, especially its newly-gabled, thick-walled *opstal*, began to dominate the rural landscape and presented the VOC with an empirical reality able to represent a new free burgher identity which contradicted the textualised identity manifested in their own written discourse.

By their growth and development, by their display of symmetrical order, and by their employment of a network of intertexts (Chapter Ten), these dwellings could speak louder, more insistently, and more articulately than bickering voices in church. Quarrelling did not serve the free burgher cause, but the dwellings could contradict all the rhetorical subservience of the *heemraad* signing a Memorial. The dwellings offered a silent resistance to begging and demonstrated the disjuncture between the manner of speaking to the VOC as a *heemraad* and the manner of speaking to the community at large as a mature free burgher.

The dwellings give solid evidence of owners able to create and maintain order without VOC intervention, to act independently, to be capable of discernment, and therefore to command respect and to be treated as equals rather than child-like obedient servants. The free burgher's *plaats* (place) stood in clear contrast to the place designated him by the Company.

Expansion and growth was in the very air of eighteenth century Stellenbosch. The district was growing, the town was growing, the population was growing, for many prosperity was on the increase. Territorial and other expansion brought with it opportunities for status growth, but for the free burghers we have seen how this was blocked by the Company's

coercive strategies. Arguments for the renegotiation of free burgher status had to be formulated differently. The friction underlying the seemingly well-oiled VOC mechanisms for maintaining the *status quo* by new strategies and objections had to be revealed in a different manner.

The free burgher *opstal*, too, was growing, and along with it a new, silent, discourse of dwelling. It was this architecture which could expose contradictions within free burgher ideology by being able to negate the Oath by which people had promised to remain forever the same humble, faithful servants of the Company. As the tall-gabled dwellings began to take on the form of country mansions, they suggested that their owners had outgrown not only their peasant longhouses, but their peasant lowliness as well.

The ideology of political stability through the all-time preservation of an old social order was no longer compatible with the rapid and dynamic change visible throughout the Colony. The latter showed clearly that it was time for another kind of order which could override the VOC ideology of stasis. It showed that the free burghers were intent on, and capable of, making their own history. Ironically, when the dwellings in the town planned by Van Rheeде were built, they faced the road, the scene of social activity, the world, not the river, as Van Rheeде had prescribed (Smuts 1979).

CHAPTER SEVEN

ARTEFACTS AS TEXTS: A CAPE COLONIAL DISCOURSE OF DWELLING

It is hardly necessary to justify the proposition that symbolism features strongly in the use of buildings in general and in the process of dwelling in particular. This has been demonstrated in numerous studies dealing with many types of societies throughout the world and during various periods of time. The following will suffice as examples: Bourdieu (1973, 1977) in north Africa; Kuper (1980), Huffman (1981), Hodder (1981, 1986), and Moore (1986) in central and southern Africa; Miller (1984) in contemporary Britain; and numerous researchers in the United States, including Leone (1975), Deetz (1977), St. George (1985) and Upton (1986). St. George, for instance, discusses the gentry's purposeful use of houses, doorways and gravestones in a particular region of the US to maintain those social relationships which suited them.

Cultural geographers too (for example Hugill 1984) have shown how whole landscapes and even modern day town planning can be used in the creation and maintenance of elites by "saying" that which cannot be said in words. Locally Martin Hall (1989) has been examining what he calls "building power" at the Cape and points out that buildings were a major element in a "silent language of symbols" through which ideological control could be established.

While many analysts focus on structure, the "sense" of a text in Ricoeur's (1982f, 1982i) terms (for example Bourdieu 1973, Glassie 1975, Deetz 1977) a growing trend towards a more hermeneutical approach to material culture analysis can be seen in the work of authors like Hanks (1987), Alonso (1988), and Hall (1989, in press). The focus here is upon discourse, upon what Ricoeur (1982c, 1982g) calls the "reference" of a text, that is the "matter" of the text, or the world opened up by the text. The aim in such approaches is not to reveal symbolic meanings "hidden behind" the text, but to interpret the text in terms of the world opened up in front of it (Ricoeur 1982c, 1982g).

Post-structuralist theory, then, enables us not only to look at past events and at archival documents differently, but also to look at material culture objects differently: as texts. Analysing material culture objects as texts

adds a new dimension to studies in symbolism. For instance, I deem it insufficient merely to demonstrate that the Cape Dutch house "had a symbolic meaning". The aim is rather to examine the potential which the house, as a major element in the process of dwelling, had for the constitution of meaning in and through discourse and social interaction.

BUILDING SUBJECTS

The main line of thought in this thesis should be borne in mind throughout the reading of this and the ensuing chapters: when the VOC granted land to the first free burghers, a new and anomalous group of people came into being. The need arose for the establishing of a new identity for these "people out of place". This identity would stand in opposition to the old one structured by the oath and reinforced by other texts in the VOC discourse, whereby company employees emerged as lesser, obedient servants within a hierarchy of human quality.

Fragmentation of the land, when small plots and farms were given to "free" citizens, signified the beginning of fragmentation of the social structure with its ordered relationships and preconstituted identities fashioned and held together by the dominant discourse. Power of another kind - the power of those inscribed as lesser to resist - began to seep into the cracks and to traumatise the reference of the official texts. With the world which it had opened up in a state of flux, the power of the official discourse to hold the structure together waned.

On their farms on the outskirts of the colony the free burghers developed a discourse of their own. Silenced through illiteracy, their promise to remain forever subservient, and censorship laws, the language of their discontent took other than written forms.

The VOC never troubled themselves much about education for the colonists. According to Spilhaus (1949:8) Commissioner de Mist said of the local population in 1803: "The large majority of their numerous offspring were taught nothing beyond the elements of farming". In Spilhaus's own opinion, more or less literate men were sometimes loaned to a farmer wanting a tutor for his children and even the sick comforter, whose duties included teaching when necessary, taught only the basic rudiments of the three Rs. "There were men of the second generation who, whether or not their fathers had been able to sign their names, themselves signed with a mark" (Spilhaus 1949:8). It is obvious that the Company never intended

their employees to be writing subjects. They were, in a sense, still looked upon as dyke-builders whose corporeality was manifested in manual labour.

The grant to Guiliam Heems on 22 October 1693 of the land he called *Leeuwenhof* on the lower slopes above Cape Town is typical of many. It allowed him "...het gez. land te berooyen, bepoten, beploegen, betimmeren en te bearbeiten" (De Klerk 1954:14). This means that he could cultivate, plant, plough and generally work the land - but, he could also erect structures on it (*betimmeren*). The free burgher farmer could be a building subject.

And erect structures he certainly did, out of sheer necessity at first, and on a small and simple scale. The *kapstijlhuis* (Walton 1981), houses of wattle and daub and log cabins (Woodward 1982) have been suggested as the earliest dwelling types on isolated farms where cash was almost non-existent and labour and substantial building materials hard to come by.

By the end of the seventeenth century longhouses and L-shaped dwellings were being built, as evidenced in early maps and in the inventories (Chapter Three). At the turn of the century we find buildings illustrated with vestigial gables, for example in Stade's drawing of Stellenbosch (Smuts 1979) dated to 1710. By mid-century, however, and probably as early as the later 1730s, we see a new development in domestic architecture, especially in the rural areas. This development resulted in the erection of dwellings such as *Weltevreden op Joostenberg Vlakte* (Figure 21) and *Klipheuvel* which, as far as is known, are the earliest extant traditional Cape Dutch houses. Their gables are dated 1756.

The large centre gables, which contribute nothing by way of dwelling space, suggest that display, performance, communication of some sort had become important factors in free burgher architecture. I shall argue that these houses were elements in the discourse of "place", manifestations of the metaphor property equals people. By the end of the first period of Dutch rule, they dotted the landscape of the Western Cape and even occurred as far east as Graaff-Reinet; wherever, in fact, people within the expanding colony were likely to rub shoulders with VOC officialdom and its domination.

I have already said that, with the coming into being of the anomalous "people out of place", the old order was disrupted and Cape society was thrown into a state of flux. It is precisely while in a state of flux that "artefacts are recreated within a society as changing subjects create themselves as subjects within a new context" (Mitchell 1988: 247). Mitchell's

poignant feminist paper has universal overtones which are of particular importance to all concerned with "the subject who is in the process of becoming" - not "woman", as in Mitchell's writing, but something - something other than what it had been before.

What the founding VOC document, the oath of allegiance, had accomplished, was to establish the law of the VOC and to impose it on the polymorphous, carnivalesque group of recruits, at the same time hierarchising people into higher and lesser. Mitchell's (1988) argument that only a new symbolism can challenge a dominant law is applicable to this VOC law.

By speaking themselves as lesser, VOC employees were drawn into, and made part of, the VOC symbolism of hierarchy. The failings of the lesser were catered for within the category of the civilised, but at the same time the lesser (lacking nobler qualities) were defined by the higher (possessing noble qualities). By Mitchell's argument, challenging the dominant law overtly from within it, for example by an uprising, does not work - and, indeed, we have seen that overt action in the form of small uprisings and petitions by free burghers at the Cape *did not* work.

Mitchell's (1988) solution - a solution which the free burghers eventually found - lies in challenging the dominant law by way of a new symbolism causing disruption within the terms of the established (in this case VOC) symbolic system. The new symbolism disrupted, not by suggesting that VOC conceptions of hierarchy *per se* were wrong, but by reshuffling relationships within the hierarchical system. What was brought to expression through their discourse was that they, too, were higher. What they had once lacked, they had since acquired, and this made them no longer lesser. In becoming landowners they had also become people of quality. Their model for "higher" was thus the VOC officials themselves. What the free burghers wanted to repudiate was the definition of status difference under VOC law, not the question of status difference itself. What they needed to do was to reconstruct themselves as landowners within new social structures, to disrupt the order, not by declaring the old law null and void, but by a shift in relations, that is proclaiming themselves as no longer lesser, but a new kind of higher.

THE PRINCIPLES OF LE NOTRE

The concept of built structures as physical manifestations of dreams and aspirations, symbolic connotations of such structures, and the organisation

of spaces both inside and outside have been well documented. As far as the Cape in historical times is concerned, Hall *et al* have discussed the Castle at Cape Town and have pointed out that although it was set up as a defensive work, it also stood "as a symbol of Dutch colonial aspirations" (Hall, Halkett, Huigen van Beek and Klose 1990:22).

What is of importance here is the more personal aspirations of the higher VOC officials and how these were manifested in buildings during the last half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is significant that, from early on, Commanders and Governors were given country places. By the mid-seventeenth century at least, the status value of a country retreat was well established in the Netherlands, largely due to French influence (De Jongh 1990, Hopper 1990). Biermann (1989) sees Prince Willem Adriaan of Nassau's estate at Zeist as evidence of the fact that the Dutch aristocracy had adopted many aspects of the French way of life, albeit in a considerably watered down form. Although much smaller, the Nassau estate was modelled on the palace of Versailles.

The idea of possessing a country estate caught on among the wealthiest Dutch people, especially in the mercantile city of Amsterdam. In 1629 the Watergraafsmeer (later called the Diemermeer) a few kilometres outside Amsterdam, was reclaimed from the sea and dyked specifically for the purpose of providing large (by Dutch standards) plots of land with space enough for Palladian-style country villas (Kruizinga 1948). As Biermann (1989:27) points out: "In the freer open spaces single or at most two-storeyed dwellings - often with decorated front gables such as were seldom seen in the Netherlands" could be built (Figure 22).

The Diemermeer was flooded twice, but the *polder* was re-established each time and in 1725 after its second restoration, it was openly hailed as "the New Versailles" in a poetic prospectus proclaiming it the ideal place for the erection of "pleasure palaces" (Kruizinga 1948). Long avenues of trees were laid out to provide suitable approaches to these country haunts of the cream of Amsterdam society (Biermann 1989).

It is clear that what only the very wealthiest could afford in the Netherlands, the far less wealthy could achieve at the Cape. Indeed, Biermann maintains that the old Cape *werf* and farmhouse is reminiscent of the Diemermeer country places, while Willem Adriaan van der Stel's farm *Vergelegen* and his lavish lifestyle were direct copies of the Diemermeer quasi-French way of life.

These are astute observations and certainly Van Riebeeck's farm *Rustenburg* (Figure 23), Simon van der Stel's *Constantia* (Figure 24) and the government farm *Nieuwland* (Figure 25) all bear witness to French (and Diemermeer) influence. The huge farm *Vergelegen* (Figure 26) with its large, gabled house incorporated into an octagonal garden was the ultimate in country places of the "miniature Versailles" (Biermann 1989:27) variety. It was also more deeply into the country than any other country place of the time and the choice of name was no doubt meant to emphasise this fact. Willem Adriaan van der Stel was undoubtedly the governor most obsessed with the grandeur and the "rage for scientific learning" (Schama 1989:44) of the French elite.

This raises interesting questions about the government farm *Nieuwland* (now reduced to *Newlands House*) which was laid out by Willem Adriaan van der Stel during the first few years of the eighteenth century. A lodge and outbuildings were erected on it. According to Thompson (1968), who wrote the history of *Newlands House*, the plan for the layout of the property can be seen at the Netherlands Topographical Service at Delft (Figure 25). Thompson (1968:2) believes that "it follows the principles of the great Le Notre who had laid out the garden of Versailles ..." She quotes Professor Hirschfield of Keulen who wrote of the gardens of the Netherlands in 1779: "Dutch gardens present straight lines and a profusion of symmetry and regularity entirely in the old French taste." (Thompson 1968:2). The importance of French influence on Dutch gardens discussed in Hunt's (1990) volume supports this view.

In 1981 the by then vastly altered dwelling burnt down. The property was acquired by the state and a firm of architects was instructed "to restore it to its original thatched and gabled condition" (Visser 1989:23). The architects found this to be impossible for reasons which do not concern us here. Several things do, however, concern us.

First, to date no archaeological report on the excavations prior to and during restoration is available. The only published paper on which we must at present of necessity rely, is one written by the architect, Dirk Visser (1989).

Second, Visser (1989:26) sums up the history of the house in five phases, beginning with a gabled and thatched Cape Dutch house built by Governor Ryk Tulbagh in 1751. The lodge built by Willem Adriaan van der Stel was written out of the history because "of this building nothing recognisable

remains" (Visser 1989:23). Thereafter, when Visser speaks of "original" remains, he is referring to the Tulbagh house.

Third, Visser (1989: 26) claims that "the most exciting find of all" was "the foundations of the original east front". He continues: "...a total surprise was that the foundations showed that the original entrance hall was an octagon. ...It was found that the stonework triangles in the corner of the outer square were integrally bonded to the square, in other words, part of *Tulbagh's* original construction" (Visser 1989:26, emphasis added). In 1819 the British governor, Lord Charles Somerset, ordered extensive alterations to Tulbagh's building, which included the erection of an eight sided lead-covered dome over the entrance hall. Of this dome Visser (1989:26) remarks: "Somerset's dome was therefore a response to a geometry that already existed in the building."

Clearly Visser believes that Tulbagh was responsible for this "geometry" in the building. It seems far more likely, however, that a feature as totally unique as an octagonal *voorhuis* would have been designed by someone doting on Versailles and elite French taste, someone bewitched by the exotic, someone obsessed with incorporating Renaissance geometry into house and garden. Someone, in other words, like Willem Adriaan van der Stel, who we know had laid out the geometrical "star garden" at Newlands and who later incorporated his Versailles-like *Vergelegen* country mansion into an octagonal garden.

I am suggesting that Visser's (1989) "most exciting find of all" was indeed the foundations of the "original" dwelling - but the original built by Van der Stel and *not* the one built by Ryk Tulbagh. This would make it an extremely important find for archaeology. Tulbagh's effort probably entailed the remodelling of the Van der Stel dwelling, giving it a Cape Dutch facade, while retaining its older, L-shape. It is important that the archaeological finds at *Newlands House* be properly analysed and a report be made available as this could help to resolve the issue of whether or not *Nieuwland* was the beginning of the expression of W.A. van der Stel's personal aspirations. Further excavations are at present out of the question.

The farmsteads of the VOC and its officials discussed above were important for several reasons: they demonstrated a sensitivity to the importance of place and the importance of buildings as embodiment of personal aspirations; they stressed the value of property as status marker during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they reinforced the

already appreciated value of a specifically *country* place. They thus served, in a sense, as models for the up and coming free burghers.

A DISCOURSE OF DWELLING

Ironically, many of the precautions the VOC had taken against any personal aspirations the employees might have had tended rather to foster within the free burghers the very things they had hoped to undermine. Granting of land to peasants in the first place, and the "scientific" surveying of free burgher farms together with their allocation on the outskirts of the settlement had, in the end, precisely the opposite effect to the one desired by the VOC.

Carefully bounded land-packages "in full ownership" constitute spaces tailor-made for the promotion of the autonomy of the owners. Given "places", country estates, the very type of property most sought after by the topmost layer of the upper echelons in the Netherlands, the free burgher's land was already invested with symbolic power - a power which he had, by the mid-1730s, succeeded in attaching to his person.

It is through the workings of the powerful metaphor which makes property synonymous with its owner, interwoven with the symbolic value already attached to possession of a country retreat, that the "lesser" free burgher could create his own world, establish a new identity and set in motion the process of appropriating social standing for himself. Studies demonstrating the power of lesser groups and their various ways of exerting themselves as a force to be reckoned with (Hanks 1987, Alonso 1988, Scott 1989, Hall in press) demonstrate that it is within such processes that discourses are generated.

A further misapprehension on the part of the VOC was that the embodiment within their discourse of the concept of self-control with, in the first place, its implication of a separate self, and, in the second place the ability of such a self to exert control, would further only their own aspirations. Property ownership, in fact, fostered awakening individualism, already a factor in Europe, by stressing the value of the unique, separate self as opposed to the community person which the peasant tended to be (Deetz 1977). Thus, while the VOC delineated free burgher farms with the intent of maintaining hegemony, the free burghers put their spaces to work as a means to promoting autonomy.

From the point of view of the VOC, farm boundaries were meant to emphasise separation of the higher from the lesser. But as Nedelsky (1990) has explained, boundaries are areas of intersection and as such can be used to promote and change relationships. Organising space is at once organising "patterns of respect" (Nedelsky 1990:175). Property can be an agent of transformation and, indeed, at the Cape with this conflict of interests between the VOC and the free burgher and with the old order in the process of disruption, a reshuffling of relationships ensued.

All of this focuses attention on the workings of the metaphor which equates property with people. Not only is a man's house most often his castle - the castle *is*, in a sense, the man, and *vice versa*. Bounding the farms called up respect for these boundaries and respecting a person's property is tantamount to respecting him as a person. Furthermore, an imposing building on a property reinforces respect for its boundaries. People are more likely to trespass on an open field than on a dwelling plot.

The building of stone and brick houses in the place of more flimsy structures brought a sense of permanence and security, which in turn enhanced self-assurance. Likewise, when the architecture became more formal, it commanded more respect for the boundaries around and within the dwelling itself. Whereas a longhouse virtually invited entry through the kitchen door, the formal Cape Dutch house discouraged such temerity. Hiding the kitchen in the tail of the house rather than placing it adjacent to the living room was a way of denying it equal status and a means of controlling entry. Changing the floor plans forced respect for the boundaries of the house in the same way that surrounding walls enforced respect of *werf* boundaries, and hedges or channeling enforced respect of field boundaries.

In this way the self-respect of the free burgher and the respect of others for him were enhanced. He thereby gained a sense of power and the audacity to flaunt this power in the face of the VOC. The burgher was proclaiming himself truly *free*, thus contradicting the discourse of his land grant, according to which the Company reserved for itself the right to repossess the land if it thought fit. The free burgher thought of his land in terms of Nedelsky's (1990:165) definition of property: "We mean by property that which is recognised to be ours and cannot easily be taken from us." Writing on the important role of property in the framing of the American constitution, she explains that property stands for broader issues and deeper values than mere material possession. There are connections "between property and other basic human goods, in particular liberty and security" (Nedelsky 1990:165).

Possession of property and the building of a Cape Dutch house in particular became extremely important in a symbolic sense for the free burgher farmer. The house enabled him not only to live comfortably, but to live comfortably with himself in the face of VOC domination. To quote Nedelsky (1990:165, original emphasis) once more: "Property was an effective symbol in part because it was not *merely* a symbol but a concrete means of having control over one's life, of expressing oneself and of protecting oneself from the power of others." Cape Dutch architecture thus became a discourse about changing relationships within the circle of the civilised.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE DISCOURSE

Hall (1991a) has recently compared the work of two nineteenth century artists at the Cape: Thomas Bowler and Charles D'Oyly. One of his points of comparison is of interest to us here. In Bowler's work the citizens of Cape Town and even animals, when they are depicted, appear as orderly, upright, purposeful and industrious. People seem to go about their business sure of themselves and the attractiveness of their town. When oxen are depicted they are neatly inspanned and efficiently driven. They pull their wagons with energy.

D'Oyly's work, on the other hand, shows people clustering together in untidy groups. Oxen are wayward and unruly and there is a great deal of disorderly sloth about the scene. People and animals of all types huddle together. The scene is somewhat reminiscent of sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch paintings of peasant carnivals (Alpers 1976).

What is interesting here is the concept of "huddling" and its use in D'Oyly's paintings to depict a seamier side of Cape social life. This concept can also be linked to dwellings and modes of dwelling. In its verbal usage, "to huddle" means to "heap together confusedly; to crowd things together; to nestle closely together or against". As a noun it denotes a "confused mass" or general "confusion" and "bustle". Its origin is the West Germanic verb *hudjan*, meaning "to hide" (Oxford English Dictionary).

Houses are often described as huddling against hillsides, or being huddled together in small villages. When we think locally of the types of houses to which such descriptions would apply, we think of those vernacular types which tended to melt in with their surroundings - the *kapstijlhuis*, the wattle and daub structure and even, perhaps, Woodward's (1982) log

cabins. We think, too, of dwellings, the foundations of which nestle closely with the natural contours of the terrain, for example the original longhouse at *Stettyn* and the early eighteenth century house at *Orrust*. Such small, vernacular houses tend to promote huddling.

It is, however, not conceivable to reconcile huddling with the formal Cape Dutch houses built in profusion during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Fitchett (1987:100) says: "The Cape Dutch house does not emerge organically from the earth: it is poised above it on a platform much as the Greek temple is removed from the ground by its stylobate" and it is clear that from the mid-1730s onwards the Cape house was brought out of hiding. The dwelling now known as *Joostenberg*, but originally called *Weltevreden op Joostenberg Vlakte* (Figure 21) gives us an indication of how this change occurred.

In 1694 the land belonged to Matthys Michiels who, in that year, sold the sixty morgen to Hendrik Elberts for the meagre sum of sixty guilder (Guelke and Shell 1990), indicating that there was no substantial house on the property at that time. In 1723 it belonged to Maria van Staden on whose death in that year an inventory was drawn up. The inventory lists a room on the left, a room on the right and a kitchen (MOOC 5/4:84, 1723). This was probably a simple three-roomed longhouse as it had no *voorhuis* (Chapter Three). It was a little house to huddle into. Another inventory for Maria Ras, who died in May 1734 (MOOC 8/5:108, 1734) shows the house as unchanged.

According to Fransen and Cook (1980), the house was remodelled by Gerrit van der Bijl who bought it in 1752. Van der Bijl was a leading free burgher in the Stellenbosch district, having served several terms on the church council and as *heemraad*. It was Van der Bijl, then, who brought the house out of hiding and turned it into a spectacle by doubling the length, adding a tail to turn it into a T and giving it a gable, dated 1756. Built of brick and stone, this house stands before us to-day as solidly as it ever did and little about its facade has changed since Van der Bijl's time. What this house proclaims is that its builder was not anybody's obedient servant.

Gabled Cape Dutch houses do not nestle against hillsides and people do not huddle into them unless they choose to do so, in which case they do it in the less formal areas such as around the kitchen hearth. Fireplaces were rare in eighteenth century Cape houses. This is generally ascribed to the warm local climate, but it could also at least partly be due to the fact that crowding together was not part of the mode of dwelling in a Cape

Dutch house and the architectural design was not meant to encourage it. The dwellers in a Cape Dutch house spread out. The usually enormous size of the high-ceilinged rooms, especially the *voorhuis* and the *gaanderij*, shows that there was little, if any, huddling in these houses. The only small rooms were those used for storage: the *dispens* and the *bottelarij* (pantries).

The linking of small spaces and storage is significant as it seems to indicate that, although the crowding together of people was abhorrent, the hidden crowding together of possessions was not. This brings us to the question of slave quarters. It seems that slaves were experienced as possessions rather than as people. They were listed as such in the inventories along with the furniture, household utensils, farm implements, and animals. Although archaeological research into the housing of slaves (most notably by Hall in various papers and by Markell 1992) is still in its early stages, such work as has been done indicates that it was considered quite in order for slaves to crowd together. To phrase it even more positively, indications are that they were probably *made* to huddle. They appear to have occupied the same types of spaces in which goods (furniture, implements, crops, and so on) were stored. These included lofts (*Klawervlei*) cellars (the Castle, *Groot Constantia*) and outbuildings in which other articles were stored (90 Bree Street).

The gable was the primary indicator of a house not built for huddling. Kendall (n.d.:10), the architect responsible for the restoration of *Groot Constantia* after its destruction by fire, writes of its gable construction: "The huge masses of brickwork forming the main gables seemed to tower up into the sky with a gaunt impressiveness - more stupendous, it seemed, than ever before". The gabled house was clearly a house for the higher, for those who, when equated with their property, could stand tall and upright. Huddling was for the lesser, for those who bend in submission, or are hidden away with the surplus goods. Huddling spoke of disorderliness and equality among the huddlers. It counteracted the orderliness of a status hierarchy.

Building a tall gable not only made the house more visible, thus increasing its symbolic possibilities, but it also increased the volume of the three dimensional structure. In making the dwelling's boundaries higher, out of reach, it "heightened" respect for the owner. The tall-gabled dwelling suggested that the free burgher, too, had gained in stature, had become more like the "most high" VOC officials. Adjectives denoting grandeur in the VOC discourse were thus translated into the symbolic language of

dwelling of the free burgher farmer. His "most high" house showed that as a person he belonged in the "most high" category.

It is therefore not surprising that it was this "most high" part of the house which was singled out for the most attention by the builders - so much so that to-day it is the gable which is used as a basis for classification of Cape Dutch house types by researchers from Baker (1900) to Fransen and Cook (1980).

The whole of the farm complex was involved in the discourse of dwelling through which relations were changed and reinforced and by which the free burghers began to throw off their inscription as lesser. It is evident from the inventories that the number of *afdakken* (lean-to's) which nestled up against the main buildings decreased through time. Outbuildings were drawn together in an orderly fashion to form a proper *werf* rather than being spread out higgledy-piggledy, or bunched together untidily. The *Orrust werf* (Hall, Brink and Malan 1988) is a good example.

Landscaping became an important part of the complex. Orchards and vineyards were carefully planted to more or less set specifications and patterns and even shade trees were carefully placed inside the *ringmuur*. A very common characteristic of the Cape Dutch rural homestead was a neat avenue of trees leading from gateway to dwelling (Figure 27). Remains of these avenues can still be seen on many old Cape farms.

That these features were consciously devised is clear from the correspondence between one of the leading free burgher farmers of the later eighteenth century, Hendrik Cloete, and Hendrik Swellengrebel Junior, son of Governor Hendrik Swellengrebel (Schutte 1982). Cloete wrote to Swellengrebel in January 1779 informing him of his purchase of the farm *Groot Constantia* in mid-December 1778. In July 1779 Swellengrebel duly congratulated Cloete on the purchase, and in March 1780 we find Cloete enthusiastically describing the many changes he had made to the farm during his short time as new owner. These letters give us rare first hand glimpses of free burgher aspirations.

To the right of the house and stretching all the way to the gate Cloete had built a wall 600 feet long and nine feet high. Along it he had planted vines of "every kind of grape known in Africa" (Schutte 1982:331). He says that this wall beautified the place considerably and would beautify it even more when the vines had grown into a pergola. Not only was Cloete no illiterate, but he had something of a gift for writing. He gives a vivid description of his vision of future visitors wandering beneath the pergola plucking

bunches of grapes as they admire the view of his vineyards. He had obviously devoted a great deal of thought to the pergola as red and green varieties of grapes were planted alternately enabling visitors to select their favourite variety with ease (Schutte 1982). Cloete's word-picture calls to mind sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch paintings depicting out-stretched hands reaching towards luscious bunches of grapes, themselves rich in symbolism (De Jongh 1974).

In addition Cloete had uprooted an oak forest and replanted it with ten thousand new vines. An old and overgrown orchard which had been planted in an extremely disorderly fashion (*in groote disordre geplant*) was removed and carefully replanted with young trees (Schutte 1982:112). Great care and attention were also bestowed on the wine cellar which was refitted with new vats and leaguers "made of beautiful wood, all yellow and oiled" (Schutte 1982:331).

Perhaps the most attention was devoted to the approach to the house. Cloete pruned all the oaks and chestnuts which had grown in such profusion that the farm was hidden from the view of people riding towards it. After pruning, it could be seen from a great distance. As far as the driveway was concerned, Cloete had contrived a sunken gateway which created the illusion to approaching visitors that they were driving along between two small mountains topped with rows of silver trees and oaks.

Cloete's letter to Swellengrebel is not the letter of anyone who could be described as "lesser". It tells us as much about Cloete the person as it does about his property. Cloete inscribes himself as the wealthy "higher" landowner who, in spite of possessing eight other properties (Burman 1989), could still afford to purchase Governor Simon van der Stel's old farm and its movables for f90 000. From his correspondence with Swellengrebel, it is clear that Cloete saw himself as an equal of those of regent status in the Netherlands.

Although there are frequent appeals to Swellengrebel in Cloete's letters to try and persuade the Company to allow the farmers to export their better quality wines to Europe, the tone of these requests is not that of a subservient person begging a special favour. It is merely that of a friend requesting assistance. Swellengrebel had aspirations of becoming Governor and sincerely wanted to understand the problems of the free burghers, who were by that time becoming more and more openly rebellious. Cloete, in turn, was able to do Swellengrebel the favour of keeping him posted on what was happening at the Cape (Schutte 1982).

The correspondence between Cloete and Swellengrebel clearly shows disintegration of the oppositions set up by the oath. Old relations were being broken down. New ones were being established.

To return to Cloete's changes to *Groot Constantia*: it is clear that Cloete changed van der Stel's "Diemermeer type" of property into a Cape Dutch farmstead. Although *Groot Constantia* was probably even in Cloete's time the pride of Cape Dutch houses, many farm complexes altered or newly erected during the latter half of the eighteenth century were similar in all the basic features. These included a central gable, frontal symmetry, entry into a central *voorhuis* with two or more rooms to either side and with less formal quarters such as kitchens and pantries tucked away at the back.

Landscaping most often included a tree-lined driveway leading from imposing gates in a *ringmuur* to the front entrance, steps leading to an open *stoep* with plaster benches at each end and co-ordinated plaster decoration on gables, gateways, outbuildings and even on dove-cotes and fowl runs (Biermann 1955, Fransen 1987, Walton 1985).

There was a building boom at the Cape during the latter half of the eighteenth century, when many older houses were altered to conform to the Cape Dutch style and new ones were built. Cornelius de Jong, who visited the Cape between 1791 and 1799 gives a compelling description of this enthusiasm for a new mode of dwelling: "Here building is nothing else but a fad, it is a craze, a madness, a contagious frenzy that has swept most people off their feet" (quoted by Fehr 1955:33).

These houses constitute what we might call a body of works or texts. As such they spoke a language which needed to be "read" and interpreted. They were dwellings with multiple symbolic connotations, which explains why it was important for them to be seen from afar.

Writing on a branch of literary criticism known as reception theory, Holub (1984) points out that a *work* does not only imply that someone has worked to produce it, it also means that it was made to work on someone. This concern of reception theory with the impact of the work on someone makes reception theory relevant to this study. It is important for us to know how the Cape Dutch houses and their related artefacts worked for their producers on the people into whose lives they intruded.

To translate the above into Ricoeur's (1982a-i) discourse theory, we begin again with his basic definition of discourse: discourse is always by someone, for someone, about something. If the discourse of the Cape

Dutch house was *by* the free burghers, *about* changing relationships in the preconstituted hierarchy set up by the discourse of the VOC texts and about the disintegration of old oppositions, who was it *for*? The general answer in terms of Ricoeur's theory would be: to anybody who could read. The following two chapters will explain in more detail some of the principles of Ricoeur's theory and who these people were who could read - indeed, were *made* to read and in reading to interpret - the discourse of Cape Dutch architecture.

CONCLUSION

As architecture at the Cape underwent a process of change through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relationships underwent a similar process. The pre-inscribed lesser began to see and to proclaim themselves as a new kind of higher through their discourse of dwelling. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the new identity they had established for themselves had developed to the extent that they began overcoming censorship prohibitions.

It is clear from the open rebellion, known as the *Patriotbeweging*, which came to life towards the end of VOC rule that the illiterate had begun to master the word. Handwritten documents were clandestinely distributed to free burghers for signature and smuggled out of the country for direct presentation to the Seventeen. Their main demands were for more freedom of trade, and some of their grievances were addressed. But their triumph, perhaps, lay less in what their deputations were able to achieve in economic terms than in their proven ability to break down and trample upon the old "literate : illiterate" opposition. In a protest piece distributed in December 1783 they were able to proclaim in written words sentiments which for decades they had only been able to articulate through their silent symbolic language: "*Wij hebben nog veel te edel bloed, om ons onmiddellijk te buijgen onder 't Jok der Slavernije ...*". ("...our blood is far too noble for us to immediately bow down under the Yoke of Slavery ...") (Beyers 1967:84) Such is the transformative power of material cultural objects in the hands of the lesser as they begin to utilise in their quotidian day-to-day existence the capillary nature of power itself.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HERMENEUTICS AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

The concept "texts as artefacts" presents no problems for archaeologists. It is when we suggest that artefacts or assemblages of artefacts can be looked upon as texts that we begin to tread ground less familiar to most archaeologists. It then becomes necessary to discuss the theoretical frameworks within which such propositions are grounded.

Regarding artefacts as texts is an attempt to find more satisfactory ways of understanding material culture beyond its normal use. Hall, Halkett, Klose and Ritchie (1990:84) have explained the advantages of this method, maintaining that if both documents and assemblage are treated as texts, each source can be interpreted in terms of the other. Possibilities concerning "the semiotics of material culture itself" are opened up, making it possible to ascertain "the roles that everyday items such as the ceramics and glass-ware were given in asserting dominance and resistance".

In endeavouring to explain why Cape Dutch architecture originated at the Cape during the latter two thirds of the eighteenth century, I argue that what we are dealing with here is the manifestation of a discourse of resistance. A discourse is "a domain of language use, a particular way of talking [and inscribing and thinking] which involves certain shared assumptions which appear in the formulations that characterise it" (Belsey 1980:5).

The realisation that we are dealing with a discourse in a symbolic, non-verbal language makes it essential for us to venture into areas of study which have produced thoroughly developed theories of interpretation such as hermeneutics and literary criticism.

OLD MODELS : NEW MODELS

Approaches in literary criticism have changed though the years. The propositions in an older view form the basis of a practice of reading which assumes the theory of "expressive realism". According to this theory "literature reflects the *reality* of experience as it is perceived by one (especially gifted) individual, who *expresses* it in a discourse which enables other individuals to recognise it as true" (Belsey 1980:7 original emphasis).

Another definition sheds more light on what this means: "To a common sense reader the text awaits our interpretation, in which we attempt to arrive at those 'meanings' intended by the author, and which we see as the result of interpretive activity. Reading in this scheme of things is a quest to find out what the author meant by his text" (De Bolla 1988:44).

Common sense notions of authorial intent are perhaps best illustrated by the work of Hirsch, whose *Validity in Interpretation* (1967) Lodge (1988:253) describes as "perhaps the most formidable theoretical defence of the principles and methods of traditional literary scholarship and cognitive criticism to have been written in English". Eagleton (1983) emphasises Hirsch's considerable indebtedness to Husserlian phenomenology, and Husserl believed that "the meaning of a literary work is fixed once and for all: it is identical with whatever 'mental object' the author had in mind or 'intended' at the time of writing" (Eagleton 1983:67).

Hirsch assumes the same basic position: "Literary meaning is absolute and immutable, wholly resistant to historical change" (Eagleton 1983:67). Freund (1987:153) quotes from Hirsch (1967:244) to draw attention to his stance on the goals of hermeneutics: "Hermeneutics must stress a reconstruction of the author's aims and attitudes in order to evolve guides and norms for construing the meanings of his texts". Clearly, in the older, traditional view the author and *her/his* meaning are of prime importance.

With the application of Saussurean linguistics and Marxist theory, the assumptions of the common sense analysts were questioned. Emphasis in interpretation shifted from the author to the reader with some critics, most notably Barthes (1988), going so far as pronouncing the author dead. Lodge (1988:66) reminds us, however, that this pronouncement "has remained one of the most controversial tenets of post-structuralism", and in many post-Saussurean theories we do indeed find an author lurking somewhere in the background.

A body of literary theory which forefronts the reader at the expense of the author is reception theory, including a branch known as reader response theory. One of its most important protagonists is Iser (1978) who, while not altogether denying that the author plays a part in interpretation, stresses the creative role of the reader. Iser (1978:87) distinguishes between "scientific texts", where "nothing might be left for the reader to do" and "literature", where "the text does not reproduce facts but at best uses such facts to stimulate the imagination of the reader".

Certain aspects of Iser's work are important for this study and we shall return to him in the next chapter. But if we are to understand the hermeneutics of Cape Dutch architecture we need to study a more sophisticated branch of post-structuralist theory - the work of Paul Ricoeur. Several essays from the volume edited by Thompson (1982b) have been selected for special attention. Although Ricoeur's involvement with the interpretation of texts and discourse is useful, we approach it with certain reservations. First, he is, in by far the larger part of his work, concerned with texts written in what he calls ordinary or natural language, whereas the texts analysed in this study are inscribed differently, in symbolic structures. The language is a "silent" one (Hall 1989). It is important that the differences be taken into account.

Second, Ricoeur's work is deeply and purely theoretical. By this I mean that he is concerned with the text solely as a theoretical construct. In this study we are concerned with the workings of texts in practice: how texts operate on people, but also how people manipulate texts to smooth over the graininess of everyday existence. We are more concerned, in other words, with dwelling-on-the-earth than with being-in-the-world. As historical archaeologists we are not concerned with the world of nature or with the empty world of philosophy, but with a world filled with material culture objects, with "the things people left behind" (Deetz 1977:4).

Finally, although Ricoeur (1982e:108) sees his theory as applicable not only to the written texts of ordinary language, but extending to include "all the documents and monuments which have a fundamental feature in common with writing", and although he demonstrates this claim by considering "meaningful action as text" (1982g:197), he remains largely committed to literature, which he defines as novelistic and poetic fiction: "The unique referential dimension of the work of fiction and poetry raises, in my view, the most fundamental hermeneutical problem" (1982f:141).

The fact that we are dealing with a symbolic language, that we are concerned with the manipulation of texts in practice rather than with pure theory, and that we are not concerned with literary fiction means that we have to devise new slants to Ricoeur's theory. This is not to suggest that Ricoeur's theory is wrong, or more incomplete than any other theory inevitably must be. It simply points towards the different needs of philosophy and archaeology as far as theory is concerned. Nevertheless, there is still sufficient common ground between the two for Ricoeur's work to remain very useful as a basic framework.

The remainder of this chapter comprises first, a discussion of the relevant tenets of Ricoeur's hermeneutics, and second, a reopening of the question of authorship in the light of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) theory and the discourse of resistance at the Cape. This will lead us into the next chapter, where a theory of visiting at the Cape during the eighteenth century will be developed as part of the discourse of dwelling. In developing metaphors about visiting, Iser's (1978) reception theory will be synthesised with certain of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) concepts together with notions concerning the relevance of authors developed in this chapter.

THE DISCOURSE THEORY OF PAUL RICOEUR

Thompson's (1982b) volume of essays by Ricoeur opens with an introduction which presents us with a perspective on his writings as a whole. When we couple this with Ricoeur's (1982b) response to the introduction we are able to summarise the development in his thought from 1947 until the essays in the volume, which date from the 1970s.

In attempting to understand the hermeneutics of silent language texts, it is the work of the later Ricoeur that is of most interest, that is the Ricoeur who had already moved out of the sphere of influence of Husserlian phenomenology towards a hermeneutics of symbols. This switch changed Ricoeur's definitions of symbolism. From seeing symbols as "all expressions of double meaning wherein a primary meaning refers beyond itself to a second meaning", he began to include in his definition "all phenomena of a textual order", while focussing less on the notion of hidden meanings than on that of "indirect reference" (Ricoeur 1982b:33).

Another important turning point in his career occurred later when, under the influence of the French structuralists, he became aware of the linguistic dimension of all symbolism, or what he refers to as "the semiotic challenge" (Ricoeur 1982b:35). It was in response to this challenge that he developed his concept of the text through which he aimed at showing up the shortcomings of structural analyses which "explain", but without regard for an understanding subject.

Ricoeur's later hermeneutics takes cognizance not only of the structure of a text, but also its extra-linguistic aim, the reference, which he calls "matter of the text", "world of the text", or "being brought to language by the text" (Ricoeur 1982b:35). It is this later theory which interests us especially, as

in archaeology disenchantment with the inability of structuralism to explain change has already been expressed (Hall in press).

Ricoeur sees discourse as communicative process in which someone says something to someone about something. In structural studies the "about something" is omitted from the analyses, hence Ricoeur's need to move on from structural studies to discourse theory. His later work, then, is concerned with the whole domain of written discourse - "of texts and analogues of texts" (Thompson 1982a:25). Throughout his theorising, Ricoeur stresses that emergent meaning can only be grasped through a constructive interpretation by the reader - a notion which places him firmly in the post-Saussurean category.

In seeing discourse as communicative process, it follows that Ricoeur's definition of discourse has to do with its relationship to language. Discourse is the counterpart of language systems or language codes. As such it is language event or language-in-use. Whereas the sign is the basic unit of language, the sentence or putting together of signs is the basic unit of discourse. It is only through discourse that messages can be exchanged. Because language lacks a subject, the question of who is speaking does not apply. Discourse, on the other hand, refers back to the speaker by indicators such as personal pronouns. Discourse is thus self-referential.

In language, signs only refer to other signs in the same system, so language lacks a world, whereas discourse is always about something. Only discourse is addressed to someone, a feature which forms the basis of communication. Discourse therefore has a speaker, a world, and an interlocutor to whom it is addressed, all of which language lacks (Ricoeur 1982g).

Ricoeur (1982c:92) distinguishes two types of discourse, oral and written, and there is a crucial difference between the two. Interlocutors engaging in oral discourse share in the common reality of the speech situation. In conversation there is a relationship between author and reader, which makes what Ricoeur refers to as "the simple discourse of conversation" easier to interpret.

Within this spatio-temporal network shared by the interlocutors, concrete conditions for the act of pointing ("ostensive reference") exist (Ricoeur 1982f:142). The interlocutors engage in dialogue in a face-to-face encounter during which questions can be asked and things can be pointed to, thus eliminating misunderstandings. There is interaction between speaker, hearer and surroundings.

The problem with oral discourse, however, is that the speech event is fleeting. It promptly disappears. It is this "fleeting event of speech" which can be "fixed" in writing (Ricoeur 1982g:198). It is through fixation that texts come into being. To Ricoeur a text is a work of discourse and a work in some way written or inscribed or given durability. It is upon being made durable or inscribed that problems of interpretation arise. Ricoeur sets out these problems by explaining his concept of *distanciation* (Thompson 1982a).

Ricoeur identifies four forms of *distanciation*. First, the inscribed is distanced from the spoken through the use of some form of technology, that is the creative use of artefacts. Second, a distance arises between the inscription and the original speaker: "What the text signifies no longer coincides with what the author meant" (Thompson 1982a:13). This form of *distanciation* opens up the possibility of misunderstanding which is one of the major problems of post-Saussurean interpretation.

The third form of *distanciation* links with the second in that it has to do with the distance between the inscribed expression (the text) and the original audience. Inscribed discourse is addressed to an unknown audience, potentially anyone who can read. It is thus open to a series of misreadings (Thompson 1982a).

Finally, *distanciation* takes the form of "emancipation of the text from the limits of ostensive reference" (Thompson 1982a:14), because upon inscription, the shared reality between interlocutors no longer exists. The result is that the text has a referential dimension of a different order to that of speech.

These then, briefly, are the problems of interpretation presented by the inscribed text. Ricoeur sees the reader's task as recovery of meaning. The reader cannot accomplish this task by attempting to get at the original meaning of the author hidden behind the text, but rather by exposing himself to or partaking of the world opened up by the text (Thompson 1982a). This world comprises the non-ostensive references of the text (Ricoeur 1982g:207). Ricoeur describes this world as "a possible world" or mode of existence and explains the concept further by comparing it to the phrase "the world of Greece" by which we do not understand everyday life in Greece, but the mode of being or way of life of ancient Greece (Ricoeur 1982d:177).

The process of interpretation culminates in what Ricoeur calls *appropriation* of this possible world which the text has disclosed. To

appropriate means "to make one's own" what was initially "alien". Interpretation thus "brings together", "equalises", "renders contemporary and similar" (Thompson 1982a:18). Ricoeur is, however, careful to point out that appropriation does not mean rejoining the original intentions of the author. Instead it has to do with the text's power to disclose a possible world and the reader's acceptance unto himself of this possible mode of being (Thompson 1982a).

We may summarise briefly as follows: for interpretation to take place there has first to be an author who, through the creative use of some form of technology, produces a durable text which becomes distanced from the author even as it is produced. Next, there has to be a reader who recovers the meaning of the text through appropriation, that is by overcoming distanciation and making the "alien" world opened up by the text her/his own. Meaning resides not in arriving back at the author's original intention, but in acceptance unto her-/himself by the reader of the possible mode of existence exposed by the text.

Of special importance to this study are the forms of distanciation by which the text becomes disarticulated from the intentions of the author, the original cultural situation and the original addressee. Ricoeur groups these tendencies together under the umbrella concept of the "autonomy of the text". It means that what the text signifies no longer coincides with what the author meant; and that the work creates its own audience by transcending its own psychological-social conditions of production, thus opening itself to an unlimited number of readings. Autonomy is common to *all* texts. As Ricoeur sees it, "the autonomy of the text hands writing over to the sole interpretation of the reader" (Ricoeur 1982d:174).

The distanciation between reader and text implies an initial standing back while exposing oneself to the world of the text. Ricoeur (1982c:94) says that to understand this world is "not to project oneself into it", not to move into it, as it were, but rather to stand before it evaluating what it brings you.

In exposing readers to its own particular world, the text displays its power to reveal a different dimension of reality, to offer new ways of seeing what already exists, what is already considered to be part of the real. The text therefore introduces the possibility of a critique of the real. Hartman (1980:271) sums up the critical dimension of reading concisely when he describes what is to be gained in reading as "the undoing of a previous understanding". To explain it even more simply: reading and interpreting texts offers us opportunities for accepting new modes of being and

rejecting old ones. The concept of critique in the process of interpretation is important as it points towards the emancipatory possibilities of textual works. Texts can be used as a subversive force.

Interpretation, however, does not end with critique: "To interpret is to render near what is far (temporarily, geographically, culturally, spiritually)" (Ricoeur 1982e:111). Paradoxically, distancing also introduces a moment of belonging or appropriation.

Appropriation has to do with the way the text is addressed to someone. Ricoeur (1982a) sees it as taking the place of the answer in the dialogic situation. It thus also plays a role in reconnecting the discourse of the reader with that of the writer - a feature which is necessary because of the potentialisation of the audience. Furthermore, it has to do with the way texts can change people as well as reality. There is a metamorphosis of the reading subject, which results firstly from metamorphosis of the world. But it also results from metamorphosis of the author, whose presentation of the world in a discourse is a playful presentation. The author hides her-/himself, disguises her-/himself, renders her-/himself fictitious, inviting the reader to join in the game. The reader is invited to undergo a variation of *her/his* ego. In this way the work constructs readers in their role (Ricoeur 1982a).

Ricoeur's thinking, then, is post-structuralist in its emphasis on the role of the reader, who is created and then placed in her/his role by the text. This notion is supported by his concept of the autonomy of the text which negates authorial control over the meaning of an inscribed text: reading is not a dialogue with the author. "The writer does not respond to the reader", and in this sense the author is dead (Ricoeur 1982i:146). It is equally clear, however, that for Ricoeur the author is only *in a sense* dead. We note that one of Ricoeur's concerns is reconnecting the discourse of the reader with that of the writer. In hiding and disguising her-/himself, the writer does not entirely disappear, but continues to playfully haunt the reader.

This troublesome refusal of the author to be fully banished from the text is of crucial importance to archaeologists. The strategy of a great deal of post-structuralist theory has been to focus on the senses in which the author is dead and to ignore or play down the senses in which she/he remains present to the text. We thus find a gap in modern interpretation theory precisely where archaeologists, who study the texts of silent languages, need it least.

In the next section, then, we shall attempt to enter this gap, to zoom in on the elusive author, to dig up such remnants of her/his control as may have been deposited there and to stitch them together to see what sort of a fabric we can produce from the tatters.

THE AUTHOR - A PROBLEMATIC FIGURE IN DISCOURSE THEORY

Despite efforts to turn archaeology into a "hard" science over the past number of decades, our discipline remains a human science and by Ricoeur's (1982g) argument the human sciences are hermeneutic because their object has some features in common with texts. Archaeologists are concerned with human deeds of the past and, like texts, human actions await interpretations which decide their meaning. The meaning of human actions, of historical events and of social phenomena, may be construed in much the same way as meaning in a text (Ricoeur 1982g).

Social structures, too, are attempts to cope with existential perplexities, human predicaments and deep rooted conflicts and, as such, have a referential dimension. Ricoeur (1982g:220) says that this analogical function of reference "develops traits very similar to what we call the non-ostensive reference of a text". We therefore approach our problems in much the same way as readers confronted by a text. For this reason alone archaeologists need to take cognizance of Ricoeur's hermeneutics, but there is more to our problems as archaeologists than that.

Ricoeur has pointed out that what is at stake in the inscription of discourse (whatever form that inscription might take), is the dissociation of the author's intentions with the meaning of the text. "The text's career escapes the finite horizon lived by the author" (Ricoeur 1982g:201). But is it not "the finite horizon lived by the author" that archaeologists generally endeavour to recover? If this is so, is it not then, in the light of post-structuralist theory, a fundamental problem for archaeology? What we seem to be doing, by the tenets of post-structuralist theory and more specifically by Ricoeur's hermeneutics, is the impossible.

The reason for the dilemma is that post-structural theory does not cover the interpretation of archaeological texts; that is, material culture objects in the form of texts. When Ricoeur maintains that his later work is concerned with the whole domain of texts and analogues of texts (Thompson 1982a) the differences between the analogues and written texts are not identified

and discussed. Archaeologists need to delve into these differences and to properly formulate the theories by which we interpret *our texts*.

We need such formulations to provide us with a strategy and a framework with which to describe and analyse our finds more fully and with the self-assurance provided by a solid theoretical back-up. Theories give us *grounds* for making statements and drawing conclusions.

To begin with, we need to re-evaluate the role of the author, to argue for her/his reinstatement as a prominent figure in the whole process of the interpretation of archaeological texts. To simply revert to the outdated common sense view will not do. What we need to do instead is to deconstruct the opposition between author and reader in their passive theoretical roles and establish a relationship between active authors and active readers discursively making their way about their mundane world.

In this context it would not be feasible to argue that meaning resides solely with the author or with the reader, but rather that meaning can emerge from the dialectical relationship between the two within discourses as they are lived in practice. It is also not always feasible in practice to separate oral and inscribed discourse. The operations of the two can be complexly interwoven.

Reinstating the author is not as iconoclastic a suggestion as it might appear. We are reminded by Lodge (1988) that the question of "the death of the author" has never ceased to be controversial. We have seen that Iser (1978) grants a role for the author, albeit grudgingly: readers might grasp the entire meaning of the author at least in "scientific" texts. Miller (1989:v) blatantly, but somewhat self-deprecatingly, declares himself on the side of the author: "It is as well to say here that I believe, with the uninstructed, that authors have personal lives which they communicate ... in the various kinds of writing that they produce.It seems to me a mistake to suppose that there are works which escape what has been spoken of as the limitations of the personal". In discussing two works not of themselves important here, he says: "...both books show an exercise of aristocratic self-will, *tempered by authorial intent* ..." (Miller 1989:x emphasis added). The essays in Caughie's (1981) volume sensibly suggest that there should not just be one theory of authorship, but different theories for different practices. There are obviously many analysts who are not simply prepared to accept the demise of the author.

For archaeology, I find it possible to accept many of the major tenets of Ricoeur's hermeneutics: the ephemeral nature of oral discourse, the

tendency of inscribed texts to slide away from authorial control, the loss of the advantages of ostensive reference and loss of the interlocutor as the text creates its own audience. But, in archaeology, we also need to explain how authors deal with the problems of the autonomy of their texts in practice. To do this, we need to deny the implication in post-structural theory that authors are altogether powerless to maintain hegemony over their texts.

What authors desire is that their own intentions and meanings be communicated and they constantly take action to ensure that *their* meanings are, in fact, transmitted as far as possible. In practice people employ strategies to solve problems. One way of doing this is to transform situations which tend towards the problematic into those which are unproblematic. In the context of discourse interpretation it is the inscribed text which is problematic, whereas the face-to-face encounter is not. An often employed, problem-solving strategy for the author desirous of controlling the interpretation of his text is re-enactment of the dialogic situation so that use can be made of the advantages of "the simple discourse of conversation" (Ricoeur 1982c:92).

In the mundane course of their lives authors talk about their work: to friends, students, colleagues, publishers, whatever. Lectures, seminars, conferences, and so on are all organised dialogic situations which give producers of texts opportunities for explaining their work. It might be argued that the above mainly cover works of a technical or scientific or academic nature, but writers of fiction or "literary" works employ the same strategy. They frequently grant interviews, for instance, to explain their intentions and reply to questions about "what they meant" in their texts. The following examples are from an interview by Christian Salmon of *The Paris Review* with Milan Kundera, reprinted in Kundera (1990):

CS: That's what you say in *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*: "The novel is not the author's confession; it is an investigation of human life in the trap the world has become". But what does that mean, 'trap'?

MK: That life is a trap we've always known On the other hand, the wideness of the world used to provide a constant possibility of escape The decisive event in the transformation of the world into a trap was surely the 1914 war (Kundera 1990:26).

Our concern is not, of course, with the details of Kundera's explanations. What is important is that here we have an author explaining, an author with

the *need* to explain, an author desirous of reducing misinterpretation. In the course of the interview he uses phrases like: "But understand me ..." and "But let's head off any mis-understanding ..." (Kundera 1990:27, 41).

Since this is an important point, the following extract is also worth quoting:

CS: ...but are there passages in your novels where you yourself speak out directly?

MK: Even if I'm the one speaking, my reflections are connected to a character ...

CS: But often your meditations are not linked to any character ...

MK: That's true. *From time to time, I like to intervene directly as author, as myself* (Kundera 1990:79-80 emphasis added).

In all of the contexts mentioned above questions can be asked and obscure points explained in terms of what the producer of the text meant. Producers of texts can thus endeavour to control the interpretation of their texts by the introduction of interlocutors. Even within their written texts authors, like Kundera, like to intervene directly as themselves.

We have seen that with inscription, and because of the autonomy of the text, it is not only the interlocutor who is lost. The circumstantial reality common to interlocutors in dialogue also disappears. Authors have strategies which endeavour to counteract this loss as well. Even in their written texts they often include photographs, drawings, diagrams and maps, making it easier for readers to "picture" the scene as the authors intend it to be "pictured". Such technical devices, of course, form an important part of recreated dialogic situations, where they can be supplemented by slide-shows, films, various types of displays, and so on. So when Ricoeur (1982f:139) explains that the world of the text might "explode" the world of the author, we point out that in practice the author is able to exert a considerable amount of control over such potential destruction of his world. Through various forms of social action it is indeed possible for the writer to respond to, or enter into conversation with, the reader.

The author can throw off her/his disguise and reappear to disclose her/his intentions in face-to-face encounters where misinterpretations can be adjusted and the world which the text opens up can be explained and elaborated upon. The strategies that authors employ to assist in interpretation involve the interweaving of oral and written discourse.

What Ricoeur's (1982a-i) hermeneutics does not take sufficiently into account is the author as acting subject - a problem akin to his complaint

against structuralism. While not denying the text's autonomy, we endeavour to demonstrate how autonomy can be counteracted when authors elect to actively respond to readers by entering into dialogue with them.

There are two implications in the distancing between text and ostensive reference to which further attention must be paid. First, Ricoeur sees the sliding away from authorial control as liberating. He expresses it as "*emancipation of the text from the limits of ostensive reference*" (Thompson 1982a:14 emphasis added) in terms of meaning. Second, as a consequence of the above he sees oral discourse, that is the face-to-face encounter, as constraining.

It is precisely, however, these theoretical features of discourse which open up possibilities for authorial control. What the author utilises is the limiting factors of ostensive reference. She/he *needs* the constraints of face-to-face encounters to make written discourse work for her/him.

In a sense the author her/himself becomes liberated by the text. Texts open up possibilities for authors to explain their meanings and intentions in dialogic situations. The texts themselves lead back to the simple discourse of conversation. Were it not for Kundera's texts, there would have been no interview with Christian Salmon. It is only because of his texts that Kundera (1990) is able to express in simple discourse his thoughts and feelings about being-in-the-world. That these thoughts and feelings might constitute a further text in need of interpretation is here beside the point.

It thus seems that authors retain a considerable amount of control over their texts. They themselves may make decisions about how much liberty they are prepared to grant their texts. The producer of a text may elect to let it wander freely where it will among the unknown readers out there - or she/he may arrange to explain his intentions in face-to-face encounters as she/he sees fit.

The argument for a return of the author is not a plea for a return to a naïve, or even a more sophisticated, form of the common sense view. The argument is not against post-structuralist theory, but derives from an awareness of a gap in the theory: the senses in which the author is not dead. This, together with the taking into account and incorporation within the argument of many of the constructs of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) post-structuralist theory, keeps it clear of the common sense camp.

I do not deny the importance of concepts such as autonomy of the text, distancing and appropriation. What I do deny is the totally passive

acceptance by authors in practice of such a state of affairs. I do not support Hirsch's concept of the goals of hermeneutics. On the contrary, I agree with Eagleton's (1983) criticism of Hirsch: "Even if critics could obtain access to an author's intention, would this securely ground the text in a determinate meaning?Security is possible here only if authorial meanings are what Hirsch takes them to be: pure, solid, 'self-identical' facts which can be unimpeachably used to anchor the work..... Meanings are not as stable and determinate as Hirsch thinks, even authorial ones - and the reason they are not is because, as he will not recognize, they are the products of language, which always has something slippery about it. It is difficult to know what it could be to have a 'pure' meaning; it is only because Hirsch holds meaning apart from language that he is able to trust such chimeras. An author's intention is itself a complex 'text', which can be debated, translated and variously interpreted just like any other" (Eagleton 1983:69).

I argue in relation to the above that precisely because of autonomy, because meanings are the products of language, because language has something slippery about it, because authorial meanings are not what Hirsch takes them to be, it is essential for authors to work against these features of their texts in the practice of their everyday existence. They *endeavour* to anchor their works, to make their meanings stable and determinate, to turn them into pure, solid, "self-identical" facts in the face of the odds against this happening. And they do it by repeatedly reintroducing dialogic encounters and ostensive reference.

What I have attempted to deconstruct is the vision of the monologic author who, in utter loneliness, is never able to hear a dialogic response to her/his writing. An author who, like Shakespeare's player, struts and frets his hour upon the stage of his text, and then is heard no more. An author who, idle and isolated, stands in opposition to an overtaxed reader from whom she/he is forevermore separated by his desolate text.

The question which emerges from the post-structuralist view of reading is: what happens to communication in the midst of all this desolation? I address this question in the next chapter where, by developing a theory of visiting, I demonstrate how the producer of texts is capable in practice of reinstating himself as a *speaking* subject.

CHAPTER NINE

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF VISITING

The previous chapter explained how texts have the capacity to open up a world which a distanced reader can appraise and eventually appropriate as "his own". This world of the text is not the world of the author since the text is freed from authorial control when ideas are fixed in writing. The previous chapter, however, also proposed that there are certain circumstances under which the author needs to demonstrate that the world of the text is indeed *his* world. Such authors desire to maintain control over the meaning of their texts and in practice they attempt to do so by employing certain social strategies.

The meaning of a text, then, is not necessarily merely the meaning with which it is endowed by individual readers. Individual meanings can be modified by the social action and the oral discourse of the author. Meanings of texts can be negotiated by reader and author rejoining each other as interlocutors in the course of their engagement in common social practices. In such organised, dialogic situations use can be made of ostensive reference to modify a reader's unmonitored interpretation.

In searching for ways to approach the problems of the impact of architecture on people, I explore a type of communicative encounter which centres on the dwelling and its surrounds and which is at the same time a frequently repeated social practice: visiting. The aim is to demonstrate that there is also a theoretical dimension to those everyday practices which provide the matrix within which a dwelling's potential for generating meaning can be activated. This chapter analyses visiting as part of the strategy employed by the producers of Cape Dutch houses and landscapes for renegotiating their status within the category of the civilised. (It is, perhaps, somewhat ironic that I find feminist theory useful for explaining free burgher architecture, which was overwhelmingly male dominated - as was the whole Dutch mercantile world (Hall 1992). Because of this male domination, I use only masculine forms of personal pronouns when discussing the producers of Cape colonial texts).

Symbolic texts come into being *inter alia* when people do not have the ability (because they are illiterate), or the liberty (because of censorship), or the boldness (because they fear repercussions) to write. As Yaeger (1988:152) has pointed out, however, they also come into being because

people have "a capacity for dialogue" and can invent "abnormal discourses" which have an "emancipatory potential". This means that such discourses have the potential "to disrupt and reformulate the terms of [a] dominant culture".

Yaeger (1988) is concerned with ordinary language texts, with "women's writing". Texts inscribed in a symbolic language have an advantage over abnormal discourses in ordinary writing: they are made up of strands of language which can be interwoven with the discourse of ordinary language resulting in a stronger and more resilient fabric. A "different" language has emancipatory potential from its very inception. It immediately disrupts the dominant language by placing dominant language speakers at a disadvantage. They are excluded as the developing discourse is understood only by its initiators. The developing discourse forces dominant language users into learning what it is about, into decoding and translating. The developing discourse triumphs when dominant language users themselves begin to use it, when they become "bilingual". The dominant can thus be coerced into dialogue with the subordinate.

Yaeger (1988) draws our attention to various views on the liberatory powers of dialogue. For Rorty (1979) and Gadamer (1976) the emancipatory power of language is unproblematic, whereas Giegel (quoted by Habermas 1973) and Jameson (1981) see language as having no liberatory powers at all. For Bakhtin (1981) transformation through dialogue is possible, but difficult. Yaeger adopts Bakhtin's view. I agree that transformation through ordinary language dialogue is difficult, perhaps even impossible for those who have not mastered the word. But dialogue need not necessarily be conducted in ordinary language. Besides using ordinary language in novel ways as, for instance, set out in Yaeger's (1988) work, people can invent new modes of expression, whole new languages, to serve their purposes.

The "lesser" free burgher farmers expressed what they saw as their new landowner status through built structures and landscaping. When the mere fact of their possessing farm land appeared to be insufficient for changing VOC categorisation of themselves as lesser, they proceeded to gentrify the land in order to impress their changed status upon the officials. Their dwellings were no longer simply shelters, or even places of rest and comfort, but became texts about the identity and the status of the dwellers.

In this chapter I analyse the way in which structured free burgher farm complexes worked for their producers as textual and as cultural objects. For the texts to work, understanding what the producers meant was

essential. This necessitated both reading and the reintroduction of dialogic situations where producer and readers were gathered together within a shared circumstantial reality (Ricoeur 1982c), that is situations where ostensive reference could regain its interpretation potential.

On the face of it, visiting is a simple, commonplace and socially acceptable form of face-to-face encounter. On unravelling its complexities as a strategy for interpretation, however, we shall see that, in the Cape situation, it involved a double transformation of the visitor who, before he could become an interlocutor, first had to be made to read. Furthermore, visiting enabled producers to reappear as speaking subjects. By becoming involved in the simple discourse of conversation they could demonstrate their finite lived horizons (Ricoeur 1982c) and renegotiate meanings gleaned from readings of the text.

The theoretical implications of visiting will be discussed first. This will be followed by an analysis of how visiting ensured the working of the text in practice. Finally, in the light of Yaeger's (1988) feminist theory, we discuss the affects of the abnormal discourse of dwelling on relations at the Cape towards the end of the first period of Dutch rule.

A THEORY OF VISITING

As attested to by many early travellers (for example Valentijn 1726, Mentzel 1787, Sparrman 1785/86) the Cape was known for its hospitality. Free burgher farmers, especially, were renowned for holding open house to weary wayfarers in a land where there were few inns outside Cape Town.

Cape hospitality is usually explained in terms of the isolated lives people led on their farms, their eagerness for first hand news of the outside world, especially of "Patria", their plain and simple kindheartedness, and so on. Although there is undoubtedly some truth in all of these explanations, this should not blind us to the hidden dimensions of hospitality.

The free burgher farmers *needed* visitors for more than merely relief from loneliness, an exchange of news, or opportunities for expressing goodwill. Cloete's letter discussed in Chapter Seven makes the value he placed on visitors clear. The free burghers needed visitors, first, to act as readers and interpreters of their texts. Second, they needed people who could be drawn into dialogue as interlocutors in face-to-face encounters where producers of the texts could ensure the desired interpretation. Third, they

needed visitors to act as informal reporters. In a land without newspapers, visitors would report to all and sundry, including VOC officials, on the meaning of the texts and the quality of the people who produced and dwelt in them. Visiting, then, played a discursive as well as a social role at the Cape as it became an essential strategy for the consolidation of the discourse of dwelling which sought to "disrupt and reformulate" (Yaegar 1988: 152) the terms of the dominant VOC discourse.

Visiting as Reading

It was crucial that people be made to read the free burgher texts and visiting created reading opportunities, i.e., in terms of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) theory, opportunities essential for the recovery of meaning. The text remains without reference - until it is read. For a text to fulfill its discursive destination, it must be read. Only discourse is always about something. Only reading can set into operation the processes of, first, distancing and, finally, appropriation. Considering architecture as text includes acknowledging both the principles of autonomy and the text's potential to open up a world. For architectural texts this is a world of dwellers and dwelling.

The free burgher texts, then, provided the potential reader, anyone who could read - and the illiterate, particularly, could read these texts - with opportunities to read. But reading is essential for another reason. Ricoeur (1982i) says that text takes the place of speech, and the silent, architectural text is fulfilled, achieves its destiny in discourse only when it is in some way returned to ordinary language. This happens through a complex process which will be dealt with in some detail further on. For the present, however, we are reminded that, at the foundation of built signs like the gable, we do not find some weird and indecipherable language, but ordinary words: the metaphor property equals people. Through the functioning of this metaphor the concept "most high person" could be translated into architectural terms and be signified by "most high house". The tall, white-painted gables of the Cape Dutch houses were able to contradict, show up the flaw in, give the lie to VOC discourse which did violence to the body of the free burgher farmer by constituting it as dirt. These dwellings inverted the VOC discourse and its tendency to conflate the officials with the most high States General and even with the Almighty by suggesting that the free burgher farms marked the sites of true cleanliness, where the real most high in Cape society dwelt.

Architectural texts are a special way of coding, and a different way of inscribing ordinary speech. They thus require a kind of translation. This is not to suggest that there is a word-for-word or sign-for-sign equivalent for each concept, but rather that there is a coincidence of metaphors. People interpret symbolic texts by searching out coinciding metaphors. Lewis-Williams (1981) has explained that it is only possible to interpret San painting by finding correlations between the metaphors of the art and metaphors in the ethnography. A knowledge of the ethnography, being familiar with the ordinary language texts, is what enables interpretation of the paintings.

Familiarity with the language of the texts could, however, eventually eliminate the problem of translation. We know that frequent use is the best way of learning a foreign language. At first we understand and haltingly stutter out a new language only by mental translation. Practice enables us to think directly in the other language. Repeated visits made people fluent in the symbolic language in the same way. Visiting as reading was a mechanism for the returning of the symbolic language to ordinary speech. Ricoeur (1982i:161) says meaning has to be "like speech" before it can be recovered.

Visiting as Dialogue

Returning a text to language is, however, entirely dependent on the reader's interpretation, which might be problematic from the author's point of view. This leads us to the second reason for the free burghers' need for visiting: it served as a way of keeping the simple discourse of conversation involved in the more complex process of interpreting the discourse of the work. Through visiting, ordinary language could be manipulated into playing a more direct role in the interpretation of the symbolic discourse of dwelling. On the one hand it encouraged involvement with the problems of reference, which become acute upon inscription as the world of the text is dissociated from the ostensive references of oral discourse. On the other hand it sought to resolve these problems of textuality by immediately transforming the reading situation into the dialogic situation of the face-to-face encounter.

From the author's point of view it was important that the reader's interpretation be kept within a desired framework: the framework of the author's own intentions. For this, oral discourse was essential and visiting provided repeated occasions for drawing the visitor into dialogue by

transforming him from reader into interlocutor. Through visiting, the author could be reinstated as speaking subject to fill gaps in the reader's interpretation, eliminate inconsistencies, and generally orientate his thinking.

The symbolic language of the text and the ordinary language of oral discourse working together could add depth, another dimension - a dimension not dealt with by Ricoeur - to the discourse of dwelling. What I am explaining here is the importance of the interplay between the language of the architecture and ordinary language, as well as the interplay between inscribed discourse (text) and oral discourse (face-to-face encounter). I am arguing that the "silent language of symbols" (Hall 1989) encompasses a complexly interwoven double interplay.

During visits interlocutors are not only present to each other, but also "to the surroundings and the circumstantial milieu" (Ricoeur 1982i:148). This is clearly important to historical archaeologists as the milieu is made up of material culture objects and in any discourse of dwelling the milieu is carefully constructed. It is because they make up part of the dialogic situations of oral discourse that material culture objects can suggest what interlocutors were talking and thinking about and pointing to. Excavation of these objects enables us to reconstruct the ostensive references of face-to-face encounters of the past.

With reader transformed into interlocutor, the whole milieu could be displayed to him. His schematised reality (Iser 1978) could be metamorphosed into ostensive reference. The architectural text was returned to ordinary language as the reference became *my house*, *this fine porcelain*, *those expensive curtains*, the chair upon which *you are sitting*. Ricoeur (1982i) explains by saying that language, by way of adverbs of time and place, demonstratives and personal pronouns, anchors discourse in the circumstantial reality.

Reference, then becomes, performance, display, an act of showing. This is not possible when text takes the place of speech, when interlocutors are not present to each other and to the circumstantial reality. With texts "the movement towards the act of showing is intercepted at the same time as dialogue is intercepted by the text" (Ricoeur 1982i:148). What Ricoeur means is that upon inscription, dialogue and showing (pointing to) are occluded and replaced by the reader's exposure of himself to the world opened up by the text and his appropriation of this world.

Reported Speech

The third main reason why the free burghers needed visitors has to do with the value of reported speech. In a land without news media all manner of talk - gossip, recounting of anecdotes, story telling, scandal-mongering - is important. As visitors moved about in the course of their everyday lives, they would undoubtedly have talked about their visits and their interpretations of the texts in other face-to-face encounters, raising feelings and curiosity among those to whom they spoke. The meaning of the texts would thus have become sedimented within the matrix of meanings in Cape society. But this is only one reason why the relationship between visiting and reported speech was important. Another has to do with the ephemeral nature of spoken discourse.

For oral discourse to be a factor in the overcoming of the problems of inscribed discourse, its own inherent problem - its fleeting nature - needs to be addressed. If we look back to prehistoric times, that is times before writing, we find that the earliest strategies for lending a semblance of durability to oral discourse was constant repetition, a kind of inscription in mind and memory. Rituals were performed at regular intervals. Myths were constantly retold. Epic poems and sagas were repeatedly sung, recited and performed. Dance, singing, performance, actions of some kind, are essential aids for memorising texts. A strain of this well-tried strategy lives on in the social action we call visiting. Visiting is always patterned behaviour restricted by rules. Even in Western society to-day formulaic greetings and ritualistic behaviour mark the beginning and end of visits. Visiting lends itself to repetition.

It is this ritualistic behaviour during visiting which was important to the free burgher farmers. Along with the constant need to revert to dialogue, the producers of texts constantly needed to be seen, pointed to, displayed and talked about. Frequent visiting became a way of inscribing the references of oral discourse in minds and memories.

The Necessity for Texts

I conclude this section on the theory of visiting by discussing the question of whether, after all was said and done, inscription, the actual production of the texts, was really essential for the emancipation of the free burgher farmers from the burden of VOC discourse. When oral discourse played such an important role, both in the interpretation of the texts and in the

creation of a new identity, would talk, persuasive speech, rhetoric, not have accomplished as much with less effort? What, precisely, was the value of these architectural texts?

I have touched on Yaeger's (1988) discussion of this issue in a different context. She points out that Rorty (1979) holds the positivist belief that men and women can change themselves by verbally changing their self-descriptions. Changing a person's self-description changes what that person is. Gadamer (1976), too, has faith in the liberatory powers of dialogue where "everybody is at the centre", that is nobody is "above and before all the others" (quoted by Yaeger 1988:165). There are, however, those who disagree with the apparent ease with which identities can be changed through dialogue alone. Yaeger (1988) draws our attention to Giegel (quoted by Habermas 1973), who offers a gender and class based critique of dialogue with the view that attempts by the oppressed to enter into dialogue with the ruling class serve as opportunities to strengthen the latter's domination. Jameson (1981), too, denies any revolutionary attributes of dialogue, maintaining that "those who argue with an oppressor can only argue in the oppressor's language" (Yaeger 1988:165).

Because the shaping of a new identity is difficult, as the authors above have pointed out, Yaeger believes that the process demands a whole new language. To reiterate what Mitchell (1988) has said: restabilisation of changing subjects from within a state of flux can only be achieved through a new symbolism, which in turn involves a recreation of artefacts. Pleadings with the VOC in their own language achieved very little for the free burghers. The dismissal of Willem Adriaan van der Stel was an exceptional case which will be discussed further on. Confronting the VOC directly in the dominant language, the illiterate free burghers could only lose out time and again. Letters, petitions, appeals could easily be ignored or pigeon-holed and forgotten.

The free burghers needed to write in letters of stone, to lift their language out from under the suppression which tried to keep it down. The free burgher farmers needed texts which offered them the opportunity of taking full advantage of the interpretive possibilities of both modes of discourse: inscribed and oral. They needed texts with high visibility to operate on a wide range of readers: all who saw the houses.

As "author", the producer *did not* relish the idea of the text sliding out from under his control. But *he did* want it freed from the limits of ostensive reference so that it could, in the nature of texts, open up a world - his

world of dwelling - and be read from afar. He needed from the texts the processes of distancing by which beholders stand back and evaluate what they are reading. Finally he needed appropriation, whereby the beholder makes the initially alien text his own, becomes reconciled with the world of the text.

On the other hand the producer needed to ensure that the meaning of the text as it emerged in the mind of readers coincided as far as possible with his real lived horizon. By making the text his dwelling he could avail himself of the advantages of inscription and at the same time counteract the disadvantages: by behaving hospitably, by becoming a speaking subject, by controlling interpretation of his text and making use of ostensive reference when and how it suited him.

With architectural texts we experience the "different" phenomenon of the text itself being part of the display. The text becomes ostensive reference. Interception of the act of showing takes on a new dimension. When the reader of the text is transformed into an interlocutor (that is drawn into dialogue) occlusion of both dialogue and pointing to are counter-intercepted. Visiting interweaves both modes of interpretation: that of textual and of oral discourse. Through visiting the relationship between text and reader can be extended to include the author.

Simple (conversational) discourse focuses on the intentions of the author. The more complex inscribed discourse focuses on the reader before whom a world is opened up and who, through distancing, is able to critique that world, opposing its conditions as to what already exists as the "real". But these processes can only be set in motion if there *are* texts and if there *are* readers who can be exposed to them. Critique of the real means that the reader (his self metamorphosed by his reading of the text) can reject the world as it is. It is rejection of an already established world which can bring about social change. At the Cape, the architectural texts encouraged refusal to accept or submit to the VOC discourse.

Architectural texts have further unique features. Ricoeur (1982i) says the reader's aim is not to project himself into the text, to move into it in order to get at the author's meaning, but rather to stand exposed before the text, awaiting what it brings. What, then, of the visitor to a dwelling, who is literally able to move into the text - and of the author, who literally dwells within his text?

The next section on the practice of visiting will explain more fully how it is precisely as the visitor enters the dwelling that his transformation into

interlocutor is effected. From the author's point of view, it is his ability to literally dwell within the text which makes it a highly satisfactory type of text. It is his dwelling which enables the producer in the very process of his ongoing existence to cling to his text and to ensure, as double protection against autonomy, the frequent re-enactment of dialogic situations.

Written discourse cannot of itself be "rescued" by all the processes by which spoken discourse supports itself in order to be understood: intonation, mimicry, delivery, gestures. I argue that the language of architecture has its own related system. Displays (for example of furniture or porcelain) can act as a type of intonation stressing affluence. Imitating the interior decoration of the homes of the "higher" is a kind of mimicry. Use of the whole landscape, thus enlarging the text, is a kind of delivery. Gestures include embellishing gables with dates and the owner's initials to lend authenticity. But when the supportive aids of spoken discourse are called into play along with those of the texts through the strategies of the author in the practice of his everyday life, the emancipatory potential of the whole discourse is reinforced. The author avails himself of the advantages of both modes of communication.

I have already explained that Ricoeur sees presentation of a world in a discourse as playful presentation. Visiting is indeed a kind of social game or play in which the author in a sense disguises himself as he assumes the role of dweller. But for the producer of architectural texts dwelling is an ongoing role. The author permanently dwells within his text. The role then becomes real life, a permanent mode of being by which his discourse is constantly reinforced.

What the free burgher texts needed to project was a symbolic free burgher world in which, as landowners, they could *be*. In the nature of texts, because texts are what they are and act upon readers the way that they do, this was achieved for them. In the process of being in this world of their texts they could take on their new identity.

In appropriating the world of the text, the reader also appropriated the person of the free burgher farmer. Within this world, the author himself was on display. Through his performance he could show himself to be a worthy inhabiter of the world his text projected. On display was his person, his body, which became part of the ostensive reference. He could be pointed to. The free-burgher-in-his-dwelling had to be as much of a show-piece as the porcelain on the *grootte kast* (large cupboard). He had to be seen as costly, worthy, "higher", and yet perhaps something of a cliché. In

this role he could become the sort of person who deserved high ranking; the sort who ought to have a major say on the boards and councils, who ought to have ranked at least on an equal footing with local VOC officials. Through his text he could be shown to have value.

The architectural text is liberated to refer to a world, but the world is the world of the author dwelling in the text. He is himself an ostensive reference within this world. It is from this position of strength that he is able to stipulate that the world his text opens up is the "good", "clean" mode of dwelling of the hospitable free burgher farmer.

The dwelling and the person of the free burgher farmer were thus built together. In ordering the landscape the farmer was at once ordering his body, proclaiming himself no longer like dirt, a person out of place, but upright and respectable. The process of reading texts could progress towards the process of conducting dialogue between respectable people.

THE PRACTICE OF VISITING

In his letter to Swellengrebel describing the alterations to *Constantia*, Hendrik Cloete makes two things very clear. First, that it was important that his farm and dwelling be visible from afar. Second, that he had designed a spectacular entrance (Schutte 1982). There are at least two essential conditions for an artefact to be effective as a symbolic object: it must be visible, and it must be striking enough to somehow cause the viewer to stop in his tracks, to be "arrested" or made to pause (Baxandall 1972). Cloete was aware of the importance of both. Not only did he clear the forest to make his place visible, he also lavished a great deal of attention on the entrance and driveway.

Vernacular houses, as we have seen, do not comply with these conditions. Built with the prime object of shelter in mind, they tend to melt in with their surroundings. Even in later years materials used in their construction were whatever was at hand: wood if it was available; stone clay, even dung blocks (Figure 8) if it was not.; reeds for the roof if they could be obtained easily, otherwise branches from the *tontelbos* would do (pers. comm. H. Reickert of Kenhardt). Visibility is not a factor in these dwellings and they are easily missed by passers-by.

By contrast, the Cape Dutch house was planned and placed upon a platform (Fitchett 1987) to stand out against the skyline. With its tall gable, its

ringmuur and its orderly arrangement of outbuildings, all emphasized with white paint, it so changed the landscape that it was highly visible, even from a distance. What is more, it was purposefully set, not only to provide the occupants with a view, but to be viewed by anyone approaching. Where the vernacular house was built out of the need for shelter, the Cape Dutch house was structured as a text, out of the need to make statements, to "revel in language" (Yaeger 1988). Artlessness became artifice, and therefore also a form of art (Geertz 1983).

Considering art in its broadest possible sense so as to include a large proportion of material culture objects, art forms as texts afford people ways of dealing with areas of their existence which have not quite been worked out, areas of their being-in-the-world which are still in the process of being ordered, shaped and niched (Geertz 1983). Writing on the oval shapes in Abelam art, Geertz says they are about the "burning preoccupation" of the Abelam, namely the natural creativity of the female and the question of male and female power and what it is dependent upon. But the shapes are not "illustratively about it". So, for the paintings to be interpreted, for the art to have an affect on people's attitudes and therefore on society, a certain knowledge, and skill in the application of this knowledge, is necessary. This knowledge and skill comes from everyday existence, from living the daily life of an Abelam person and seeing things in an Abelam way (Geertz 1983: 100).

Geertz points out that Baxandall (1972) expresses similar ideas. Writing on fifteenth century Italian art he says that the appropriate skills for both beholder and painter are mostly not built in, but are drawn from general experience - the experience, in Baxandall's case, of living a *quattrocento* life and seeing things in a *quattrocento* way.

Baxandall (1972) explains that some of the mental equipment with which people order their experience is variable and much of it depends on the knowledge an individual has picked up from daily living within his culture. People supplement their visual impressions with this cultural knowledge when evaluating material culture objects and in doing so, are likely to use those skills their society esteems highly. Similar concepts by other scholars are called to mind here, for example Bourdieu's (1977) "habitus" and Holzner and Robertson's (1980) "folk measurements".

When we think about the kind of skills that would have been highly esteemed in eighteenth century Cape society, architecture immediately comes to mind because of the long European tradition of associating property, and

dwellings in particular, with status. Europeans at the Cape *knew* how to evaluate a dwelling. A discourse of dwelling with which to challenge the dominant discourse therefore made sense. What this discourse was about was their "burning passion" to shake off their old identity of subservience, to secure the freedom to trade as they saw fit and to enjoy a majority bodily presence on the boards and councils.

The work of Geertz (1983) and Baxandall (1972) discussed above leads us towards our analysis of the interpretation of artefactual texts by ordinary people in the course of their ordinary lives. It is not difficult to see how this work links up with Ricoeur's (1982a, 1982f) concepts of distancing and appropriation. We pause with Geertz's discussion of Baxandall (1972) again for a moment. He says fifteenth century religious paintings were meant to deepen human awareness of the spiritual dimensions of existence. They acted as visual invitations to reflection on the truth of Christianity. "Faced with an arresting image of the Annunciation or the Passion, *the beholder was to complete it* by reflecting on the event as he knew it and on his personal relation to the mysteries it recorded" (Geertz 1983: 104, emphasis added).

We can transpose what has been described here into hermeneutic terminology by explaining that what is happening is that the visual texts are creating a reader in his role (Ricoeur 1982e). The beholder stands exposed before the text, allowing it to perform its socio-psychological operations on him, to reveal its "world".

In an earlier chapter I contrasted modes of entry into a vernacular house and a Cape Dutch house. With the latter entry is controlled from the outset. From the moment he arrives at the gate, the architectural text takes hold of the beholder in a way which involves not only his sense of sight, but all of his senses and even his thoughts and emotions, in much the same way that a painting or a written text can take hold of a beholder or reader.

But how, in practice, does the beholder "complete the image"? How, in practice, does the proposed world of the text become "a world which I could inhabit and in which I could project my 'ownmost possibilities'" (Ricoeur 1982e:112)? To find answers to these questions we must pay attention to Iser's (1978) theory of reading.

Completing the Image: Iser's Model of Reading

Written texts have introductions which arouse eager anticipation. So, too, do the architectural texts we are studying. In the eighteenth century, outlying farmsteads could only be reached after tedious journeyings over bumpy tracks we would hardly call roads to-day, as attested to by authors like Mentzel (1787) and Sparrman (1785-1786). No doubt approaching visitors kept an eager lookout for glimpses of white appearing and disappearing among the trees, signaling the end of their discomfort. But visiting a Cape Dutch farm was not for the impatient. Meeting with the owners could only be achieved through a series of pauses.

The first barrier was the gateway in the perimeter wall. Arrested in his progress, the visitor was made to gaze upon the full vista of the symmetrical, gabled facade at the end of a tree-lined carriageway (Figure 27). The impact of the pause was more than merely physical. It worked, as it was meant to, on mind, intellect and emotions as well. Thus fully introduced to the text, the visitor was forced into reflection, reading, interpretation. Distanced from the text, his socially acquired skills of evaluation were called into play as he worked his way towards appropriation. What sort of meaning could have emerged from such a text as it was being read by the beholder?

Iser (1978:10) sees meaning as the result of the merging of text and reader into a single situation rather than standing in a dichotomous subject : object relationship: "Meaning is no longer an object to be defined, but an effect to be experienced". These ideas are in accord with Ricoeur's (1982a, 1982i) concept of appropriation. Furthermore, Iser (1978) sees the text as presenting a schema which provides the guidelines through which the reader may establish the "facts", the "truth", of the text for himself. This notion is also in agreement with Baxandall's (1972) writing.

For Iser (1978), the schema which the text presents must be filled out by the reader through a series of mental images. These images are constantly being revised, grouped and regrouped as the reading proceeds. Eventually an "ideation" of the whole text emerges, but this is not ever a final image as it is open to revision in further readings (Iser 1978, Holub 1984 Ray 1984) What is important here is that on encountering a work (and we must remember that for Iser the work is a *written* work), the reader fills out the schema by creating a series of mental *images* to "match up" with the language.

When reading ordinary language texts, the *narrative* is given and the reader supplements with *images* of his own making in order to interpret. By contrast, with architecture or painting or sculpture - the visual arts - the *image* is given. What the beholder must add in order to interpret is the *narrative*, the ordinary language. The beholder fills in the schema with a narrative of his own creation to match up with the image. I argue that linguistic and visual elements working together are essential in interpretation. The reader's or beholder's task is to supply whichever of the two is missing.

All of the above is compatible with Ricoeur's (1982a-i) theory, especially with his view of the reference of the text being the world it opens up. If this world is opened up through ordinary language, the reader interprets with images. If the opening up takes the form of visual images (as with the Cape Dutch house), the reader partakes of this world through ordinary language, through a narrative or fiction which he himself creates. The fiction is created in the moments between distancing and appropriation and mediates the transition.

The perimeter wall in the Cape Dutch farm complex was usually too low to prevent attacks by large wild animals or marauding people. Its function was largely symbolic. No doubt it served to separate the order within the *werf* from the natural and the wild outside, but I argue that it also served to prevent visitors from approaching the dwelling from vantage points other than that which presented it at its most imposing (Figure 27). The frontal facade was the part that mattered, the part that pronounced the structure a text, the part which made of the visitor a reader.

It is at the gate, then, that the visitor first pauses, awaiting what the text will bring. The imposing, often embellished gateway allows him time for reflection and critique, time to bring his socially acquired skills of evaluation into play, time to think the house in words. It is here that he exposes himself to the world the text opens up, here that he is transformed into reader who must create his own fiction about the house, a fiction which he will experience as "truth".

Confronted by the autonomous text at the gateway, the visitor is free to interpret as he sees fit, a process which continues during the second pause at the centrally placed front door. Like gateways, front doors (Figure 28) were important in Cape Dutch architecture and were often embellished with decorative carving and metalwork - things to admire, things which encouraged further reflection and critique. At the front door the house has

the visitor firmly in its grip. At the gate "escape" is still possible: he may turn back or drive on. To do so at the front door is virtually unthinkable. Here the caller is a committed visitor who has no option but to lift the knocker and seek entry. The reader is at the threshold of his transformation into an interlocutor.

There is a final pause inside the house, in the *voorhuis* or centrally placed formal reception room, where he may be left to further ponder what he sees. It is during these three pauses that the visitor creates in his mind the fiction centred around the textual images. In thinking the house in words, the viewer establishes the "facts" for himself as he verbalises the non-verbal "truth" of the house. It is this "truth" which the visitor will report to others when the occasion arises. The visit does not end when farewells have been said. Like a myth, it will continue to be "told". The meaning of the house will thus convect into and become part of the matrix of social life.

It is through the reader's fiction that appropriation, the making of what was alien one's own (Ricoeur 1982a, 1982i), can occur. Empirical observations by psychologists suggest that people experience phenomena in four main ways and that they can do this within the space of a few seconds. First, they perceive the facts; second, they think about them, piece the data together logically; third, they develop feelings about them, make value judgments, adopt viewpoints; finally, they look beyond the facts to certain possibilities which might be true or untrue, possible or impossible (Martin 1978:21).

According to Martin (1978), "perceiving the facts" means doing just that and no more: registering what is there and what is not. So a visitor in the *voorhuis*, for instance, would note the furniture, the objects enshrined behind glass cupboard doors, the screen blocking him off from the depths of the house, the symmetry of the room, and so on. He might also note what is missing.

The basic facts, once perceived, will then be thought about. The data will be pieced together logically. Our visitor will classify, analyse, synthesise, argue, trace the reason for this and the cause of that: The Chinese porcelain displayed on top of a *kast* probably means that the *kast* itself, into which you cannot see, contains costly goods. The owner is a man of means.

The visitor's feelings about these things then come into play. He adopts views and makes value judgments in which worth becomes more important than logic. He decides what he likes and what he does not like, what is

good and what is bad. The visitor might begin to feel that it must be good to own a farm and live in a well ordered house like this. The owner must be a well ordered, capable person, a person of quality. It must be good to be a free burgher farmer.

The visitor will finally look beyond the facts to certain likely or unlikely possibilities. He might fantasize, seeing himself in a role similar to the owner. He might even try to become a little like the owner. As Martin (1978: 22-23) says, looking beyond the facts is like pondering the imponderable, projecting the self into an imaginary situation in a possible future. Ricoeur (1982f:142) would call it appropriation: "What I appropriate is a proposed world, the world of the text, into which I can project my 'ownmost possibilities'".

It is thus the beholder's fiction which opens up new possibilities of existence within everyday reality. It is the fiction which enables appropriation, which mediates the transition from distanciation to appropriation. What the reader receives from the text is a kind of enlarged self which would incorporate the proposed existence corresponding in the most suitable way to the proposed world of the text.

From Reader to Interlocutor

Transformation of the reader into interlocutor is affected when the producer joins the visitor in a face-to-face encounter. Dialogue substitutes for reading and the producer can establish the affects of his text on the visitor. Anything missed in the reader's interpretation can be pointed to. Misapprehensions can be adjusted, incorrect meanings negotiated.

We have seen that architectural and landscaped features are both orderly and ordering. We have hinted at the transformative power of built structures as texts. The driveway not only directs the eye of the beholder towards the facade, it literally drives or energises the visitor to follow *that* way alone. For a visitor to follow a path other than the structured driveway is as unthinkable as it would be for a visiting state dignitary to step off the ceremonial red carpet spread out at his feet. The architecture thus elicits a form of ritual behaviour from the visitor. He must pause at the gate, he must follow the driveway, he must pause at the front door, he must use the knocker. The path he follows determines the time and the place for interpretation. It is the path which *makes* him do things and allows him time to think. Ritual is here being created through the use of material culture. By

the time the visitor has *followed* the path, *submitted* to its rules, *sought* entry, *fantasized* about a possible future he is in a receptive mood, softened by the ritual of which he has only half consciously partaken. He is open to suggestion.

I argue that the *voorhuis* was the locality for the second transformation in the practice of visiting. Entry was into this large reception room immediately beneath the front gable. At present studies on the *voorhuis* are sketchy. It is possible that in the earlier houses the *voorhuis* was used as a living room/dining room, but that its character changed with the development of the two *voorkamers* as living rooms *cum* entertainment areas (Woodward 1983). It became in a sense redundant, a room with no apparent purpose other than entrance hall. From the inventories it appears at first to have been a nondescript room. Malan (pers. comm.) feels that it was often used as a dining room in houses which had no *gaanderij*. When eating was given its special place by the addition of a *gaanderij*, the function of the *voorhuis* again becomes uncertain.

Nevertheless, the *voorhuis* developed into a large, symmetrical room with its own special and often very elaborate embellishment, the screen (Figure 29). Such a room must surely have had its symbolic justification, and I suggest that it was in this room that the final pause for reading was enforced and that it was here that, at the end of the time of waiting, the reader was prepared for his transformation into an interlocutor as he was joined by the author of the text. Woodward (1983) is probably right in likening it to a doctor's waiting room. The people made to wait in it were visitors given a final few moments for reflection as they awaited transformation.

As a waiting room the *voorhuis* was a room of carefully contrived displays. It was the place for the consolidation of already established meanings. Seated, relaxed in body and mind, softened, open to suggestion, the *voorhuis* was the place where the artefacts arranged in standardised displays could appeal to the visitor's senses, and through his senses to his emotions. Left to himself, he could reflectively address these artefacts in terms of his experience in Cape society - and, as we have seen from Martin's (1978) work, he could do it within the space of a few minutes.

Addressing the displays would no doubt have had a pleasing effect on the visitor. Through this activity he would have been able, perhaps, to experience something of the good life of the landowner. The house he entered, the furniture in the room, the displayed objects were concrete

manifestations of this life, and he could identify himself with it because of his own European background and his background in Cape society. The material culture objects gave the visitor a good conceptual hold on what being a free burgher farmer was all about, and the fiction he created clustered around these objects and the people who owned and displayed them. People who live such a life must be moneyed people, status people, capable people - people who in their ordinary walk of life were able to control the land: they made it work for them. In addition, they are able to control other people: they made them work for them too. They were therefore just as good as, and perhaps even better, than many Company officials and it was therefore neither logical nor reasonable, nor natural for such people to continually take orders from the Company or to be penalised economically by it.

The setting of displayed objects behind glass enhanced their value (Figure 30). Many cabinets were gabled like the house (Figure 31). Sometimes the carving matched the front door. This "matching" added to the concept of good living.

The grandfather clock was an object often found in the *voorhuis* and it told its own story as well as the time. It spoke of an owner who understood and appreciated the value of time. Being able to organise and regulate his own time made him fit and able to command other people and to regulate their time. But since they were simpler people, he regulated their time in a simpler way, summoning them to work, to rest, to eat, by the ringing of a bell at the appropriate hours. The slave bell is a characteristic feature of the free burgher farm (Figures 32 and 33).

Container furniture, such as the *grootte kast*, *kists* (chests), chests of drawers, gabled *armoires*, suggested that what the visitor saw on display and behind glass was only a sample of what the owner possessed. There was much, much more hidden from view, not only in drawers and cupboards, but beyond screen and closed doors, behind drawn curtains and folded shutters.

The free burgher world was a world of carefully gathered together possessions on display. That the items were similar in many houses is clear both from inventories and excavations. Status appears to have been linked largely to quantity with sets of porcelain atop a *grootte kast* in one of the front rooms being the ultimate (Woodward 1982). During the latter part of the eighteenth century almost every household seems to have had some porcelain of eastern origin. But not all had vast quantities and matching

sets. There appears to have been little variation in the types of displays and there must have been a "proper" way of doing things (Woodward 1982).

That these displays became standardised, almost like clichés, did not detract from their interpretability. It merely made interpretation easier. Discussing Flaubert's use of cliché as stylistic device, Holdheim (1984: 141) says: "The process of narrative explanation has been contracted [through the use of cliché] to a point where its result could pass as a descriptively fixated attribute of the object. I have to spend no time in arriving at it, to expend no effort. In fact it is not even I who is involved: I have delegated experience to the *vox populi* and merely need to take over its collectively 'objectified' interpretation". Inside the house, then, the reader can relax, can begin to let go of the act of reading, since all before him is already pre-interpreted. His transformation into interlocutor is thus smoothed over by a gradual relinquishment of the activity of reading. Ensnared within the ostensive reference, he is ready for conversation when the author appears as speaking subject.

Appropriation, says Ricoeur (1982i:159), stretches its field of action to include the two interlocutors. The author as one of the interlocutors takes on the subjectivity of the reader and *vice versa*. The face-to-face encounter of visiting can thus be seen as the final chapter of the reading when Ricoeur's (1982i:159) concepts of "bringing together", "equalising", "making ones own" what was initially "alien" are extended. As reader it is possible to see myself accepting this world, granting its merits, being part of it. This is what granting truth value to the text means, or what Gadamer (1984) calls the fusion of horizons in historical knowledge.

THE WORK OF ABNORMAL DISCOURSE: THE CAPE BECOMES BILINGUAL

Analysing the VOC's discursive strategies in the light of Ricoeur's (1982a-i) hermeneutics explains why those strategies were initially successful. We need another type of theoretical framework, however, to understand more fully how the discourse of dwelling succeeded in interrupting the VOC discourse.

The dominant discourse succeeded in the early years because its texts opened up a world which conformed to a cosmology well established in Europe at the time: peasants, who are not landowners are lesser; they

stand in a relationship of service to the higher echelons of society. In this sense, the world of the VOC discourse was "true".

By the very principle behind this discourse, however, the social distance between Company official and peasant employee should have been reduced when the peasants contracted out of Company service and became landowners in their own right. A deep-seated contradiction arose when the VOC sought to preserve the *status quo* even as they altered it. By the same established values of the VOC discourse, the free burgher farmers no longer stood in a relation of service to the Company, but had become masters of their own property. Yet the VOC grants sought to curtail the freedom with which the farmers were being endowed in the very moment of its endowment. The metaphor "free burgher" turned out to be no more than a puff of air. The VOC persisted with their discourse as though nothing had changed.

But the whole world the VOC discourse opened up *had* changed. It had become a world in which peasants were landowners and therefore ought no longer to have been lesser servants. Because their discourse could no longer be interpreted within an acceptable framework, its "truth value" was undermined, initially by the action of the VOC themselves, and later by the abnormal discourse of the free burgher farmers.

Along with their land, the free burgher farmers received a space for inscription. In a sense their farms placed them "within reach" of VOC grandeur, and provided them with a "zone of dialogical contact", of potential conversation with the VOC (Yaeger 1988:172). Availing themselves of this opportunity, they devised their own discourse, while shrugging off and rejecting the dominant discourse and showing it up as false.

Ironically, what gave the free burgher discourse its credibility, what made it appropriable by its readers, was precisely its adherence to the world-view on which the VOC discourse was founded. Ricoeur (1982i:159) says: "Interpretation struggles against estrangement from the meaning of the system of values on which it is based". In other words, a text based on an established system of values is more readily appropriable than a text which contradicts it. It was the VOC discourse which, after the granting of land to the free burghers, failed to adhere to the established system. It thus lost its credibility as the free burgher discourse, inscribed as it was within the system, gained ground.

To find out how the free burgher discourse gained ground, we look at Yaeger's (1988) theory on women's writing and the type of success it can achieve when women writers invent abnormal discourses which enable them to challenge dominant, male discourses and draw them into dialogue. The authority of the dominant discourse can be reduced. It can thus be made vulnerable and therefore subject to change. Herein, according to Yaeger (1988:163), lies the value and the "social work" of abnormal discourses.

Yaeger's theory can be extended to include abnormal discourses outside of feminism. I argue, first, that the discourse of dwelling was indeed an abnormal discourse. Next, I explain how the dominant, VOC discourse was indeed drawn into dialogue by the discourse of dwelling. Finally I briefly discuss the effects of this dialogue on Cape society.

The discourse of dwelling is not abnormal simply because it is not inscribed in ordinary language. As Yaeger demonstrates, abnormal discourses can come into being within the ambit of ordinary written language as well. Yaeger uses for her purposes Rorty's (1979) definition of abnormal discourse: "For Rorty, abnormal discourse is something that happens when someone enters into the conversation who does not know its conventions, *or who sets them aside*; it is *any discourse that interrupts* 'agreed upon criteria for reaching agreement' and *refuses to carry on with the normative course of an argument*" (Yaeger 1988:163, emphasis added).

What makes the discourse of dwelling "abnormal" is its ability to break into the dominant verbal - and verbose - VOC discourse and contradict its constitution of the free burgher farmer as a dull illiterate whose productive ability was limited to the field of manual labour, and even then could only emerge when he was under Company supervision. By contrast, the free burgher texts show the free burgher farmer to be not only a producer of crops, but a creator of culture and language as well. The manipulative use of social practices like visiting in the service of the discourse of dwelling was an aid in the disruption of the dominant discourse. Through the practice of visiting the discourse of dwelling became polyvocal: the language of the architecture could be spoken audibly by many voices. Through the invention of their own language, the free burgher farmers were able not only to *produce* culture at the Cape, but to *dominate* cultural production. In the end it was *they* who stipulated what Cape Dutch culture would be. By Yaeger's (1988) definition, then, the silent language of dwelling was an abnormal dialogic form.

From the outset the VOC governed by the word. Employees were oathed, sealed and signed into submission. The law came in the form of *Placcaaten*, written ordinances read from the Castle balcony, to which citizens were summoned by the ringing of a bell. There was no discussion after the reading. Copies of the *placcaat* were simply pasted up in prominent places in Cape Town and the outlying villages. All requests to the Company had to be submitted in writing - and they needed permission for almost everything, from contracting out of Company service to being allowed to visit relatives in Europe (Spilhaus 1949).

Coming as it did from above, there were few interruptions in the dominant discourse at first. The majority of free burghers were simply not able to challenge it on its own turf - the field of the written word. Direct requests to visiting Commissioners were usually only temporarily successful. Once the Commissioners had departed, the governors simply cancelled their arrangements with the colonists and continued as before. Early petitions likewise failed to produce beneficial results for the farmers (Boeseken 1938). Renegade Estienne Barbier went as far as, Luther-like, nailing his grievances to the church door at Drakenstein, a "channel of communication" which the Government had reserved for itself (Penn 1988:1). His little rebellion did him no good. His end was particularly gruesome: "He was barbarously executed. His right hand and his head were cut off, his body was quartered and the sections displayed, impaled, next to the busiest roads of the Colony" (Penn 1988:1).

The only major exception was the case of Willem Adriaan van der Stel who was ousted as governor in 1709. The history of the events surrounding his deportation cannot be set out here. It is adequately dealt with by Boeseken (1964) and more fully by Jansen van Vuuren (1973), whose detailed discussion of sources is valuable. We must, however, pay attention to some of the ways in which the case was exceptional.

First, one of the main protagonists, Adam Tas, was not the run-of-the-mill illiterate free burgher. The mere fact of his having kept a regular diary during those early years is exceptional. Jansen van Vuuren (1973:17) says of him: "Hy het die mag van die woord geken" (He knew the power of the word). Van der Stel jeeringly called Tas a "fancy writer", while the ship's doctor who aided the Colonists thought of him as "de bekwaamste ter penne" (the most capable writer) among the Colonists (Jansen van Vuuren 1973:17). He acted as the farmers' secretary and was responsible for the writing down of all the complaints against the Governor.

Writing was almost a crime at the Cape in the early eighteenth century. Meetings to formulate and write down the grievances took place with fear and in secrecy. When the Governor heard what Tas had done, he was immediately arrested and his desk with all his documents was confiscated. Van der Stel forthwith issued a *placcaat* prohibiting all conspiracies and the signing of "libellous documents" against the authorities (Jansen van Vuuren 1973:64). Tas was incarcerated in the Castle for over thirteen months. Van der Stel could not forget that he had acted as secretary in the rebellion and had written scandalous things about him in his diary. Tas could not be forgiven for daring to write.

The second exceptional factor about the *débauche* has to do with the degree to which Van der Stel enriched himself at the cost of the Company and of the free burghers (through unfair competition). Corruption was part of the way of life of VOC officials, but Van der Stel blatantly made use of the Company's time, labour, and other resources on his farm *Vergelegen* on a scale not encountered before at the Cape (Boeseken 1964). His behaviour even raised the ire of some of his colleagues who became concerned about the well-being of the Company.

According to Boeseken (1964:182), ship's doctor Bogaerdt described Van der Stel as "door weelde en lust en dolle hoogmoed dronken" (drunk with luxury, lust and crazy arrogance). In spite of all this, however, attempts to oust the governor might not have succeeded had it not been for the intervention of the highly regarded outsider, Bogaerdt, who, at risk to himself, was prepared to smuggle out the burgher's list of complaints because he believed in their cause. This, too, was exceptional.

One may speculate as to whether the destruction of the *Vergelegen* dwelling by order of the Company gave further substance to the metaphor property equals people: when the Governor went, his dwelling had to go too. It was during the second and third decades of the eighteenth century that farm houses, especially, began to take on their importance and to set a pattern for building at the Cape. There is archaeological evidence for a great deal of alteration during the later eighteenth century at *Orrust* (Hall *et al* 1988) and inventorial information suggests that this tendency was widespread. The discourse of dwelling was coming through clearly.

It has already been said that by 1755 building had become a craze, a kind of madness, at the Cape. But it is important to note that by then, the VOC had begun to adopt the free burgher style of architecture. To use Yaeger's (1988) terms, the dominant discourse had been drawn into dialogue with

the discourse of dwelling. By mid-century the VOC had begun to speak the language of dwelling. At about this time the house at *Paradise* was symmetrified and turned into a T (Hall and Malan 1988). In 1751 Ryk Tulbagh turned *Newlands House* into a Cape Dutch dwelling (Visser 1989). In 1755 a new town house was built with fewer Dutch and more Cape Dutch elements (Fehr 1955). *Tuynhuis*, too, was altered. Even the VOC had begun to "make their own" what had initially been "alien" (Ricoeur 1982f).

By the late eighteenth century many free burgher farmers had become personal friends of and relations by marriage to Company officials, a factor which, perhaps, enabled the discourse of dwelling to further undermine the dominant discourse. Nevertheless, as Schutte (1982) points out in his introduction to the Swellengrebel letters, the fundamental dissatisfaction with the Company remained. Very little had been done about their major grievances. The history of the *Patriotbeweging* during the last quarter of the century shows that in its official capacity the VOC remained stubborn to the end in refusing to acknowledge that the free burgher identity had become equal to their own. A top official wrote to Swellengrebel in January 1780: "Just before the representatives of the burghers left the Cape, a pamphlet was found in the streets, demanding that eight burgher councillors instead of three should have a seat on the Council of Justice,and thus be higher in rank than the junior merchantsAs long as the burghers are well governed, what does it matter to them what rank their representatives (so called!) enjoy? Why cannot they be satisfied with the rank which has been granted to their predecessors for over a hundred years?" (Schutte 1982:325).

Beyers (1967) has documented the *Patriotbeweging* and dates this movement's formal beginning to May 1778, when sealed letters proclaiming the freedom rights of citizens were strewn around the streets of Cape Town. The free burghers had begun to write in ordinary language and this time there was no way of silencing them. We thus find intersection between the two discourses, with each group now speaking the other's language. The Cape had become bilingual.

Intersection between the discourses brought with it a desire for intersection of the bodies marginalised and kept separate by the texts of the dominant discourse. Towards the end of the century the burghers desired more than a voice on the boards and councils. Determined to impose a physical presence on more than mere local officialdom, they sent a deputation of four to present their case personally to the Seventeen in Holland.

There were bitter complaints from the local authorities at such temerity on the part of the burghers. Even Swellengrebel, who was more sympathetic than most towards the burghers, wrote to official Le Sueur in September 1780: "The method in which the burghers tried to find a remedy was wrong. They should first have applied to the local government for redress.If the authorities at the Cape had paid no attention to their grievances, they could have approached the government in the Netherlands" (Schutte 1982:339).

In the light of what has been explained in this thesis, however, the need to present the Seventeen itself, not only with their written texts, but with a display of their bodies, is understandable. The 1779 deputation was in a way a symbolic retracing of their path, a rewriting of their history, by which the old classification could finally be nullified. They had to go back to the beginning and start again as "new" subjects. What they were saying to the Most High themselves was: "See for yourselves - we can write and we are clean".

Their appearance before the Seventeen constituted the ultimate disruption, the final removal of the symbolic space separating the Most High from the lesser. The acceptance of this display of their literacy, cleanliness and "nobility" by the Most High of all in the country of their origin meant that their physical presence could no longer be rejected at the Cape. Having spoken before the Most High, they had demonstrated that they were capable of speaking to anybody. Their silence was finally shattered.

Understanding material culture as discourse, grasping the manner of the working of Cape Dutch architecture to constantly construct and reconstruct the subjectivities of the peasant landowners, enables us to reopen the question of the origins of the tradition by analysis of its intertexts. This is the topic of Chapter Ten, which explains how the intertexts, which knitted the structures together, also determined the shape of the farm complexes in which the discourse was manifested. The focus, then, is less on where the dwellings originated from in terms of geography, than on why they turned out the way they did in terms of textuality.

CHAPTER TEN

INTERTEXTUALITY AND THE DISCOURSE OF DWELLING

The theoretical construct established in Chapters Five to Nine generates anew questions about the failure of earlier works to give adequate explanations for the origins of the Cape Dutch architectural tradition. To recapitulate: most authors, in the end, insisted on a single Dutch/Flemish origin despite evidence of influence from many other parts of Europe as well. Only Obholzer *et al* seemed prepared to openly declare that similarities are found throughout Europe. This declaration, in effect, points to the failure of these studies to achieve their stated aim.

As I see it, the reduction of the architecture through supposed identification of specific prototypes, the reliance on mimesis as explanation and the search for styles of individual craftsmen whose life histories are traced back to their countries of origin, has resulted in a kind of collective master narrative about the architecture. With the ultimate totalising work of Biermann (1955) and Fransen (1987) this local narrative is made to lock in with the larger master narrative of European art and architectural history.

According to Lyotard (1984) a major fault with any master narrative is that it always brings the different back to the same. Indeed, the isolation of a single element, the gable, for analysis, the persistent search for European similarities and the concomitant purposeful neglect of differences, tends to blind us to the peculiarities of the Cape architecture and to encourage us to ignore the specific conditions under which the tradition arose. To put it in Lyotard's (1984) terms, the constant sounding of the master narrative deafens us to the multiple voices speaking "the hundreds of little dissident narratives" (Carroll 1987:75). We are encouraged through the workings of such texts to ignore "the multiplicity of small narratives" (Lyotard 1984:67).

Furthermore, the authors, in their peregrinations along the paths leading back to Europe, inadvertently and inevitably stumbled upon the question of intertextuality. They were baffled by it, because this phenomenon cannot be recognised for what it is and analysed from within a positivist paradigm. Consequently, instead of exposing readers to the richness of the Cape architectural tradition (the wealth of possible influences which, when twisted and knotted together emerge as a kind of knitting, a patterned

entanglement fashioned into something to live in) the authors argue the complex intertextuality of the tradition out of their texts.

The notion of intertextuality needs to be reinstated here, where it can be explained within the framework of discourse theory - where, in fact, it cannot be overlooked.

THE NOTION OF INTERTEXTUALITY

As stated above, intertextuality refuses to be analysed by positivist methods. To get involved with this type of entanglement means abandoning mathematical certainty and the tracing of geographical pathways. In this thesis it is only because analysis of VOC texts has revealed a monologising, totalitarian VOC metanarrative at work that we are able to perceive the dwellings as texts, as manifestations of an emancipatory, abnormal, counter-discourse. Only from such a perspective can we see the language of the architecture as granting every free burgher farmer the opportunity to "write" his own small story. Together these small stories make up the discourse of dwelling and the Cape architectural tradition.

Only from within this textual situation of the dwellings can their intertextuality be addressed. Intertextuality can only be seen in relation to textuality. In leading us back to origins, as Culler (1981) maintains that it inevitably must, intertextuality leads us back not to *places*, but to critical strategies (Carroll 1987). The important thing in this approach is not where the dwellings came from in terms of geographical space, but where they came from in terms of textuality. Studying the intertexts can help us make sense of the architecture.

There are problems with intertextuality. It is a slippery concept, not easy to grasp, to define, or to work with (Culler 1981). But there is no avoiding it. To pretend that we are not always already involved with it in any textual study would be to invite criticism from many quarters.

On the simplest and most basic level what is meant by intertextuality is the presence within all texts of bits and pieces, snatches and phrases, thoughts and quotations of prior texts. Intertextuality has to do with the mixing of meanings, of genres, of ideas, as well as of discourses. It says that no inscription can be original. According to Culler (1981:104), Kristeva (1969), who is generally credited with having formulated and developed the notion, defines intertextuality as "the sum of knowledge that makes it possible for

texts to have meaning: once we think of the meaning of a text as dependent upon other texts that it absorbs and transforms 'in place of the notion of intersubjectivity is installed that of intertextuality'. Furthermore, "whatever the semantic content of a text its condition as a signifying practice presupposes the existence of other discourses. This is to say that every text is from the outset under the jurisdiction of other discourses which impose a universe on it" (Culler 1981:105).

All texts, then, incorporate elements from other texts, rely on other texts for their meanings. For meanings to be gleaned from a text, knowledge of other texts is necessary (Culler 1981). Berrong (1986) provides us with an example of what this means by explaining how Bakhtin came to a new, and according to him proper, understanding of Rabelais only after he had gone back to Rabelais's sources. Texts can only be understood through the meanings of their intertexts. But the intertexts which make up the mosaic of a text do not necessarily derive from the text's own textual category. They can convect into texts from discourses outside the one being subjected to analysis.

Belsey (1980:26) defines intertextuality as "the reader's experience of other texts" and sees intertextuality as "a source of intelligibility". She goes on to describe how Barthes (1977) explains its necessity in terms of the inability of the author to "express a unique and transcendent subjectivity" and is therefore in practice forced to construct a text by assembling intertextual fragments (Belsey 1980:134).

Like Belsey, Culler (1981) makes use of Barthesian fragments in his discussion of intertextuality and explaining why intertextuality is not simply "the investigation of sources and influences as traditionally conceived" - conceived, that is, in the manner of the authors who went in search of the origins of the Cape architecture.

Of a work (that is a text), Culler (1981:100-101) says: "Within the context of what is known, it must propose elaborations or modifications. To be significant it must stand in a relation to a body of discourse, an enterprise which is already in place and which creates the possibility of new work. A work is thus rendered intelligible by a whole body of already existing discourse".

Following Barthes (1970) again, Culler (1981) goes on to discuss the impossibility of tracing all the intertexts in a given text, since some codes have lost origins. Many analyses of texts have, however, demonstrated that it is not only possible, but fruitful, to identify at least some prior texts and to

trace their involvement in particular works. An example is Easthope's (1983:85) identification of what he declares to be an "extreme form" of intertextuality in a mediaeval ballad known to have been in existence in 1611.

When reading works on post-modernism one might be tempted into assuming that intertextuality is exclusively a post-modernist device for rendering texts more complex. This would be a mistake. It is as old, probably, as inscription, and possibly even as speech, itself. Centuries older than Easthope's mediaeval ballad is the ancient Greek Prometheus myth which Holquist (1990:95) maintains "is already impossible to separate into a discreet text that can stand apart from other tales that run through it". He conceives of texts as intertextual when they "constantly refer, within themselves, to other works outside them" (Holquist 1990:88).

THE INTERTEXTS OF CAPE DUTCH ARCHITECTURE

The theories briefly discussed above suggest that intertextuality might have an important part to play in the discourse of dwelling and that we can only properly understand these texts by being aware of their intertexts. By way of testing this suggestion I now intend to reopen the search for origins, but for origins of a different kind - origins which will be found not in places, but in texts.

I begin this search by identifying bodies of discourse (knowledge) already in place when the free burgher discourse came into being. To which works outside themselves do the free burgher texts refer within themselves? Which prior texts can we identify within the free burgher discourse of dwelling? Can we, indeed, identify specific intertexts and if so, how will this contribute to our making sense of the architecture?

The importance of the metaphor equating people with their property has already been discussed, but it must of necessity again be foregrounded here. In his discussions of poetic works Riffaterre (1984) makes it clear that there are within these works many references, not only to other texts, but also to the clichés, sayings, adages and folk idioms of a culture. These, then, function as intertexts. I argue that the metaphor equating property with people was such an intertext. That it was important in Holland is clear from the old Dutch saying: "Toon mij Uw huis en ik zal zeggen wie U bent" ("Show me your house and I will tell you who you are", Schuurman 1989:21).

What the free burgher discourse was proclaiming was not in the first place that they were no longer peasants, but that it was possible for peasants to become landowners, and as landowners they ought to be higher, because property equals people. In this sense the discourse was showing up contradictions in an established world view, playing off one interpretation against another, both contradicting and confirming the truth of an old European intertext. They were not denying their peasant being - only their peasant status, thus showing that status is negotiable. Through language status can change. Peasant origins need not preclude free burghers from enjoying the status of landowners. A new status could be built on the foundation of their peasantry.

It is then, too, on the foundations of the peasant longhouse that the new architecture was structured. Original peasant dwellings on Cape farms were not summarily destroyed, although they were radically altered, especially during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Sometimes the old dwelling was used as an outbuilding, but incorporated within the *werf* layout of the new mode of dwelling. Even when a new house was built it was structured on the same lines as the early peasant long house. At its most fundamental level, the Cape Dutch house, like the free burgher person, was grounded in peasantry.

What was happening does not amount to total erasure of all references to peasantry, but gross modification, metamorphosis of the dwelling by turning it into everything a peasant house was not, just as, by obtaining land, the peasant person was turned into everything a peasant person was not. (Riffaterre 1984 must be given credit here and elsewhere in the discussion which follows. His analyses of poems have provided me with useful analogies for analysing the workings of intertexts in Cape architecture). The aim was not elimination, or even denial, of peasant beginnings. Emphasis, rather, was on the possibility of metamorphosis.

What happened, then, was that while some basic peasant qualities of the dwellings were retained, the free burghers "loaded" (Riffaterre 1984:144) their houses with gables to enhance their visibility, and they became increasingly laden through time. The Cape Dutch gable conjures up a vast architectural intertext which includes the aesthetic. Gables beautify the Cape Dutch dwellings and in appropriating beauty for their houses, the free burghers also appropriated it for themselves, contradicting established intertexts, almost clichés, in European art and literature where peasants are depicted as ragged, dirty, dull and ugly.

Symmetrifying and gabling the basic peasant house showed how the ragged could put on grand new clothes. The enlarged expanse of white paint against black thatch spoke of cleanliness. Reflection of sunlight off the white walls added a gloss to the dull. The ugly could be remade into the beautiful by loading it with the appropriate sort of material things.

Material things, then, could transform the peasant house, and with it the peasant person - the rustic, the low-ranking, the unimpressive, the hidden away - into everything it had not been before. As the gable loaded the houses with the meanings of its multiple intertexts, it lifted it out of hiding, raised it to noble status. The gable became the spatial index turning mere house into mansion without of itself contributing anything in terms of dwelling space. There were still only three rooms on the transverse axis and seldom more than two in the back wing.

With its multiple references to Europe, the gable proclaimed the dwellers in the gabled house European, thus reinforcing the major opposition of the VOC discourse. It displayed the dwellers as living by the European world view, as civilised. When the *Patriotte* called themselves "noble" (Beyers 1967:84) at the end of the eighteenth century, they were saying in ordinary language what their dwellings had been proclaiming for over half a century, namely that, within the circle of the civilised they, too, were higher. The important factor about the gables was not where, specifically, in Europe they originated from, but the fact of their intertextuality and the meanings evoked by their intertexts. Through their gables the free burghers appropriated for themselves the title "most high", a cliché within the VOC discourse.

The effect of Renaissance symmetry and perspective on vision is discussed by Readings (1991) in his introductory work on the collective writings of Lyotard. According to Readings (1991:25-26) the effect of symmetry and perspective is "to reduce vision to an affair of geometry, of straight lines, to exclude curvature and anamorphosis", the latter being "the force of curvature and diffusion in vision".

Readings says Lyotard sees this as "immobilization of the eye [which] flattens the visual field around a focal centre, projecting the visible as a stable image clearly visible as on a transparent screen" (Readings 1991:26). For Lyotard, there is a different kind of heterogeneous seeing at the margin of vision, but this peripheral vision is erased by Renaissance method.

Renaissance symmetry was an important intertext in Cape architecture, but understanding the above makes us realise that, besides associations of

grandeur and the imposition of order onto the whole farm landscape, it might have had an additional effect by operating in the way Readings (1991) has described above to create a kind of false unity. Gateway, avenue, steps, front door and gable together formed a startling, spectacular, even, focal point to flatten and clear the vision of the beholder. Peripheral vision was eliminated and any roughness remaining at the margins of the peasant and his dwelling was smoothed out.

Large and ornate gables in Europe, and certainly in the Netherlands, were most often features of town dwellings and what we find at the Cape is the ability of the free burgher to control the *rural* landscape through intertexts of *urban* architecture. The most common feature of the European town house, its gable, is transformed to lend grandeur to a Cape *country* place. So not only does admiration for a dwelling achieve admiration for a person through the machinations of a linguistic intertext (the metaphor property equals people), but admiration for a country dwelling and its owner is achieved through an urban intertext. The free burghers could afford to use urban intertexts, because the symmetry and the vistas made it clear that these mansions were no ordinary town houses. Town houses might be loaded with impressive gables, but they could never achieve the vistas of the rural complexes.

With intertextuality we find the constant intersecting and interweaving of discourses. In the process meanings of texts are knitted together and geographical origins made impossible to define precisely, as we experience a coming together of multiple discourses within a single text (Culler 1981, Riffaterre 1984, Holquist 1990). What is at stake here is more than mere influence, more than simplistic mimicry.

A particularly interesting and important form of intertextuality "surfaces into" (Riffaterre 1984) the free burgher texts in a written form. The VOC wrote their title on everything, claiming for themselves not only the textuality of discourse, but its figurality - which Lyotard (1971) maintains is always present in writing - as well. The famous VOC logo appeared on all manner of prestige items: Oriental porcelain, silver, glassware, buildings. Anywhere and everywhere it gathered together, unified, reduced to a single language, nullified the heteroglossia really at work in Cape society.

In opposition to this unifying discourse, and very much a part of the discourse of dwelling, we find the free burgher farm names. Defiant free burghers *wrote* the farm names of their choice upon the land at once granted and repossessed by the VOC (Chapter Five), and they wrote their

own initials on the gables of their dwellings along with the dates marking their creation. In this space only, could they dare to write their own identity, place their own personal stamp, without fear of erasure by the VOC. As the VOC logo claimed for the Company the figurality of text, the farm names, and initials and dates on gables claimed for the discourse of dwelling textuality as well as the figurality of the architecture. As Readings (1991) explains, Lyotard (1971) sees an inevitable figurality in discourse, and an inevitable discursivity in figure. Where the two converge, as in poetry for Lyotard and in the discourse of dwelling in this thesis, we find both figure and discourse *at work*. This is all part of the relation we call intertextuality. For what intertextuality, in the end, is about, is relations between texts in their coming together to make new texts.

These proper names, the free burgher farm names, are examples of Lyotard's "hundreds, thousands of little dissident narratives ... produced in spite of all attempts to repress them" (Carroll 1987:75). As one of the few legitimate forms of free burgher writing, they can be seen as snippets of autobiographies and as such themselves intertextual. The wealth of associations they thus introduce into the discourse of dwelling makes them worthy of analysis.

Under the guidance of Riffaterre (1984) once more we are made aware of a certain similarity between the title of a written text (for example a poem) and the name (in a sense also the title) of a farm. Titles suggest that they are meant to be interpreted, that their content is meaningful. Like the titles of poems, farm names tell visitors what to expect: an *opstal*, a farmstead, a free burgher dwelling and they immediately suggest that what they point to is something worthy of admiration. They indicate both a category of dwelling, and a text to be read. In being texts themselves, these titles, which point towards the dwellings indicate that they, too, are texts to be interpreted. Through farm names, we can listen to some of the little voices speaking.

The most easily recognised forms of intertextuality in farm names are found in the numerous names ending in *-burgh* (stronghold, castle) and *-hof* (court), which hark back to the manorial dwellings of European feudal lords and estates of the aristocracy. Interwoven with this discourse is that of the magical world of fairy tales, where castles and palaces are inhabited by make-believe kings and queens, princes and princesses, the highest of the most high with untold power. *Elsenburgh*, *Vredenburgh*, *Coelenhof* and *Boshof* are examples.

Many names refer to the situation of the farm complexes stressing visibility of and from the dwellings, a further link with feudalism. These names are not always easy to translate. *Uitkijk* (Outlook), *Kijkuit* (Lookout) and *Hooggelegen* (High Place) are examples. They all also have figurative meanings and the latter has clear references to status as well.

Some express the freedom ethic of Europe prior to, and during, the French Revolution, an ethic which Beyers (1967) assures us played a part in the *Patriotbeweging: Vrijburgh, Vrijmansfontein*. They also, of course, stress the "freedom" of the free burghers (*vrijlieden*). Others point to European awareness of the status value of an out-of-town estate by stressing the distance from the urban centre: *Uiterwijk, Welvergenoeg, Verkijken*. The first of these has connotations of "getting away from it all". The other two have double meanings. *Wolvergenoeg* could mean "indeed far enough", but also "well satisfied". *Verkijken* means "able to see for a great distance" or "looking into the distance", but shifting the accent turns it into a reflexive verb meaning "to stare or gaze or gape in amazement or disbelief".

There are those, too, which refer to values, especially Calvinist, Biblical ones, or states of mind: *Goedgeloof* (good or unshakeable faith), *Goedehoop* (which, in echoing the name of the settlement also echoes its founding aspect. Like the settlement itself, the farm is the beginning of a new commercial enterprise with "high people" at its head and "lesser people" doing the work), and *Nooitgedacht* (meaning something like "who would have believed it", "I would never have believed it", or "can you believe it").

Although it means "be quiet" or "shut up", *Houd den Mond* in fact says a mouthful. This name lends itself to multiple interpretations, but must surely also refer to the silencing of the burghers by the VOC.

If *Houd den Mond* refers to the silencing of the free burghers, *Babylonstoorn* calls up the Company's monologising tactics in precisely the opposite way by its associations with cacophony. The Cape was a multilingual place. Khoi San, Dutch, German, French, Portuguese and various Scandinavian and Malaysian languages could be heard in and around the settlement. Grouped in another way the language of the VOC, of the burghers, of slaves, of visiting sailors and soldiers, of indigenous peoples all contributed to the multilingual character of the early Cape. In the midst of this heteroglossia the Cape's own new language was struggling to be born along with its architectural tradition.

Where *Houd den Mond* perhaps refers with some resignation to VOC domination, *Babylonstoorn*, a small voice crying in the wilderness, is a furious denial of the impression of monoglossia set out in VOC texts. Like many other farm names, *toorn*, too, has a double meaning. Besides "tower", it means "anger" or "fury".

Babylonstoorn is an irate reference to the VOC discourse as the only valid discourse at the Cape, to the Dutch language as the only permissible language in law, education and official writing, and perhaps even to Dutch Calvinism as the only permissible religion. For *Babylonstoorn* is, of course primarily a Biblical intertext, a reminder, perhaps, to the VOC of God's displeasure with monoglossia and the power which goes with it, of His dispersal of that power through the creation of many languages. The name Tower of Babel denotes the starting point of a new era on earth after which nothing was ever again to be the same. Other proper names, too, can mark the starting point of a new life. Holquist (1990:134) sees proper names, for example "Romulus", as "shorthand notations for narratives about origins, about founding projects". The free burgher farm names denote the starting point of a new life - a life after an event, a turn, a change of state, a conversion (Holquist 1990). They are the beginning of a new identity.

It is, then, not surprising that the farm names have multiple associations, although on the surface this might not appear to be the case. *Keerweder* seems innocent enough. It appears to have no meaning other than that of an open invitation to "come again", thus embodying the hospitality intertext. But *keer* has several meanings: "to turn", "to return", and "to stop, block or frustrate". *Weder* means "again", but when used as a prefix it means "against" or "anti-". These connotations affect the interpretation and suggest embodiment of the official discourse and the frustrating tactics directed towards the free burghers. It also plays upon VOC refusal to see the granting of land to peasants as a turn, or a kind of rebirth. Clearly, small texts may be added to the list of "small things" which, originally Deetz (1977) and, in concurrence, Hall (1991) consider vitally important in the archaeological record.

Holquist (1990:88) insists on complicating the concept of intertextuality by including within it Bennet and Wollacott's (1987) distinctive term *inter-textuality*. Texts are intertextual when they constantly refer "within themselves to other works outside them". He adds: "But in addition, they simultaneously manifest inter-textuality in their display of the enormous variety of discourses used in different historical periods and by disparate social classes, and in the peculiarly charged effect such a display has on

reading in specific social and historical situations" (Holquist 1990:88). Holquist is thus made aware of the powerful *inter-textual* effects novels have, that is "the extra-literary influence they exercise on claims to singularity and authority made by other texts and discourses" (Holquist 1990:88). Since Holquist makes it clear that such effects are not unique to the novel, we may claim them for the texts of the discourse of dwelling. The Cape architecture, then exerted an extra-architectural influence on the claims to singularity and authority made by the VOC texts. And the architectural texts could achieve this largely through their intertexts, not least, as analysis reveals, through their farm names.

Intertexts have an enabling effect on the discourses which embody them. It is this extra-architectural influence of the Cape tradition, its "charged effect" on reading which is entirely missed by scholars who explain it in terms of mere mimesis. What is relevant about the Cape dwellings is not whether their gables are copies of those in the Netherlands or Germany or wherever, but the embodiment of large gables as such within the architectural discourse along with the embodiment of features from other discourses to change and enrich the meaning of the peasant dwelling. Through their intertextuality these dwellings could *work* for the free burgher farmers by forcing other discourses into dialogic situations.

The importance of intertexts also lies in the role they play in determining the shape of the texts of which they form part. I now examine the role of one intertext, Renaissance symmetry, in determining the shape which the transformed peasant house would take as it grew into a country mansion.

ORDER AND CONTROL IN THE REAR WING

Symmetry is the outward, concrete manifestation of abstract concepts such as a regard for order and the ability to exercise control. It was a major factor in the metamorphosis of the peasant dwelling and as such one of the most striking features of Cape Dutch architecture, especially in the rural areas. Obholzer *et al* (1985:55) emphasise this point: "In their quest for symmetry, the Cape builders were prepared to go to great lengths, for example making mock-painted windows to balance the external facade of the house. Moreover, they sometimes matched a real internal door with a similar door leading only to a storage space". By symmetrifying their dwellings, the free burghers were displaying their respect for order, their awareness of the need for discipline, including self-discipline. In short, they were paradoxically showing themselves to be the sort of people the

oath of allegiance encouraged them to be, the sort, which, by implication, the VOC officials more naturally already were. At the same time appropriation of symmetry into their discourse was a denial of that part of the oath which made them subservient.

But order and control are also forces at work within any concrete symmetrification process. In determining the appearance of the facade, symmetrification also determined the shape of the rear regions of the house. Since symmetry was vital, it is clear why the kitchen tacked on at one end of a longhouse had to go. The kitchen with its protruding hearth structure did not lend itself to symmetry. Whereas the other rooms in a long house could be squared off neatly, the kitchen could not.

Excavations at *Paradise* enable us to see something of these forces at work. The three rooms of unequal size in the original *Paradise* house were changed into two of equal size with a third, the *voorhuis*, in the centre (Hall and Malan 1988). These alterations resulted in the standard Cape Dutch facade, but they left the house with no kitchen. In a sense, symmetrification of the three roomed house at the same time enforced its enlargement: it almost had no option but to become a four roomed house. A kitchen had to be built on and the only suitable place for this addition was at the rear.

The concept of control, too, had its part to play in moving the kitchen to the back. Imposition of order on the house meant that entry into it had to be controlled. Part of the impact of symmetry was its ability to force entry through the central front door. A kitchen door in the facade was therefore completely untenable. Formal entry of visitors into the formal reception room could only be ensured by hiding the informality of the kitchen in the back. In this way links between symmetry, order and formality could be established and maintained, while the site of asymmetry, disorder and informality could be hidden from the view of visitors.

The four-roomed house offered two spaces for eating: the *voorhuis* and the kitchen. With ordered behaviour becoming increasingly important, however, neither of these was really satisfactory. A special place for eating became essential. A *gaanderij* or *achterkamer* was then added to the rear primarily for this purpose. Separating kitchen from *voorhuis*, the *gaanderij* served as a mediatory space between the extreme formality of the *voorhuis* and the site of perpetual potential disruption and disorder, the kitchen.

The free burgher farmer came more and more to cherish the formality of the *voorhuis* as a factor in the working of the discourse of dwelling. As we

have seen, this room became the symbolic space where the reading visitor was transformed into interlocutor, where the meanings of his readings were organised by the producer during the face-to-face encounter so that the author of the text could be set up as a "higher" person worthy of occupying his "higher" dwelling.

The shared circumstantial reality in the *voorhuis* had to be carefully contrived. The things which could be pointed to had to appear ordered, clean and costly. The *voorhuis* became the place for shiny-bright objects. Polished wood, porcelain, glass, brass, even silver later on, all enhanced the impression of order and cleanliness. Mirrors, favoured objects in the *voorhuis*, doubled it all, made the brightness seem brighter, enhanced not only the importance of the artefacts, but the gloss and gleam as well. Order in the *voorhuis* worked on the visitor, encouraging him to control and order his own behaviour.

All of this contrivance, however, could be disturbed by a form of human behaviour which is less easily controlled: eating. Visitors, who had often come a long way, were frequently invited to share meals and in the earlier houses the *voorhuis* appears to have been used as a dining area (Malan, pers comm.). Eating is a bodily behaviour. As such it is close to the carnivalesque and therefore dangerous. Care had to be taken with eating because of its disruptive possibilities. Once the *voorhuis* had become a formal reception room, eating in it simply would not do. The four roomed house offered an alternate space, but this, too, turned out to be unsatisfactory. We need to understand why this was so, why, in fact, the Cape Dutch house needed to be extended to include five rooms.

The Kitchen

Moving a visitor waiting to share a meal from the *voorhuis* directly to the kitchen, however, was not at all suitable. The desired order was always already established in the *voorhuis* and its maintenance required a minimum of effort. It was relatively easy to act out and display the image of a "high" person in the *voorhuis*. If the *voorhuis* was a stage for acting, for pretence, for play, the kitchen was a different kettle of fish altogether. It was the venue of real life work and mess as opposed to contrived order and cleanliness. As a place of death and dirt, it was also on the cognitive level a place of danger (Douglas 1984).

It was almost unthinkable that the senses of a visitor recently transformed in the *voorhuis* should be immediately assaulted with the sights, sounds and smells of a Cape Dutch kitchen. Unskinned rabbit carcasses, porcupines with quills intact, limp-necked, still-feathered birds, vegetables gritty and black with garden soil - all these and worse would regularly have been present in the farm kitchen. That which could be pointed to in the kitchen was often not good to see. From Hendrik de Kempenaar's engraving of a seventeenth century Amsterdam kitchen it seems that this was the case even in kitchens belonging to the upper echelons of Dutch society (Figure 34), even though the allegorical nature of this work must be borne in mind.

The assault on the sense of smell would have been no less rough in a place where gall-bladders, crops and gizzards were removed, fat was rendered down, calves feet were boiled for brawn and intestines were scraped for filling with delicacies. Here pungent seasonings, herbs and spices were sliced and crushed to release their powerful essences in efforts to override the awful, for the kitchen was the place where the good was separated from the bad, the edible from the inedible - and the barely edible made palatable.

According to Mentzel (1787), most farmers slaughtered a pig every four or five weeks. The meat was smoked for ham and bacon, and pickled for preservation. Cook (1975) says that the fresh gut of the pig was the sort usually used for sausage skins.

Food was more richly spiced than in Europe, partly because of eighteenth century "Malay" cooking, but also "because spices and herbs were preservatives, and during the hot Cape summer preservatives were much needed, especially for meat" (Cook 1975:109). Some spices (for example cloves, peppercorns, cummin) were often used whole, but were also frequently pounded with a mortar and pestle along with ginger, turmeric, and so on (Cook 1975).

Mentzel (1787) describes how farmers' daughters are present at the gelding of lambs and "carry the parts cut out home in their hands or in a vessel" (Mandelbrote 1944:103, Volume III). These, too, were taken to the kitchen, for "from the little testicles of the lambs a tasty dish is prepared" (Mandelbrote 1944:103, Volume III). Porcupines (Franken 1938) and anteaters (Mentzel 1787) were some of the other rather odd things eaten with relish at the Cape.

The kitchen, then, was the place where those parts of the raw that refused transformation to the cooked were removed and proclaimed dirt: claws, scales, horns, quills, feathers - everything that would not melt, soften, dissolve or emulsify. These, together with various choppings, peelings and snippings were removed through the back exit and deposited elsewhere as detritus. The kitchen was almost like a body in itself: here food was taken in, processed and the waste "excreted". Such processes are not suitable for display.

The Cape kitchen was a place of fire, smoke, dirt and death; a place where near panic could break out at any moment as things boiled over or burned, spoiled or spilled. Significantly, it was also the place of women, associated since way back in prehistory with impurity and danger (Douglas 1984). Not insignificantly, perhaps, it was the daughters who carried lambs' testicles to the kitchen.

In the kitchen lines of demarcation are less clearly marked than elsewhere. The kitchen is dangerous because in it conceptual categories tend to be easily violated. Here the whole concept of the free burgher dwelling as a place of order could be disrupted. People are hard to control in a kitchen, because categories of bodies within this lower part of the architectural body are not easy to define and separate. Everything tends to revert to dirt. It is a place of bustling activity where ordering, controlling and cleaning are ongoing processes. Work in a kitchen is never finally done. The kitchen of the Cape Dutch house, dominated by the folk art of food preparation, was the area most reminiscent of the old peasant dwelling.

Clearly, this kitchen was not a suitable space for wining and dining a visitor and it is not surprising that houses with a *gaanderij* appear from quite early on in the inventories and increase with time. A visitor who had gone through the process of appropriation and then been invited to share a meal, could not simply be transferred to the kitchen and its ordering activities without the risk of damage to the free burgher farmer and his image as "high" person.

The Gaanderij

The *gaanderij* in the Cape Dutch house can be seen as born of a double desire on the part of the free burgher farmers: the desire to preserve the near perfect order in the *voorhuis*; and the desire to hide from the visitor the near disorder of the kitchen.

We have seen above that eating can, in a sense, be an offense against order. In being a bodily pleasure and in easily lending itself to excess, eating has something of the carnivalesque about it. In the free burgher home, eating and drinking could easily become disorderly, and anything remotely connected with disorder had to be removed from the *voorhuis*. Eating in the formal front room became taboo. To emphasize the division between front and rear regions of the house, later Cape houses sported an often ostentatious screen in the back wall of the *voorhuis* (Figure 29).

The introduction of the *gaanderij* solved two problems: first, it safeguarded the *voorhuis* against the possible disruption of order associated with eating. Second, it enabled the predominantly peasant world of the kitchen to be removed even further from the centre of order. There was a place for the remnants of communal, disorderly, huddling, dirty peasant life in the traditional Cape Dutch house - but only in the kitchen.

Eating as such is not carnival, but even to-day it easily becomes carnival. Competitions to see who can eat the largest number of snails or drink the greatest amount of beer in the shortest possible time are carnivalesque activities. Baking the largest pizza ever, or spit-roasting a giraffe, too, come very close to the carnivalesque.

At the Cape in the eighteenth century, all family occasions - baptisms, funerals, and especially weddings - were celebrated with festive meals (Grobbelaar 1977). Mentzel (1787) says the wealth and status of the bride's father determined the scale of festivities, but generally a surfeit of food and drink was piled onto a long table. Grobbelaar (1977) concurs, and adds that the party often continued for a week, with about fifty people present each evening. Mentzel describes the fare as follows: "There is an abundant supply of local dishes, stewed and roasted meats, boiled and fried fish, pastries and sweetmeats, prepared in a variety of ways and also a good supply of imported smoked and corned meats" (Mandelbrote 1925:104, Volume II). It seems that a great deal of wine was consumed at eighteenth century funeral feasts, "sodat begrafnisingangers dikwels heel beskonke huiswaarts gekeer het" ("so that funeral attenders often left for home quite inebriated", Grobbelaar 1977:178).

Eating, then, can be linked with the carnivalesque when its corporeality is coupled with excess. Dining, especially when it includes drinking, can easily lend itself to pleasures and excesses of the body: drunkenness, rowdiness, even sexuality - to carnivalesque behaviour, in other words. Carnival is characterised by laughter, excess, especially of the body and its

functions, bad taste, offensiveness, and degradation (Fiske 1989:81). The elements of potential disruption of order are therefore always present in eating and drinking.

Carnivals, celebrations of the excesses of the human body, were primarily peasant festive occasions and carnivalesque behaviour has always been associated with peasants. Fiske (1989:52) points out that, beginning with Kant to whom the natural was low, part of being civilised in Europe meant distancing oneself from carnivalesque behaviour by expressing and demonstrating disgust with the human body and its "dirt". Being civilised, then, means achieving a distance from the body.

It is clear that, for the free burgher, inviting a visitor to a meal could be inviting trouble. His problems can be formulated and summarised in the following questions: How could a peasant person, with his age-old associations with carnival, safely take part in a potentially carnivalesque activity without risking damage to his carefully constructed image as "high" person? How could the peasant eat and drink heartily with his guest - and perhaps even excessively as they were wont to do at the Cape - and at the same time express and demonstrate disgust with the body and its dirt in order to appear civilised and higher, and therefore distanced from the body?

The answer lay in careful control, since it is only when things get out of control, as they could easily do in the kitchen, that they pose a threat. Possessing a *gaanderij* as a place reserved specifically for eating was a first step towards control. The screen, through which the visitor had to pass in order to eat, marked the *gaanderij* off as such a special place. The screen warned the visitor that he was about to enter a different part of the house where he would find a different circumstantial milieu which would call for a different type of behaviour.

"Special places", then, becomes the theme for control in the *gaanderij* which is itself a special place. Separate place settings, separate servings, matched plates, different shapes and types of dishes for different types of foods all speak of order and encourage orderly behaviour. Such table arrangements speak of opulence and grandeur, and a proper way of eating, for behaviour ought to match grandeur like the serving dishes match the plates.

Deetz (1977) has demonstrated the change in America from communal, peasant eating habits where fingers and spoons were used in place of knives and forks, and dishes, bowls and mugs were shared, to a more elite style of eating with individual place settings and separate dishes.

Research at the Cape has not yet reached such an advanced stage, but indications from documents suggest a similar growing importance for sets of tableware. Inventories show that such sets were often on display in large *muurkasten* (built-in wall cupboards) in the *gaanderij* (Malan, pers. comm.).

Lady Anne Barnard is said to have presented the owners of *Meerlust* with a tea set in appreciation for an excellent meal she had enjoyed there in 1798. The set is still kept in the house, showing that it had been cherished by the original owners (Rench 1984). Joachim von Dessin, a Company official who indulged in private trade at the Cape during the 1730s wrote in his notebook that coarse Japanese dishes with matching dinner plates were sought after items at the Cape (Franken 1940). When the vast numbers of ceramic sherds and other items which have been excavated in Cape Town have been studied and analysed, we shall have a more detailed picture of the semiotics of table behaviour in the early Cape settlement.

Artefacts make rules about dining visible, which is why displays of tableware in glass cases were just as important in the *gaanderij* as in the *voorhuis*. Dining thus offered the free burgher the opportunity of both demonstrating and reinforcing his ability to control himself and others. The image of the landowner presiding over a meal, probably seated in a special chair at the head of the table, is not unlike that of a chairman presiding over a meeting of a board or council. The concept is that of an important person controlling a gathering.

The owners's material possessions, including his slaves, who were trained to operate almost like automatons, enhanced his status before visitors. In the kitchen slaves might chatter with each other, and even, perhaps, with the housewife, but when they entered the *gaanderij*, each had a special place and a special function, like the plates on the table.

Dining could further enhance the image of the landowner as a person of leisure occupied only with administrative duties. The work involved in producing a meal had to be hidden from view in the kitchen. Only the finished product was brought into the *gaanderij*. Already established control had to be seen, not the process of controlling. The rules of the dining room were as necessary for the owner aspiring to be higher as for the visitor. Retaining much of his old peasant nature, the farmer himself was not beyond overstepping boundaries. The display served as much to remind him who he was as it did his visitor.

The special place for eating enabled the free burgher farmer in a sense to distance himself from the body by showing that he had washed his hands of the dirty part of food preparation. It was thus essential that the cleansing, purification and transformation of raw food be carried out away from the place of eating. Discussing Douglas's (1984) ideas on dirt, Fiske (1989:98) says: "For Douglas dirt is matter out of place and the terror it invokes derives from its power to demonstrate the fragility of the conceptual categories by which semiotic and social control are exercised over unruliness". Dirt disrupts and threatens social control "because it fractures the categories upon which that control depends". The following is even more important: "Cleanliness is order - social, semiotic, moral ... so dirt is disorder, threatening and undisciplined" (Fiske 1989:98).

Only already cleansed food, purified by heat, fire and smoke, could be allowed to intrude into the *gaanderij*. The concept of cleanliness as order was of special importance to the free burgher, who, on the grounds of his anomalous state, had already been classified in the VOC discourse as dirty and threatening. He took special precautions to have his dwelling seen as clean. Clean meant high and civilised. Controlling the carnivalesque which celebrated dirt and ugliness, including the ugliness of dead meat, was an art the free burgher had to show he had mastered. Transformation of the dead and dirty into clean, palatable, attractive "dishes" was a struggle akin to the free burgher's struggle to clean up and make acceptable his peasant body - and to suitably distance himself from it. He could achieve this by being seen to "eat decently".

By contrast, overthrowing the rules of eating could simultaneously cause the overthrow of pretensions to grandeur and cleanliness. Everything that had been built up in the *voorhuis* could be lost in the *gaanderij* if due care was not taken. The *voorhuis* image of the free burgher farmer as a high person could be made or broken in the *gaanderij*. All the old degradations attached to the peasant person were thus in danger of surfacing during meals. An orderly, clean *gaanderij* was important as a special place for eating for those still in the process of becoming, or being accepted as, what they aspired to be. The *gaanderij* was a cognitive as well as a material necessity in the Cape Dutch house.

For the free burgher farmer truly aspiring for higher status, a five-roomed house became essential and, through the latter half of the eighteenth century, we find increasingly that inventories show houses with a *voorhuis*, a room to the right and one to the left, a kitchen and a *gaanderij*.

CONCLUSION

The aim in this chapter has been to demonstrate the overall importance of intertextuality in understanding what the discourse of dwelling was about. The hermeneutic approach which I adopt has enabled me to look upon the body of earlier works on the Cape Dutch architectural tradition as a master narrative, linked by the work of Biermann (1955) and Fransen (1987) to the European master narrative of art and architectural history.

In the manner of master narratives, it reduces everything to the same (Lyotard 1984). Little, if any, note is taken either of fundamental changes in Cape architecture through time, or of the myriad of little voices speaking their own small dissident narratives. In insisting on a positivist approach, the collective master narrative can only produce uncertain suggestions as to where in Europe prototypes for Cape houses can be found. Such findings are in themselves devoid of explanation.

I have endeavoured to steer the search for origins in a different direction. I have argued that questions about origins can be approached in a more meaningful way by analysing the intertextuality involved in the architecture. I demonstrated, *inter alia*, how intertextuality enables one to listen to the little narratives by focussing on the interpretation of farm names.

In the final section I have attempted to explain how the embodiment of one major intertext, Renaissance symmetry, determined not only what the appearance of the facade would be, but also necessitated modifications to the basic peasant house to include the addition of rear wings. The meaning of the architecture is largely dependent on its intertexts. But this can only be comprehended if we look at the dwellings as a body of texts, at the architecture as a discourse involved in dialogue with other discourses.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUDING

Although it is proper for any piece of academic writing to have a conclusion, I find the very finality of the double consonantal closure of this word inappropriate for what I consider to be an interruption in an ongoing conversation. A form denoting continuity in the present is therefore a more suitable heading for this last chapter.

Some form of rounding off is, however, necessary, and I want to do this by going back to the research questions in the beginning and briefly reviewing the manner of my dealing with them.

ANSWERING THE QUESTIONS

The first two questions were generated by my interrogation of earlier texts on Cape Dutch architecture which work from the premise that basic Cape Dutch houses were built from the earliest years of the settlement. I needed to know whether different types of dwellings had existed and, if so, when they had changed.

Endeavouring to answer such questions involves a kind of formalism which, in literary theory, means looking at nothing but "the text". In Chapter Three, then, my sole concern was the formal properties of the early houses, their shapes and patterns as they can be described and drawn.

Since no dwellings from the earliest years of the settlement are extant, I searched for obscure traces of their presence. Finding such traces with the help of inventories, excavation and the work of researchers such as Walton (1965, 1989) and Woodward (1981, 1982) enabled me to establish that an early form of substantial domestic architecture did, indeed, underlie the Cape Dutch tradition. These dwellings resembled the town houses of Holland and had their narrow ends to the street.

During the early part of the eighteenth century the European concept of a dwelling was abandoned at the Cape. More and more houses were turned through ninety degrees so that their long ends faced the street. It was from this transverse structure that the Cape Dutch house could develop. A

numerical study of the inventories suggests that changes towards the traditional type increased markedly during the later 1730s.

Identifying the people responsible for the later changes in the architecture, and explaining their need for a new kind of dwelling, as required by questions three and four, involved a major theoretical shift: from formalism to hermeneutics. My interest was no longer solely centred on the shape of the floor plans, but on the people who built and dwelt in the houses. The importance of the appearance of a dwelling after production had to be extended to include the production process itself. This meant introducing concepts of process and practice to accommodate the problematics of understanding relationships between people.

The anthropological theory of Douglas (1984) was useful for bridging the gap between structural studies and hermeneutics. In the latter - more specifically in discourse theory - I found the kind of epistemological approach I had been seeking. It is this body of theory which has enabled me to look at past events, historical documents and material culture differently and, I believe, to answer my questions in a satisfactory and thought provoking fashion.

PAST EVENTS

Focusing on discourse theory allows ruptures and discontinuities in history to be highlighted rather than regularity, continuity and linear development. It challenges the traditional method of historiography by which disjunctures and contradictions are smoothed over to give an overall picture of slow but steady progress towards modern, Western norms.

Central to my project is the re-examination of the granting of land to free burgher farmers in 1657. Instead of accepting the traditional view that the free burgher farmers gradually progressed from penniless peasants to a landed elite through hard work and successful struggles against all sorts of odds, I examined both the immediate and the far-reaching consequences of this intentional act on the part of the VOC.

With the help of Douglas's (1984) theory I was able to comprehend the significance of the coming into being in Cape society of the doubly anomalous "people out of place" and their treatment by the Company as set out in Chapter Four. But it was through post-structuralist theory that I was able to grasp two things. First, the more complex implications involved when the

anomaly one is dealing with is made up of "people" rather than "matter". Second, the importance of the contradiction between the Company's view of the free burghers and the free burghers' view of themselves. Combining the two types of theory therefore gave me clues for answering the third question by yielding information on the people possibly responsible for the architecture. Essentially, the anomalous free burghers needed to establish a new identity for themselves. Inevitably, in the process of doing so, the European social structure transported to the Cape would be ruptured.

DOCUMENTS

A second useful aspect of discourse theory made further examination of the clues possible by enabling me to deconstruct seemingly ordinary historical documents such as oaths and land grants. The importance of such documents is often overlooked, because their meaning has been thought of as indisputable and obvious. Deconstruction, however, reveals their rhetorical devices for fashioning oppositions, establishing social hierarchies and constituting subjectivities.

I treated documents in the same way that archaeologists treat any other type of artefact, and subjected five VOC documents to stringent literary analysis. The analysis revealed that together VOC documents constituted a discourse of domination through which a social hierarchy was established and maintained at the Cape. Within this hierarchy, the employees of the Company were placed for all time in the position of the "low other".

In Chapter Five I set out my understanding of the old identity of the Company employee - the identity which the landowning free burgher needed to discard and replace with another, while in Chapter Six I singled out the district of Stellenbosch in order to demonstrate the workings of the dominant discourse in practice. This chapter also illustrates the interconnectedness of history, society and material culture as we note the dwellings in the region taking on the traditional form through time. It is not surprising that large numbers of the extant eighteenth century dwellings are situated in the Stellenbosch and Drakenstein districts.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Finally, I have found post-structuralist discourse theory useful in that it enables one to look upon material culture objects as texts, a theoretical

move which I found essential in trying to unravel the problematics of the fourth and fifth questions. In regarding Cape Dutch architecture as a body of works, or a discourse, I have used the theory of Ricoeur (1982a-i) as a basic framework within which the notion of material culture as text may be integrated. Also following Holub (1984) and his setting out of reception theory, I argued that a work does not only mean that someone has worked to produce it, but that it is produced to work on someone. It is in this sense, then, that I see Cape Dutch houses as being able to perform a kind of social work for their producers.

Chapter Five explains the importance of the literate : illiterate opposition within the network of dichotomies fashioned by VOC discourse. Suppression of literacy forced the free burgher farmers into finding other means of inscribing their resistance to VOC coercion. It is this "other means of inscribing" that I dealt with in Chapter Seven. I argued that their land offered the free burgher farmers new opportunities as well as the space for making new statements about themselves through landscaping and architecture. This strategy involved the incorporation of a number of powerful intertexts (discussed in Chapter Ten), most notably a metaphor equating property with people. I explained how it was as building subjects that they were able to construct an abnormal discourse, to establish a new identity, and to renegotiate their inscription in VOC discourse as the lesser within Cape society.

The old peasant longhouse was turned into a heavily gabled mansion which, through its ability to dominate the landscape and the workings of its multiple intertexts, proclaimed its producer no longer anybody's obedient servant. Remaining uncertainties about the people responsible for the new mode of dwelling could thus be eliminated, and their desire for such a mode explained.

Chapter Seven made the importance of the visibility of the farm complex and its *opstal* clear, as well as the importance of visitors to the free burgher farmers. The common social practice of visiting seemed to offer possibilities for integrating Ricoeur's (1982c) notions of the two types of discourse, oral and written, both with each other and with my own ideas on authorship (Chapter Eight). In working out a theory of visiting I was able to demonstrate the workings of the free burgher discourse in the practice of their everyday lives, and to begin to understand the kind of social work the dwellings could perform for their producers.

In this sense, Chapter Nine forms a counterpart to Chapter Six. Together the two enable us to better envisage the dialogical model, the idea of two discourses engaged in conversation and the way in which the discourse of the lesser was able to interrupt and challenge the dominant discourse and thus to deny its truth value. I am indebted here to yet another form of post-structuralist theory: Yaeger's (1988) feminism. The dialogue between discourses did, indeed, affect social relations at the Cape. When we look at the architecture as a body of works, it is possible to see how material culture and changes in social relations are interrelated.

In summary, then, I believe that this thesis answers the questions I set out to answer, and that it enhances our understanding of Cape Dutch architecture. The coming into being of the architectural tradition involved major changes to an older form of architecture during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but was probably well established by mid-century. The people largely responsible for the changes were an anomalous group, the free burgher farmers, in search of a new identity, but unable to establish it by ordinary writing. Their discourse was, instead, inscribed in their dwellings. It was indeed able to perform social work for them by interrogating the dominant discourse of the VOC and changing social relations at the Cape.

At the same time it must be said that I do not see my resolution of the problems as final answers. The questions about the Cape Dutch architectural tradition have not been solved once and for all. My aim was not to close off the topic with this thesis, but to open it up by looking at it from a different perspective, which I hope will prove to be provocative and challenging.

Looking differently means looking critically, not only at documents and other forms of material culture, but at history itself. This enables people who work in this mode to write *critiques* rather than descriptive linear accounts or chronicles. There are fields lying fallow between the boundaries of the disciplines, waiting to be explored. By writing into these empty spaces we can lay claim to this territory for archaeology. I believe that this shows the present strength of our discipline and, at the same time, strengthens it further, for the future.



Sunshine and shadow at Rhone, 1795, near Franschoek.

MEERLUST *on the Seneké River*

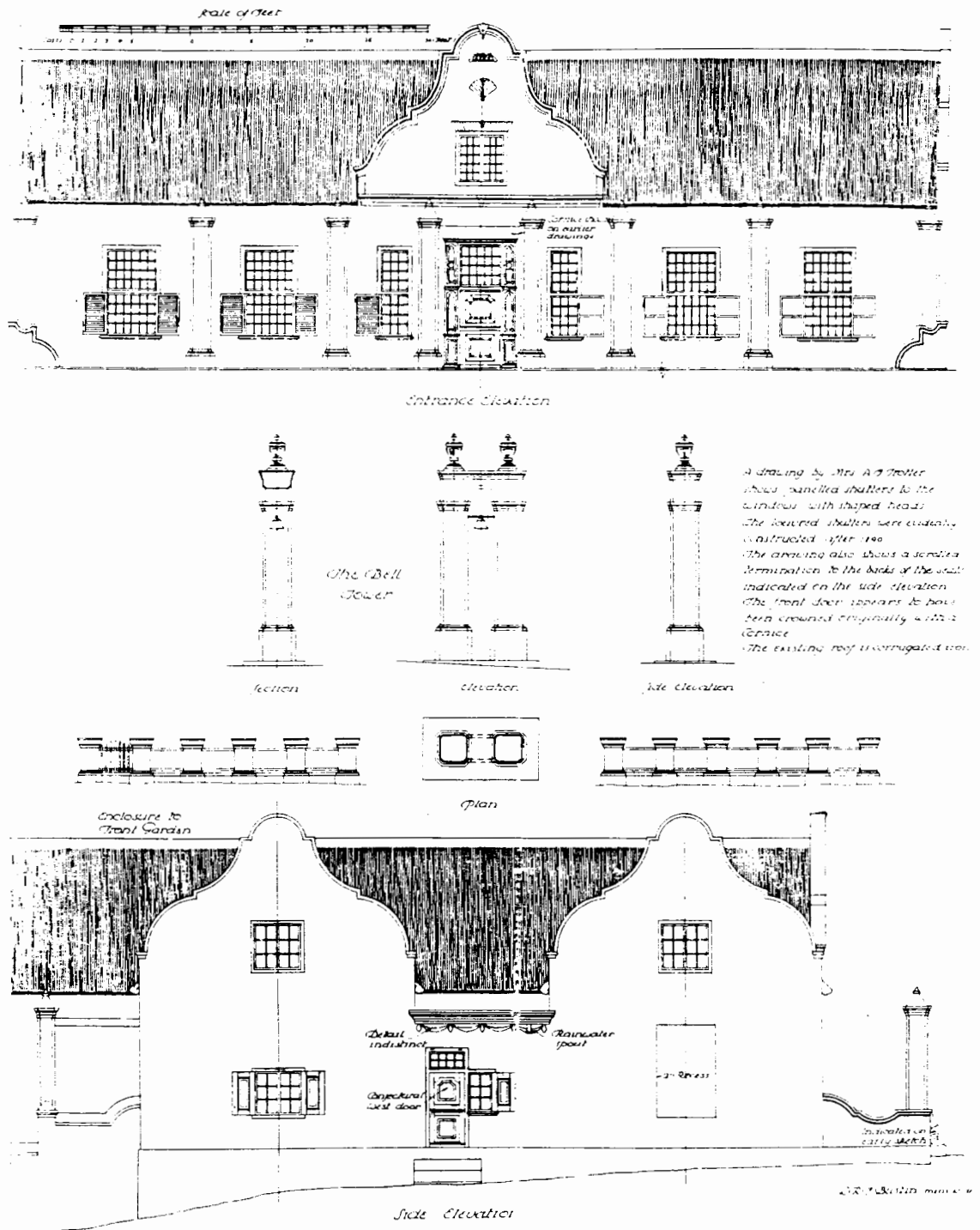


Figure 1: A traditional Cape Dutch dwelling, Meerlust, 1776

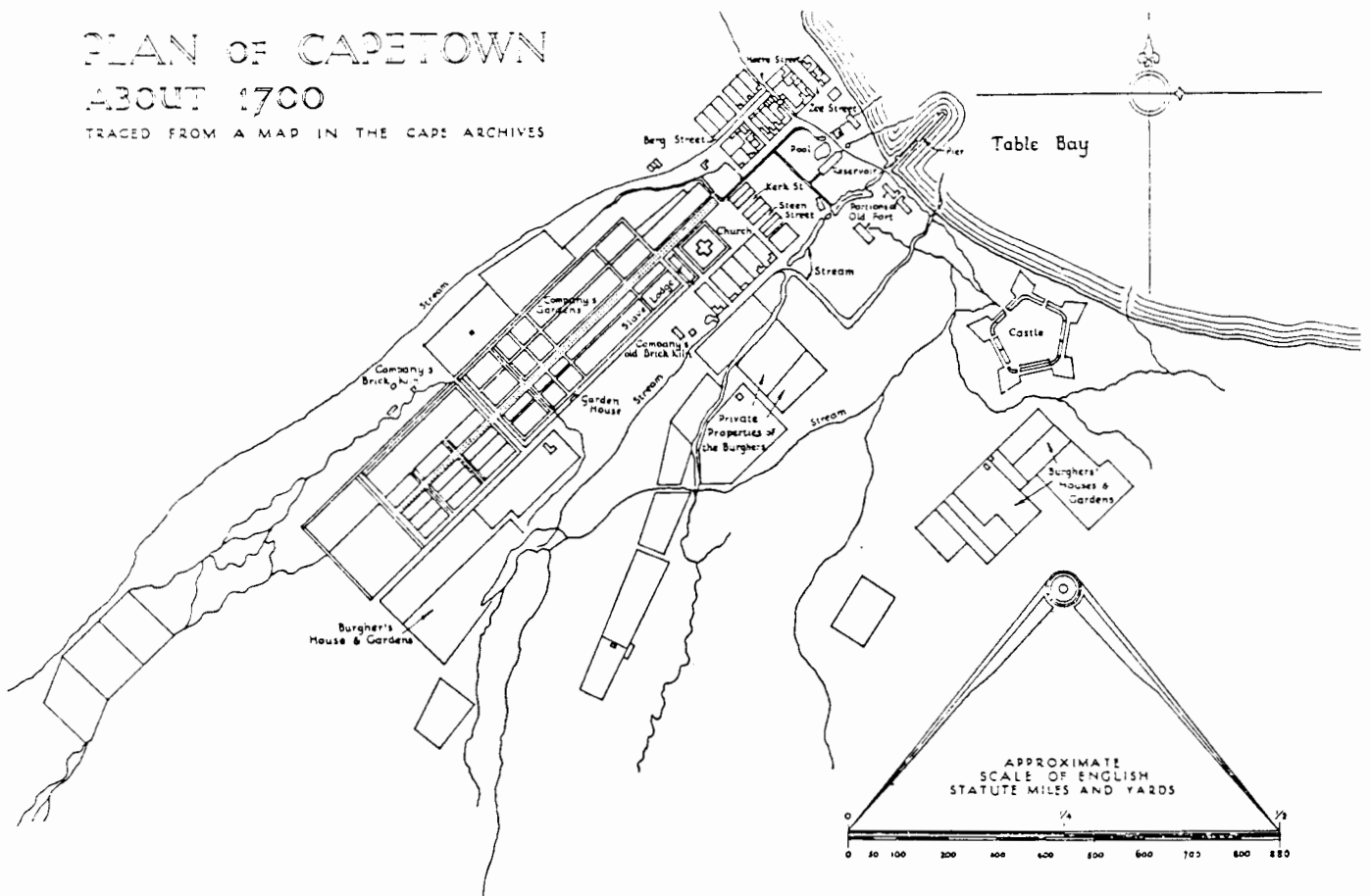


Figure 2: Pearse's tracing of a map of Cape Town in 1693

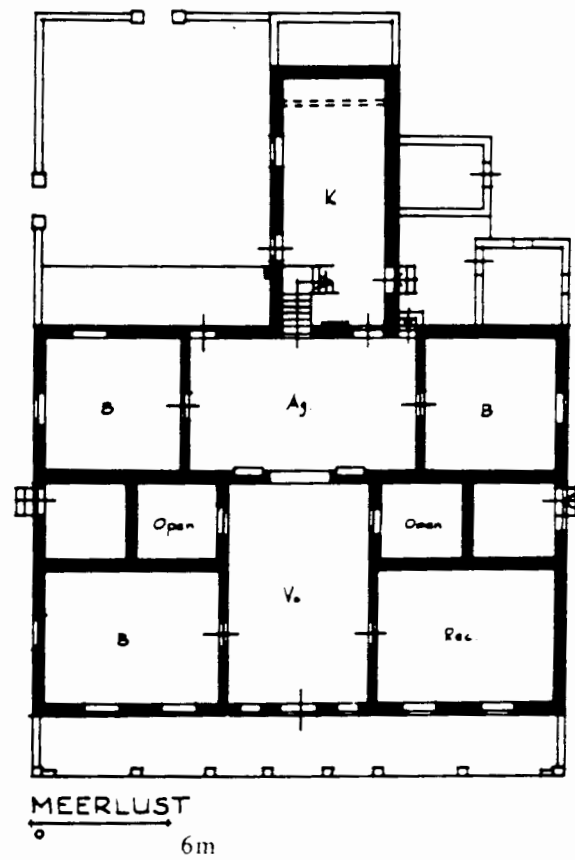


Figure 3: Floor plan of Meerlust showing the unusual T/H-combination

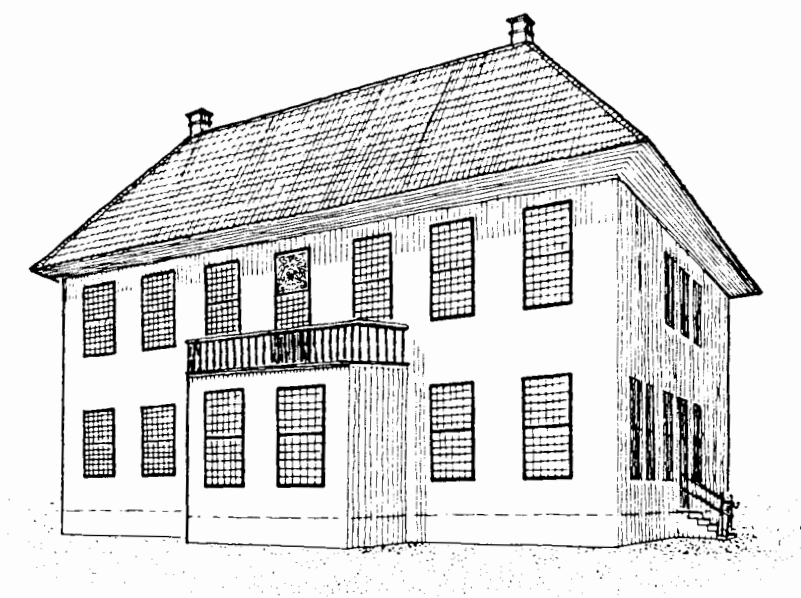


Figure 4: Huis Reinier de Klerk, Batavia



Figure 5: Longhouse at Eenzaamheid



Figure 6: Gabled house at Eenzaamheid



Figure 7: Stone cottage near Sutherland



Figure 8: Dungblock longhouse near
Brandvlei

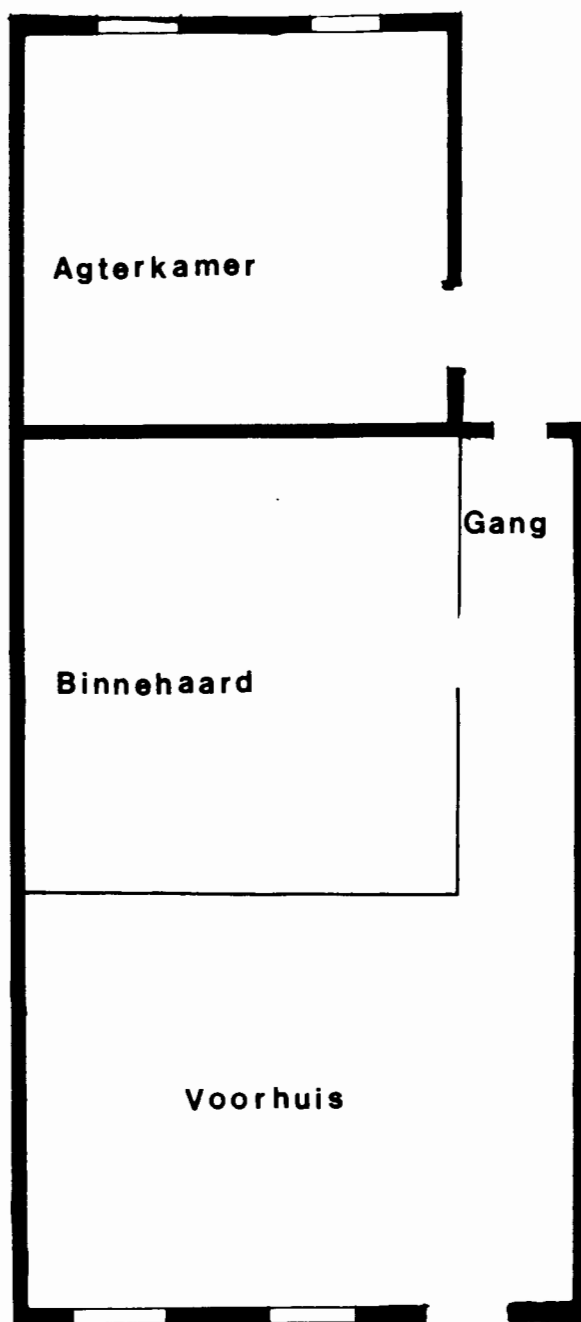


Figure 9: Dutch town house plan with undivided voorhuis

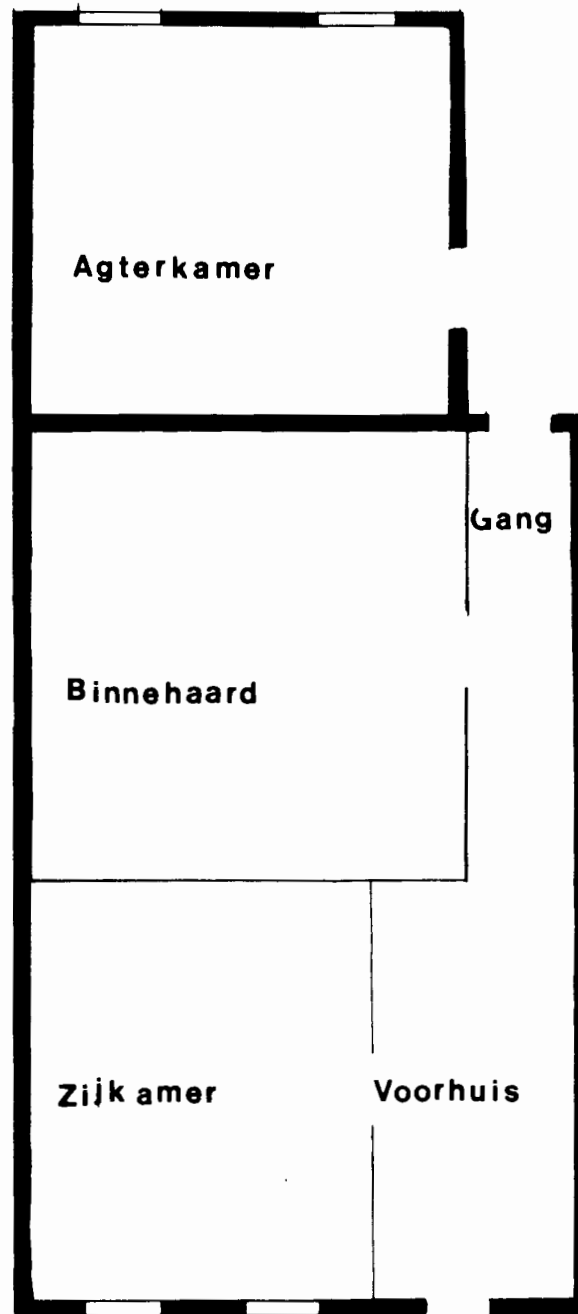


Figure 10: Dutch town house plan with the voorhuis divided to provide a side room

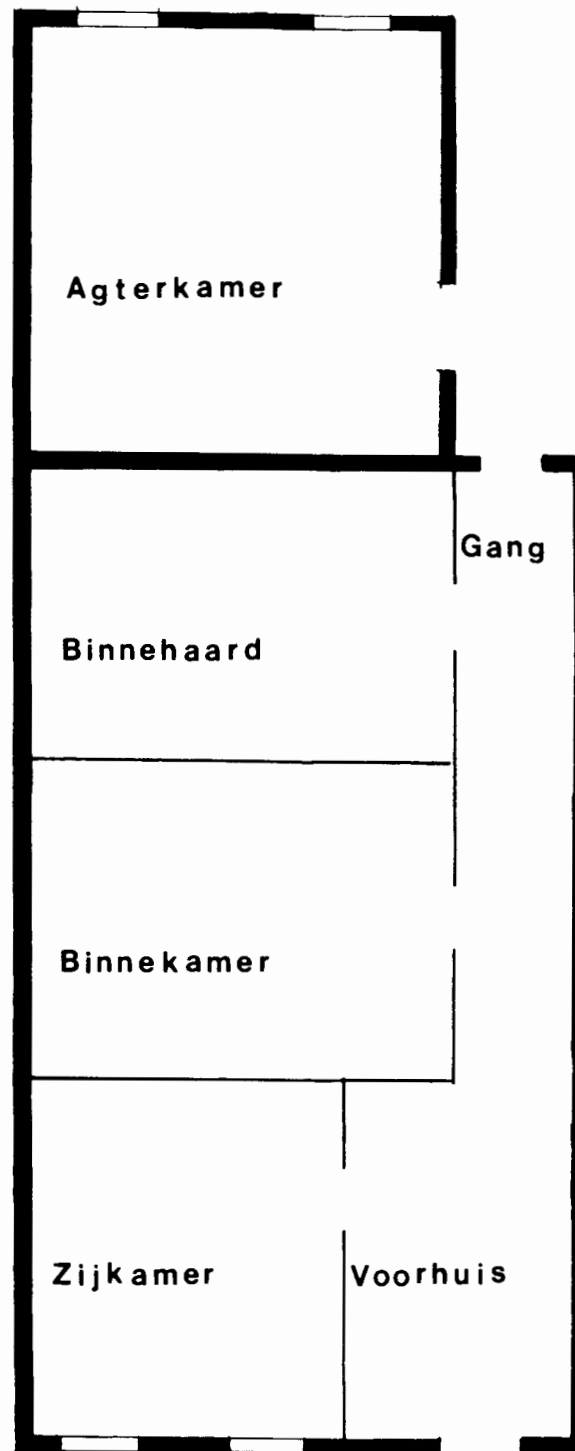


Figure 11: Dutch town house with inside room

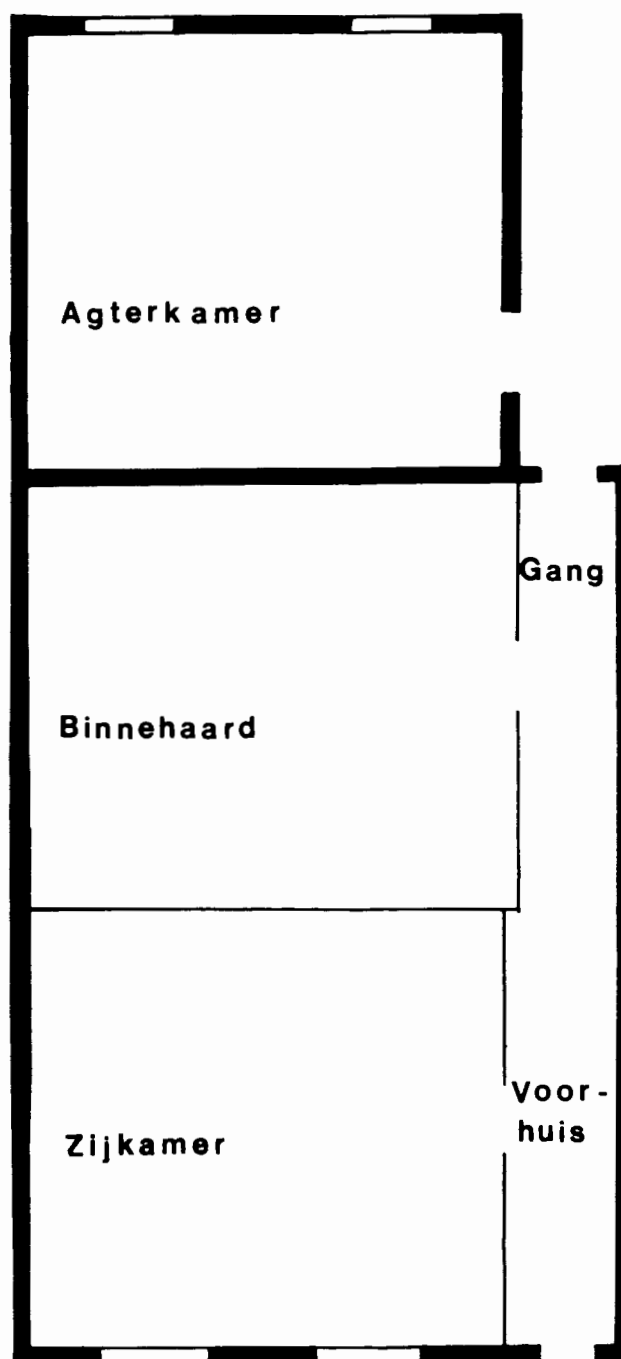


Figure 12: Dutch town house with very narrow voorhuis

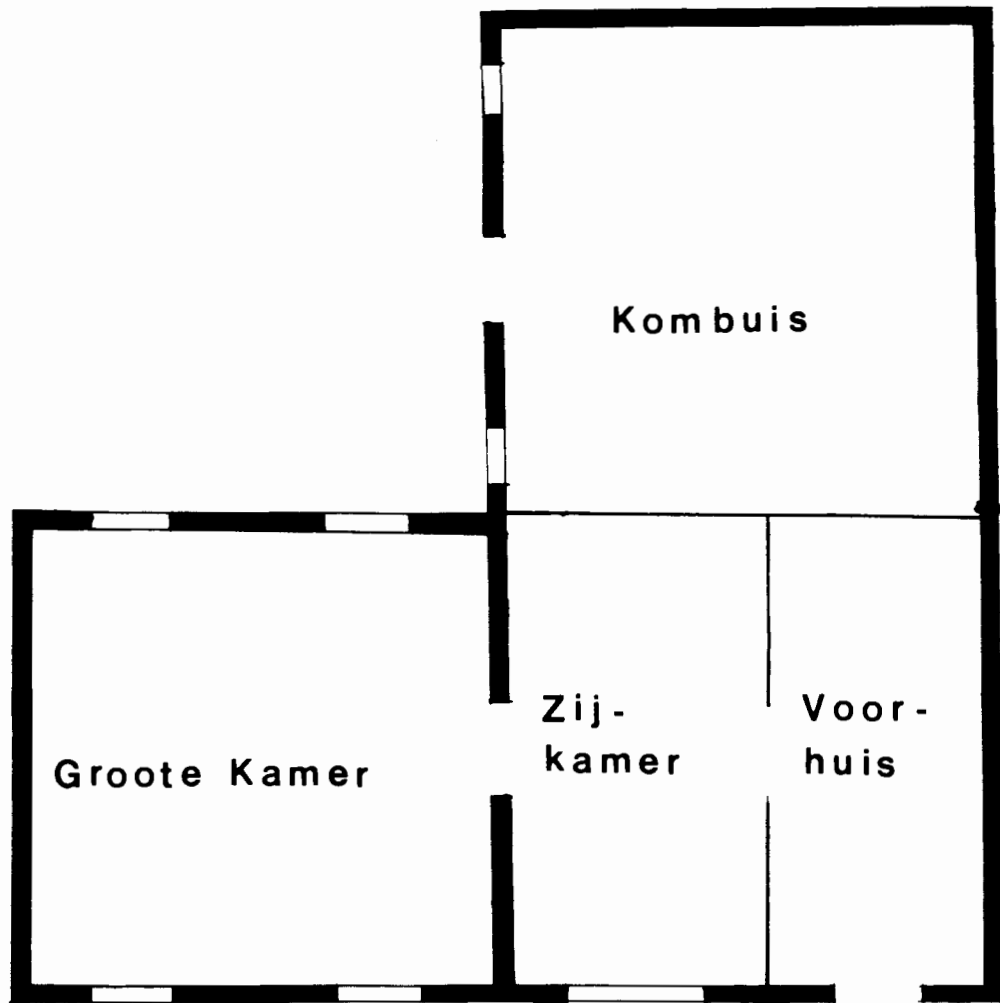


Figure 13: The wider Dutch house

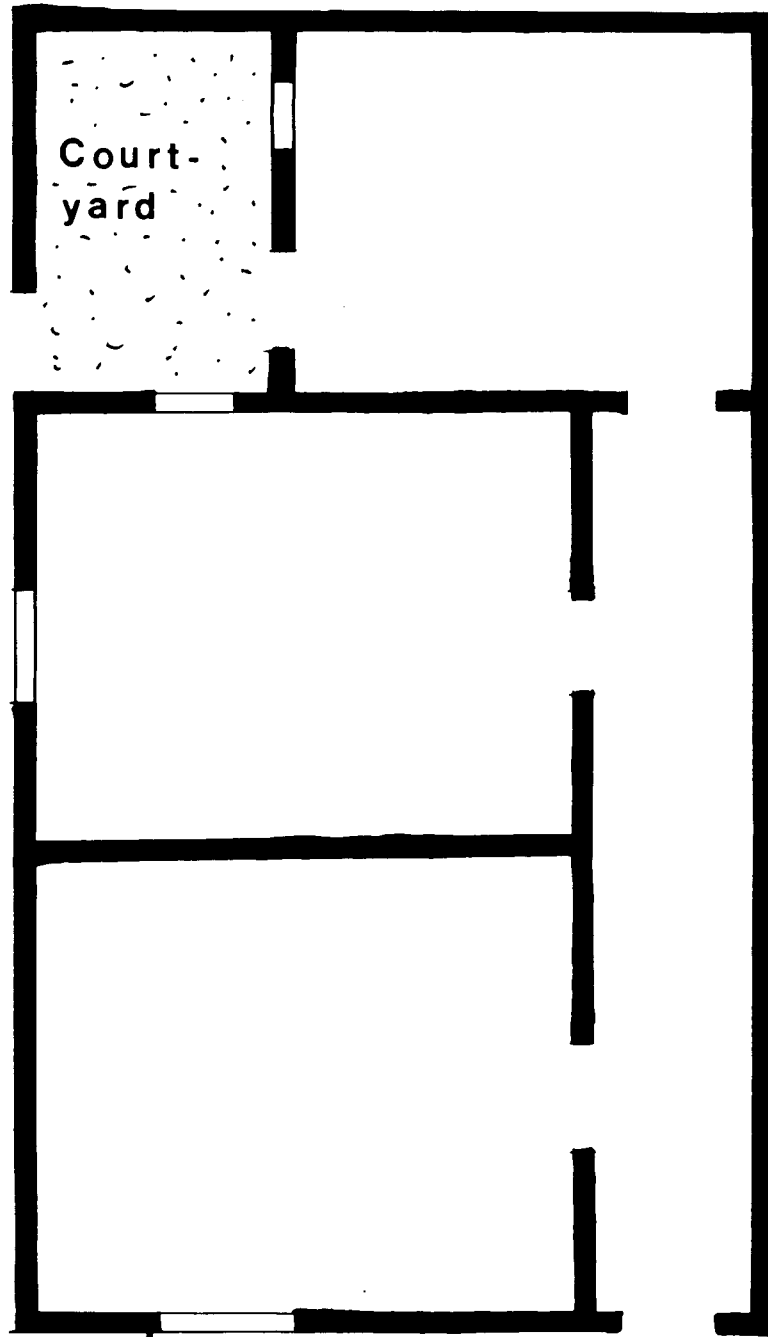


Figure 14: House in the Bo-Kaap

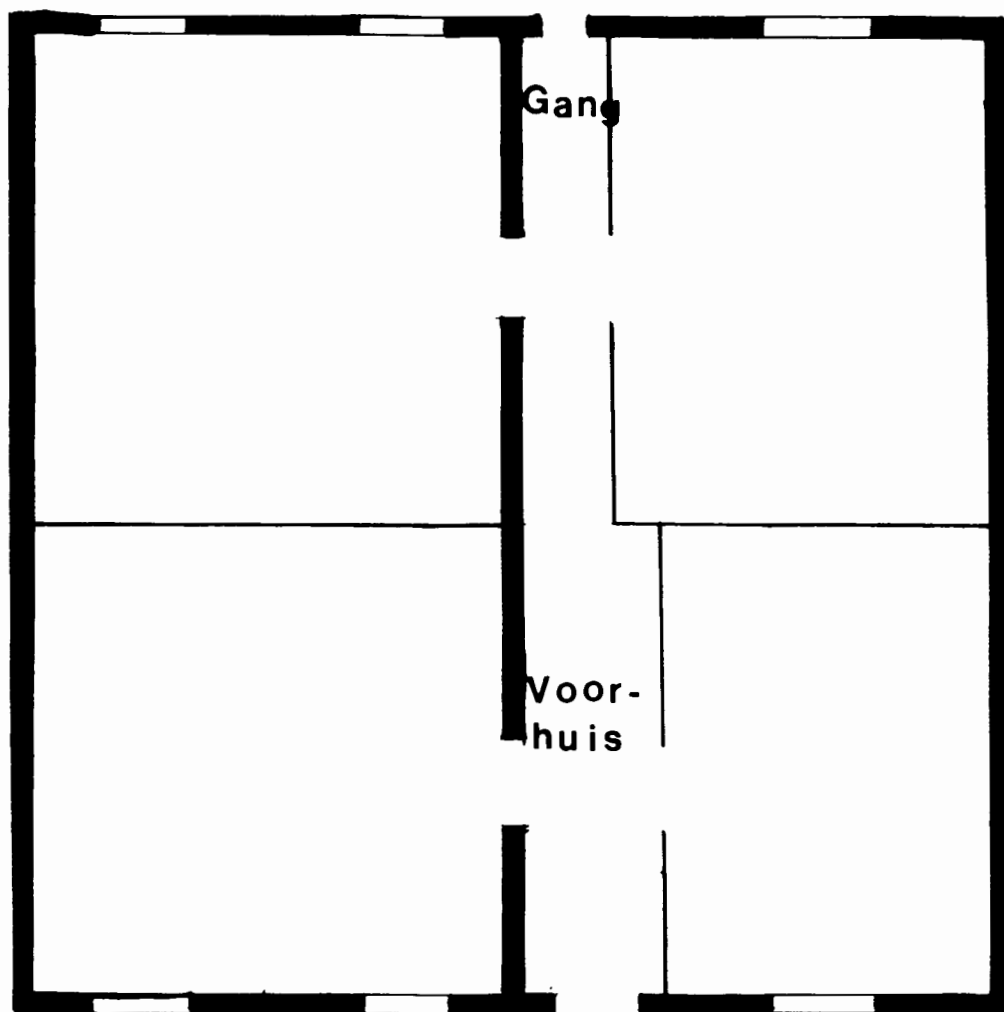


Figure 15: The wider Dutch house with narrow central voorhuis.



Figure 16: Mulder's drawing of Oude Molen, ca. 1700.



Figure 17: The "Braak", Stellenbosch, by Davis 1779, with the Oude Molen dwelling on the left

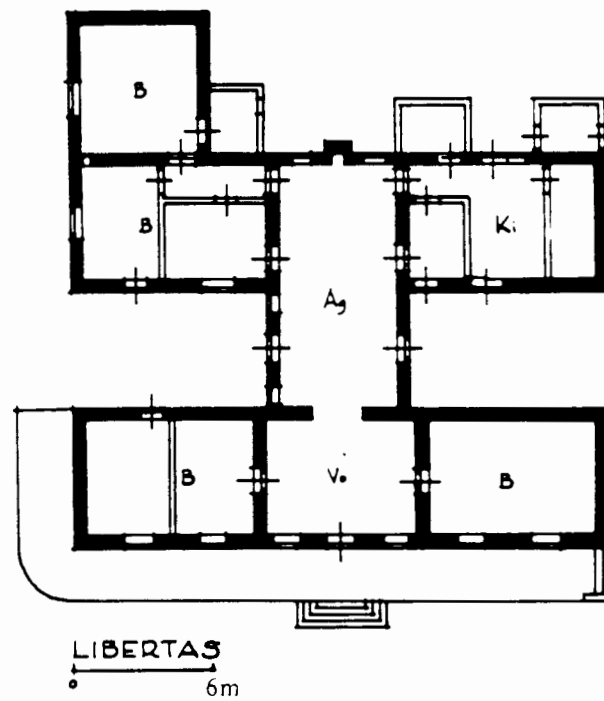
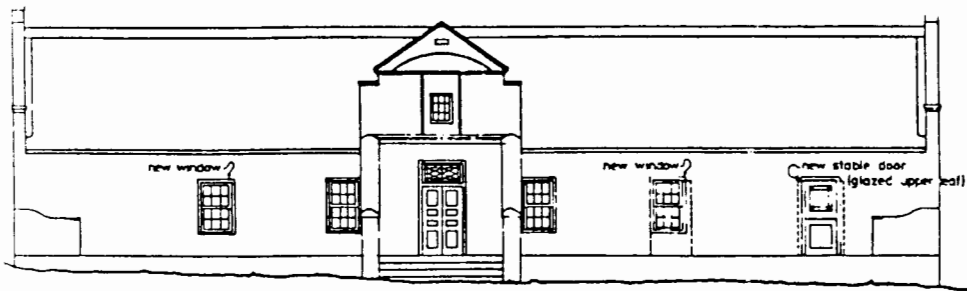


Figure 18: Floor plan of Libertas, Stellenbosch



EAST (FRONT)

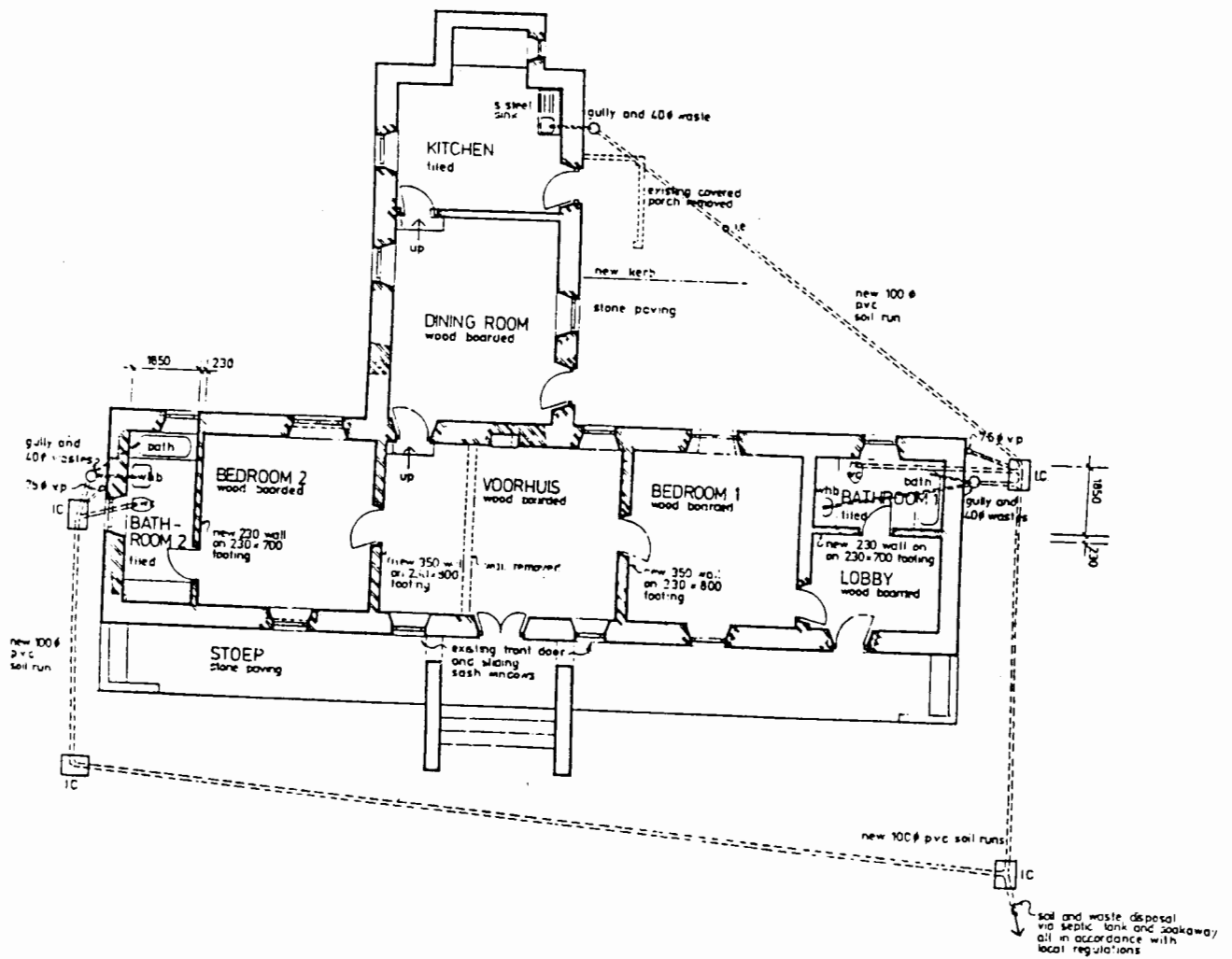


Figure 19: Plan of Stettyn, near Worcester

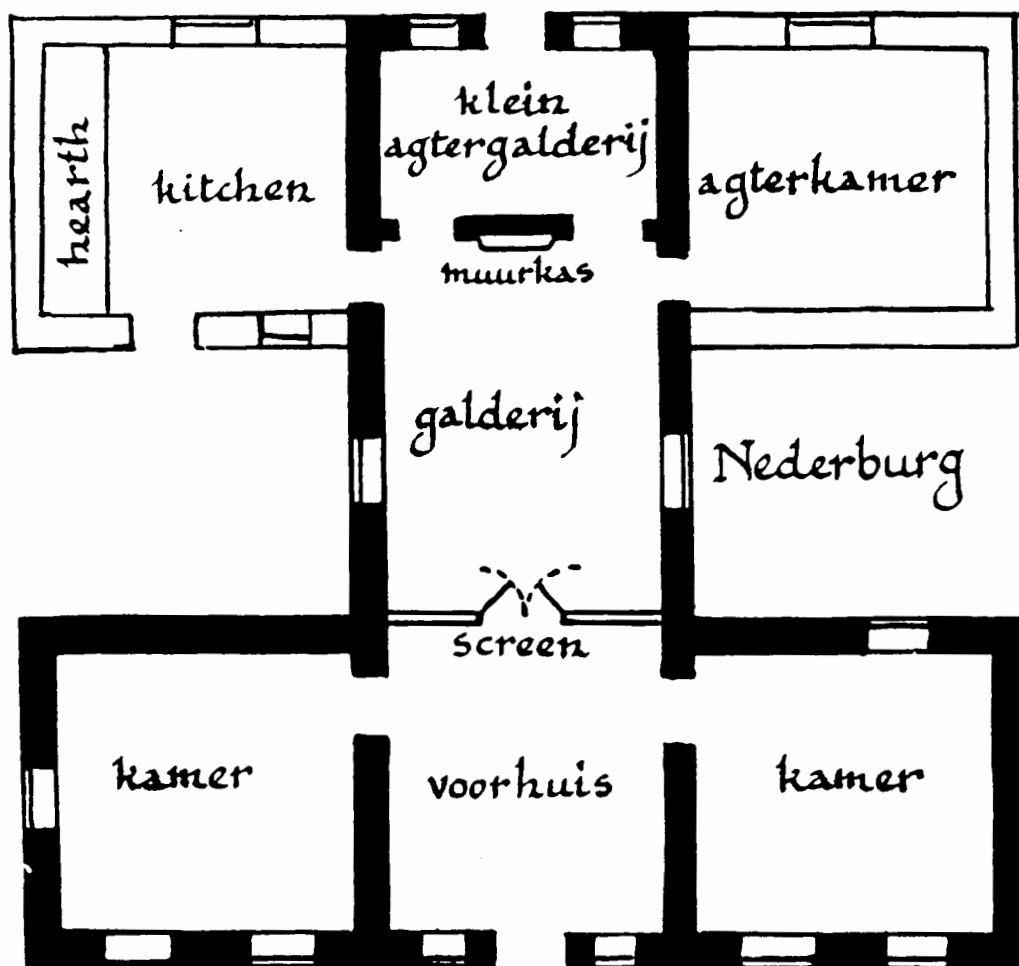


Figure 20: Floor plan of Nederburg showing development of H-plan from T-plan



Figure 21: Joostenberg, 1756

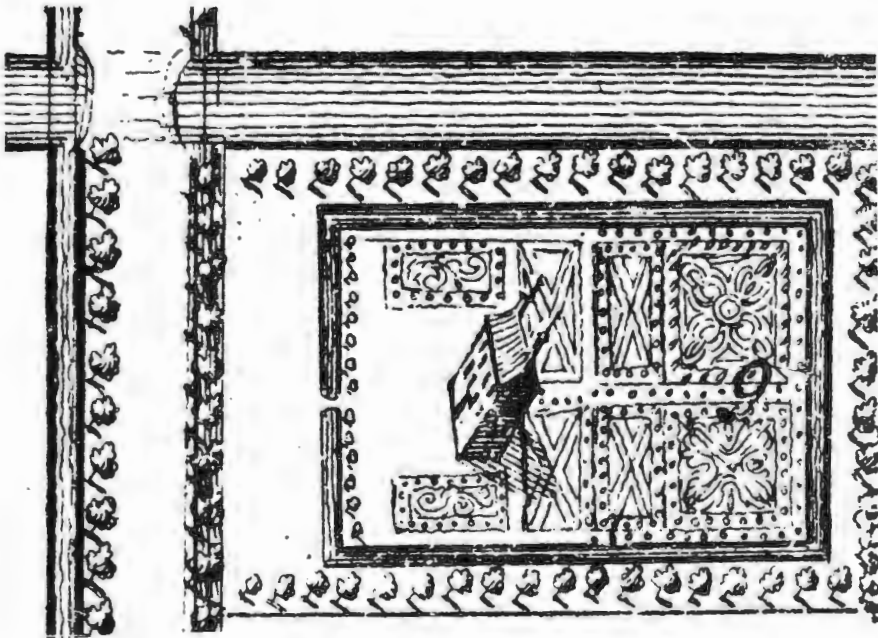
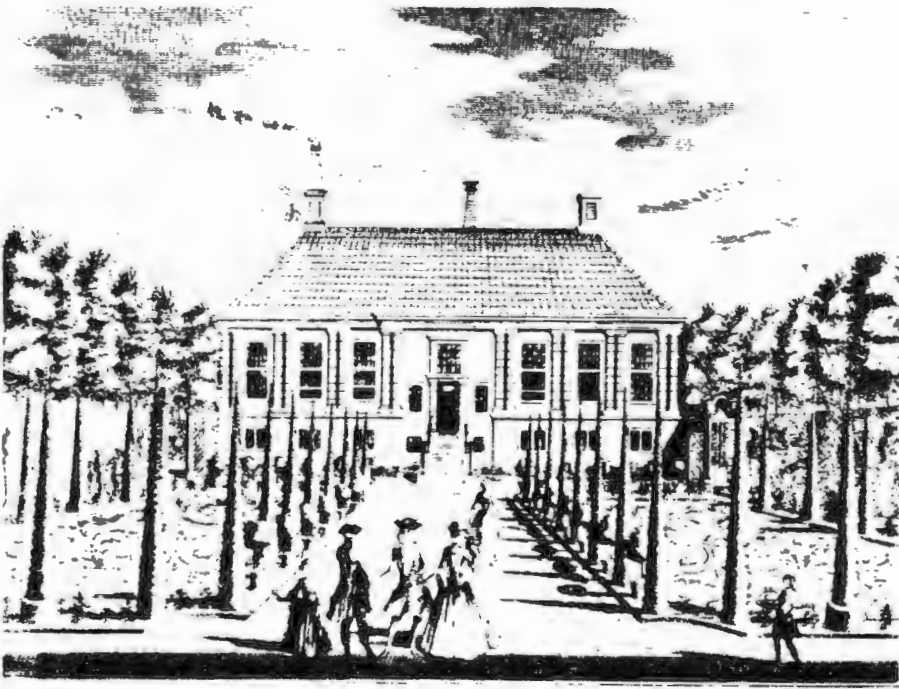


Figure 22: Diemermeer country villas: *Frankendael* (above); *Reigersbrug* (below)

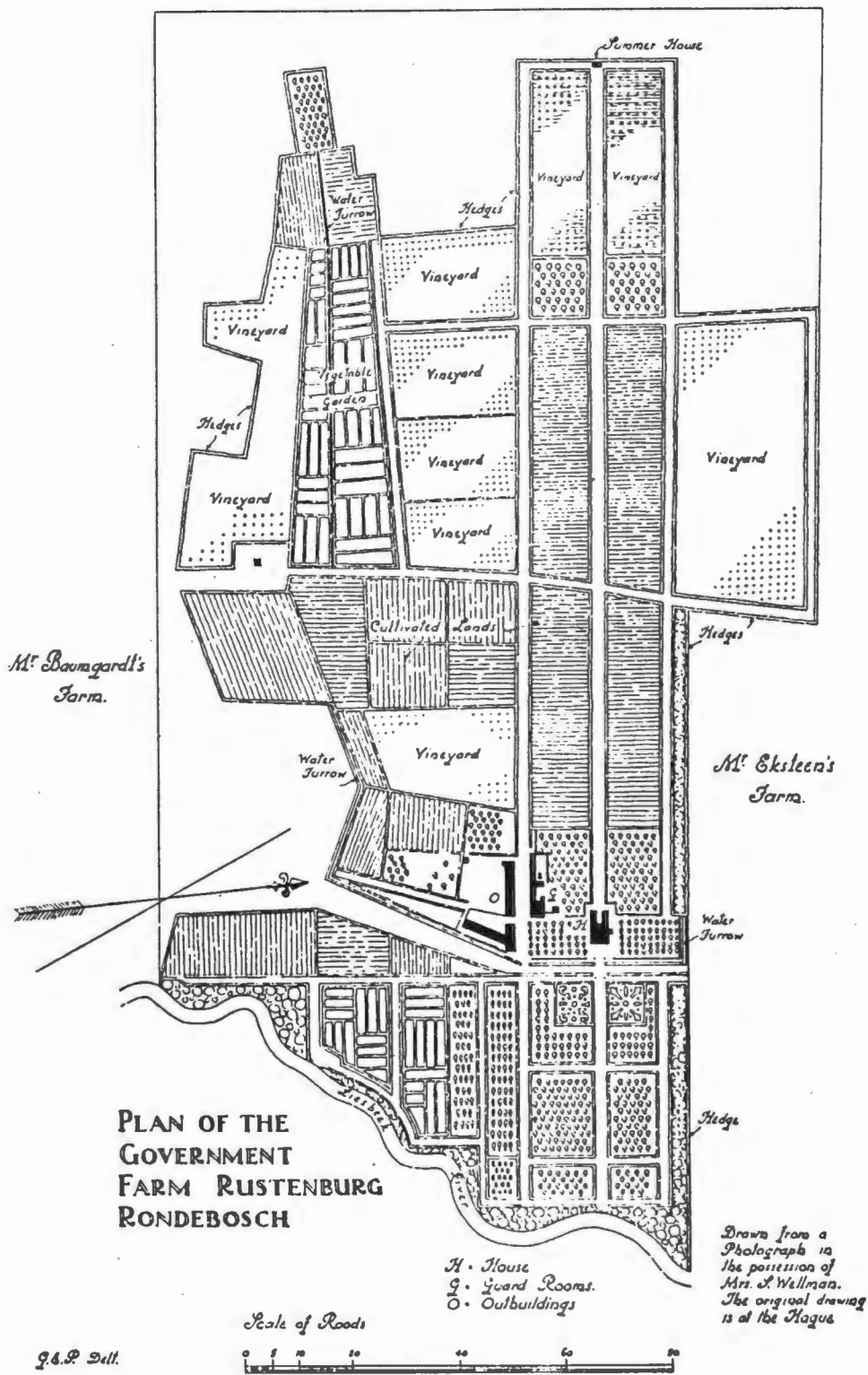


Figure 23: Diagram of Rustenburg

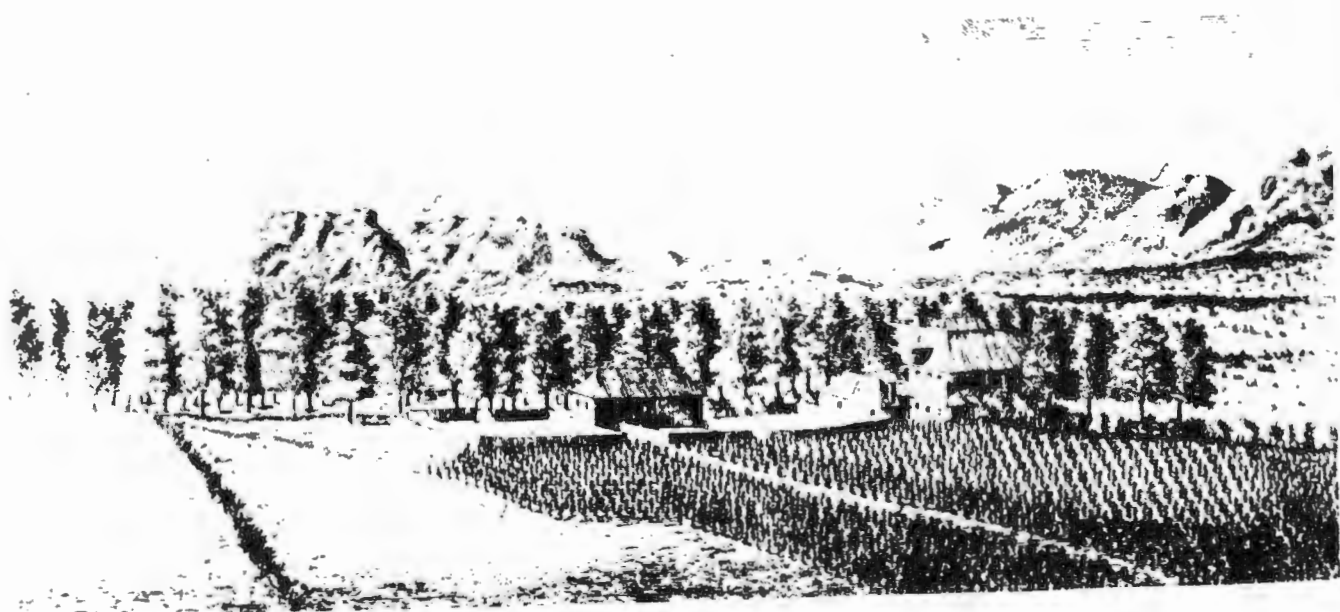


Figure 24: Engraving of *Constantia* by J.W. Heydt 1741

CAART VANDE TIJN NIEUWLAND

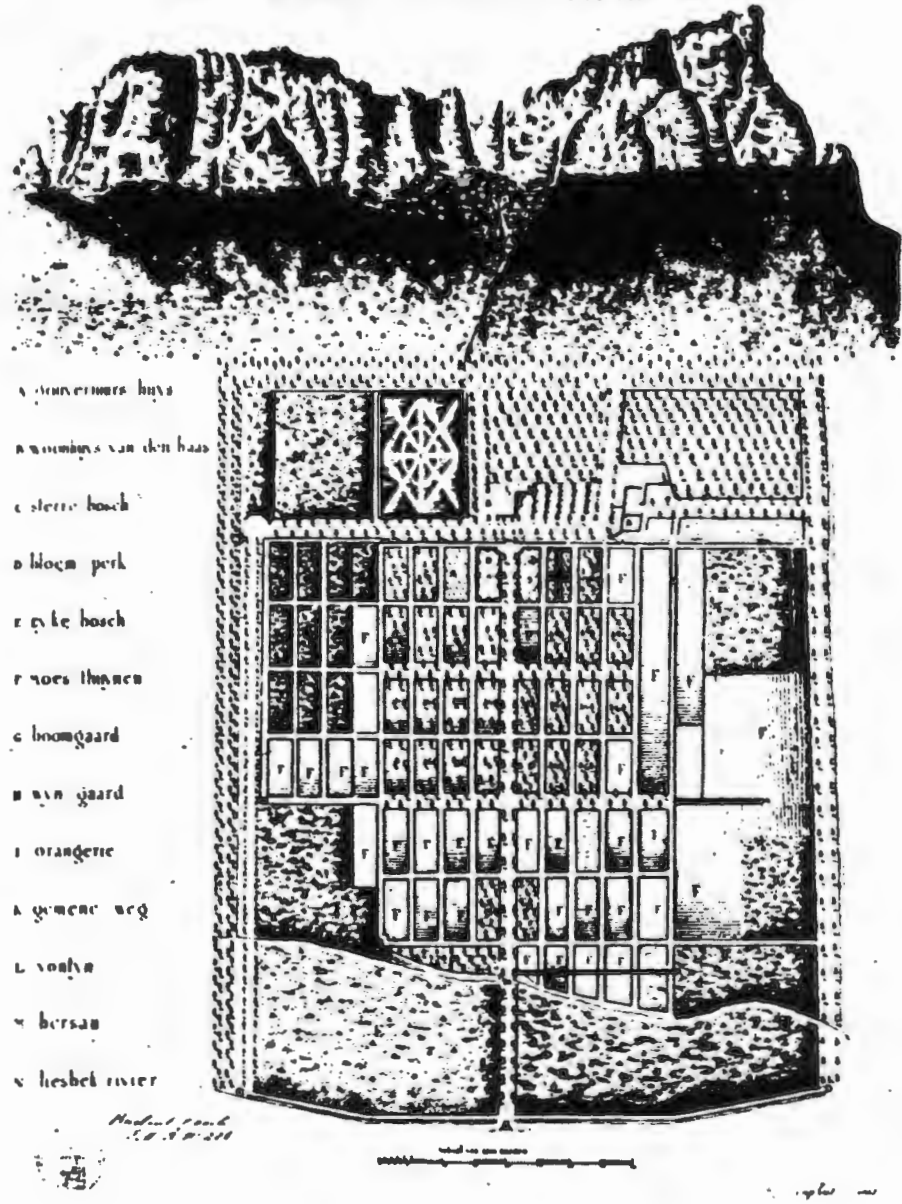


Figure 25: Diagram of Nieuwland, Netherlands Topographical Services, Delft

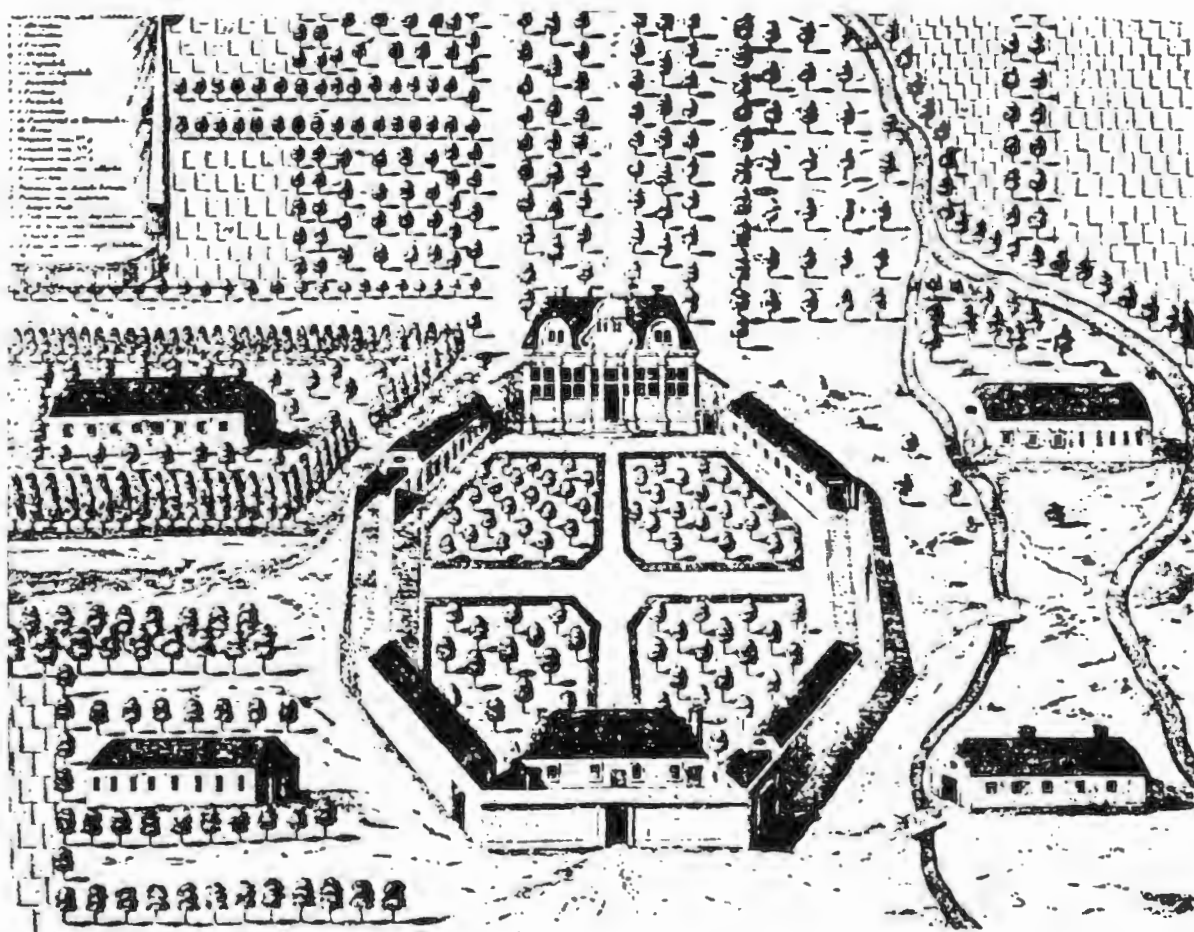


Figure 26: The Vergelegen dwelling was incorporated into an octagonal garden



Figure 27: Approaching Rhone in winter



Figure 28: Front door of Rhone



Figure 29: The magnificent Rhone screen, looking into the voorhuis from the gaanderij



Figure 30: Oriental porcelain on display behind glass, Boschendal Museum, Franschoek



Figure 31: Gabled stinkwood and yellowwood wall cupboard in the voorhuis of Doornrivier, 1790



Figure 32: Slave bell at *Eenzaamheid*



Figure 33: Slave bell at Joostenburg



Figure 34: De Kempenaar's engraving of a seventeenth century Amsterdam kitchen

REFERENCES

- ALONSO, A.** 1988. 'Progress' as Disorder and Dishonour: Discourses of Serrano Resistance. *Critique of Anthropology* 8(1):13-33
- ALPERS, S.** 1976. Realism as a Comic Mode: Low-life Painting Seen through Bredero's Eyes. *Simiolus* 8(3):115-144.
- ARAC, J.** and **JOHNSON, B.** (Eds.) 1991. *Consequences of Theory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- BAKER, H.** 1900. Introduction. In: Trotter, A.: *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Batsford.
- BAKHTIN, M.** 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BARKER, F.** 1984. *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection*. London: Methuen.
- BARTHES, R.** 1970. *S/Z*. Paris: Seuil.
- BARTHES, R.** 1977. *Image-Music-Text*. London: Fontana.
- BARTHES, R.** 1988. The Death of the Author. In: Lodge, D. (Ed.): *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. London: Longman.
- BAXANDALL, M.** 1972. *Paintings and Expression in Fifteenth Century Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- BELSEY, C.** 1980. *Critical Practice*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BENNETT, T.** and **WOOLLACOTT, J.** 1987. *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero*. London: Macmillan.
- BERRONG, R.** 1986. *Rabelais and Bakhtin: Popular Culture in Gargantua and Pantagruel*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- BEYERS, C.** 1967. *Die Kaapse Patriotte Gedurende die Laaste Kwart van die Agtiende Eeu en die Voortlewing van hulle Denkbeelde*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

- BIERMANN, B.** 1952. A Contribution to the Study of the Origins of Colonial Architecture at the Cape. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Cape Town.
- BIERMANN, B.** 1955. *Boukuns in Suid-Afrika: 'n Beknopte Oorsig van ons Boustyl en Bouwyse*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- BIERMANN, B.** 1989. Oor die Bronne van ons Volksbarok. *Architecture SA* July/August 1989:25-28.
- BLACKBURN, R.** (Ed.) 1987. *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776*. Albany Institute of History and Art.
- BOESEKEN, A.** 1938. *Nederlandsche Commissarissen aan de Kaap, 1657-1700*. 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- BOESEKEN, A.** 1964. *Simon Van Der Stel en sy Kinders*. Cape Town: Nassau Beperk.
- BOSMAN, D.** and **THOM, H.** 1955. *Daghregister gehouden by den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck, Deel II, 1656-1658*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- BOURDIEU, P.** 1973. The Berber House. In: Douglas, M. (Ed.): *Rules and Meanings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- BOURDIEU, P.** 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BURMAN, J.** 1989. *Hermanus: A Guide to the Riviera of the South*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.
- CARROL, D.** 1987. Narrative, Heterogeneity, and the Question of the Political: Bakhtin and Lyotard. In: Krieger, M. (Ed.): *The Aims of Representation: Subject/Text/History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- CAUGHIE, J.** (Ed.) 1981. *Theories of Authorship*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- COERTZEN, P.** 1988. *Die Hugenote van Suid-Afrika, 1688-1988*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- COOK, M.** 1946. Some Notes on the Origin and Dating of the Cape Gables. *Africana Notes and News* (3) 1945-1946:31-50.

- COOK, M.** 1975. *The Cape Kitchen*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Museum.
- CULLER, J.** 1981. *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- DE BOLLA, P.** 1988. *Harold Bloom: Towards Historical Rhetorics*. London: Routledge.
- DE BOSDARI, C.** 1953. *Cape Dutch Houses and Farms*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- DEETZ, J.** 1977. *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. New York: Anchor Books.
- DE JONG, C.** N.d. Restourasie van die Oudste Bekende Woonhuis in Suid-Afrika. *Restorica* 7:10-11.
- DE JONGH, E.** 1974. Grape Symbolism in Paintings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. *Simiolus* 7(4):166-191.
- DE JONGH, E.** 1990. For Profit and Ornament: The Function and Meaning of Dutch Garden Art in the Period of William and Mary, 1650-1702. In: Hunt, J. (Ed.): *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library.
- DE KLERK, A.** 1954. *Leeuwenhof: Die Kroniek van 'n Kaapse Herehuis*. Cape Town. A.A. Balkema.
- DOMINICUS, F.** 1919. *Het Huislijk en Maatschappelijk Leven van de Zuid-Afrikaner in de Eerste Helft der Agtiende Eeuw*. 's Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff.
- DOUGLAS, M.** (Ed.) 1973. *Rules and Meanings*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- DOUGLAS, M.** 1984. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Ark Paperbacks.
- EAGLETON, T.** 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- EASTHOPE, A.** 1983. *Poetry as Discourse*. London: Methuen.
- ELPHICK, R.** and **GILIOMEE, H.** (Eds.) 1989. *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

- FAGAN, G. and FAGAN, G.** 1975. Schröder House: The Oldest Documented Dwelling in South Africa. *Restorica* 1:36-38.
- FAGAN, G. and FAGAN, G.** N.d. History of Rhone. *Restorica* 8:51-53.
- FEHR, W.** 1955. *The Old Town House: Its Place in the History of Cape Town*. Cape Town: Board of Trustees of the Michaelis Collection and Council of the City of Cape Town.
- FERGUSSON, L. (Ed.)** 1975. *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*. Society for Historical Archaeology. Special Publications, Series No. 2.
- FISHER, R.** 1984. Land Surveyors and Land Tenure at the Cape, 1657-1812. In Martin, C. and Friedlander, K. (Eds.): *History of Surveying and Land Tenure in South Africa. Volume I*. Collected Papers, Department of Surveying, University of Cape Town.
- FISKE, J.** 1989. *Understanding Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- FITCHETT, R.** 1987. An Investigation into the Siting Arrangements of Cape Dutch Farms. *South African Journal of Cultural Art History* (2):99-109.
- FORBES, V. (Ed.)** 1975-1977. Sparrman, A. (1785/1786). *A Voyage to the Cape Of Good Hope Towards the Antarctic polar Circle Round the World and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the Year 1772-1776, 2 Volumes*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- FOUCAULT, M.** 1980a. Power and Strategies. In: Gordon, C. (Ed.): *Power/Knowledge: Michel Foucault*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- FOUCAULT, M.** 1980b. Two Lectures: Lecture Two. In: Gordon, C. (Ed.): *Power/Knowledge: Michel Foucault*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- FRANKEN, J. (Ed.)**. 1938. *The Duminy Diaries*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- FRANKEN, J.** 1940. 'n Kaapse Huishoue in die Agtiende Eeu uit Von Dessin se Briefboek en Memoriaal. *Argief-Jaarboek vir Suid-Afrikaanse Geskiedenis*, Deel I 1940.
- FRANSEN, H.** 1983. *Groot Constantia: Sy Geskiedenis en 'n Beskrywing van sy Argitektuur en die Versameling*. Cape Town: South African Cultural History Museum.

- FRANSEN, H.** 1987. *Classicism, Baroque, Rococo and Neo-Classicism at the Cape: An Investigation into Stylistic Modes in the Architecture and Applied Arts at the Cape of Good Hope 1652-1820.* Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Natal.
- FRANSEN, H.** and **COOK, M.** 1980. *The Old Buildings of the Cape.* Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- FREUND, E.** 1987. *The Return of the Reader: Reader Response Criticism.* London: Methuen.
- GADAMER, H-G.** 1976. *Philosophical Hermeneutics.* Berkley: University of California Press.
- GADAMER, H-G.** 1984. *Truth and Method.* New York: Crossroads.
- GEERTZ, C.** 1983. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology.* New York: Basic Books.
- GEYL, P.** 1964. *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century.* London: Benn.
- GLASSIE, H.** 1975. *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artefacts.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- GODEE-MOLSBERGEN, E.** and **VISSCHER, J.** 1913. *South African History Told in Pictures.* Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy.
- GORDON, C.** (Ed.) 1980. *Power/Knowledge: Michel Foucault.* New York: Pantheon Books.
- GRIBBLE, J.** 1989. *Verlorenvlei Vernacular: A Structuralist Analysis of Sandveld Folk Architecture.* Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town.
- GROBBELAAR, P.** 1977. *Boerewysheid.* Cape Town Tafelberg Uitgewers.
- GUELKE, L.** 1989. *Freehold Farmers and Frontier Settlers.* In: Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (Eds.): *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840.* Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- GUELKE, L.** and **SHELL, R.** 1990. *The Deeds Book: The Cape Cadastral Calender 1677-1731.* Unpublished. New Haven: Opgaaf Project.
- HABERMAS, J.** 1973. *Theory and Practice.* Boston: Beacon.

- HALL, M.** 1989. Building Power: The British Colonization of the Cape of Good Hope after 1795. Unpublished paper read at a Historical Archaeology Research Group seminar, University of Cape Town, March 1989.
- HALL, M.** 1991a. Fish and the Fisherman: Art, Text and Archaeology. *The South African Journal of Art, Architecture and History* 2(3&4):78-88.
- HALL, M.** 1991a. High and Low in the Townscapes of Dutch South America and South Africa: The Dialectics of Material Culture. *Social Dynamics* 17(2):41-75.
- HALL, M.** 1991b. Material Culture as Text: A Way of Comparing Things. Unpublished paper read at a Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Richmond, Virginia, January 1991.
- HALL, M.** 1992. People in a Changing Urban Landscape: Excavating Cape Town. Inaugural Lecture read at the University of Cape Town, March 1992.
- HALL, M.** In press. "Small Things" and "the Mobile Conflictual Fusion of Power, Fear and Desire". In Yentsch, A. and Beaudry, M. (Eds.): *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology*.
- HALL, M., BRINK, Y. and MALAN, A.** 1988. Onrust 87/1: An Early Colonial Farm Complex in the Western Cape. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* XLIII(148):91-99.
- HALL, M., HALKETT, D., HUIGEN VAN BEEK, P. and KLOSE, J.** 1990. "A Stone Wall out of the Earth that Thundering Cannon cannot Destroy"? Bastion and Moat at the Castle, Cape Town. *Social Dynamics* 16(1):22-37.
- HALL, M., HALKETT, D., KLOSE, J. and RITCHIE, G.** 1990. The Barrack Street Well: Images of a Cape Town Household in the Nineteenth Century. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* XLV(152):73-92.
- HALL, M. and MALAN, A.** 1988. Excavation and Analysis of Paradise, an Eighteenth Century Household in Newlands, Cape Town. Unpublished Final Report to the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.
- HANKS, W.** 1987. Discourse Genres in a Theory of Practice. *American Ethnologist* 14(4):668-692.
- HARTMAN, G.** 1980. *Criticism in the Wilderness: The Study of Literature To-day*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- HEESE, J.** 1971. *Die Herkoms van die Afrikaner*. Bellville: University of the Western Cape.
- HIRSCH, E.** 1967. *Validity in Interpretation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- HODDER, I.** 1981. *Symbols in Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HODDER, I.** 1982. *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HODDER, I.** 1986. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HOLDHEIM, W.** 1984. *The Hermeneutic Mode*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- HOLQUIST, M.** 1990. *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HOLUB, R.** 1984. *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London: Methuen.
- HOLZNER, B.** and **ROBERTSON, R.** 1980. Identity and Authority: A Problem Analysis of Processes of Identification and Authorization. In: Robertson, R. and Holzner, B. (Eds.): *Identity and Authority: Explanations in the Theory of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- HOPPER, F.** 1990. Daniel Marot: A French Garden Designer in Holland. In: Hunt, J. (Ed.): *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library.
- HUFFMAN, T.** 1981. Snakes and Birds: Expressive Space at Great Zimbabwe. *African Studies Journal*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- HUGILL, P.** 1984. The Landscape as a Code for Conduct: Reflections on its role in Walter Fiery's 'aesthetical-Historical-Genealogical Complex'. In Richardson, M. (Ed.): *Place, Experience and Symbol*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- HUNT, J.** (Ed.) 1990. *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library

- HUNT, L.** 1991. History as Gesture; or the Scandal of History. In Arac, J. and Johnson, B. (Eds.): *Consequences of Theory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- HUTCHEON, L.** 1988. *A Poetics of Post-Modernism: History, Theory, Fiction..* New York: Routledge.
- ISER, W.** 1978. *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- JAMESON, F.** 1981. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- JANSEN VAN VUUREN, J.** 1973. Die Beeld van Wilhem Adriaen Van Der Stel in die Geskiedskrywing en in D.J. Opperman se versdrama Vergelen. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Potchefstroom.
- JONES, S.** 1986. *Old Houses in Holland*. London: Studio Editions.
- KALFF, G.** N.d. *Huislijk en Maatschappelijk Leven te Amsterdam in de Seventiende Eeuw*. Amsterdam: J. Emmering.
- KENDALL, F.** N.d. *The Restoration of Groot Constantia*. Cape Town: Juta and Co.
- KRIEGER, M.** (Ed.) 1987. *The Aims of Representation: Subject/Text/History*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- KRISTEVA, J.** 1969. *Semiotiké*. Paris: Seuil.
- KRUIZINGA, J.** 1948. *Watergraafsmeer*. Amsterdam: C.V. Allert de Lange.
- KUNDERA, M.** 1990. *The Art of the Novel*. London: Faber and Faber.
- KUPER, A.** 1980. Symbolic Dimensions of the Southern Bantu Homestead. *Africa* 50(1):8-23.
- LEIBBRANDT, H.** 1900. *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Dispatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*. Cape Town: Richards and Sons.
- LEIBBRANDT, H.** 1905-1989. *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Requesten (Memorials), Volumes I-V*. Cape Town: South African Library.

LEONE, M. 1975. The New Mormon Temple in Washington, D.C. In: Fergusson, L. (Ed.): *Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things*. Society for Historical Archaeology: Special Publication, Series No. 2.

LEWIS-WILLIAMS, D. 1981. *Believing and Seeing: Symbolic Meanings in Southern African Rock Art*. London: Academic Press.

LODGE, D. (Ed.) 1988. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. London: Longman.

LYOTARD, J-F. 1971. *Discours, Figure*. Paris: Kleinsieck.

LYOTARD, J-F. 1984. *The Post-modern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

MALAN, A. 1986. Eighteenth Century Cape: Archives, Architecture and Archaeology. Unpublished B.A. (Hons.) thesis, University of Cape Town.

MALAN, A. 1990. The Archaeology of Probate Inventories. *Social Dynamics* 16(1):1-10.

MANDELBROTE, H. (Ed.) 1925. Mentzel, O. (1787): *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope, Volume II*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

MANDELBROTE, H. (Ed.) 1944. Mentzel, O. (1787): *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope, Volume III*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

MARKELL, A. 1992. Excavations at Vergelegen: The Rural Cape in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Unpublished paper read at a Conference of the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, Cape Town, July 1992.

MARTIN, P. 1978. *Experiment in Depth: A Study of the work of Jung, Eliot and Toynbee*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

MASSELMAN, G. 1963. *The Cradle of Colonialism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

MEISCHKE, I. and **ZANTKUYL, H.** 1969. *Het Nederlandsche Woonhuis van 1300-1800*. Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink.

- MENTZEL, O.** 1787. *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope.* (Ed.: H. Mandelbrote). Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- MILLER, D.** 1984. Modernism and Suburbia as Material Ideology. In: Miller, D. and Tilley, C. (Eds.): *Ideology, Power and Prehistory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MILLER, K.** 1989. *Authors.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- MITCHELL, J.** 1988. Femininity, Narrative and Psychoanalysis. In Lodge, D. (Ed.): *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader.* London: Longman.
- MOORE, H.** 1986. *Space, Gender and Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NEDELSKY, J.** 1990. Law, Boundaries and the Bounded Self. *Representations* 30:162-189.
- OBHOLZER, A., BARAITSER, M. and MALHERBE, W.** 1985. *The Cape House and its Interior.* Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Museum.
- PEARSE, G.** 1956. *The Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1833: An Account of its Buildings and the Life of its People.* Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- PEARSE, G.** 1959. *Eighteenth Century Architecture in South Africa.* London: B.T. Batsford.
- PENN, N.** 1988. Estienne Barbier: An Eighteenth Century Cape Social Bandit? *Social Dynamics* 14(1):1-19.
- PENNINGTON, D.** 1970. *Seventeenth Century Europe.* London: Longman.
- PRETORIUS, J.** 1986. Die Voorste Gestoeltes: Struwelinge oor Kerkstoele. *South African Journal of Cultural History* 3(2):9-12, 46).
- RAIDT, E. (Ed.)** 1973. Valentijn, F. (1726). *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the Matters Concerning it, 2 Volumes.* Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- RAY, W.** 1984. *Literary Meaning: From Phenomenology to Deconstruction.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

READINGS, B. 1991. *Introducing Lyotard: Art and Politics*. London: Routledge.

✓ **RENCH, J.** 1984. *Cape Dutch Homesteads*. Cape Town: C. Struik.

RENNIE, J. 1977. Historical Worcester Homestead. Unpublished Conservation Appraisal. Courtesy Revel Fox and Partners, Cape Town.

RICHARDSON, M. (Ed.) 1984. *Place, Experience and Symbol*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

RICOEUR, P. 1982. Nine essays in: Thompson, J. (Ed.): *Paul Ricoeur: Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- (a) Appropriation.
- (b) A Response by Paul Ricoeur.
- (c) Hermeneutics and the Critique of Ideology.
- (d) Metaphor and the Central Problem of Hermeneutics.
- (e) Phenomenology and Hermeneutics.
- (f) The Hermeneutical Function of Distanciation.
- (g) The Model of the Text: Meaningful Action as Text.
- (h) The Narrative Function.
- (i) What is a Text? Explanation and Understanding.

RICOEUR, P. 1984-1987. *Time and Narrative, 3 Volumes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

RIFFATERRE, M. 1984. Intertextual Representation: On Mimesis as Interpretive Discourse. *Critical Inquiry* 11(1):141-162.

RITCHIE, G. 1990. Dig the Herders / Display the Hottentots: The Production and Presentation of Knowledge about the Past. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cape Town.

ROBERTSON, R. and **HOLZNER, B.** (Eds.) 1980. *Identity and Authority: Explanations in the Theory of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

RORTY, R. 1979. *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

SCHAMA, S. 1979. The Unruly Realm: Appetite and Restraint in Seventeenth Century Holland. *Daedalus* 3:103-123.

- SCHAMA, S.** 1989. *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. London: Penguin Books.
- SCHRAG, C.** 1989. *Communicative Practice and the Space of Subjectivity*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.
- SCHRIRE, C.** 1990. Excavating Archives at Oudepost 1, Cape. *Social Dynamics* 16(1):11-21.
- SCHRIRE, C.** and **Deacon, J.** 1989. The Indigenous Artefacts from Oudepost I, a Colonial Outpost of the VOC at Saldanha Bay, Cape. *South African Archaeological Bulletin* XLIV(150):105-113.
- SCHUTTE, H.** (Ed.) 1982. *Briefwisseling van Hendrik Swellengrebel Jr. oor Kaapse Sake 1778-1792*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- SCHUTTE, G.** 1989. Company and Colonists at the Cape, 1652-1795. In Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (Eds.): *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.
- SCHUURMAN, J.** 1989. *Materiële Cultuur en Levensstijl*. Utrecht: HES Uitgevers.
- SCOTT, J.** 1989. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. London: Yale University Press.
- SCOTT, J.** 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SMUTS, F.** (Ed.) 1979. *Stellenbosch Drie Eeue*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Town Council in collaboration with the Oude Meester Group.
- SPARRMAN, A.** 1785-1786. *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle round the World and to the Country of the Hottentots and the Caffres from the Year 1772-1776*. (Ed.: V. Forbes). Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- SPILHAUS, M.** 1949 *The First South Africans and the Laws which Governed them*. Cape Town: Juta and Co.
- SPOHR, H.** 1967. *Zacharias Wagner: Second Commander of the Cape*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- STALLYBRASS, P.** and **WHITE, A.** 1986. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- ST. GEORGE, R.** 1985. Artefacts of Regional Consciousness in the Connecticut River Valley, 1700-1780. In: *The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635-1820*. Hartford: Wadsworth Athenaeum.
- THEAL, G.** 1882. *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*. Cape Town: Richards and Sons.
- THEAL, G.** 1896. *Belangrijke Historische Dokumenten Verzameld in de Kaap Kolonie en Elders*. Cape Town: Van de Sandt, De Villiers and Co.
- THOM, H. (Ed.)** 1952. *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, Volume I, 1651-1655*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- THOM, H. (Ed.)** 1954. *Journal of Jan Van Riebeeck, Volume II, 1656-1658*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- THOMPSON, J. (Ed.)** 1982a. Editor's Introduction. In: Thompson, J. (Ed.): *Paul Ricoeur: Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- THOMPSON, J. (Ed.)** 1982b. *Paul Ricoeur: Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- THOMPSON, J. NEWTON.** 1968. *The Story of a House*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- TOWNSEND, L. and TOWNSEND, S.** 1977. *Bokaap Faces and Facades*. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- TREFOIS, C.** 1968. Old Dutch Stylistic Elements in South African Rural Architecture. *Simon Van Der Stel Foundation Special Edition*: 1-52.
- TROTTER, A.** 1900. *Old Colonial Houses of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Batsford.
- UPTON, D.** 1986. *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- VALENTIJN, F.** 1726. *Beschrijvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop*. (Ed.: E Raidt). Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- VAN DER MEULEN, J.** 1962. Die Europäische Grundlage der Kolonialarchitektur am Kap der Guten Hoffnung. Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Marburg.

- VAN DE WALL, V.** 1939. *Het Hollandsche Koloniale Barokmeubel*. Antwerp: De Sikkel.
- VAN DE WALL, V.** 1945. *Bouwkunst in Indonesia*. Antwerp: De Sikkel.
- VAN RIEBEECK, J.** 1651-1662. *Daghregister Gehouden bij den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz Van Riebeeck, 3 Volumes*. (Eds. D. Bosman and H. Thom). Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- VISSER, D.** 1989. The Rebuilding of Newlands House after the Fire of 1981. *Architecture SA* January/February 1989: 23-26.
- VOS, H.** 1988. Schreuderhuis: An historical Archaeological Re-evaluation. Unpublished paper read at a Conference of the Southern African Association of Archaeologists, Johannesburg, April 1988.
- WALTON, J.** 1965. *Homesteads and Villages of South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- WALTON, J.** 1981. The South African Kapstijlhuis and some European Counterparts. *Restorica* 10:2-8.
- WALTON, J.** 1985. *Cape Dovecots and Fowl-runs*. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch Museum.
- WALTON, J.** 1989. *Old Cape Farmsteads*. Cape Town: Human and Rousseau.
- WHITE, H.** 1973. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- WOODWARD, C.** 1981. Domestic Arrangements at the Cape as Recorded in the Inventories for 1709-1712. *Restorica* 10:12-14.
- WOODWARD, C.** 1982. The Interior of the Cape House 1670-1714. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria.
- WOODWARD, C.** 1983. From Multi-purpose Parlour to Drawing Room: The Development of the Principle Voorkamer in the Fashionable Cape House 1670-1820. *Bulletin of the South African Cultural History Museum* 4:5-19.
- YAEGER, P.** 1988. *Honey-mad Women: Emancipatory Strategies in Women's Writing*. New York: Columbia University Press.

YENTSCH, A. and BEAUDRY, M. (Eds.). In press. *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology*.

ZANTKUYL, H. 1987. *The Netherlands Town House: How and Why it Works*. In Blackburn, R. (Ed.): *New World Dutch Studies: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609-1776*. Albany Institute of History and Art.

Figure 1 From Rensch 1984:13

Figure 2 From Pearse 1956:63

Figure 3 From Fransen & Cook 1980:178

Figure 4 From Obholzer, Baraitser & Malherbe 1985:45

Figure 8 Photo H. Reickert

Figures 9-13, & 15 After Zantkuyl 1987

Figure 14 After Townsend & Townsend 1977

Figure 16 From Walton 1989:12

Figure 17 From Smuts 1979:109 (Photo J. Klose)

Figure 18 From Fransen & Cook 1980:184

Figure 19 Courtesy Revel Fox & Partners

Figure 20 From Walton 1989:33

Figure 22 From Kruizinga 1948:146 & Plate 13

Figure 23 From Pearse 1956:41

Figure 24 From Fransen 1983:16

Figure 25 From Thompson, J. Newton 1968

Figure 26 From Godee - Molsbergen & Visscher 1913:37

Figure 31 From Obholzer, Baraitser & Malherbe 1985:330

Figure 34 From Kalff n.d.:100

(All other Figures are the author's own photos.)