discourse on civilization

postliberal postsecular histories of the ghetto

Sadiq Toffa

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Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities

Supervisors

Prof. Shahid Vawda, UCT

Prof. Francis Nyamnjoh, UCT

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Declaration

I, Sadiq Toffa, hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

Signed by candidate

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bmrr

I acknowledge that the land of the university on which this work has been produced is the ancient cultural landscape of ||*Hui !Gais* (where the clouds gather) by the sea and mountain (*Hoeri 'kwaggo)* whose original custodians are the Khoikhoi and San first nations of the Cape. I further acknowledge that the wealth of this university is indebted to the enslavement of African and Indian Ocean peoples, Indigenous genocides, and their generations of displacement and dispossession. This work offers respect and appreciation to their alive legacies and rich civilizations.

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Abstract

This work is a psychoanalytic anthropology of the city in the postcolony. It is located in Europe's most fragile settler colony in the South of Africa, and set within Apartheid's most privileged multi–culture, the Oriental Ghetto of Bo–Kaap, Cape Town. The project introduces the theoretical formulation of 'Apartheid Orientalism' as the aesthetic classicism of global settler coloniality. Apartheid is the rationalization, industrialization, and massification of colonial relations that condenses world centre and periphery within intimate matrixes of difference that uniquely reveal psychic interiorities (of Self and Other) and material exteriorities (of body and city) as the making of 'the modern world'. Orientalism dislodges Apartheid from isolation within a normative South African methodological nationalism and peripheral location in the Western Anglo–sphere, toward relocations as avant-garde settler modernism within the global paradigm of settler colonialism and modern world–system analysis. The critical conjugation of 'Apartheid Orientalism' destabilizes the geohistorical categories within the liberal–secular orthodoxy of both Apartheid historiography as "failed racial state" and Orientalism as "mid–east romance" and reveals the critical conjugation of racial terror and sacred alterity in the modern episteme.

Apartheid Orientalism clarifies the order of 'liberal-secular aesthetics' as the aesthetic idealism of Western Self– and World–making (from Descartes through Kant and Hegel) that gives to the modern the judgment of what is beautiful, right, and good. I

confront aesthetic idealism with its Others, the 'negative' aesthetic of Julia Kristeva and the 'intransigent' aesthetic of Edward Said, that provide both the coherent figuration of a Master–Subject ('the designed Self') and the fragmented disfigurations of an Abject–non/Subject (the Native, the Slave, the Oriental). The abject subjectifications of mastery figured in the non-being of 'Native≠Slave≠Oriental' are ontologically fixed and structurally fragmented within the colonial spheres of the split–off worlds of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. A methodology of 'boundary–work' and 'counter–mapping' the city opens a radical phenomenology of colonial mastery: nature mastery binds the Native with the Bantustan complex; technology mastery binds the Slave with the Plantation complex; culture mastery binds the Oriental with the Multiculture complex.

The industrial complexes of the modern–colonial episteme produce the National–Tribes (the Eurocentric nation-state) and the Modern–Tribes (the wards of liberal multiculturalism and postmodern identitarian politics). Liberal misrecognition as tribal governance and maintenance reveals the technology of liberal reconciliation. The project calls for the recognition of the sacred and the tragic in modern subjectivity, as the recognition of the postcolony as tragedy. The project offers that the constitution of the 'immigrant' as Subject in modernity as the global historical conjugation of Native–Slave–Oriental and of postcolonial recognition as 'immigrant ethics' will bring the postcolony to tragedy and to "a life worth living".

Keywords: Apartheid Orientalism, Oriental Ghetto, Bo-Kaap, settler colonialism, postcolony, native, slave, oriental, psychoanalytic anthropology, immigrant ethics

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1

Apartheid Orientalism

1.1 Liberal aesthetics of recognition

The Cape Town inner city suburb of Bo-Kaap is "the most striking anomaly in all greater Cape Town".[1] Established as modest speculative rental housing stock (the *Walendorp huurhuisies*) in the late 18th century during the early colonial period of the Dutch empire, Bo-Kaap is the oldest black urban residential area in South Africa. The community was conceived in a colonial diaspora of indigenous peoples, or 'natives', who had entered the towns in search for livelihood following frontier genocides and land dispossession in the nascent colony's expansion, as well as enslaved Africans and Muslims, or 'Orientals', drawn from Dutch colonial and commercial conquests across the Indian Ocean littoral. Together with District Six (the 'Onder-Kaap'), Bo-Kaap formed the Western buttress of two poles of creolized working-class ghettoes on the margins of the inner city. Regulated by the infrastructural lines of the Buitenkant and Buitengracht (road armatures marking the boundary demarcations of the city limits), the two communities, bound in social alterity and urban marginalia of economy and culture, provided a regulated artisanal black labour supply entering the adjoining colonial city. Bo-Kaap's status as a spatial anomaly is conferred by its singularity as the oldest surviving urban residential neighbourhood in South Africa and, unlike demolished communities like District Six, the only historic black inner-city neighbourhood to have survived apartheid forced removals. The rationale of

[1] Western 1981: 115

exceptionalism rested on its relatively small area and population (approximately 2000 people) that was not seen as a strategic threat to white domination in the city.[2] Its people could be regulated through spatial techniques of containment such as the apartheid racial 'buffer strip' of non-residential industrial zones and traffic armatures. Significantly, they could also be discursively contained through a scientific schema of racial taxonomy and ethnic hierarchy of its people and culture as 'Malay–Muslim' that would thwart political solidarity with the black majority and authorize the apartheid doctrine of 'separate development'.

Separate spatial and temporal development located the Malay within a totalizing schema 'above' black Africans and adjacent to whiteness as universal referent of civilization. The maintenance of white adjacency, rather than identifications in black radical alterity or cultural assimilation, animated a civilizational project that legitimated the nation-writing narrative of white Afrikaner nationalism and a modernizing and industrializing settler colonial project more broadly.

Following the Group Areas Act of 1950, Bo-Kaap was declared a 'Malay Group Area' in 1957, with an abutting 'Coloured Group Area' declared in 1962. A 'Malay National Monument', proclaimed a major site for cultural and urban conservation through the SA National Monuments Act in 1966, brought urban aesthetics and legislative conservation to the service of apartheid.[3] These distinctive features continue to be prescient in the cultural legitimation of the liberal democratic nation-state; Bo-Kaap being remade as emblematic of a postmodern parable of

[2] Barker et al 1989; Bickford-smith, van Heyningen, & Worden 1999; Giliomee & Mbenga 2007; Honikman 1966; Oberholzer 1972; Shorten 1963; Western 1996
[3] For example, Townsend 1977

'multicultural' belonging. Here a dominant body of postaparthied literature has been focused on 'traditional' cuisine, costume, music, architecture, language and culture constituted within a slavery romance and a splendid colonial isolation that becomes both essential and incompatible in a neoliberal desire economy of touristic authenticity.[4]

The 'celebration of diversity' as liberal recognition has operated within a hegemonic official trope that reconciles colonialism and apartheid as continuities of capital accumulation with contemporary democratic liberalism, disavows responsibility for apartheid Crimes Against Humanity[5], and disciplines political dissent and deep difference, in what Povinelli has described as 'the cunning of recognition'[6]. Contemporary heritage practice in Cape Town is institutionally regulated through techno-scientific regimes of liberal governance that universally disavows the historical and ideological moorings of its conservation paradigm. Marginal or absent in its authorized reconciliation narrative of the South African 'rainbow nation' are explicit investigations of colonial violence and anti-colonial struggle in Bo-Kaap, such as the emergence and effects of apartheid group areas, the erosion of Muslim

[4] See, for example, the work of Pistorius 1998; Dare and Wilkinson 2010; Fraser & Mouton 2013; Hutchinson 2006; Misbach-Habib & Hutchinson 2008; Stevens 2005

[5] In 1966, the United Nations General Assembly 'Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid' labelled apartheid as a crime against humanity (resolution 2202 A (XXI) of 16 December 1966) and in 1984 the Security Council endorsed this determination (resolution 556 (1984) of 23 October 1984). The convention designated international criminal responsibility to individuals, organisations, and state actors who commit, incite or conspire to commit the crime of apartheid (art. 3). Post-apartheid South Africa has not become a party to the Apartheid Convention.

[6] Povinelli 2002

political institutions[7], or the ideological production and maintenance of 'Coloured' and 'Malay' ethnicity within a project of settler colonialism.[8]

1.2 Temporal locations of the postcolony

> *Settler colonisers come to stay – invasion is a structure, not an event.*
>
> – Patrick Wolfe, Structure and event (2008)

Wolfe deploys the term "logic of elimination" to describe the essential characteristic of a settler-colonial project. He distinguishes settler-colonialism from other forms of colonialism, being foremost a territorial project, where acquisition of native land is a necessary precondition for establishing settler-colonial society, where native entitlement or native labour extraction is axiomatic to the doctrine of settler discovery and cultivation. In the settlement of South Africa, an unreliable and insufficient indigenous supply required the 'importation' of immigrant labour from the conquest of the 'Dutch East Indies' through Indian Ocean slavery, who lived and labored on commercial slave plantations skirting early Cape Town, several of which was to become Bo-Kaap. The structural feature of settler-colonialism is that it is a cohesive project and complex social formation that is historically continuous over time, implicating individual and nation-state, official and unofficial alike. Wolfe further identifies three overlapping procedures that constitute the settler-colonial project whose global processes find local articulation in Bo-Kaap: *confrontation*, as in the

[7] Sayyid 2014
[8] Erasmus 2001

frontier plantation economy; *incarceration*, being the ghetto-prison industrial complex of the Group Areas Act; and *assimilation*, this latter phase extending into the present in the form of ambivalent emancipatory programmes of incorporation that seek to efface the distinguishing criteria, whereby native difference is constructed in settler discourse.[9] Mbembe[10] extends this historical procedure in the development of the term of the 'postcolony', referring to the interpenetration of epochs, that is, pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial Africa in one historical juncture. The postcolony is not after colonialism and it is not also synonymous with the postcolonial or postcoloniality, which means the epoch resulting from the colonial aftermath. Eshun[11] further suggests that the operation of power today operates predictively as much as retrospectively. Other critics have also described the postcolony as the historical moment where the colonial project is disrupted, but not dismantled. During distinguishes between critical and reconciliatory postcolonialism, with the latter complicit in euphoric accounts of globalization that ruptures anhedonic postcolonial genealogies as a minor or absent agenda.[12]

I use the prefixation of *lateness* as a critical extension and qualification of late modernity as the postcolony. Edward Said defines lateness as a *new* aesthetic idiom, marked not by wisdom, maturity, or resolution, but rather as the "intransigence, difficulty, and unresolved contradiction" of a "nonharmonious, nonserene tension, and above all, a sort of deliberately unproductive productiveness…"[13] Although Said is specifically referring to modernism in the arts, I extend his insights in a wider

[9] Wolfe 2008
[10] Mbembe 2001
[11] Eshun 2003
[12] Anderson 2009
[13] Said 2007: 5-7

analogous frame of modern aesthetics in the phenomenology of the social body and the settler city. The paradox of lateness as an aesthetic strategy then, is that it is an integral part of the genealogy of the modern, heralding an ending, yet in its rejection of developmental models of maturity and progress, it resists closure – the sense of an ending at all, whether as death or as redemption. Lateness, as the prefiguration of genealogical limit, becomes a negative aesthetic, the idea of surviving beyond what should be acceptable. I conceive of genealogical limit as extremism and as catastrophe in modern subjectivity, in its capacities of self-making – lateness "…not as development, (but) rather as a catching fire between the extremes"[14] whose limits have been slavery, genocide, and environmental collapse.

Said, working from Adorno, both emphasize the inconclusive relationship between beginnings and endings, or of an early (Renaissance) and a late (postmodern) modernity, showing "more traces of history than of growth".[15] This force of historical anachronism, of the colonial past superimposed on the field in every moment of the present, as a characteristic of late genealogy, informs the emergence of the contemporary heritage function within postmodernism. My theory-building around the contemporary heritage concept takes a critical distance from many of the terms of engagement in the professional canon of heritage debates, and is informed by insights gleaned from my fieldwork, activism, and service, as well as particularly critical urban historical anthropology.[16] Heritage, as material rationalization of cultural carework, develops in my thinking along four historically contingent trajectories: (1)

[14] Adorno [1937] 2002: 567 cf. Short 2014
[15] Adorno 2002: 564
[16] Some notable works by Gonzalez (2018), Abu El-Haj (2002), Appadurai (2013), Gupta and Ferguson (1997), Herzfeld (1982), Low (2016), and Lee (2014)

its emergence and institutionalization following the reconstruction of Europe in the wake of the Second World War, with the city form re-inaugurated as the spatial metaphor of modernity in its aspirations, anxieties, and contradictions; (2) its techniques of rational techno-management of catastrophic affective orders of mourning, shock, loss and trauma; (3) its globalization under European colonialism as the preservation of the colonial body of the settler state amid the rise of national independence movements, and (4) in the attendant disciplinary emergence of black studies and folk anthropology, in South Africa, leading up to and under Apartheid.

Following from above, I am working from the contemporary temporality of the 'late modern' as also inaugurating the 'late colonial'[17], viz. the late secular[18], late liberal[19], and late capitalist.[20] A correspondence can be drawn between the late modern-colonial with contemporary critiques of postmodernism, as the governance and accommodation of social difference within a structurally unaltered Eurocentric horizon of the world system.[21]

[17] Mignolo 2011
[18] Asad, Brown, Butler, & Mahmood, 2013, Wynter 2003
[19] Povinelli 2002, Torres 2008
[20] Lash and Urry 1994
[21] Dussel 2002

1.3 Secular erotics in the oriental ghetto

The portions of the Malay Quarter specified in the Schedule are interesting and historical parts of Cape Town, with a special character derived from the customs and ways of life peculiar to the Malays that live there, and is also of exceptional architectural merit.

DECLARATION OF MONUMENTS
M. Viljoen, Deputy Minister:
Department of Education, Arts and Science
Government Gazette, April 1966

The Bo-Kaap is the oldest surviving residential neighbourhood in the City of Cape Town. The Heritage Protection Overlay envisages the recognition and conservation of the Bo-Kaap as a unique historical urban landscape with a vibrant, living culture and way of life. The Bo-Kaap is traditional, and religious doctrines form part and parcel of everyday life.

BO-KAAP HERITAGE PROTECTION OVERLAY ZONE
Environment Resource Management Branch
City of Cape Town, November 2018

The 1966 South African monuments' declaration legislating 'the Malay Quarter' as a new South African national monument and its contemporaneous superseding 2018 legislation, a land use zoning paradigm for 'heritage protection', clarify primary procedures of an aesthetic genealogy that is historically contiguous across normatively discontinuous periodisations of the apartheid and postapartheid, or modernist and postmodern regimes of liberal governance. The 1966 Malay monument constitutes at

once a people, a place, and a temporality as indivisible, unmovable and inalterable, inaugurates a new race group, the Malay, and situates it within the normative framework of Apartheid social hierarchy and settler multiculturalism. It makes allocation for a geographically bounded ethnic jurisdiction, a subnational ethnic 'homeland', an exceptional urban approximation of the rural native homelands, which regulates and qualifies the possibilities of belonging in the settler city and nation-state. As 'home', it is a site of care, providing ethnic security for social reproduction and ontological stability for the cultivation of beauty. As 'homeland', it is also a site of structural violence and material and ideological containment. The discursive apartheid articulation of a "peculiar way of life" echoes genealogically with near precision the postapartheid superseding legislation of the Bo-Kaap Heritage Protection Overlay Zone of a "unique and vibrant way of life". The Malay signifies, in its compulsive declaration of an imagined point of origin, and in its nongenealogical and nonrelational commitments, an ontology of the oriental as foreigner and 'immigrant', immutably in abeyance of full and unqualified belonging in the settler nation-state.

In the latter legislation, the legal slippage of 'tradition' *as* 'religion' in Bo-Kaap's postapartheid heritage statement of significance draws critical attention to the aesthetic object, to the juridical carework governing tradition as the other of the secular-liberal modern. The historical anachronism between apartheid and liberal democratic legislation indicates a general schema of tradition as taxonomy of the oriental social and urban body that functions as a heuristic device operating across time. Working from Alisdair MacIntyre,[22] Marcel Mauss,[23] and Michel Foucault,[24]

[22] MacIntyre 1988, 2007
[23] Mauss 2002

Talal Asad[25] deploys notions of tradition as a key conceptual device beyond the division of the body and culture, and the conception of the body as a 'technical instrument'. Asad takes a genealogical approach to the diverse ways the 'docile body' has been constructed by the modern power of 'protection' and carework in modern Christian liberalism. The commonly accepted anthropological wisdom put forward by Clifford Geertz[26], that 'religion' has generic features and functions that must not be confused with any of its particular historical and cultural forms, Asad critiques as a view that has a specific Christian history of concrete sets of practical rules attached to specific processes of power and knowledge that has come to be abstracted and universalized.[27] Through the historical process of the European Renaissance, the Reformation, and eventually the secularization of the Enlightenment, the production of the secular has become a technical instrument and social form but can not be completely severed from its sacred origin – and sacred space is correlated with a meaningful psychic space, and in turn a political space.[28]

The Apartheid government would self-describe its protective carework as "South African Christian Nationalism", establishing its moral authority in implicit appeals to its participation in Western civilization through explicit alignment with German Nazism and Italian Fascism.[29] The moral project of metropolitan purification from Semitic degeneracy is thus discursively transposed as the settler project of racial terror

[24] Foucault 2003
[25] Asad 1983
[26] Geertz 1973
[27] Asad 1983
[28] Miller 2018
[29] See for instance, South African Prime Minster J. B. Vorster quoted in Bloomberg 1989: XXV: "We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call the anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

and fanatical Christianity within a shared piety of global civilizational management. The secular erotic works with Talal Asad's sustained emphasis on the sacred subject within secular forms emerges as a constitutive silent and integral figuration through which modern forms of social alterity are organized as technologies between the intimate attachments of repudiated mastery and colonial desire. To understand the modern processes of knowledge and power, Asad situates the forms of social discipline by which certain secular readings are authorized and accomplished. The argument Asad seeks to uncover is the forms of violence authorized by the modern project of humanizing the world, constituting a structuring condition for action and moral agency. His argument is that the secular be approached not simply in terms of the doctrinal separation of religious and political authority, or of spiritual affect and scientific truth, but as a post-Enlightenment constellation that has brought together sensibilities, knowledges, and behaviours in new and distinct ways.[30] Asad and others offer a correspondence to be drawn between the idea of political toleration and moral carework with the discourses of assimilation and discipline of racialized sacred alterity under the sign of protection and progress in the modern episteme.

I work with both Mbembe's frame[31] of genealogical collapse and Said's aesthetic[32] irresolution to reconsider the postcolony as interregnum where classical concepts of emancipation are destabilized, challenged and reassessed, with necessary new conceptual languages to carry new social imaginaries and political horizons. Revisiting Mbembe's political philosophy of the postcolony as genealogical collapse, and Said's late aesthetic as intransigence and irresolution, the racialization of sacred

[30] Scott & Hirschkind 2006
[31] Mbembe 1992
[32] Said 2007

alterity today, most markedly in the figuration of the Western Muslim as 'immigrant' immutably in abeyance of full participation in modernity, can be seen to resemble and differ to the late modern secular liberal worldview in a similar way that the Orient was rendered intelligible to early modern Christian humanism. The ethno-religious figuration of the Semite, the Judeo–Muslim, are both together essential others as objects of terror at the emergence of European modernity in the 16th century, in the Judeo-Muslim persecution and expulsions in southern Europe[33], enabling the monotopic and monologic ethnological, technological, and theological *logos* of reason in modern European romantic nationalism. Semitic terror can thus again be inaugurated as genealogical limit in Europe's late modern purification in the 20th century Judeo–Muslim genocides of the Holocaust and Srebrenica.

This salience of medieval Christian theology as the cleavage to organize human difference and moral authority is converted through transformational disenchantments under the aesthetic codifications of modernity. Medieval 'Christendom' undergoes secular conversion to modern 'Europe' as a naturalized geohistorical category after the Enlightenment and with global settler coloniality simply as the 'West' self-defined in counterpoint to the 'Orient'. The phenomenology of purification in Christian piety thus undergoes secular conversion to a 'white' body itself as phenomenological purity with the attendant erasures of Europe's internal orient through the ritual re-inaugurations of a European Europe across the modern episteme. Asad underscores that the Other enters modernity akin to a religious conversion in ties that bind race and religion together to geography, the body, and the psyche. The oriental figuration of the

[33] Grosfoguel 2013

Judeo–Muslim is thus what Said[34] has called the moral–theological "secret sharers" of modern social alterity. The contemporary occlusion, even impossibility, of the historical Semitic 'Judeo-Muslim' hyphenation and the discursive post-Holocaust discursive emergence of 'Judeo-Christian civilization' as coherent white historical body unmarks the deracialized liberal–secular 'exclusion by inclusion' that concomitantly re–marks the racialized Muslim body today as the incompatible exteriority of modernity and thus as postmodern paradigm of the moral project of liberal intervention in Western civilizational management. The secular erotics of penetrative liberal intervention returns, fascinates, dismembers, rejects, and returns again a colonial desire enacted in potent rituals of violation and purification. I now turn to explore a psychoanalytic structure of self-parts and a phenomenological schema of split world between violation and purification necessary to sustain psychic integrity and world order.

1.4 Self-parts in the split world

Black sacred alterity comes to demarcate a highly uncertain proposition, on the basis of what Orlando Patterson advances as "social death".[35] The social corpse, immobilized, infantilized, without language or agency, and exterior to secular scientific rationality, becomes the heritage artifact, like the land itself, of settler wardship. Social death might be thought of as a founding proposition of black sacred

[34] Said 1994
[35] Wilderson 2010

alterity in the Western episteme:[36] "It is death infecting life".[37] The demobilization and containment in the Ghetto-complex as deadening and desecration of the racialized body can be read in contradistinction to what has been termed the enlivening of the 'soul'. Du Bois depicted parallel lines between black "soul-craft" with the vitalization of black subjectivity and of democratic life. The psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva similarly locates a theory of the abject in therapeutic dialogue with the "malady of the soul". The abject is also a fetishism of heritage, that is what is neither subject nor object, but unceasingly returns, disgusts, rejects, fascinates.[38] The ontological location of the Malay-Muslim constitutes the figure of approaching whiteness, of a white adjacency that yet remains assimilable, a difference that constitutes whiteness itself. Kristeva writes that the abject "is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object," of Bo-Kaap being in abeyance to the settler city and also its internal orient. It "disturbs identity, system, order" that unleashes violence against oneself and others. Because it is not separate from us, "it ends up engulfing us".[39] Whereas radical alterity plays an important role in much Western thought,[40] ethnic relations and boundary constructions in liberal societies are not about strangers, but about complex attachment formations with familiar and intimate 'others'.[41]

[36] Spillers 2018
[37] Bove 2018
[38] Kristeva 2018
[39] Kristeva 1984
[40] Keesing 1994
[41] Wacquant 2000

As the condition of social death is necessarily barred from language, a 'social turn' in psychoanalysis[42] and the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences[43] offer an articulation of a phenomenology of the social body of the city towards a discursive retrieval of this subjective formation as materialist embodiment. My conceptual foundations of a relational phenomenology between the modern city and the modern subject draw together multiple critical traditions. Michel Foucault's genealogical method[44], or archaeology of knowledge, develops a counter-history of modern subjectivity that "we tend to feel is without history"[45] to reveal traces that the influence of power has on self-fashioning regimes of liberal personhood and procedures of authorizing techno-scientific truth. Walter Mignolo's philosophy of epistemology reworks Foucault's metropolitan genealogy from the world periphery by binding together modernity and coloniality relationally as a co-constitutive and indivisible genealogy, where coloniality is a mentalized process representing the repressed/repressive "darker side" of the imaginal worlding of modernity. David Harvey's economic geography further provides a contemporary analysis of the (neo)liberal body as a site of capital accumulation by dispossession in the psycho-spatial instantiation of the 'ghetto industrial complex'.[46] The radical black phenomenological tradition in psychoanalysis is also inaugurated in the works of Franz Fanon, who read the colonial city as a Manichean order constituted in a socio-spatial duality of vision in unconscious desire between idealization and devaluation that defend the modern subject from intolerable and unspeakable psychic conflicts towards self and others whilst foreclosing the developmental possibly of psychic integration.

[42] Eg. Layton 2020
[43] Kingston 2010; Lefevre 1994; Scott and Soja 1996
[44] Foucault 1975, 1980
[45] Foucault 1980: 131
[46] Wacquant 2000; Harvey 2006

Sigmund Freud described the splitting of consciousness as a cleavage or division of the intrapsychic ego to avoid rupture within itself, not as disorder or fetish, but as a defensive mechanism that can be attributed to metropolitan neurosis in general[47]. After Freud, from Ronald Fairbairn and with significant contributions by Melanie Klein, a new clinical psychoanalytic formulation of splitting of the personality developed within object relations theory. Fairbairn's model indicates a developmental psychology wherein relational patterns of experience with the external world of 'objects' are established in constant dialogue and continue in the internal world of the 'self'[48]. Klein further maintained "the ego is incapable of splitting the object—internal or external—without a corresponding splitting taking place within the ego".[49] The effects of splitting, as structural dissociation[50], produces a division of the world as inconstant disconnections, or of good and bad 'object-parts', that may be alternatively loved or hated in the absolute if they were of different worlds.

Contemporary object relations and relational models of the self have begun to offer analytic openings occluded in drive and libidinal theories of classical psychoanalysis for new integrative insights and critical perspectives with radical phenomenological traditions that recognise complex attachment formations among affective objects within colonial intimacies. The ghetto complex as split–off fragment of the heroic self–conscious international modernism of the apartheid city is also organized as split–off part of the colonial unconscious in the apartheid psyche. Bo-Kaap achieves a

[47] Freud 1987
[48] Rubens 1996
[49] Holmes 2015
[50] Van der Kolk 2014

discrete urban form and coherent social body appearing as a natural inviolable state of dissociation in mental structure that is neither contaminated by nor contaminates the settler city and psyche through scrupulous boundary maintenance in the project of apartheid modernism. Apartheid modernism is a fulcrum and condenser for the achievements, anxieties, and contradictions of modernity. It articulates with robust clarity, consistency, and certainty a comprehensive system for being human in the split world. The splitting of the human describes and produces an idealized formation of the white liberal body as universal and whole, as beauty, freedom, and mastery within the unbounded space of the world, whilst also producing a metonymic collapse of the black body as the devaluated and dismembered body of the ghetto and the tribe.

Political philosopher Ivor Chipkin writes of South Africa: "Democracy is not simply related to a set of institutions but is conceived in relation to a state of being: that of being free. It designates a certain category of people rather than a host of practices, possibilities, and activities. One is free not when one acts freely, but when one most closely resembles a figure said to be in a state of freedom."[51] Democratic liberalism, conceived as this aesthetic accomplishment, is the political aesthetic of late modernity. Modern aesthetics is articulated from the Renaissance certainly since Descartes, who maintained that the 'certainty of all being and all truth is founded on the self-consciousness of *ego cogito ergo sum:* the single ego' that allows aesthetic production to create new meanings outside the authority of a divinity. Cartesian rule-bound and quantifying procedures produces the confidence for the analytical rationalization of complexity to provide the 'condition of possibility' for objective

[51] Chipkin 2003

knowledge into all areas of science, administration, and exchange.[52] Cartesian logic authorizes a new Master–Subject, autonomous with unmediated access to map transparent space,[53] which inhabits a zero-point perspective with positional authority outside of discourse.[54]

Liberal aesthetics takes form anew under Enlightenment philosophy, establishing beauty as grounds for truth, a symbol of the good, and the self-legitimating products of human freedom. Hegel drew a close association between beauty, truth, and freedom, where the experience of freedom is itself the experience of beauty (or 'judgment' of it for Kant) whose clearest expression is the human form. Hegelian philosophy declared beauty not just a matter of form but also a matter of *content*. The content of human beauty is the absolute reason of self-knowledge, its 'idea' or 'spirit' pictured in religion as 'God', endowing the divine and the beautiful each a property of human consciousness or self-knowledge. Thus, for the European Enlightenment, the content of human beauty must be the divine in human form. The 'aesthetic act' of knowledge and freedom in the exchange between divine and secular power are entwined in the form and content of the human that for Hegel was the 'highest act of reason'[55].

Apartheid modernism is a signal historical flourishing of the relational ontology of the modernity–coloniality episteme in establishing planetary institutions of settler

[52] Bowie 2003
[53] Garuba 2002
[54] Mignolo 2011
[55] Houlgate 2021

statecraft beyond the early modern metropole–plantation world–system. Its aesthetic achievement is a technological society and technological mastery of the form and content of the human. Apartheid modernism cleaves the human in a radical phenomenology of space–time compression that is at once both universal and intimate, both experience-near (racial terror) and everywhere (technological civilization). Under Apartheid, global space between metropolitan and peripheral states is intensively compressed between relations of capital accumulation and labour exploitation following Wallerstein's model of the capitalist world–system[56]. Under modernism, technological acceleration brings temporal compression in the production of subjectivities and knowledge relations between primitives and moderns. Following Freud, the primitive is the unconscious content of psychic conflict within the modern self.[57] And following Grosfoguel, the primitive is also the exteriorized object for the containment and holding of the modern self through intervention in the liberal genealogy of Christianizing/ civilizing/ modernizing/ humanizing projects of developmental violence.[58]

Apartheid modernism cleaves the human between the Master–Subject and the Abject–Subject both in aesthetic form (such as race and technology) and in aesthetic content (such as truth and freedom). Its radicalism is in the return to the content of early modern origin and the self-conscious progress of high modern formalism. I define apartheid modernism as the moral reordering of the human through the hierarchized rationalization of cultural entanglement and ontological hybridity. Its Master–Subject is motivated through intensive conscious and unconscious libidinal investments

[56] Wallerstein 1974, 1984
[57] Brickman 2018
[58] Grosfoguel 2002, 2009

towards the technological, ethnological, and theological aesthetic achievement of body purity in a secularized materialism and ego idealization reflecting a cosmological schema of virtue, order, beauty, and truth. Echoing Kristeva, the Abject–Subject, or negative self–object, is constituted as malady of the Master's soul, in its pieties of therapeutic purification, to which it must therefore unceasingly return and reject. The method of mastery underscores the primacy of taxonomic decreolization and traumatic deracination as civilizational management that is enabled under the intensive capitalization and technological efficiencies of massification and industrialization in the totalizing institutions of settler statecraft.

Self–parts in the split world figures intrapsychic and phenomenological schemas as interactive formations within the worlding of apartheid and modernism. I situate apartheid modernism as not only within a methodological nationalism of one settler society within a closed historical periodization (formal Apartheid in South Africa) but as a developmental accomplishment of modernity. Coloniality, in all its ever-creative adaptations and contingent articulations everywhere, remains always within a planetary modernity whose fragmented objects attach to a self whose analysis may continue to yield valuable contributions to critical knowledge of the contemporary world. Thus, a range of recent scholarship has resituated South African Apartheid from an historical methodological nationalism to a vitalized contemporary and global paradigm. Anthropologist Catherine Besteman's 'Militarized Global Apartheid'[59] describes contemporary apartheid as the militarized regulation and punitive containments of the global South in the maintenance of capital accumulations and

[59] Besteman 2020

mobilities of the global North within a racialized world order. I similarly extend the geohistorical apartheid paradigm of industrialized colonial relations including racial capitalism by returning to occluded analyses within the formative apartheid paradigm itself, not exclusively as global North–South geopolitical economy, but rather also the condensed simultaneity of North–South under settler colonialism. The psycho–geography of settler colonialism condenses world centre and periphery within intimate attachments that uniquely reveal psychic interiorities (or 'human content') and material exteriorities (or 'human forms') within a colonial relational matrix producing both 'self' and 'world'.

A critical orientation of this project works to further open Apartheid historiography from relative isolation within a normative South African methodological nationalism as well as its peripheral location in the Western Anglo–sphere. It promotes the worlding of Apartheid as embedded within the global paradigm of settler colonialism and modern world–system analysis, its emergence, its consolidation, and its futures. Apartheid contributes critically with astonishing lucidity and penetrating insight a major articulation of a parallel and unacknowledged shadow term of settler colonialism, where Apartheid modernism is also 'settler modernism'. The accumulations of the European metropole were largely achieved under domination and exploitation of directly administered but distant colonies wherein structural dissociation could sustain its exclusionary logic of liberal metropolitanism as the subject of civilization here for the future and that of colonial violence as a past elsewhere. Settler colonialism, however, was conditional upon a doctrine of discovery and cultivation, of labour importation as enslavement, and of the incorporation of vestige indigenous states after genocide. This required the localized colonial

management of radical alterity rather than its absence. Settler colonizers forged new subjectivities and institutions that could not mirror identically the ethnolinguistic tribalism of 19th century European romantic nationalisms. 'Multiculturalism' emerges as the necessary and coherent management of alterity within settler cultivation that regulates and sustains the state of exception of natives, slaves, and orientals whilst securing the rights and goods of liberal citizenship. Building on Wolfe's analysis of settler colonialism as an institutionalized structure in the normative establishment of codified law, practices, and values, multiculturalism can be conceived as a structural precondition of centralizing settler statecraft rather than the cultural goods produced by the universal distribution of democracy. It is the political aesthetic of rationalizing complexity and neutralizing contestations whose purpose is to transform and deform necessary but threatening subaltern subjects into the split–off states of liberal multicultural wardships that are manageable and governable.

Liberal multiculturalism is institutionally emergent and consolidated as the political aesthetic of settler modernism, of which Apartheid is its paradigmatic classicism. After the 'union of white tribes' created South Africa as the only permanent settler nation–state on the African continent, 'white' minority rule transformed dynamic hyper–diversity and longue durée creolization as bounded 'multi-cultures' across normatively unmarked universal settler space. The dual institutions of the ghetto complex across all urban centres and of the homeland as vestige tribal reserve system across all rural hinterlands modernized the totality of national space between its universals and its particulars. The radical experiments of this political aesthetic within settler modernism is received and returned in global circulations through the European metropole whereby the original expansionist logics of European settler projects

becomes internalized in international ‘style’ as the anxious content of the slave, native, and oriental is reinscribed in the figure of the ‘immigrant’ in the racial/ethnic/theological hierarchies of the postmodern metropole.

1.5 The technological self

I have described apartheid modernism as the aesthetic classicism of settler colonialism. Its classicism confers to it a fully formal structure through a disciplined programme of purification towards the aesthetic achievement of an ideal form. Classicism as idealization of pure form denotes a comprehensive or cosmological schema of virtue, order, beauty, and truth achieved through rationalized necessity without excess and sufficiency without subtraction. Settler classicism organizes genealogy as an aesthetic programme in its holding a hermeneutical bridging that is able to reconceive change and continuity across epistemological shifts between emergence and conquest, expansion and consolidation, as well as limit and decline within a coherent system of meaning. It also provides genealogical critique with a powerful capacity to account for narrative disavowal, unconscious occlusion, and structural fragmentation across the splitting of the modern self and world. I have also already suggested, with the technological and the ethnological, a third assemblage of the theological logos of modern reason, whose classical critique is organized under orientalism.

Genealogical critique clarifies the aesthetic programme of global colonization within three structuring geohistorical spheres: the New World of the Americas, the Old World of the Orient, and (following Hegel[60]) the nonhistorical world of Africa. The organization cleaves the colonial world in a constellation of three subjectifications of conquest figured in the Amerindian native, the African slave, and the Asiatic oriental. Colonial spheres and subjects inaugurates a modern world order in which only a Europe is possible as coherent referent in a modern cosmology and in which only its 'self', a modern self, is possible as a subject that moves history. The critical conjuncture of Apartheid and Orientalism moves history across split colonial spheres and colonial subjects. Apartheid offers to orientalism a deeper commitment to Edward Said's 'travelling theory' or of a critical phenomenology and spatial consciousness. Phenomenology from Husserl and Heidegger undercuts the Cartesian split between modern consciousness and ordering the world.[61] Psychoanalyst and existential philosopher Carlo Strenger similarly argued that the evidential foundations of scientific truth are "thrown" and "situated" into the development and experience of a self that is always co-constituted within historical object relationships, meaning structures, and social and cultural processes, such that internal coherence of meaning with a self can only be understood in terms of external coherence within a nexus of meanings in an interpretive community[62] such as the tribe or the nation. Apartheid extends the capacity of critique from orientalism's classicism within 19th century cultural forms of European romanticism towards 20th century national modernization and liberal multiculturalism. It also destabilizes the discrete geohistorical concepts and categories between Europe and the Middle East through new critical conjugations

[60] e.g. in Bernasconi 1998
[61] Summers 2022
[62] Strenger 1991, 2016

of meaning between racial terror and sacred alterity within global projects of settler colonialism.

Psychoanalyst and sociologist Erich Fromm, one of most prominent psychosocial thinkers of the 20th century, similarly conjugated colonial spheres and colonial subjects, and racial terror with sacred alterity, across the psychic structure and historical geography of metropole and settler colony. He writes: "As long as the whites in Alabama or in South Africa [had] the power to demonstrate their superiority over the Negroes through social, economic, and political acts of discrimination, their narcissistic beliefs [had] some element of reality, and thus [bolstered] up the entire narcissistic thought-system. The same held true for the Nazis; there the physical destruction of all Jews had to serve as the proof of the superiority of the Aryans".[63] Fromm identifies an aesthetic programme of socio–spatial dichotomies that are produced, sustained, and retroactively confirmed as narcissistic investments in colonial subjects that fuse denigrated others to the self as mirrors which serve to protect, maintain, and enhance symbolic satisfaction in an idealized self-conception.[64] Fromm also provides the diagnoses of malignant group narcissism[65] as a normative social unconscious process[66] that radically extends Freud's original individual narcissistic pathology[67] to a function of characterology or the dynamic social processes whereby narcissistic character structure becomes distributed throughout a cultural body of 'normal' people in their symbiotic relatedness. Fromm evaluated that the greatest limitation of intensive narcissistic attachment is a dangerous distortion of

[63] Cheliotis 2010
[64] Fromm 2010, Kohut 1986, Herzfeld 2020
[65] Fromm 2010
[66] Layton 2020
[67] Fromm 2007

rational judgment, the incapacity for reflexive self-identification of predisposition or prejudice, and "since this capacity is blunted again and again when he deals with himself and what is his".[68] Fromm is here in agreement with Said's late aesthetic intransigence, retracing the 'unhistorical traumatic kernel' of socialized narcissistic psychic structure as a semiotic system of meaning under the sign of violence within and against the self that is unleashed as violence against and within the other in a open-ended dialectical becoming, as symbolic power is materialised in the world without and material power is re-symbolised within self and other alike.

Orientalism offers to Apartheid an interrogation of the liberal orthodoxy of that failed and anomalous mid-20th century national political project of racial segregation with isolation from and peripheral in the world system. Orientalism impinges postcolonial critique within the canon of science and technology studies, wherein Apartheid is the rationalization, massification, and industrialization of colonial relations within totalizing institutions of settler statecraft. Its genealogical progenitors and inheritors are located within 17th and 18th century plantation slavery, 19th century liberal empire, and the 21st century globalization of democratic liberalism, within whose projects it is mutually imbricated. The ontological emergence of modern science and technology studies, including law, administration, bureaucracy, and management, as 'techne', represents a turn against the domination of a deterministic, technical, and scientific rationality that becomes an organizing aesthetic of modern rationality and power,[69] described by some of its leading proponents as the "mythologisation of technology",[70]

[68] Fromm 2010
[69] Flybvjerg 1998
[70] Zizek 1997

"fetishes [of] the new information and transportation technologies",[71] and the "rationality of Factish Gods",[72] that provides the guarantee for control over the interpretation of words and actions of others. Techne offers a critical entry to the phenomena of modern rationality, but this is also its limitation, as it extends "earlier logics of empire, trade, and political domination"[73] and is "unable to accommodate traumatic disruptions and a non-European subject".[74]

Orientalism relocates Apartheid as avant-garde settler modernism within global projects of liberal-secularity and technoscience, acknowledging and revealing occluded geohistorical, geopolitical, and psychogeographic configurations that describe the transactions and translations of science and technology. Apartheid Orientalism challenges political theories of modernization, dependency, diffusion, development, interactionism, and more recently of actor-network theory,[75] which stabilize scientific facts, norms, taxonomies, administrations and bureaucracies depleted of social and historical content on the margins of civilization. Liberal-secular and technoscientific globalization instead becomes turned toward dense anthropological and psychoanalytic maps and texts privileged within orientalism's critical accounts from postcolonial situations.

The situating of orientalist genealogies within liberal-secular technoscience critically resignifies the 'Orient' as it destabilizes signification of its counterpoised master term, the 'West', against which the master term has foundationally oriented its own

[71] Anderson 2009
[72] Latour 2010
[73] Appadurai 2001
[74] Hourigan 2009
[75] Anderson 2011

epistemic location. Apartheid Orientalism as modernism and classicism animates a nongenealogy of 'religion' from within centres of distribution along the modern genealogy of religious conversions from Christendom–to–Europe–to–the–West as global designs of sorting, fixing, and managing sacred alterity, as religious conversions themselves become reconfigured within secular distributions of mastery and exteriority which confer to itself the centre from which it governs as the part that has no part. Classicism provides paths and directions as reference and opening to locations of the postclassical, as the postapartheid to apartheid and the postcolonial to the colonial. It also retraces and recovers formative and emergent sites of epistemic turbulence, such as the boundary formations of Andalusia and Constantinople, against which 'Europe' comes to know and name itself into being. It is from these early modern anxious border zones that sacred alterity is reworked and secularized as 'race' under the privileged visual codifications of modernity, as early modern Semitic purification through Judeo–Islamic expulsions, conversions, persecutions, encampments and inquisitions enable the *Reconquista* of a Europe that had never left itself. 'Reconquest' as purification entwines racial terror and sacred alterity in the moment it produces the nation–state as the political unit of modernity[76] and its reworked codifications of majorities and minorities, and citizens and subjects.

My primary theoretical formulation in the dynamic conjuncture of Apartheid Orientalism opens to the recognition of a 'technological self' as a critical reply to the liberal 'designed self'. Critically reformulating Hans Loewald's psychoanalytic 'self–creation',[77] and building on Santiago Castro-Gomez characterization of the 'zero

[76] Mamdani (2020) puts this emergence at 1492
[77] Loewald 1960

point' epistemic location,[78] I develop a genealogy of the modern Master-Subject as the designed self. The designed self is modern in its technological mastery; that of a self creating itself without root or limit. The designed self is a disincorporated self inhabiting transparent space and so self-endows aesthetic programmes of technoscientific truth and moral authority to classify all peoples of the world and organize its regions and histories. It is a geopolitics of knowledge[79] where the locus of enunciation becomes at once at the centre of the world, nowhere, and everywhere within it. It is also a psychopolitics of knowledge, where the developmental line of the human follows dynamic forms of Prometheus and Narcissus, the fate of being both source and destiny of history. The signal inauguration of the designed self is in the representation of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Vitruvian Man', or architect of knowledge, the aesthetic idealization of the humanist sciences emergent in the Renaissance as the retrieval and renewal of Imperial Rome. Neo-Roman Vitruvius inherits a plural world of inter-regional civilizational spheres or 'many worlds within one' with Europe at its periphery. The structure of European colonization constitutes a new order of human architecture from epistemic partiality and ontological insecurity to a coherent modern cosmos with Europe and the human it has 'rebirthed' with the Renaissance at its centre. The Vitruvian is the polymathic fullness of this confident new cosmos and its attendant implicit disavowal and erasure of alternative cosmologies and epistemologies.

[78] In: Grosfoguel 2009
[79] Ibid.

The designed self is consolidated in the modern classicism of the Enlightenment as the Kantian metropolitan bourgeois cosmopolitan[80] who freely creates herself without limits and without recognition of the other, an omnipotent and grandiose and benevolent designed self, whose fantasmatic and narcissistic defense structures violently collides with itself and the reality of others. The Enlightenment is historically organized in the romantic settler colonial encounter with the 'native', whose perceived collapse into nature, myth, and childhood required the civilizational carework of settler cultivation. Kant's heroic cosmopolitan that would resist ethnic nationalism, foster global citizenship, and usher an Enlightenment of permanent peace among all humanity would bring instead Eurocentric utopian universalism to a colonizing zeal in a perpetual conflict of accumulating freedoms and unfolding catastrophes. The design paradox of emancipation and catastrophe is signaled in Walter Mignolo's hyphenation of a 'modern–colonial episteme'[81] that constitutes a foundational analytic framing in contemporary decolonial thought. Its dialogical construction decentres the accumulations and constitutions of the modern subject as indivisible and coterminous with economies of discipline and dispossession of others through the vitalized ethical charge of symmetrical epistemological relations.

For the Enlightenment, Mignolo's dialogical construction moves with moral charge on the vertical, not horizontal, axis and as a project, not a relation, of civilization. The modern disciplines emerge by the end of the Enlightenment with new canons and new founding fathers from the imperial metropoles who rescript and reorganize knowledge to describe this new world in its image, its pasts and futures, its aims and objects,

[80] Cavallar 2012, Dallmayr 2012, Delanty 2006, Uimonem 2020
[81] Mignolo 2011, Grosfoguel 2014, Torres 2007

whose ordered harmonies of parts to whole – of bodies to cultures to regions to sciences – now link scientific discovery as 'rebirth' with the universal imperium of 'reconquest'. Lewis Gordon's African diasporic philosophy provides a critique of "disciplinary decadence"[82] as the ossification of the modern disciplines, its Eurocentric fundamentalism, its fetishization of method, and its absolutist conception of knowledge within disciplinary life that become the self-reproducing modern technologies of describing as creating a teleology of the 'new human' of the 'new world'. For Gordon, its consequences are an inability to recognize limitation and a deadening of thought that turns away from life. The structural work of my project is one attempt of de-linking the vertical axis of discovery and imperium by drawing new links along the trace of the Vitruvian figuration as idealized reflection of the modern cosmos toward the decadent disfigurement of its colonial shadow on the ground. The other-than-modern colonized body constitutes the Abject-Subject in the classicism of all modern disciplinary arrangements: the unformed/informal aesthetic in architecture; the primitive unconscious in psychoanalysis; the barbarian culture in anthropology; the carceral outcast in law; the pathogenic body in medicine. The systematic scrutiny of the colonized body is thus a foundational thought–system in the disciplines, whereby modern disciplinary configuration also becomes dismemberment and mortification.

Psychoanalytic historian Warwick Anderson identifies the designed self as mutually constitutive with liberal governmentality.[83] The designed self is marshaled in ever-refining ritual of imperium and discovery as a mobile technology in colonial projects

[82] Gordon 2006
[83] Anderson 2011

of psychoanalysis and anthropology that immobilize colonial subjects within disciplinary sites in the objectifying procedures of technoscientific mastery and within aesthetic forms of moral order. The ever-refining ritual of the self-conscious will to mastery returned to the barbarian as the origin of civilization, whose primitive culture, sexuality, symbols, religion, and dreamwork were believed to reveal the primitivism within the metropolitan unconscious.[84]

Birth as mortification. Discovery as conquest. "Spiritual crisis"[85] for American analysts Lynne Layton and Beverly Burch is the outcome of liberal moral order that moves toward truth and simultaneously disavows truth for restoration of equilibrium to unsettled settler psyches, producing 'whiteness' as psychosocial unconscious processes of both ethical disillusionment and racial entitlement[86] that circles the narcissistic orbit of emotional vulnerability and grandiosity. This psychoanalytic auto-critique of Euro-American consciousness constitutes a minor radical edgework in contemporary clinical theory that was already available over a century earlier in the register of Nietzsche's forceful post-Enlightenment philosophy. Nietzsche describes the "the will to truth" and "the will to power" collapsed as nihilism within Eurocentric morality and theology. Nietzsche saw instead the will to the "Death of God" as the refusal of the Western world to stare into the abyss of its cruelty and suffering to affirm new foundations for a life worth living, as the refusal of tragedy and the refusal of the sacred.[87]

[84] Groark 2019
[85] Layton 2019
[86] Burch 2021
[87] Mahon 1992

Tragedy for Nietzsche was the struggle for mastery as brother love bond between the Apollonian and Dionysian. Apollo, the god of form, order, and idealism, is associated with rationality, progress, and the principle of individuation, but also a dream state of illusions.[88] Dionysus is the Greek foreigner, the "god that comes", and is associated with passions, the wild, and chorus.[89] Dionysus is linked to metamorphosis and transformation between wilderness and civilization, whose rites represented the liberations of instinct and dissolution of boundaries, but also with frenzied violence.[90] The 'chorus' in ancient Greek tragedy served radical dramatic functions. A chorus demanded more than recitation and song, it was also the body in movement, in dance. The chorus was typically performed by women, slaves, and the elderly, and served as both actor on stage and spectator, providing commentary to the audience on dramatic themes being performed, as well as mirroring the emotions of the audience back to themselves, transforming their experience to contemplation.[91] For Nietzsche, neither Apollo nor Dionysus is able to secure mastery of the Other, whose fragility and irresolution is experienced as the self-affirming fullness of human life.

In 1889 at the age of 45 on the streets of Turin, and on the eve of the publication of *Twilight of the Idols* and *The Antichrist*, Nietzsche is said to have collapsed upon embracing a horse he witnessed being beaten. Identification with animal suffering marks the event of psychotic breakdown. In his "Delusion notes" that followed, Nietzsche commanded the German emperor with all of Europe's anti-Semites shot dead, the pope jailed, and named himself "Dionysus" and "the crucified one". Within

[88] Desmond 2011
[89] Nietzsche 2008, Taylor-Perry 2003
[90] Isler-Kerényi & Watson 2007
[91] Kitto 1956, Schelegel 1973

his short remaining nine years of life, Nietzsche suffered multiple strokes that rendered him mute and paralyzed. He had already renounced his Prussian–German citizenship at age 25, and in his final years, asserted ennobling re-identifications with Polish ancestral nobility whom he saw as having endured unbearable suppression and Germanization. He died stateless. Western biographers commonly refuse associations between Nietzsche's intellect and affect.[92]

Alisdair MacIntyre critiques the teleological rationality of moral discourse within liberal modernity. In his 'virtue ethics',[93] he locates Nietzsche and nihilism together as a symptom within the decay it describes,[94] whilst recognizing Nietzschean ontology as an "historical achievement" that clarifies "more clearly than any other philosopher" the psychic life of the Subject that wills into the world both the "I" of Descartes' *ego cogito ergo sum* and the world into itself in the *cosmos* of Kant's cosmopolitan. In Jacques Lacan's ethics of psychoanalysis, 'the Other' is the symbolic subjectification with which the technological self cannot fix and cannot master. For Lacan, the unconscious is the discourse of the Other. *Désir de l'Autre* is translated as both "desire for the Other" and "desire of the Other." As desire for the Other, desire is not a relation to an object but a relation to a lack in the self, the irresolvable and unattainable and unquenchable lack at the heart of the self. As desire of the Other, it is the desire of the Other's desire, the desire for recognition and a demand for love.[95]

[92] Magnus & Higgins 1996, Verrecchia 1988, Zweig 2012, Cybulska 2000, von Muller 2002
[93] MacIntyre 2007
[94], Solomon 1989, Murphy 2003
[95] Lacan 1997

As the unconscious became the final site of conquest, the destabilizing colonial spheres and subjects were deeply lodged within the Master's psyche as tragic and sacred refusal, of recognition and love's lack, irresolvably held at the boundary of disciplinary life.

1.6 Boundarywork in a psychoanalytic anthropology of the city

The constellation of the subjectifications of the native, the slave, and the oriental provide for the enduring structural fragmentation for any constitutional integrity of 'Native–Slave–Oriental' as Subject under modernity, whereby the comprehensive Amerindian–African–Asiatic world historical colonial logics of subordination and denigration is similarly obscured. This structural fragmentation maintains high ontological security to the designed Self, and conversion under occlusion and obscurity can be extended in the postcolony within 'new' liberal strategies of multi–cultural and multi–identitarian politics. Taxonomies and hierarchies of colonial alterity in the logos of self-parts in the split world are now redirected as competing claims for liberal recognition. As nongenealogy, the 'Native≠Slave≠Oriental' as shattered Abject–Subject under coloniality maintains both structural fragmentation and ontological signification in the postcolony, where recognition claims can be lodged only from within its fragmentations and significations.

Liberal misrecognition is therefore the technology of liberal reconciliation. Grosfoguel writes of the structural characteristic of postcolonial identitarian politics: "Since all modern identities are a construction of the coloniality of power within the

modern/colonial world, their defense is not as subversive as it might seem at first. 'Black', 'Indian', 'African', or national identities such as 'Colombian', 'Kenyan', or 'French' are colonial constructions after all. Defending these identities could serve some progressive purposes […] But identity politics only addresses the goals of a single group and demands equality within the system rather than developing a radical anti-capitalist struggle against the system."[96] This formulation reads the enclosures and containments of the many enduring colonial subjectifications as re-animated in the postcolony, while comprehensive struggles become further dispersed and disoriented, foreclosing possibilities of new social imaginaries, psychic integrations, or transformative political solitaries.

As the dominant category of the ontological pairing of the modern–colonial that Mignolo has framed, I now posit a formula of the modern as the historically dynamic process of secular liberal governance under conditions of global capital. Secularism, liberalism, and capitalism form three foundational genealogies that intersect as the respective social/scientific, political, and economic life that moves modernity. The subjectifications of conquest I have figured in the Native≠Slave≠Oriental, fixed in the colonial spheres of the split–off worlds of the Americas, Africa, and Asia, I have also posited as three nongenealogies that constitute the subaltern categories of this ontological pairing. The Native≠Slave≠Oriental describes co–foundational constructs of producing modernity at once also as coloniality. I define 'nongenealogy' as the immobilization of a subject in world historical geography. Rather than a state *prior to* or *without* modernity, I think of the nongenealogical as constitutive of and emergent with modernity itself, for it contains within it the repository of barbarians that is

[96] Grosfoguel 2009

emergent with modernity since the moment of conquest and colonization that modernity required for self–definition. 'Barbarian', as a critical term, has many intellectual progenitors, including the contemporaneous 'Orientalism'[97] and 'Waiting for the Barbarians'[98]. I have suggested that the barbarian signals both the primitive unconscious of liberal humanism and the mortification techniques of disciplinary life. As an ontological signifier, it maintains stability in meaning as it is recruited across the sign of the spatial and temporal projects of the three spheres: mission to the native (nature mastery); modernization to the slave (technology mastery); and intervention to the oriental (culture mastery).

Receptive to Gordon's demand to the modern disciplines to turn from decadence and mortification towards living thought, a critical (and therefore, for this researcher, necessary) risk of this project is an unfixing of disciplinary regimes along what Chicano/a decolonial thinkers have described as the epistemic 'disobedience' or 'delinking'[99] of the modern configuration of the world map of knowledge. I have thought of this ethical call to disobedience as calling the waiting barbarians to *undiscipline* critique through the regiments of disciplinary life.

Yet, composite assemblages of modern disciplinary orders of knowledge, certainly in such a compound claim as 'psychoanalytic anthropology of the city', portend many dangers in a confusion of tongues. The ethical orientation that guides this project is clear though its pathways are many. I work from counter-mapping modern technologies of epistemic governance – of reaching down the Nietzchean abyss that

[97] Said 1978
[98] Coetzee 1980
[99] Mignolo 2007, 2008, 2010

had consumed and swallowed him without route through and without route back. Counter-mapping here is the vital (life affirming) critique and vitalizing (life breathing) aim to retrieve a reconstitution of Native–Slave–Oriental as Subject and as world-making. Reach, retrieve, reconstitute. If nothing greater, it is at the very least my own project to affirm a life worth living.

The proscriptive crossings and ascriptive transfers across the modern–colonial difference is a "transmodern"[100] confrontation whose force of civilizational charge must undeniably carry both destruction and invention. Its creative potentialities provided by Chicana/o thinkers articulate a "critical border thinking"[101] as the multiplicity of local creative responses and strategic interventions in Eurocentric modernity from the epistemic location of diverse subaltern cultures and cosmologies of colonized peoples. In what I will call 'boundarywork', border epistemologies[102] neither reject modernity with absolutist fundamentalism nor retreat into parochialism and particularism, but "subsume" the emancipatory rhetoric of modernity with expansive openings and redefinitions. Critical border thinking propels dissolution of boundaries toward emergent potentialities of new subject-formations and new institutional architectures of liberal citizenship and human rights, the sorting of life between nature, culture, and technology, and thus of the architecture of democracy and the human itself.

I am carried by the ethical and critical vitalism of the powerful maps produced by these and other decolonial thinkers, with a cautionary hope. I am cautioned by the

[100] Dussel 1998
[101] Mignolo 2000
[102] Grosfoguel 2009

possibility, even probability, of failure *over and over*. I am cautioned that South Africa's ritual into liberal democratic life was as much the miles and millions of subjects becoming hopeful citizens at the ballots, as the many thousands dead in a violence that "verged on civil war" and exposed "the brutal flip side of what is now celebrated as the period of negotiated settlement".[103] In the incomprehensible grief that pitted the ghettos against the camps,[104] in the Zulu nationalists and White supremacists united in mutual fear,[105] in the projected guilt of state corruption stoking inter–ethnic identitarianism,[106] in the self-preserving satisfaction of the global liberal order re-inaugurating the victim's bind to the perpetrator,[107] South Africa's ritual into liberal democratic life is relived *over and over*.

In contrast to the declared liberal nonracialism of the majority African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement under Apartheid articulated its aspirations along three alternative trajectories. As 'Black', leader Stephen Bantu Biko advocated for collective community building among all colonized and racialized groups divided and hierarchized under colonialism and apartheid. As 'Movement', he identified political emancipation from material as well as institutional and structural subordination. And as 'Consciousness', Biko held that political emancipation cannot succeed without an attendant psychological liberation from the psychic violence wrought by denigration and dependency. Biko's penetrating insights remain as

[103] Enwezor 2013
[104] In South African parlance, the black townships and migrant labour hostels respectively, with both shared and unique histories of racial dispossession
[105] Political parties of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement)
[106] The so-called "third force" of the police
[107] Nobel peace laureates jointly awarded in 1993 to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and state president Frederik Willem De Klerk respectively

prescient for South Africa and the world today as it was in the half-century since his naked shackling and deadly brain injuries under police detention.

Contemporary psychoanalytically–engaged critical scholars have similarly underscored political economy approaches to emancipation without careful attendance to psychodynamic schemas of psychic suffering pose many difficulties. Already Freud had been alert to the dynamics of unconscious defenses maintaining both positive and negative identifications; the ways in which social experiences may become introjected or internalized; the ways intrapsychic affect and perception may in turn become projected or externalized into the social world; the ways our emotional pasts affect our emotional present and futures; and the ways our present in turn reconfigures memory and recollection of the past.[108] Fanon would more pointedly diagnose a model of colonial psychopathology; of the city as a schema split by narcissistic fantasy and desire against paranoid fear and loathing that construct ambivalent encounters of identification and disavowal with alterity. Fanon directs us to the disruptive power to colonial masters in the articulation of latent psychic content of the colonized.[109] Yet he later also cautions us that the postcolony destabilizes these identities and produces a 'national bourgeoisie' of colonized elites that is intensely compromised and conflicted.[110] This late Fanon parallels Fromm's psychodynamic critique of Hegelian–Marxist frameworks of political liberation as romantic idealizations of subordinated groups, saying: "The famous statement at the end of the Communist manifesto that the workers "have nothing to lose but their chains", contains a profound psychological

[108] Hollan 2022, Mitchell 2000
[109] Fanon 1952
[110] Fanon 1963

error. With their chains they have also to lose all those irrational needs and satisfactions which were originated whilst they were wearing the chains."[111]

Colonial psychoanalysis' model of psychic structure reflects the Enlightenment schema of race science and race theology that organized world regions and peoples in five essential 'human varieties' along a civilizational spectrum of 'empirical' aesthetic virtue. Following Freudian structure, colonized elites were similarly located as alienated from the animal-impulse of their tribal "Id" and thus 'above' the barbarian, but without sufficiently complex "Ego" function and thus 'below' the European. Within the liberal strategy of both the promise and deferral of recognition, black alienation and white adjacency structured a proto-modern psychology of the colonized bourgeoisie, requiring an "unconscious dominion"[112] of continual supervision and discipline. Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, reflecting on postcolonial India, writes: 'The fact is, the colonial gaze, and its associated techniques, have left an indelible mark on Indian political consciousness" and that "the kinds of subjectivity that Indians owe to the contradictions of colonialism remain both obscure and dangerous".[113] Grosfoguel would name this world historical symptom the "third world fundamentalism" and also provide its critical location as the inverted mirror of the equally obscure and dangerous "Eurocentric capitalist patriarchal fundamentalism".[114]

I wish to return to Besteman's critical interpretive analysis of 'global apartheid'. Its originality lay not only in that South African Apartheid is refigured as a contemporary

[111] Fromm 1955/2006
[112] Anderson 2011
[113] Appadurai 2001
[114] Grosfoguel 2009

paradigm with analytic utility on a planetary scale, but that it also offers a geopolitical anthropology that opens toward the critical method of my project as a phenomenological inquiry to the technologies of boundary maintenance that sustains the splitting of psyche and the splitting of the world.

I also return to the phenomena this project clarifies. Bo-Kaap is established as the Oriental Ghetto on the margins of the settler colonial city of Cape Town in its foundational early modern urban planning arrangements. Against the city-dwelling *stadburger* (settler citizen), the Ghetto's subjects were dispossessed Indigenes, enslaved African natives, and enslaved majority diaspora Orientals. The ghetto's immediate adjacency to the European centre provided the proximity for an everyday reserve of racialized labour exploitation whose impoverished livelihoods transformed from plantation slavery to rent-seeking ghetto complex. The Ghetto was constituted as densely populated and citizen-owned speculative housing projects variously extended for two centuries until the late-twentieth century. Sustained colonial containment in the Non-European quarter enabled distinctive black Christo–Islamic vernacular cultural forms to emerge and establish through longue durée creolization, including aesthetic, urban, social, and linguistic semiotic systems. The Ghetto's creole subjects and forms starkly contrasted with the adjoining European centre, in which a race theology demanded complete Self–Same coherence between the White City and Protestant public sphere.

Semiotician Roland Barth contends that it is the ethnic boundary that defines ethnicity itself, rather than the content it encloses, being characterized by ascription and self-

ascription.[115] Boundaries making designed Self and ethnic tribe can similarly be viewed within "boundaries of consciousness".[116] The semiotic system constructs the Oriental Ghetto as split off part of the city, an urban fragment equally stigmatized and exotic, and a split off part of the Self endowed with intense negative symbolic capital. Fear of miscegenation gave way to a century of body purification ritual: the urban cleansing practices as the 'sanitation syndrome'; the 'moral panics' of African contagion; and the ethnic sorting of 'slum clearances'.

The essential technology of 'separate development' was institutionalized along an infrastructural line of the "Buitengracht" (lit. the 'out–side limit') demarcated with a canalized freshwater and major arterial roadway. The boundary line marked an epistemic frontier of commercial slave plantations beyond the modern city of free citizens, later serving as a cordon sanitairre in the late 19th and early 20th century, and a 'Race Group' industrial 'Buffer Strip' in the latter 20th century. Through sustained urban techniques of containment and social engineering, the perimeter was also subject to disciplinary institutional forms – courthouse, church, slave market – that effected permanent surveillance and produced the Oriental Ghetto as an intimate phenomenology of the modern–colonial episteme and the Buitengracht as a dense spatial articulation of transmodern encounter and confrontation.

The proposition of critical border thinking offers openings and expansions of the world through intimate diversalities of epistemic locations that may establish meaningful attachments and multiple belongings through mutual responsibility and

[115] Barth 1969
[116] Vermeulen & Govers 1994

shared vulnerability for the security and suffering of self and others. It therefore also offers openings and expansions of the self as enlivening and liberatory praxis rather than conflictual metabolization of alterity within the designed Self. From here Mignolo and others clarify the project of border epistemology that aims towards an emergent "critical cosmopolitanism".[117] This attends to a "geopolitics of knowledge" and "a pluriversal transmodern world of multiple and diverse ethico-politcal projects in which a real horizontal dialogue and communication could exist between all peoples of the world."[118] Yet Grosfoguel concedes that the utopian aspect of this project must assume exteriority to the coloniality of knowledge and power: "These exterior spaces are neither pure nor absolute; *they have been affected and produced by European modernity*, but never fully subsumed nor instrumentalized by it" (emphasis added). As cosmopolitanism is a *cosmos* of the *polis*, the city is the semiotic system between the psyche and the worlding of metropolitan civilization that condenses the accumulations, dispossessions, and contradictions of modernity. The expansive cosmos of "diverse and multiple local subaltern epistemologies" held in the polis is also the same cosmos of the devastating psychic conflict and political compromise that produced Bantustan[119] 'Chiefs', 'Kings', and 'Presidents' inaugurated by the settler nation-state.

Under Apartheid, twenty highly fragmented and mono-ethnic tribal 'homelands' were created in South Africa and Namibia (then South-West Africa). The Bantustans were

[117] Mignolo 2000a, Uimonen 2020, Raco 2018, Dallmayr 2012, Cavallar 2012, Wolin 2010, Delanty 2006
[118] Grosfoguel 2009
[119] The Bantustan is established within national law in South Africa and Namibia through the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970, although its ideological form is anticipated in preceding legislation from the foundational Land Act of 1913, through which rival European settler colonies form their 'Union of South Africa' and the settler nation–state.

comprised of sixteen ‘autonomous’ and four ‘independent states’ heavily dependent on subsidized patronage by the Apartheid state that instituted native elites as administrative and ceremonial heads. Bantustans were densely populated and severely impoverished and under-developed with mass child mortality and ecological degradation.[120] Bantustan territorial form and its ethnic content were both defined and fixed by white ethnographers as a scientific rationality that served to purify the settler nation–state as normative universal white space and order its particulars within ethnically–marked wards as multi–cultural governance and management. As recognition of the new multi–cultures, black South Africans were stripped of national citizenship and its associated rights, and declared new citizens of the native reserves.[121] In total, more than half of all black South Africans were forcibly relocated to designated Bantustans,[122] transformed as ‘immigrants’ whose tribal psychic structure and social and cultural forms were incompatible with the modernity of metropolitan civilization, and whose now distinct ‘localities’ wielded a relation that would be instrumentalized as exploitable ‘migrant laborer’ reserves as needed or abandoned by white-owned border farms.

The territorial ideology of the “Bantustan”, and with it the psychodynamic subjectification of the “Bantu”, is the technology of the designed Self to transform and deform the “local” as legitimation and reproduction of the grotesque of Eurocentric fundamentalism produced as the primordial authenticity of the *Modern–Tribe*. Tribal

[120] Britannica 2020
[121] Bantu Authority Act 68 of 1951, Bantu Self-Government Act 46 of 1959. See Butler & Rotberg & Adams 1978
[122] Khapoya 1980

terror as love for the Self for terror as love to the Modern–Tribe was the other cosmos of Africa's necropolis of horror.

The Bo–Kaap as Oriental Ghetto is a distinct multi–cultural wardship, whose ethnic boundary, ethnic content, and ethnic membership is similarly determined in settler ethnography. The published work of historian Shamil Jeppie provides a large corpus of published works on the production of the ghetto. Within it, micro-political social dynamics among community organizations[123] are described as a class struggle between "cultural underclass expression" and "petty bourgeois leadership" within a "forced industrializing economy."[124] Another paper[125] concerns "popular sources of social history" and "makes an argument for studying 'low culture'" through "the annual 'coon' carnival, local musical activity and cinema-going." These themes later continue to describe "the ways in which an originally non-African but at the same time non-white community was constituted as an ethnic group in modern South Africa"[126] as well as internal class-based "stereotypes" among "Malay, Indian, and black African Muslims."[127] The literature cited above minimally critique apartheid beyond class relations, and contest minutia of content within one ethnic category ("local politics" and "stereotypes") rather than the structural relations that produce ethnicity itself, and reveals the structural fragmentation and isolation of the multi–culture wards.

Within the genealogy of liberal multiculturalism and the modern nation-state, the indication of the Modern–Tribe performs a series of major formative structural conversions under settler colonialism. Settler colonies inherit the ethno-linguistic

[123] Cape Malay Choir Board, Muslim Judicial Council, Moslem Teacher's Association, Cape Muslim Youth Movement, Claremont Muslim Youth Association

[124] Jeppie 1987
[125] Jeppie 1990
[126] Jeppie 2001
[127] Jeppie 2005

tribal form of the nation-state, which emerges with Semitic purifications of early modern Western Europe, rather than as the oft-taken Promethean flowering of 19th century Europe, itself a symptom of Eurocentric fundamentalism and Romantic historicity. Bath's semiotics also reveals that the European National-Tribes cannot constitute itself without constituting its exteriority, its boundary, its internal orient.

Expansionist fervor among Europe's imperial National-Tribes is not resolved at least until the "New Imperialism" agreement of the 1884-5 Berlin Conference for the European partition of Africa.[128] At this time, the greatest European influence on the African continent is the British Cape Colony and the independent Dutch Colonies of the 'Boer Republics', who remain locked in bitter inter-ethnic strife for territorial and cultural domination, including the Boer guerilla campaigns and British scorched earth policies and civilian concentration camps. The second Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 draws recruits to the Cape Colony from across the British Empire, including Rhodesia, Australia, Canada, India, and New Zealand. The Boer cause also attracted volunteers from many neutral countries, including the German Empire, the United States, and Russia. The consequences of Africa's turn–of–century world war would be instructive to the future of the relationship between the global institutional forms of imperialism[129], nationalism, and settler colonialism in the 20th century, as well as the ideological content of liberal citizenship, white ethnicity, and modern tribalism.

The Boer surrender at the 1902 Treaty of Vereeniging precipitated postwar reconstruction presided by a British colonial administration, known as "Milner's

[128] Louis 2006
[129] Diver 2014, Riches & Palmowski 2021, van Heyningen 2013

Kindergarten," leading to the establishment of the settler nation-state of the 1910 'Union of South Africa'. Consolidating settler unification required two important projects. The first was settler de-tribalization: of victor and vanquished, agrarian and metropolitan, global English standard and Dutch linguistic vernacular, Anglican and Dutch Protestant, reconciling inter-ethnic and sectarian strife and becoming 'British subjects'[130] to 'British South Africans' and finally 'White South Africans.'[131] Settler de-tribalization as unification was necessary to counteract the existential threat of a mass black majority and required diminishing differences between settler National–Tribes. The Carnegie Corporation of New York initiated the 1928 'Commission on the Poor White Problem in South Africa' to identify strategies to address rural poverty, particularly among Dutch-Afrikaners, amid similar concerns regarding poor whites in the American South. The "problem" guiding the commission was the incoherence of white superiority with white poverty and "native competence," and the critical dangers posed to global settler nationalisms by "Africanisation" in the American South and "Bantu-isation" in South Africa. The report instructed for the maintenance and extension of native poverty through economic exclusion and segregation, together with white affirmative action through "employment sanctuaries", and that both were necessary to successfully maintain white supremacy and white pride, and resist white deterioration and division through class tensions and racial miscegenation.[132]

As the problem of native competence created the 'Bantu' as incompatible with modernity through the tribal camps, the problem of settler poverty created the 'White'

[130] Swardt 1998
[131] van Onselen 2003
[132] Furedi 1998, Slater & James 1999

as equivalent with progress through international affirmative action. As the project of settler *de–tribalization* produced whiteness as normative universal space in the settler nation-state and the liberal international order, the project of white pride/fear produced a *contre–tribalization* of the native majority as multiple minorities within settler wards of multi–cultures both within the settler state and implicitly for the Non-Western world.

Jacques Derrida's philosophy provides a critical opening for a consideration of the function of classical contre–tribalization for the political aesthetics of the postcolony. Derrida's psychoanalytic formulation of 'hauntology'[133] articulates the experience of ghostly hauntings of past injustices that are enlivened in the present as social figures that re-instantiate colonial violence in the social and political life of the postcolony. The reactivation of traces of violence that are alive and familiar but also seen as belonging to the past prompts powerful denials and resistance. Derrida's haunting metaphor is an explicit politicization that develops from Freud's principle of the 'uncanny'.[134] Within the psychic economy, nothing is ever wholly lost or forgotten. While Freud described the uncanny as 'the return of the repressed' of unconscious material from our psychic past that has been superseded, for Derrida it was the return of the oppressed as incomplete colonial violence.

The Modern–Tribe as a foundational political aesthetic of liberal multiculturalism proceeds from the sematic field of the uncanny within its original Germanic etymology of two opposing terms: *heimlich* (of belonging to a house, the familiar and

[133] Derrida 1994, Hollan 2019
[134] Freud 2003

secure) and *unheimlich* (that which is concealed and hidden from sight, with implications of deceit and secrecy). As political subject, the uncanny directs us to the categories of national belonging and citizenship, and of the *unhomely* stranger and the immigrant. The critical injunction for an uncanny reading of the Modern–Tribe is its interlocution with Freud's related concept of 'parapraxis', by which the presencing of the unhomely stranger or immigrant reveals a concealed truth or unwilling exposure of settler homeliness. Freud's *unheimlich* further insists that this truth enclosure is concealed both from the Other and from the Self.[135]

The uncanny themes of Self–exposure and Other–exposure privilege sight and vision, and marks Freud's most explicit translation between aesthetic and psychoanalytic codes of thought and experience. Thus, the uncanny is the experience of "being robbed of one's eyes". For Lacan, this inability *to see* carries ethical implications of disorientation and locates the tribal immigrant within the settler house "in the field where we do not know how to distinguish bad and good, pleasure from displeasure, resulting in an irreducible anxiety".[136] As a doubling exposure, the boundary transgression of the Other's penetration into the secure sphere of liberal life brings unwilling Self–exposure or Self–revelation, as well as whereby the Other gains access to repressed parts of her own psychic past.

My formulation of modern tribal aesthetics follows in two procedures. The first is what I call the 'Tribal Supplant' and describes the psychic economy that produces and reproduces the relation between settler de–tribalization and the contre–tribalization of

[135] Ibid.
[136] Lacan 2016, Vidler 1994

the Native≠Slave≠Oriental. The tribe as idealized form, when disentangled from modern rationality and power, refers to both the anthropological 'breast' of culture and the psychoanalytic primary attachment schema ('family') of positive infantile narcissism that 'holds' our childhood, enables self–love, and produces projections of multiple selves in the world that provide social reproduction and security. In Freud's development of the uncanny principle, he offers an analytic of E. T. A. Hoffman's 19th century short fiction 'The Sandman'. Freud's analysis of Hoffman's text offers us two conflictual 'Father' figures, a 'good' and authentic father who has protected the child's "eyes", and a powerful and malignant double who castrates the good father, supplants his role as care–provider and attachment–object, and leads the child to madness.[137] The Tribal Supplant of settler masculinity, now as de–tribalized and universalized projection of power, becomes the double that usurps attachment and reproduction as new 'Father of the Modern–Tribes'. The Supplant's governance and distribution of attachment and reproduction functions within and across the Tribal family organizations produce terrifying insecurity. The event of supplant as castration is significant in two modes. Castration as emasculation of the birth father forecloses any possibly of return. The Native≠Slave≠Oriental as dependent must thus continually enact its contre–tribalization to secure the recognition of the Supplant as Tribal Father. Secondly, the violence of witness to the castration of birth father embeds the event in developmental psychosexual history. For Freud, patricide was a universal taboo, formed the basis of civilization, and elicits powerful unconscious defenses. [138]

[137] Freud 2003
[138] Freud 2001

The second procedure that regulates modern tribal aesthetics is the 'Tribal Convert', which organizes the relation between native primitivism and settler modernity. As the Tribal Supplant is encountered in the postcolony, when childhood narcissism has been overcome, the "super-ego" function of self-criticism and self-observation evokes the sensation of the uncanny, a sensation of the strange familiar. The Tribal Supplant now represents everything that is unacceptable to the ego, and calls forth all of the ego's negative traits of the Modern–Tribe that the reality-principle has suppressed for the ego to pursue its phantasmatic strivings, its wished-for futures and hoped-for dreams which contre–tribalization has thwarted. The super-ego represses the negative content of the Modern–Tribe as projections onto the primitive image of the Native≠Slave≠Oriental, and so charges its enduring psychic power. Freud concluded that the confrontation of the *public eye* with this hidden and concealed psychic material produces social taboo.[139]

The production of the Modern–Tribe as social taboo yields 'aura' to tribalized cultural forms and authority figures with reverent pieties that can appear more real and true than adult worldviews. However, taboo's prohibition on moral judgment also yields aura with horror against the ego's wish fulfillment for the benefits of settler modernity, and repulsion or disgust as a result of psychosexual content within the repression. Implicit here is that uncanny psychic confrontation with the phenomena of the split–world charges the psychosocial economy of social taboo that is irresolute and unyielding, leading Freud to draw a relation with "repetition compulsion" in unconscious structure.[140] Within repetition compulsion, neurotic and normal people alike are compelled to repeat repressed material as a transference that is re-enacted in contemporary experience rather than to remember the

[139] Freud 2003
[140] Laplanche & Pontalis 2018, Lacan 2018

original traumas. Trauma re-enactment can serve the purpose of achieving a "belated mastery" whereby repetition allows for the "unconscious hope" of "working through" unresolved conflicts and traumas to find solution. However, without resolution, the anxious contents of repressed material compulsively drives a renewal of the original defenses,[141] completing a circular psychic economy of Derridan postcolonial haunts.

While Derrida's haunting metaphor returns force, more recent clinical research centres resignation. Eng and Lang[142] describe the structural location of racial alienation and white adjacency in contemporary 'Asian American' subjectivity within the postcolonial United States utilizing a Freudian psychoanalytic framework, which I locate critically as one identification of the Third World immigrant in the settler nation-state. They write: "'Mourning and Melancholia' is often referenced as the place where Freud (1917) makes the distinction between normal mourning processes, those that come to a natural end as attachment to an object that has been lost diminishes and attachments to new objects begin, and melancholia, the state in which mourning is ceaseless because a person's attachment to a lost object is not withdrawn but rather is imaginatively maintained through the process of identification, in which aspects of the lost object are taken into the self."[143] Identifications with lost objects, whether a person or idealized abstraction such as nation or freedom, Freud believed were important aspects of character formation and development. What locates lost identifications within a melancholic framework is the characterization of ambivalence to that loss. Ambivalent attachment "keeps its adherents in a repetitive temporal fold

[141] Fenichel 1946, Casement 2014
[142] Eng and Lang 2019
[143] Ibid.

from which they are unable to escape."[144] Eng and Lang configure 'racial melancholia' as ambivalence to whiteness among Asian Americans as a racialized elite both prized and rewarded, yet held irresolutely structurally adjacent to whiteness, producing affective states of compromised attachment and suspended belonging.[145] Read through a postcolonial Fanon, the black national bourgeoisie itself becomes internally compromised and self-alienated along a vertical axis of normative whiteness against which it is ever adjacent ever distanced as both compelling fantasy and lost idealization. Postcolonial melancholia thus comes to signal a passive introjected state of mourning an unraced self-ideal without resolution, a loss that is irreplaceable because it had never existed.

Modern tribal aesthetics orders a world historical *rationality of vision* that is both materially consequential and powerfully symbolic. It confers to Europe aura of cosmopolitanism whilst maintaining its autopoietic form of the National–Tribes. Its aura also inscribes the Native≠Slave≠Oriental as the figuration of the Third World immigrant with both multicultural pieties and primitive terrors. Its settler colonial Supplant produces and maintains the National–Tribes as spiritual world civilizational centre whilst also producing de–tribalized whiteness as the unencumbered body of universalized global space. Inversely, contre–tribalization produces the Modern–Tribes, whose conversions prospectively sustain its reproduction in perpetuity as two polarities: as localized ward or exception interior to the settler nation-state and exterior to modernity; and as the periphery of the Third World at–large.

[144] Segal 2016
[145] Eng and Lang 2019

I wish to hold in tension the utopian ground of in-complete capture and instrumentalization described by the decolonial scholars I have thought with through this introduction, and place them together and symmetrically with its completing colonial mirrors, defences, displacements, enactments, and repetitions. The holding environment I am proposing is a different recognition to the multicultural misrecognitions of liberal reconciliation and the tribal conversions and supplanting of settler nationalism. Reframing the modernity–coloniality bind within conversions, supplanting, and misrecognitions alerts us to the psychodynamic shadow ontology of colonial mastery (that produces the Self but also the Tribe) and colonized counter-mastery (that produces revolutionary dialectic but also the national bourgeoisie). For the postcolony, modernity–coloniality becomes bound in terror and love. Love demand is terror to the Other. Love lack is terror to the Self.

Mastery of mastery. Mastery for mastery. In the transferences of the Colonial Love Bind, terror and love cease to distinguish their names, sources, and objects. Comprehension of its forms and effects is devastation so great that it reaches to myth in the sacred and the tragic. The recognition I am calling is the postcolony as tragedy. And the structural irresolution of tragedy is what I am calling boundarywork.

Hollan describes psychoanalytic anthropology as the relation between interiority and materiality in which "the ways in which norms and structures of one's behavioral environment are internalized within the self and how people, in turn, are constantly shaping and making a world for themselves and others, through their actions, inactions, imaginative

and interpretive capacities, and sometimes conflict-ridden responses to their environments".[146]

And an ethical injunction: "Yet through its focus on the imaginative capacities of humans psychoanalysis also underscores how people may transcend their limited knowledge of themselves and create new ways of thinking, feeling, and being. Such insights have ethical implications. Self-ignorance and self-blindness are vulnerabilities that may lead us to prey on others or be preyed on ourselves, but may also, if openly acknowledged and explored, lead to ethical dispositions of humility, generosity, and care toward others and ourselves. The challenge is to document and analyze not only how people strive to maintain goodness and hope, for themselves and others, but also the myriad ways in which they undermine such effort, often while claiming or rationalizing otherwise."[147]

Boundarywork is counter-mapping the terrible monsters that filled the white spaces in Europe's imperial map of discovery, the maps it burnt when its discoveries had their own, and the maps it swallowed into itself. The *desire for truth* here comes without the truth of recognition. The *truth of desire* is both self-knowledge and recognition named in the presence of the Other. Against the Freudian ego psychology of libido function and drive theory, Lacanian psychoanalysis binds truth to recognition as a function of desire: "In naming it, the subject creates, brings forth, a new presence in the world."[148] The boundarywork of this dissertation centres desire within the

[146] Hollan 2022
[147] Ibid.
[148] Lacan 1988

Colonial Love Bind as the condition and the limit of the postcolony to bring forth a new presence in the world.

A new presence. Political theorist Mahmood Mamdani provides a formulation of the 'immigrant' as critical "unmaking" of the inherent homogenizing violence of the nation-state, the political unit of modernity, that produces permanent majorities and minorities with differential rights and value that has triggered catastrophe including ethnic cleansing and genocide. Mamdani writes: "Immigrants are unarmed; settlers come armed with both weapons and a nationalist agenda. Immigrants come in search of a homeland, not a state; for settlers, there can be no homeland without a state. For the immigrant, the homeland can be shared; for the settler, the state must be a nation-state, a preserve of the nation in which all others are at most tolerated guests." [149]

This study is receptive to Mamdani's appeal for an 'immigrant ethics' as it builds upon a rich revolutionary dialectical tradition in radical phenomenology and critical theory that seeks to open the imagination to another possible world. Boundarywork attempts a symmetrically different critical path. The ontological density and epistemological horizon that may constitute the immigrant as ethical Subject is expanded not from above dialectical absolutes and purifications that wills to mastery and counter-mastery. Rather, it opens speculatively from within its chasmic fissures, knotted entanglements, ambivalent encounters, and aesthetic creolizations. It aims not for flight from despair toward transcendent utopias, but to work the ground of catastrophic aftermath as the postcolony for a retrieval and expansion of other possible worlds within our own. It aims to open the bind of colonial love and terror

[149] Mamdani 2020

towards *un-mastery* of Self and Other as recognition of the sacred and the tragic in modern subjectivity.

I argue that the geohistorical form of the postcolony is the genealogical collapse of the colonial world spheres of the Americas, Asia, and Africa. I name their significations and subjectifications as the native, the slave, and the oriental. My project is one of counter–mapping their fragmentations as the distribution of violence across the colonial world. Rationality of vision disintegrates any constitutional integrity of the native, the slave, and the oriental within an ethnological, theological, and technological logos and telos of modern reason. Its subjectifications are unable to know each Other as Self–parts, as parts of themselves they have cast out, and unable to constitute a world, the Split–world. Naming the Native≠Slave≠Oriental becomes naming temporal nongenealogy, becomes naming disciplinary mortification, becomes naming body dismemberment, becomes naming itself Abjection as the boundary between an Object and a Subject.

My method is to transform *boundary* to *boundarywork*. This conception is both psychoanalytic (the Self) and phenomenological (the Other), both semiotic (the City) and symbolic (the Sacred and Tragic). I work to counter-map an episteme and ontology of the Oriental Ghetto in the South of Africa as Europe's most fragile settler colony, as being at once exterior to its self and at the most turbulent centre of its cosmos. Apartheid Orientalism describes the classicism of settler colonialism, the ideal form of European modernity writ into the world. Apartheid Orientalism, in its universalism, provides a global prefiguration of the modern 'immigrant'. Apartheid as Orientalism and Orientalism as Apartheid provides ontological and epistemological

rupture that reveals the technological, ethnological, and theological aesthetic procedures of moral reordering of the human as the modernization and rationalization of the native, the slave, and the oriental. I search for the retrieval, expansion, and reconstitution of the immigrant as she figures at the limit of the modern as her propositional search for Native≠Slave≠Oriental to become Subject.

2

Settler City Ceremonial Complex

A whole history remains to be written of spaces – which at the same time would be a history of powers – from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat.

Michel Foucault[150]

Man has been called the 'Heart of the World' because the heart is in the middle and has knowledge of all the parts while the parts know nothing about the state of the heart.

Azīz al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Nafasi[151]

[150] Foucault 1984
[151] *Kashf* 310b-311a, 10, qtd in Critchlow 1999: 70



Figure 1-3: Ethno-sacred urban space, District Six, Bo-Kaap, and the modernist city

Three spatial sites were fundamental to stratify and segment ethno-sacred urban spaces in Cape Town in the twentieth century: the modernist city (Figure 3) and its boundary territories of the ghettos of District Six and Bo-Kaap (Figures 1-2). The Union of South Africa begins with the proclamation of the South Africa Act of 1909, inaugurating the settler colony as the nation-state. The consolidation of white Protestant nationalism, as 'South Africa', saw the union among the 'two white races', between whom had been great 'tribal prejudice'[152]: the English and Dutch, the latter now becoming known as Afrikaners or *Boers*, and the further dispossession and segregation of black South Africans. Throughout the next half century, in the transition from Union nationalism to Apartheid, three prominent legislative acts would fundamentally transform the historical imaginary of the city: the Slums Act of 1934; the Health Act of 1935; and the Group Areas Act of 1950. The Health Act responded to a moral panic of disease and contagion of black bodies in black spaces spreading to the white Protestant city. The Act was promulgated after gaining widespread currency after the forced removal of black African workers from the Cape Town docklands and District Six in 1901. Believed to be the epidemiological origin of the bubonic plague in the city, black residents were relocated to the first permanent black internment

[152] Rich 1991

camp, known as Ndabeni, on the outskirts of the city.[153] Bo-Kaap and District Six were soon both declared slums in the 1940's. The Slums Act afforded unprecedented powers to the Cape Town City Council to evict, expropriate, and demolish entire streets and city blocks, whether or not some buildings among them were in slum condition, and for any purpose that it saw fit. A large public sub-economic housing scheme on the upper slopes of Bo-Kaap was built from the 1940's to rehouse 'Malay Muslims' who would be forcibly removed from the densely-inhabited and unsegregated historic quarter. For the 'betterment of hygienic conditions', the Slums Act envisaged the wider elimination of religious and racially mixed 'slums', and the development of the new 'Black and Coloured Group', Muslim, Hindu, indigenous African and Christian townships, on the distant and infertile 'Cape Flats'. These "black lands" for the majority of South Africans would occupy 13 percent of the nation-state, with 87 percent designated as "white lands".[154]

The declaration of the 'mixed' community of District Six as a White Group Area in 1966 (and its subsequent demolition – figure 1) coincided precisely with the inauguration of a Malay Group Area in Bo-Kaap in the same year (figure 2). The fragmentation of a mixed community and the purification of another, the dissolution of one place and the discursive construction of another, the erasure of one history and the temporal suspension of another, enabled the dynamism of the modern episteme in 20th century Cape Town.

[153] Swanson 1977
[154] Tatum 1987

Colonization of the past as violence is an indispensable companion to settler colonialism, constituting itself by a simultaneous assimilation and othering of its spaces and the peoples who inhabit them. At the same time, it involves the invention of a complementary past *other* to itself, other to the modern. The Malay Quarter became the anachronistic condition of possibility for the modern-colonial project of the Apartheid city. In Johannes Fabian's well-known formulation of the 'denial of coevalness', the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas, for example, are seen as living in a different time, as much as in a different space. [155] Temporal colonization is inherent to the settler colonial project. The colonized Malay, being constructed as a romantic 'primitive', exists in a past state in opposition to the European present and future. Although the Malay and the white settler inhabited the same city, they came to inhabit different times.

In a liberal teleology, a prolepsis of history is written backwards in order to render forward progress. In the interstice is a void; it is precisely therein that the Malay Quarter as a geographical and temporal site takes root. The instantiation of the Malay Quarter marks the end of Islamic time in the Cape Colony, and punctuates a transformation in modern liberal-secular time. The British imperial historian Bannister Fletcher would produce a 'Tree of Civilization', constituting the canon of aesthetic ideology in architectural history for over one hundred years, demonstrating the historical dynamism of European Christendom and the 'nonhistorical' religious cultures of the majority world.[156] Following Foucault, a critical excavation of this

[155] Dagenais and Greer 2000: 435
[156] Nalbantoglu 1998

temporal and spatial juncture opens an 'epistemic rupture' for the analysis of the continuum of the secular-liberal time of the present. Secular-liberal time is always at once a redemption from violence, that violence is necessary but will be redeemed, in an always inevitable, always deferred utopian future. I construct the always promised, always deferred freedoms of secular-liberal time within a long nineteenth century in Cape Town from the formal abolition of slavery in 1836 to the institutionalization of apartheid in 1948 as South Africa's Silent Century of liberal time. As liberalism is always the progressive democratic present, colonial liberalism must be disavowed as an impossible or incoherent inconsistency in the postapartheid nation-writing of South Africa's liberal democratic present.

In the same way that colonial liberalism imposed a stoppage of black history on its conquered subjects, the possibility of signal events in slavery, too, has been closed. There can be no continuity, no impinging of time (and of peoples) which might threaten to link liberalism with slavery, colonialism, and apartheid in a natural way. The chronological rupture cleaving liberal democracy from the settler state must be absolute so that any genealogies (such as the conjunction of colonial liberalism) can be constructed under present authority, any miscegenation carefully regulated, even if it cannot entirely be suppressed. The manifest history of the settler state in South Africa ought to run directly in a genealogy from colonial slavery to apartheid to liberal democracy. This is a periodical historicization based on total supersession, not a genealogy of continuity. Furthermore, the hundred years that intervene between the end of slavery and the institutionalisation of apartheid is a gaping chasm in popular national history. But this gap can be made to serve in the writing of a typological

history of settler colonialism. Liberal democracy can only exist through typologies that define it along a temporal trajectory of accumulating liberal freedoms, *against* colonial oppressions, and not *with* liberal violence, exploitation, and dispossession.

Together, the Health, Slums, and Group Areas Acts harmonized the 'sanitization syndrome' with the 'moral panic' in the ethno-religious purification of the city. The production of biomedical bodies and sanitary urbanism overgridded techno-science with colonial ideology that rationalized social difference in the city. White settler nationalism found allyship in European Enlightenment philosophy that legitimated social and urban violence under the shelter of "objective science, universal morality and law".[157] Through these Acts of State, the creation of the modernist city, as the white city and the historical city, came to occupy the temporal imagination of Europe in the settler state. They laid the groundwork for the Cape Town City Council's vision of a new modernist town planning scheme in 1940 (figure 3).

The Fordist Assembly[158], City Efficient[159], and Zoning Ordinance[160] paradigms in liberal capitalism and the liberal academy that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century in North America, in its propagated mechanistic and econometric separation of land uses, was marshalled to the virtue of the Group Areas Act to effect the temporal and spatial separation of ethnicities in the city of the settler nation-state. Modernist urban interventions in North American and African colonies reorganized

[157] Habermas qtd in Irving 1993: 475
[158] Sandercock 1998
[159] Ley 1989: 50
[160] Hall 1988

cities to enable discrete and specialized uses that optimized economic and infrastructural efficiencies, as social life was reorganized to bring racial and religious coherency to the colonial context. Suburbanization was made possible by new expansive automobile landscapes and the conceptualization of the 'city as a machine'. The city was made functionally segregated into discrete components: 'live; work; play; move.'[161] In the originating North American context, suburbanization provided new middle classes with affluent lifestyles and spaces, and was co-constitutive with the ghettoization and racialization of 'inner city' neighborhoods. In Cape Town and South Africa, the logic was reversed. Suburbanization was the method of de-densifying and purging the city centre from poor and black residents within homogenized and standardized 'house-machines' in efficient and ethnic townships. Well-located and well-resourced central locales with accumulated historical capital was made exclusively available to middle- and working-class whites. District Six and Bo-Kaap are paradigmatic of this cosmopolitan-suburb/ethnic-ghetto urban transformation of Cape Town in the mid-twentieth century.

Modernism sought to correct the "chaos" of the historical city and create an ideal spatial, temporal, and social order.[162] With modernism was a "belief in linear progress, positivist, technocratic, rational planning of social and geographic space; 'standardized conditions of knowledge and production and a firm faith in the rational ordering of urban space' to achieve individual liberty and human welfare":[163] an ideal liberal-secular order that assured liberty and welfare to settler urban citizenship, and

[161] Sandercock 1988
[162] Le Corbusier, qtd in Hall 1988: 204
[163] Irving 1993: 476

'guardianship' and 'development' to its black ghettos. A hegemonic practice of South African methodological nationalism has suffered the historical error and ideological determination of positing categorical difference and incompatibility between colonialism, apartheid, and its aftermath. Genealogical critique positions apartheid modernism more precisely as the massification, industrialization, and modernization of the colonial project, rather than its substitution. 'Dependent modernization'[164] accounts for this dissemination of modernism in the colonies not by way of their independence, but through the consolidation of racist spatial hierarchies that modernized the colonial economy of exploitation. Apartheid modernism therefore directly inverted the metropolitan programme of modernism which was to provide the infrastructure for social and political emancipation. "Contemporary architecture", or the neo-modernist avant-garde in the contemporary global architectural canon, revisits this aesthetic commitments and civil pedagogies of the modernist global third-world development and reformatory paradigm.

Cardo Maximus: the white spiritual axis

Colonial Cape Town's foundations are rendered purportedly transparent in its extensively recorded liberal-secular historiography; yet its spiritual origins are shrouded in myth. A genealogical critique of the settler city carries its Dutch republican foundations within European Baroque colonial town planning of the 17th century, itself the intellectual restoration of imperial urban forms of Ancient Rome.

[164] Gockede 2012

The Republic in 17th century Amsterdam considered itself to be the heir of Rome's republican liberties and virtues. It followed the logic of the medieval concept of the *translation imperii*, according to which history followed the lineage of successive empires, in which the two historical periods were anachronistically conflated.[165] Yet together with the Dutch republican tradition, like Rome, extreme violence and slavery was pivotal to citizenship in the metropole itself, and formed a distinct way of organizing the political domain, conceived as a household, or dominium. The relation between slavery and dominium was intrinsic to classical Rome, where republicanism and imperium are indivisible aspects of the Roman heritage. This conceptualization of politics in relation to a dominium, or a 'house' with a master, or more specifically, a *father*, had far reaching consequences for the 17th century. The house is symbolically and metonymically the embodiment of a state with *one* religion, that was the essential embodiment of the state.

The Roman law against parricide originated in *religious* sanctions and that in the course of Roman history a conflation took place that was to play an important role in the purification of the state. The civilising impulse of the Dutch settler colony of the Cape was simultaneously a religious purification founded on the idea that the state was a household ruled by a father, as the natural sanction of God.

According to the Calvinist logic of predestination, all subjects were in the hands of the Father, to whose house they all belonged, and who could punish as He saw fit – the

[165] Korsten 2016

conflation of paternal and divine power.[166] The 17th century European baroque is bound up with broad intellectual, political, and technological development, such as the Counter-Reformation, the rise of authoritarianism, advances in astronomy, and the spectacular colonisation of hitherto uncharted corners of the world.[167] The paradigmatic revolution that produced the baroque was "a change from rest to motion, from limitation to infinity, and from plane surfaces to curvature and depth".[168] The baroque revitalises and reconceives a sacred aesthetic and imperial rapture reflective of the extremes of violence and splendour in classical imperial Rome.

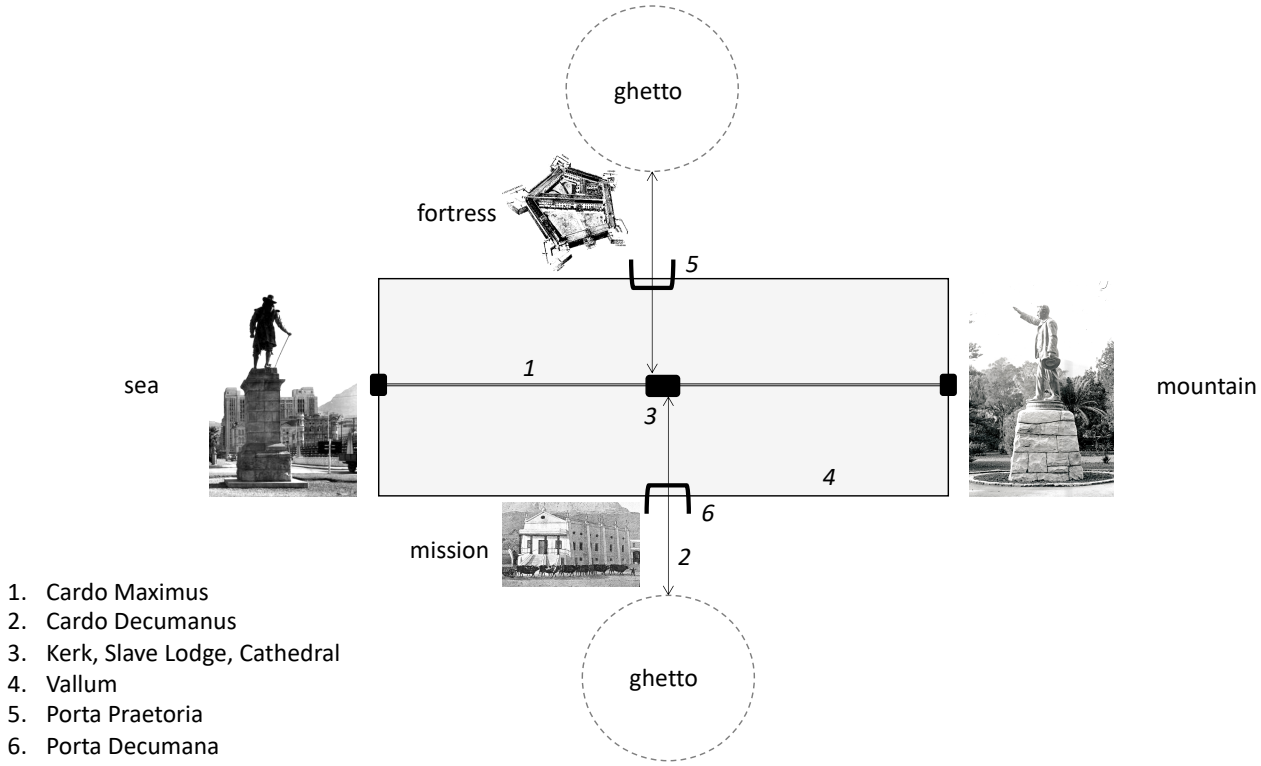


Figure 4: Cosmic diagram of the settler city

[166] Ibid
[167] Kostof 1991: 215
[168] Gutkind 1969: 136

A cosmic diagram of the settler city, represented through the formal abstraction of Cape Town's foundational urban planning arrangements (figure 4), reveals the paradigm in which worldviews of settler society are instilled: a cosmology of the modern west. A cosmic model of the city generates a baroque ideal plan[169] reflective of an intelligent and ordered universe and the gods that must be conceived in mythical and ritual terms.[170] Although reemergent in classical modern Europe, Baroque urbanism was experimented in the colonies on unprecedented scales and extensiveness not possible in the metropole, and in the founding of hundreds of new cities across Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The ideal Roman urban diagram was always a geometric gridiron street pattern modified to suit colonial society and the local territory. Based on military camp design or *castrum*, its strategy was a propagative and defensive urbanism that cultivated a strategic division of land cut off from the common land around it.[171] It follows a methodical four-parti division of two primary intersecting perpendicular streets within rectilinear city limits. The *Cardo Maximus* was the Latin name given to the central North-South street in ancient Roman cities and military camps as an integral component of city planning. The Cardo, derived from Greek meaning 'heart', was the hinge of the city.[172] In Cape Town the Cardo is comprised of three interlinked avenues – the Gardens Avenue, Adderley Street, and the Heerengracht – together forming the central baroque axis of the city; set at a commanding line throughout a terrain and shaped visual approaches to symbolic structures, or nodes.[173] Conceiving the Cardo in the Cape demonstrates the characteristic aesthetic repertoire of theatrical baroque urbanism: circus, wide avenues,

[169] Kostof 1991: 15
[170] Rykwert 1988
[171] Lewis and Short 1879
[172] Sewell 2010
[173] Lynch 1981: 281

monuments, and geometrically-laid gardens. The formal concept of linking major architectural units by a grand avenue, of superimposing a monumental axis over a complex of smaller units, has baroque precedents, particularly Christopher Wren's 17th century plan for London[174] and Pope Urban VIII's renovations of Rome, and the Company Gardens was built contemporaneous with the baroque Tuileries Gardens in central Paris, designed by Andre Le Notre, Louis XIV's garden architect.[175]

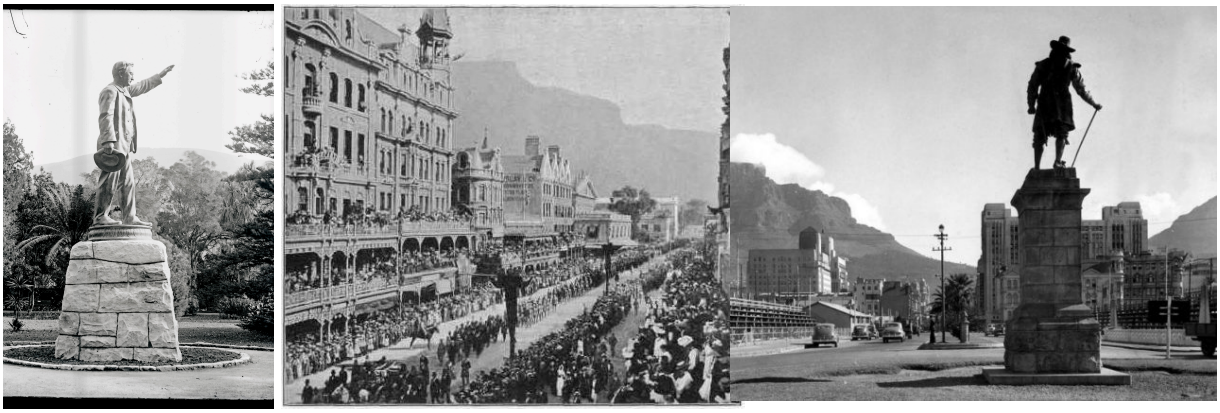


Figure 5-7: White spiritual axis, the Cardo Maximus

Colonial Cape Town was established in 1652 as a strategic military encampment and vitrioling station for the fleet of Dutch East India Company vessels on its passage between the Dutch metropole and its Indian Ocean colonial possessions, particularly Malaysia, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. A Cardo Maximus, the central ceremonial axis of the city, was developed, extended, and intensified over three centuries by Dutch,

[174] Saalman 1971: 16
[175] Ibid: 42

British, and Afrikaner colonial administrations, testifying to the physical adaptability and epistemic continuity of an ideal colonial social and urban form across successive political regimes (Figure 6). At the northern and southern terminal points of the Cardo are two bronze monuments raised high on stone plinths: that of Cecil John Rhodes (Figure 5) and Jan van Riebeeck (figure 7). Van Riebeeck, a Dutch petty criminal and ship's surgeon, led the maritime expedition of 1652 to the 'Cape of Good Hope' to found a city. Rhodes was the late 19th century British industrialist and imperialist who established the massively profitable and massively exploitative of black labour, De Beers Consolidated Mining Company.[176] The monument of van Riebeeck gazes south from the shore towards the city and its slave economy he has founded; Rhodes sets his eyes north towards Cairo across a vision of British Africa, joining a British imperial settler vision of Anglo-Protestant world domination with industrial capitalism. The bronze inscription on Rhodes' stone plinth reads prophetically "Your hinterland lies yonder".

The perspective introduced across the Cardo towards the monuments has a distinctly psychological effect, that of providing a single point (*il punto centrico*] of intense optical focus – and of enhancing a visually channeled, specifically 'pious perception.'[177] This was a carefully contrived manner of channelled vision that inaugurated the secular in the classical Roman basilica, rearranged to conform to the liturgical requirements of Christianity. The *punto centrico* was the unitary focal point, an altar, upon which all orthogonal lines appear to converge. Situated upon Rhodes

[176] Chidester 2000
[177] Moffitt 2008

and Riebeeck, they directly aligned with altarpieces that which had traditionally been assigned great symbolic significance in Roman liturgy, as a public pedagogy to invite piety, reverence, and order within the Father's household of the city. New perspectival constructions in the Renaissance were intended not only to objectify the physical environment but also to enhance the allegorical, moral, and mystical message in scripture. Axial perspective seemed to symbolize a harmonious relationship between mathematical tidiness and nothing less than God's will. The picture, as constructed according to the laws of perspective, was to set an example for moral order and human perfection."[178]

When Walter Benjamin stated that the baroque theatre 'has artifice as its god'[179], he pointed to the way baroque urban theatre profoundly mystified power and structured 17th century thinking. Yet Riebeeck and Rhodes face each other across three centuries of white prosperity and black dispossession spanning the time and space of the city. The monuments together project into the past and future an unbroken and progressive white myth of civilizational origin in Africa. From their anchorage at the terminal points of the Cardo Maximus, the city radiates outwards from its founding fathers, saturating the city in a mythic narrative of origin, a narrative stabilized and preserved in its daily rehearsal through the quotidian rhythms of its inhabitants. They point to a modern baroque, the baroque as ontology rather than chronology, a 'Dutch Republican

[178] Edgerson 1975
[179] Benjamin and Osborne 2003: 82

baroque',[180] whose artifice moved both a sacred mystification of the cosmologically ordered city and a worldly materialism of secular rationality and liberal capitalism.

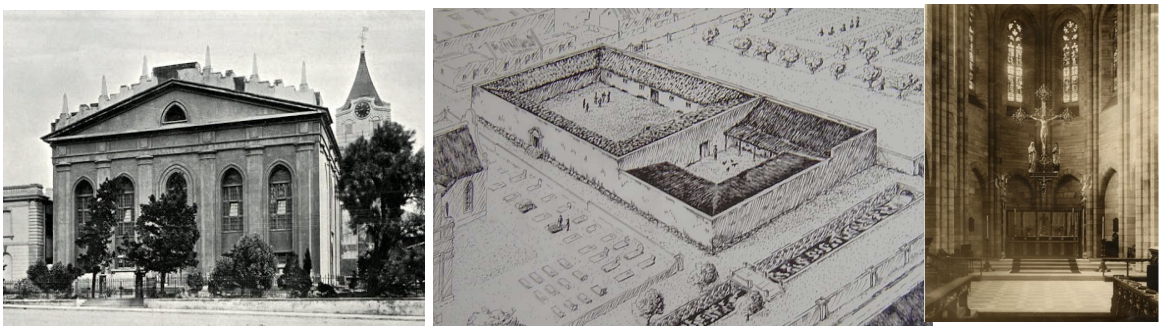


Figure 8-10: Slave lodge between the twin churches

At the heart of the Cardo Maximus axis, and the physical and spiritual centre of the city, stand twin Christian churches: the *Groote Kerk* (Great Church) of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) founded in 1678 as the oldest place of Christian worship in South Africa (Figure 8); and the Cathedral of St. George the Martyr, the mother church of the Anglican Diocese in Cape Town (Figure 10). The twin churches hold a mirror to the gaze of Riebeeck and Rhodes, enjoining Christendom and capitalism in the sacred mission of colonisation, and constituting a white spiritual axis of the city[181]. The DRC is strongly implicated in its enthusiastic support of apartheid political theology. In 1942 the DRC theologian, G. Cronje, coined the term 'apartheid' and used scripture to support social and ethnic hierarchies.[182] The DRC church is based on the theology of John Calvin, who emphasized the necessity of being divinely

[180] Korsten 2017
[181] As intended by the architect of the Rhodes monument, Herbert Baker. In: Chidester 2000
[182] Rich 1991

predestined to be among the elect (the saved) or the reprobate (the unsaved). The idea of a specially elected group fits in well with the idea of a chosen people, which was regarded to mean Afrikaners were the chosen people of South Africa.[183] The epithet for the DRC was "the Nationalist Party at prayer",[184] and scriptural defences of Apartheid insisted on its "validity".[185] Biblical passages most often cited in supporting apartheid include:

And God blessed them, and God said to them, 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it,' (Genesis 1: 28)

'Come let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth'. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the sons of men had built. And the Lord said: "Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible to them." (Genesis 11: 1-9)

And he made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation. (Act 17: 26)

The Christian theological rationale for apartheid has since been critiqued as resting upon misinterpretations, mistranslations, and illogical inferences of these texts – a

[183] Tatum 1987: 42
[184] Ferm 1986: 62
[185] See 1975 DRC report 'Human relations and the South African scene in the light of the scripture', qtd in Bax (1983)

"blasphemy" and "heresy"[186] – though its phenomenological and ontological stature today far exceeds this discursive textuality.

The architecture of the Groote Kerk is dressed in the style of the 17th century Dutch Baroque, while St. Georges Cathedral attests to the English Gothic revival of the 19th century. The cathedral was designed by the celebrated British imperial architect Sir Herbert Baker from 1901, replacing a church built in 1834 on the same site, which was modelled on the neoclassical St. Pancras Church in London.[187] For Baker, at the heart of imperial architecture must be a political objective, that of capturing in stone the spirit of the British empire. Central to the demands of imperial building was the necessity of appealing simultaneously on different levels to a variety of different audiences.[188] Clad in Table Mountain sandstone, the letters "AMDG" Latin: *Ad Majoram Dei Gloriam* (To the greater glory of God) is chiselled on the inward-facing surface of every stone in the cathedral, a custom dating from ancient times. Set at the foot of the Company's Garden in an institutional parkland setting, the Cathedral reproduced the English country parish in the city. It accorded with Ebenezer Howard's 'Garden City' model[189] and a 'picturesque Englishness'[190] that gestured to the local context within imperial global space. These aesthetic registers of European medievalism, ideological Englishness, and Cape vernacular materiality naturalized European domination in Africa across a thousand years of European history transposed and condensed in the settler colony, the 'mother city' of Cape Town.

[186] Rich 1991
[187] Elphick 1997
[188] Metcalf 1980
[189] Coetzer 2013
[190] Murray 2001

The link binding the Christian denominations is an 'imperial Anglican paradigm': the 'colonial church' that joined the Anglican Church Overseas with the London Colonial Office in an 'Anglican design' between missionary impulses and the 'fiscal-military state'. Through this paradigm, to avoid the alienation of other denominations and consolidate spiritual whiteness, British settler colonialism in the 19th century would incorporate within its spectrum and global scope all Christian dominations.[191] It was on the Cardo Maximus of Cape Town that the symbols of white Protestant nationalism and world empire were placed side-by-side. Taken as an assemblage, they generate and sustain an urban political economy of the sacred through highly charged symbols, myths, and rituals, through its memorials, monuments, and temples, that animated urban space with a distinctively spiritual character.[192] Other religious groupings in the city— notably Muslim, Hindu, Jewish, and indigenous African —continue to manoeuvre within the spiritual denials, expansions, and commands of the secular and the religious exclusions of this sacred production of colonial urban space.

Decumanus Maximus: the black baroque counter-axis

While the Cardo Maximus principally projects a colonial cosmology upon the city, a secondary order, the Decumanus Maximus, was both a container and release of social difference in the city. The baroque political aesthetic contains an illusory multiplicity of worlds existing alongside each other: paradox, artificiality, mixture, entanglement,

[191] Strong 2007
[192] Ibid.

fragmentation. In the metropole, the baroque illusory multiplicity of worlds expressed a princely or papal ruler's mystery. The establishment of Cape Town in 1652 is marked at a time of exceedingly violent religious conflict within the Dutch metropole, including public and legal lynching and decapitation of political opponents, of an orthodox Calvinism that saw one church that could guarantee the safety and coherence of the state, which attempted to clear the republic of what they saw as the religiously impure.[193] In the Cape colony, the baroque implied a materially real multiplicity of worlds actualized into one. This multiplicity entailed the condition of slavery, where the Dutch republican baroque went against its most basic principle and gave in to terror.[194] Yet it also entailed a sacred black subject, conceived as the primitive and the childlike, that could achieve a contingent practice of freedom. The Dutch republican baroque is a singular historical moment in the settler city in which these two worlds met in a specific ontological organization of the world.

These two concepts, the meeting of purity and difference, of containment and release, was a baroque dramatization by means of an artificial, theatrically staged ceremony, a counter-cosmology of horror, joy or love, that I develop as the black baroque. This dramatization, where a world is intensified or opened up, is extended from Gilles Deleuze. Theatricality aims to take the theatrical out of the domain of the theatre proper and translates it to the way in which people find themselves actors in, and viewers of, a framed world. As such it is a matter of self-awareness and of self-reflection produced my means of a theatrical mirror. Louis Althusser's ideas on political theatre or presentation implied that the roles of author, actor, and spectator

[193] Korsten 2016
[194] Korsten 2017

coincide in an *authorless theatre*. Although Althusser is talking about theatre here, the term 'authorless' suggests that a dramatic situation is at stake, in which nobody has control over what is to be said and done and in which roles of actors and spectators oscillate, and involves principle struggle.[195] Modernists from Fredrich Nietzsche and Walter Benjamin to Gertrude Stein, all adopted baroque forms of theatrically to subvert and disrupt norms of representation across a wide array of registers: aesthetic, economic, sexual, historiographic, and metaphysical.[196] The black baroque reconsiders the explanatory power of the metropolitan experience as a universal, and counterposes an alternative tradition of baroque taken from the wide margin of the colonies. The black baroque designates a privileging of reappropriation and counter-text of the enduring cultural legacy of the 17th century past onto the present.

Following the pattern of the Roman *castrum*, the *Decumanus Maximus*, an east-west avenue that served as the second street of the city, crossed perpendicularly at the centre of the *Caro Maximus*. In a military camp this connected two gates of the city: the *Porta Praetoria*, the city gate located closest to the enemy, and the *Porta Decumana*, located furthest away from the enemy, and constituting the 'back' of the city where supplies were routed.[197] Beyond the east-west axis of the city and beyond the city limits, were located the ethnic ghettoes of District Six and Bo-Kaap. At the centre of the Decumanus stands arguably the most significant and enduring institution of the first two centuries of the settler city, the 'Slave Lodge'. The Slave Lodge was a penitentiary-reformatory institution that interred enslaved blacks of the city during

[195] Althusser 1970
[196] Cermatori 2016
[197] Kaiser 2011

non-labouring nocturnal hours, as well as social deviants such as petty convicts, political exiles, and the insane. More than a penitentiary, the institution also served a reformatory function; to discipline and civilize Muslim and indigenous black labour through an instruction and baptism in Christianity, the Dutch language, and colonial social hierarchy.[198] In the work of pedagogic terror, enslaved blacks were instructed to accept coloniality as divinely ordained, to silence dissent and enforce conformity.[199] The institution was foundational to the viability of the settler city to the degree that its black population vastly outnumbered white settlers and required surveillance and containment to be accommodated within the colonial social order. In 1806, Cape Town was populated by 6,321 European settlers and 11,125 black and indigenous persons.[200] The Slave Lodge is buttressed tightly on either side of the Cardo by the twin churches of the *Groote Kerk* and St. Georges Cathedral, symbolically constituting a tripartite institutional complex of a spiritual civilizing mission that provided divine justification for the brutality of slave society. Foucault defines the prison as a form of punishment and discipline that seeks to produce docile and capable bodies by coercion.[201] To the rear of the Slave Lodge and *Groote Kerk* is located Church Square, a public open space with what was 'The Slave Tree', an auction platform for the private market-based sale of enslaved persons to settler citizens, or free *burghers*, primary to labour in the slave plantations surrounding the city. The institutional assemblage of Church, Prison, and Slave Market, constituted the Penitentiary-Reformatory Complex of the settler city modification of the Roman *groma*, the 'middle', the crossing of the Cardo and Decumanus, and the hinge of the city.

[198] Chidester 2000
[199] Rich 1991
[200] Bank 1991
[201] Foucault 1977: 232

The Cardo Decumanus as the political theatre of the black baroque is principally staged as liturgical public ceremony. It's most prominent ceremony, the Cape Town Minstrels Carnival, or *Kaapse Klopse* (lit. "Cape social clubs"), is an annual season of rehearsal for a week-long public procession staged between Christmas and New Year's day by black choirs, floats and troupes that enter the city from its ghettos along the full route of the Decumanus from District Six to Bo-Kaap. The carnival's origins are often conflated with the first of December Emancipation Day procession of the 19th century that marked the formal abolition of slavery in 1834, and the end of the forced apprenticeship system of former enslaved persons in 1838. This conflation has effected a dominant narrative whereby ceremony is reduced to celebration, and theatrical publicity may be judged as the jollity and abandon of the poor black – a hegemonic trope to which white Capetonians have responded with indifference and nonrecognition[202], to which a new and aspirant black bourgeoisie disavows with ambivalence and disidentification, and to which city authorities and the police allay their anxieties of social disorder with miles of riot caging along the ceremonial route where thousands of poor black bodies gather who enter the city from its ghettos as spectators. The black baroque articulates three alternative reading practices of Carnival: enslavement and dispossession as pathos; performativity as heroism; and spiritual affirmation as renewal of the human.

[202] Cape Times (1885) qutd in Davids 2013

Public ceremony was the most potent demonstration of mobility and visibility available to enslaved blacks who were quartered and disappeared from the public sphere of the city. The ghettos were bounded and circumscribed disciplinary spaces whereby crossing and entry into the white city was by furtive movement and migrant labour – without place, ownership, or belonging. Exuberant public ceremony of music and dance offered safety and voice to the unbearable silences of enslavement and dispossession. The Ceremony of Slaves is one of pathos; a temporal suspension of misery and servitude, the symbolic exhibition of rights and power offering a contingent claim to the streets of the city, and a profound catharsis of suffering and trauma transformed to momentary joy. The 20th century advent of apartheid vitalised the immediacy of the Ceremony, rather than its historicity. The material destruction of the ethno-religious pluralism of District Six, its discursive purification within Bo-Kaap, and the consequent forced relocations and dismemberments of the black body of the city as monoethnic fragments across its arid peripheries, deepened the significance of the integrative public ceremony.

As settler global imaginaries formed within the stable ontological locations of European empire and white nationalism, the Ceremony of Slaves designed a radical diasporic aesthetics that brought Islamic genres of Sufi practice to the Cape from Dutch Indian Ocean slavery; indigenous arts traditions from the Southern African interior; and the influence of the black Atlantic songcraft of Christian 'Spirituals' within American plantation slavery.

The Ceremony of Slaves thus performs a theatrical baroque re-enactment of the city's multiple past dislocations and dispossessions through a radical diasporic aesthetics of an African, Atlantic, and Indian Ocean black cosmopolitanism. The Ceremony is marked as the temporal hypervisibility of an urban counterpublic cast out of the city's white bourgeoisie public sphere, a hauntology of social belonging after social death.

The Carnival incorporates both Christian and Muslim, both indigenous and creole, underscoring a black social solidarity grounded in a shared past in enslavement and a postslave present in urban marginality. The Carnival is thus a postslave ritual of social belonging in which religious and cultural differences are not flattened but reimagined in an act of cultural syncretism that establishes newly shared rituals and traditions for outcast peoples, creating a performance of creolized identity.[203] This syncretic inculturation between Christianity and Islam constitutes what I frame as a black Christo-Islamic slave vernacular. This vernacular is historical, dynamic, and critical; a force to reimagine resistance and reworking the paradigms of both fundamentalist Christianism and Islamism, the settler nation-state, and liberal-secular capital. Religious syncretism and pluralism in present and past contexts thus becomes a highly politicized discursive process, conveying both pejorative and liberatory worlding.[204] The black Christo-Islamic slave vernacular of Carnival potently deploys the Christian allegory and bodily practice of the suffering body of Christ. In Christianity, the 'Passion' (Latin: *patior*, "to suffer, bear, endure") is the short final period in the life of

[203] Davids 2013
[204] Werbner 1997

Jesus.[205] The Passion narratives describe events in the four canonical Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Although many related events may be considered part of the Passion cycle, from Jesus's entry into Jerusalem to his burial and resurrection, the *via crucis*, the Way of the Cross, lies at its phenomenological heart. Here Jesus is flogged, a crown of thorns is placed above his head to ridicule the 'King of the Jews', and he bears his own cross with two other convicts who are forced to walk to their place of crucifixion. According to the Gospel of Matthew, the jeering crowd cry, "His blood will be on us and on our children!"[206] Biblical prophecies foretold the suffering of Jesus as told in the Old Testament:

He was despised and rejected by men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; and as one from whom men hid their faces he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; yet we esteemed him stricken, smitten by God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; upon him was the chastisement that made us whole, and with his stripes we are healed.[207]

I am a worm and no man, the reproach of men and the outcast of the people. All who see me, laugh me to scorn, they draw apart their lips, and wag their heads.[208]

Let us examine him by outrages and tortures... Let us condemn him to a most shameful death... These things they thought, and were deceived, for their own malice blinded them.[209]

[205] Manchart and Charles 1928: 396
[206] Matthew 27: 25
[207] Isaiah 53: 2-5
[208] King David: Psalm 22

Carnival as liturgical drama, as allegory of passion play, as colonial and postcolonial ritual, embodies the slave and postslave economy of pathos. Moments of the Christian drama of self-sacrifice, cosmic martyrdom, redemption and resurrection become modern embodiments of dispossession and accumulation, of degradation and heroism, and the spiritual renewal of the human. The initiates of the Ceremony of Slaves, in the terrifying violation of their personhood, in their deliberate dehumanization, become the suffering body of Christ in their ritual. The drama coheres personal and collective identities, intimate and social senses of self – a moral economy of how Christian passion met morally sensibility in the moral economy of sacred encounter in the post/colony.

The Cape Town Minstrels Carnival is a spectacle of movement and visuality. The carnivalesque body is a certain form of black baroque body, wild and urbanized, civilized and savage, modern and primal. "Coon" costumes came with vividly coloured satin suits, feathered top hats, candy-cane walking sticks and undersized lace-trimmed umbrellas. Its resemblance and difference to the model of the Victorian gentry, its vulgar distortions of English respectability, entered the aesthetic of shock, revulsion and the grotesque. Whiteface, blackface, redface, and yellowface –in both farcical and menacing presentations – exposed the artifice of race in a land of immutable ethnic classification that determined all of life's possibilities, was politically dangerous to institutional power. Gender hierarchies and binaries were

[209] Wisdom of Solomon: 2: 20

over-gridded to race and class transgression, where hyper-sexualised cross-dressing troupe leaders, or *moffies*[210], gave incredulity towards white masculinities, black effeminisation, and bourgeois moralism. This carnivalesque baroque body becomes in fact a powerfully disciplined body, vitalised through artifice, which through its inversions and doublings, ordered a different cosmos.

The processional entry to the city from District Six is via the the *Porta Praetoria*, the enemy gate of the Decumanus, guarded still by the 17th century Dutch baroque fortification, the Castle of Good Hope. The Castle is the first settler compound of the Cape colony that set in stone the dual claims of defensive urbanism and colonial projection. Carnival becomes the *tertium quid*, or for Homi Bhabha[211], the hybrid, becoming an embodiment of both attraction and repulsion – fluctuating between being a subject and being an enemy. It is a relationship that is both mimetic and ambivalent, which compelled onlookers and participants alike to have both a double vision and a forked tongue. This dualistic schema involves a strict division in the cosmic order between good and evil. Whether in livery of a devil with horns, or a mythological monster,[212] the performer throws evil back at the oppressor, pressing him violently against a mirror darkly, revealing himself against himself. In this way the performer passes judgment on the post/colony and those who collaborate with it. S/he resists the colony's attempt to colonize her/him psychologically and ideologically.[213] For an

[210] Werbner 1997
[211] Bhabha 1997
[212] Bickford-Smith 1994
[213] Leshota 2018

ecstatic transformative moment that remains alive in the social psyche for another year, shame and dishonour convert to pride, humiliation and degradation to heroism.

This renewal of the human, from outcast to affirmation of personhood and community, of a liveable life, is at once a spiritual encounter. Occluded in liberal-secular accounts of the Cape Carnival is spiritual empowerment as anticolonial praxis. Carnival as ceremony, as iterative creative spiritual practice, enters ritual life. This perspective of ritual is transformational and discloses a 'semantic conversion':[214] the conversion of Carnival as morality play to the constitution of a sacred subject that is able to remake history in their own image, where worshippers may speak to their existential condition through their own language, beliefs, and aesthetics. The conversion is a sacred exchange in which a 'gift economy'[215] is powerfully extended against forces of liberal capital that threaten to undermine that economy, both morally and materially.[216] The *ghoemaliedjies* are original creole ballads sung throughout Carnival in the language of Afrikaans, the formative creole language emergent in the mouths of slaves, first written in the madrassas of Bo-Kaap in the Arabic script from the early 19th century.[217] The *ghoema*, a popularised drum of wine barrel sheathed in animal skin, spoke at once of the harvest of commercial slave plantations, the clap, drum, and dance of Xhosa weddings and burials, and their transposition to the migrant labour hostels on the city's periphery to service industrial capitalism.[218] The harmonics of the *ghoemaliedjies* are derived from the secular *Nederlandsliede* (traditional Dutch songs), black church

[214] Werbner 1997
[215] Gregory 1982
[216] Werbner 1997
[217] Davids 2011
[218] Thompson 2021

choirs and brass bands, and the Malay choirs and religious *Qiraat*, or Quranic recital.[219] Their cultural transmission was largely achieved through community genres of public pedagogy, learned through intuition, nonformal observation, and mimesis. It can be distinguished from Eurocentric academic education, with its atomised relation between the individual, rather than a social form, and the aesthetic object, rather than a lived praxis.[220] The cosmopolitan syncretism of a radical black diasporic aesthetics provided a public disruption to ethnic enclosures that would foreshadow in critical praxis the anti-tribal and anti-liberal aspiration of the black consciousness movement under Apartheid.

Macrocosm and Microcosm

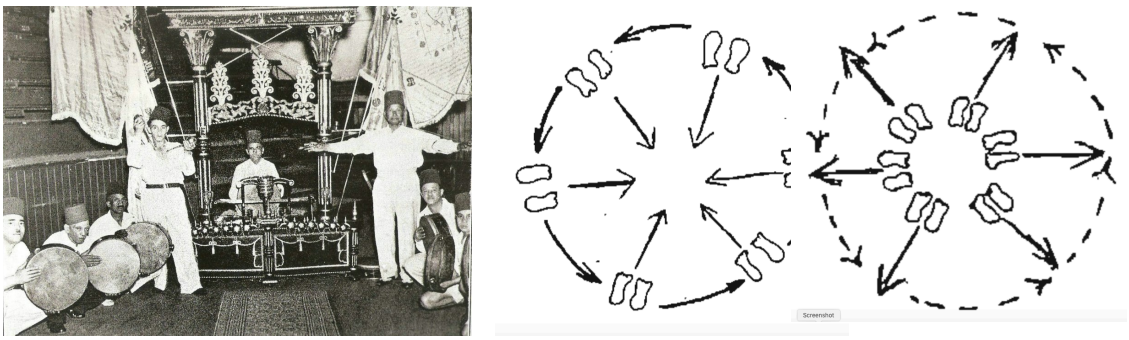


Figure 11-13: Microcosm of *Ratiep* movement within Sufi mysticism

[219] Desai 1993
[220] Thompson 2021

Carnival song gains its high performative resonance via the influence of Cape Muslim ritual of *ratiep* or *rifi'i khalifa*.[221] The *ratiep* (Figure 11) is a rhythmic Sufi martial arts dance originating in Sumatra and Syria that emerged as congregational embodied worship amongst enslaved Muslims at the Cape in the late 18th century.[222] Sufism (*tasawwuf*), or Islamic mysticism, is a cultural and intellectual constant that bound together elite and common Muslims throughout the Islamic world from the 9th century. Far from being an alternative to 'mainstream Islam', or escape from it, it was elaborated in vocabulary and institutions as an inherent part of Islam, by scholars and saints who became specialists in the Islamic science ('*ilm*) of Sufism.[223] *Ratiep* calls to prosaic and disenchanted modernity personal encounters with the miraculous. An astonishing test of faith in the Oneness of God, a subject must overcome fear and doubt, have complete belief in divine protection, to survive self-inflicted injury unharmed, and emerge with greater faith, humility, and self-actualisation. For its political potentiality amongst the enslaved, *ratiep* was a taboo in colonial society, practiced in secret by shroud of night.[224] In this ceremony, a subject moves individually in smooth stylised rotations synchronized with others. Together a larger group oscillates in a wider single circular rhythm. Spiralling inwards to occupy the centre momentarily, the spiral is reversed and the centre is once again emptied. The dervish-like movement forms a bridge from the periphery to the centre. It offers a certain counterpoint to the cosmology of the modern west, of a stasis occupation of the centre, of axial perspective and outward projection. Rather, in order to trace origins towards a source, the *ratiep* moves not backwards or outwards, but inwards towards

[221] Davids 2013
[222] Farreth 2015
[223] von Schlegell 2002
[224] Desai 1993

the self, towards a hidden centre, the divine within the Sufi heart. Circles of a subject turning on its axis orbiting within a sphere spiralling with increasing intensity towards a circle, the effect is a cosmogram of constant, dynamic, and harmonic movement in universal unity with celestial orbits towards the self and the Creator. For a sacred black subject within an externally bounded and marginalised space delimited in colonial territory, these revealed forms opens up a liberatory space inwardly towards the Boundless (Figure 12, 13).

The geometric form of the circle is significant as both a point of 'origin' and an 'end', a symbol of eternity, and a reflection of one's intimate connections with the cosmic rhythms of the day, month, and year. It is also an expression of justice, of equality in all directions in a finite domain, mediating the injustice of the slave city. The circle is thus a primary cosmological symbol, one of wholeness and unity. The doctrine of unity is central to Islamic revelation. As outcasts from the geography of the colonial centre, this ontology combined with a migratory, peripatetic spirituality which Islam made its own, brought into the body and the material world a spiritual world, not through iconic representations, but through symbolic geometries and dynamic rhythms outside of secular rationality. As an aniconic art form, *ratiep* relates multiplicity to unity by means of a mathematical praxis which are seen, not as mental abstractions, but as reflections of celestial archetypes both within the cosmos and the mind of souls of humankind, providing structural insight into the workings of the inner self of the human psyche and its reflection in the universe.[225]

[225] Critchlow 1999

It is said that 250 years ago a prophecy was made that there would be a 'Circle of Islam' around the Cape. According to local beliefs, the circle is complete, comprising of Saints and Auliyah (friends of God) who were brought as slaves to the Cape. It starts at the old cemetery on the slopes of Signal Hill, just above the quarry in Strand Street, where two saintly men lie buried [...][226]

The sense of unity has both an inner and outer aspect, one hidden and one manifest. The goal of spiritual disciplines is to unite the inner and the outer, the greater and smaller, into an inseparable integrity. As the *ratiep* develops the hidden dimension of the inner self, the 'Circle of Islam' demonstrates the Sufi attitude towards space and the Sufi concept of beauty.[227] The Circle of Islam forms a network of shrines bound together around Cape Town, and define a distinctive geography, not only by pilgrimage cycle, but by narrative oral traditions, such that a descriptive analytical literature is virtually non-existent. The shrines serve as a register, a sanctified and publicly accessible place at which the narratives associated with a saint could be written in the memories of shrine attendants and pilgrims.[228] The saintly Circle lay beyond the boundary of the 17th and 18th century city limits, along the lower reaches of Table Mountain and beyond. The mountain provided both a refuge for escaped slaves and a kind of open ground for the internment of those, like slaves, who were excluded from Christian and colonist cemeteries. The Circle of Islam thus formed an

[226] Jaffer 2010: 11
[227] Ardalan and Bakhtiar 1973
[228] DeWeese 2000

occluded public space well known within the Muslim community but under apartheid rendered almost invisible to colonial society.[229]

In the Sufi hagiographical tradition of Cape Muslims, a shrine is more precisely known as a *kramat*, referring to the sepulcher of a saintly 'Friend of God' who performs a repertoire of marvels with the intervention of divine power (Figure 15).[230] Kramat is thus both a place and a personage. Orally transmitted kramat stories tell of a sheikh's ability to perform wonders, through which they acquire deep respect, orient a narrative sacred landscape within the Muslim community, and form quiet sites of pilgrimage within the prosaic life of the modern city. The outside world enters the kramat as a home, and people from a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds seek their advice and place their personal or social problems in their hands.[231] Kramat hold charismatic power, which is related to their *baraka* (blessings) as well as to the knowledge and visions that allowed them to perform marvels.[232] Kramat as a form of knowledge is known as *firasa* (mystical intuition), an instrument of conjectural knowledge, a term that refers to a technique of observing external signs that permits indications and physical states to be read so as to foretell moral conditions in psychological behavior. These persons are described as 'spies of the heart' (*gawasis*); they penetrate your heart in or out again before you realize it. This lies at the source of their knowledge and charismatic power. Visits to the kramats usually begin with the visitor's desires and the love the meeting can bring. *Hubbi* (love) and *qasida* (poetry)

[229] Green and Murray 2012
[230] Bruzzi 2018
[231] Bruzzi 2018
[232] Ostransky 2015

is used in *dhikr* (remembrance), with this spiritual meaning to bring *baraka* to the person who receives it. Love and kramat underscore the affective intelligence whose dimensions have been largely invisible in colonial and written archives. Sufi scholars argue that Sufism cannot be understood through literature but only through spiritual praxis and phenomenological experience.[233]

There are twenty-four kramats of *Auliyah*, saints who are believed to dwell close to God, that encircle the city (Figure 14). Kramats offer an identifiable vertical axis for a pilgrim's direct relation with God. As artifacts, they crystallize temporal forms united through prescribed systems of relationships reflecting heavenly archetypes. The saintly Circle begins in the hillside of Bo-Kaap, and is constituted over centuries around the orthogonal city of Cape Town. The square is representative of 'earth', the circle of 'heaven'.[234] The *Kaaba*, or *Bayt Allah* (Arabic: lit. 'house of God') is the most sacred sanctuary in Islam and the direction of prayer to Muslims around the world. Circling the cubic form of the Kaaba seven times counter-clockwise, known as *tawaf*, is an obligatory rite of pilgrimage. The phenomenology of circumambulation is believed to enable and manifest a unity and harmony among believers in supplication to God. The interaction between square and circle, or Kaaba and circumambulation, creates a *mandala*, the Sanskrit term for the magic circle of the universe, that mediates the secular and sacred, the terrestrial and heavenly. To this one might mention a *hadith*, an

[233] Bruzzi 2018
[234] Critchlow 1999

oral tradition attributed to the Prophet Muhammed, who describes heaven as a "mother of pearl dome resting on a square with four pillars."[235]

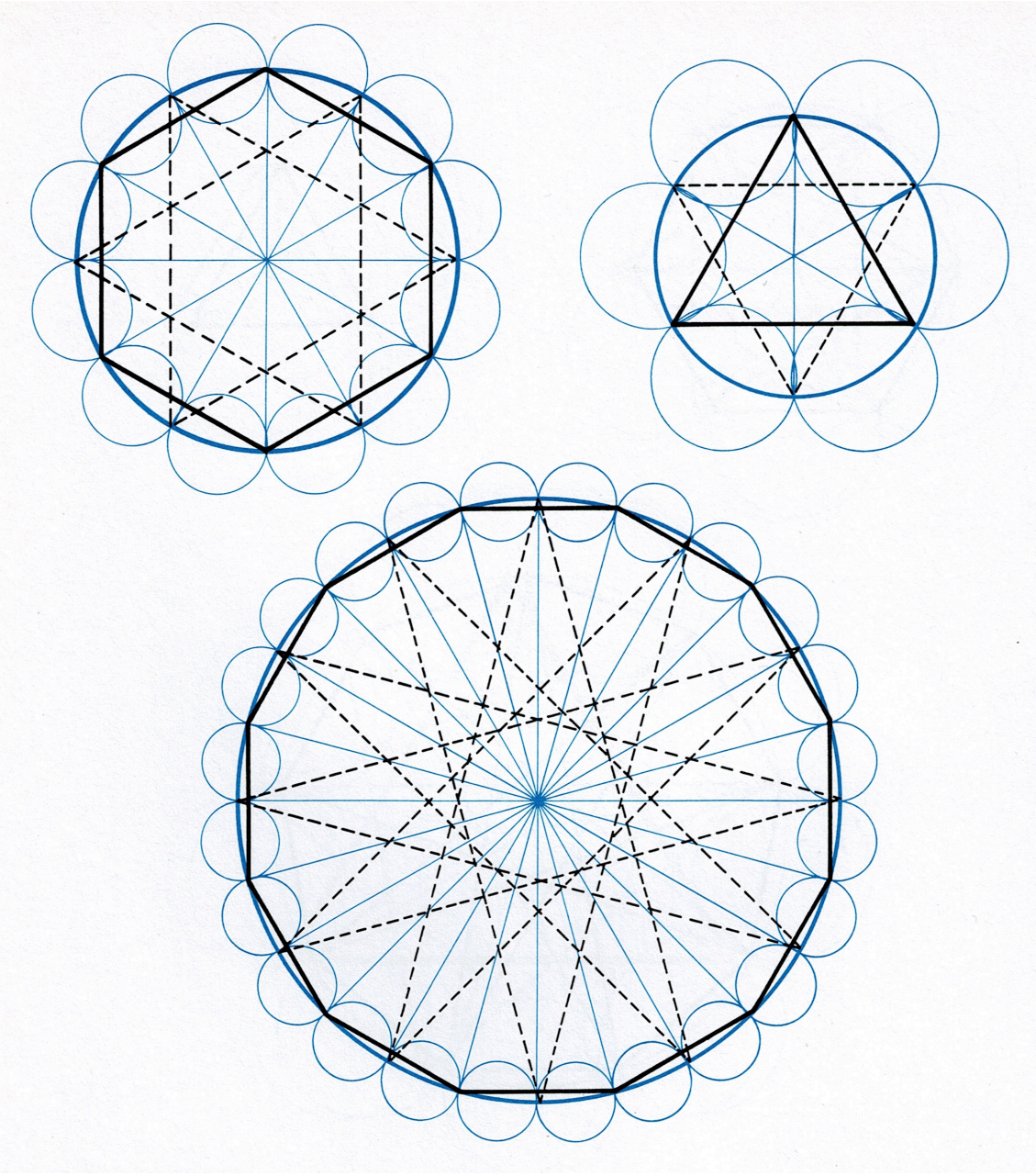


Figure 14-15: Macrocosm of the Circle of Saints as sacred geography

[235] Bruzzi 2018



Figure 15

The Circle of Saints around the city, the square within the circle, is an expansive reverberation of the *ratiep*; a manifest spatial macrocosm of an intimate sphere of practice, a sacred geography writ onto, through and beyond the colonial city, providing paths of flight from its territoriality and offering shelter from its violence. Much as the nucleus controls the biological cell, or the centre of balance which maintains poise, Islamic philosophy disciplines another form of mastery to modern/colonial cosmology. Taking the patterns and periodicities of the heavenly revolution to be 'moved' by the same archetypes as the human mind that appreciates them, mastery is refigured from domination to harmony. To the Sufi, mastering oneself, an embodied psychoanalytic self-psychology, is being in harmony with the reverberant rhythms of the heavens.

The significance of the intervals of the number of twenty-four shrines are archetypical qualities associated with the mystical source of the universe. The threefold triangular

relationship between the sun, moon, and earth; the three Abrahamic traditions; and the Quranic and Biblical teachings that hold the Creation was accomplished in six days. The fourfold 'turning' points of the year (equinoxes and solstices). The number twelve unties the archetypical three with the archetypal four. The profundity of twelve is echoed in the solar cycles, the twelve imams of Shi'a Islam and the twelve disciples of Jesus Christ, or the Prophet Isa, as well as the zodiacal mansions of fixed constellations that the sun passes through in a yearly cycle. By the process of doubling, twenty-four gives the number of daily hours, one half being dominated by the sun, the other by the moon.[236]

In this way, both ratiep and kramat, as hidden and manifest microcosm and macrocosm, constructs a new interpretive context that enables a reading of mystical ideas through the body of the human being and the body of the city. Human and spatial ordering traceable in landscapes and social practice comes to frame cosmological ideas into a coherent whole. Kramats become a cultural artifact which represents the political, social, and economic contexts, and the beliefs, anxieties, fears, and expectations of a community.[237] Sufism is often represented as ahistorical, nonpolitical, and the archetypal that dissolves geography, representing marginal or invisible political subjects beneath the veiled dress of silent passivity. [238] Post-classical Sufism at the Cape emerges in the colonial context of Western Christendom and liberal capitalism, to which it has developed a response. This historical and socio-political dynamics of Sufism during the colonial period remains a largely unexplored

[236] Critchlow 1999
[237] Khan 2015
[238] Bruzzi 2018

field of study, as is its ontological relationship with modern Anglo-Dutch Protestantism. Given its role as divine agent, sainthood in Islam has important sociopolitical dimensions that underscore the notion of justice in Islam.[239] The role of ratiep, kramat, and carnival mediates between an Islamic and Christian city as a black Christo-Islamic slave vernacular in colonial society. However, the repositories of its formal resolutions are immersed in ideological struggle, of creative cultures in negotiation and confrontation.

Ratiep and kramat become a point of transition, a metamorphosis of the human self. Both powerfully invoke the specter of death. Within Sufism, 'death' can be understood as the movement away from an earthly state into the spiritual sphere, which is associated with the attainment of self-actualization. In this respect, death is a spiritual stage along the mystical path, often described as a journey of the soul from the outward to the inward, from the periphery to the center. However, death also critically represents the uprooting of the passions of the ego (*nafs*). In Sufi thought, only a rejection of worldly temptations and an inclination toward spiritual values enable the achievement of a 'good life', an active turning away through repentance (*tawba*). The common earthly life could be considered, therefore, as a synonym for the ignorance (*jahl*) that is often likened to death. In this respect, death thus affects only the ego, not the spirit (*ruh*). The death of the *nafs* is at the station of fear, of which ratiep and kramat work to expel. *Fana*, the dissolution of one's ego, is an ethical notion that symbolically approximates an understanding of death in terms of rebirth and renewal.

[239] Muedini 2015

There are thus two deaths in the Sufi imagination: the death of the ego (*ana*, i.e. myself) and the impending physical death that we all face. However, while everyone will experience a physical death, not everyone is willing to endure the death of the ego. The mortification of the passions of the *nafs* and the suppression of man's own animalism, an 'earthly death', ensures spiritual liberation of men before God. [240] In a colonial context, the uprooting of the passions of the *nafs* thus marks a different transition from colonial subject formation, to define an ethics of psychological freedom as the death of one's egoism – from what Carter refers to as the "Imperial God-Man"[241] and Grosfoguel terms the Cartesian "ego-politics of knowledge in western philosophy that always privileges the myth of the non-situated ego".[242] The colonial encounter symbolizes the animalism of egoism (slavery) against the dissolution of the ego (freedom). Ratiep and kramat establishes a distinctive boundary between both realms, yet at the same time, it provides an intersection. In principle, the kramat, like a cave, is a place where the divine in the human encounter one another and where death has its own role in ushering in another chapter of human existence. [243] The metamorphosis of existence also leads to the defeat of the enemies' power, anti-colonial resistance on a metaphysical plane, against the animal components of colonial men, his desires and his lusts. Sufism thus reveals two existential struggles: internal coloniality (ego), the imprisonment of the soul, and external coloniality (justice). Anti-colonial resistance and self-transformation become parallel and indivisible pathways to human freedom.

[240] Ostransky 2015
[241] Carter 2012
[242] Grosfoguel 2011
[243] Ostransky 2015

Enemy Gates: Porta Praetoria, Porta Decumana

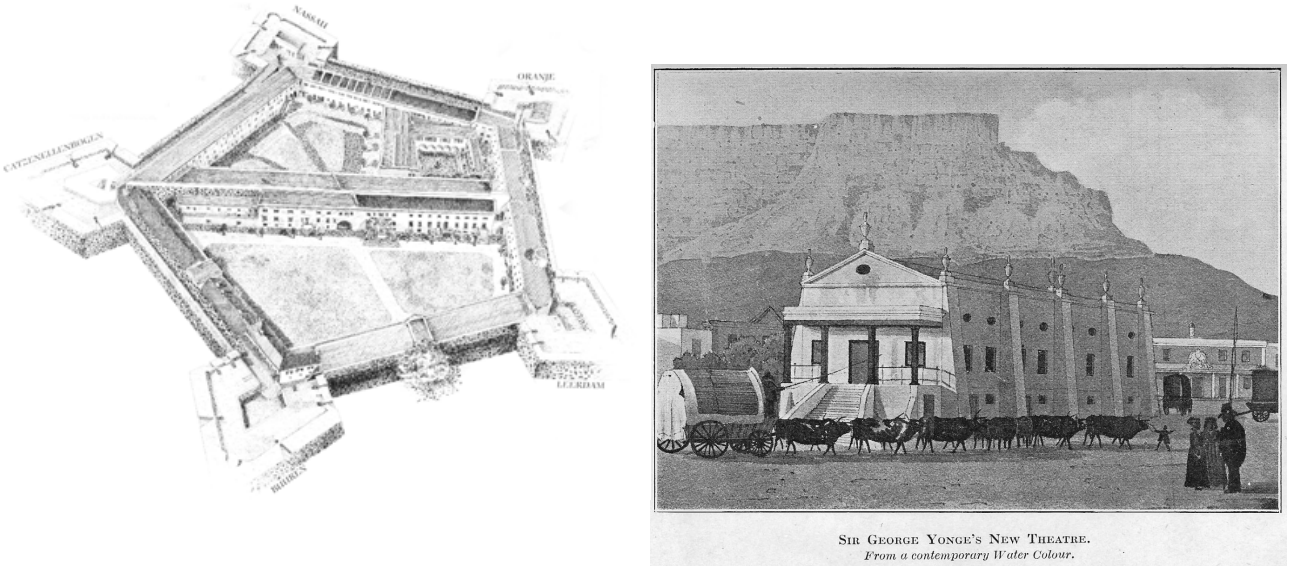


Figure 16-17: Fortress and Mission, the enemy city gates

The settler city ceremonial complex, as a white spiritual axis, and as a black baroque, negotiates competing cosmologies of sameness and difference in the post/colony through the socio-spatial device of city gates: the *Porta Praetoria* and *Porta Decumana* at eastern and western limits of the *Cardo Decumanus*. At the crossing of the Buitengracht and Buitenkant, the linear boundary demarcations of the 18th and 19th century city limits, are located the frontier institutions of Fortress and Mission. The Fortress defended against European rivals and African 'heathens' through District Six from its east (Figure 16); the Mission against ethno-sacred deviancy from Bo-Kaap to its west (Figure 17). Within its boundary territory, following the Roman paradigm of the *vallum* (city walls), was a cleared space, the *intervallum*, to hold an enemy at bay

or to accumulate plunder. The Fortress opened to defensive military parade grounds; the mission to a slave and produce market from the slave plantations surrounding the city. The impregnable 17th century stone fortress, previously introduced as 'The Castle', was the centre of a global vision to secure a place for Christianity and capitalism, 'of blood and money at the end of the world'.[244] As baroque institutions, they were not only military, political, and economic, but also religious, ostensibly dividing and separating whiteness and Christianity from Islam and indigenous spiritualities. The Fortress was used for religious services until the 19th century;[245] the Mission was converted from an 'African Theatre' to a Protestant church for freed slaves from 1838. Muslims would be attracted to the proselytising mission school for the absence of educational institutions in Bo-Kaap outside of the madrassas.

Maintaining Malay Muslim cultural identity as wholly distinct from White Christian identity through frontier institutions required practices of territorial containment and exclusion through the construction of spatio-temporal boundaries. Since the 18th century, Buitengracht Street served as a boundary to the European settlement and the hybrid cultures of enslaved communities to its west, across which no Churches or Mission schools were constructed, and no municipal maintenance was extended[246]. The first mosque in Bo-Kaap dates from this period and census records show a majority of slaves to settlers in the area[247], reflecting the wider overall demographic of the town[248]. With the abolition of slavery at the Cape in 1834, former slave owners

[244] Chidester 2000
[245] Elphick 1997
[246] Worden et al 1998
[247] Harris 2007
[248] Da Costa and Davids 1994

were given compensation for loss of human property, becoming avid real estate developers. 'Free Blacks' were given no compensation for stolen land or life labour, and remained impoverished as rent-seeking wage labour. As the Cape was still deeply embedded within the British Empire of the time, abolition was succeeded by the rigid Victorian cultural practices of class hierarchy, leading to increased racism and racial segregation[249].

The city council's design of the modernist foreshore scheme included an elevated 'Buitengracht freeway' that formed part of a proposed ring road expressway that would encircle the inner city. The Buitengracht freeway would cut into many city blocks in Bo-Kaap, and although never constructed, would have a significant impact on development of the area. Buildings were demolished in preparation for its construction, and parking garages and workshops were built on its periphery as 'servant spaces' for the anticipated infrastructure. Apartheid ideology combined modernist town planning with racist sentiments, and the proposed freeway with non-residential servant spaces would serve a double function as a buffer strip segregating Bo-Kaap from the city centre that was declared white in 1965 (Figure 18). Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, Bo-Kaap would be divided into two sections. The northern section, towards the sea, was classified as a 'Malay' group area, to be inhabited by Muslims. The southern section, towards the mountain, was classified as a 'coloured' group area, to be inhabited by Christians. Within a part of the Malay Group Area, a 'Malay quarter national monument' was declared in 1966. Malays were viewed as a

[249] Worden, Van Heyningen, Bickford-Smith 1998

docile and traditional folk culture, and the 'monument' would not only preserve the buildings and culture, but also symbolize a lost past of the city that modern Europeans (but not traditional Malays) had surpassed. Preservation was thus to serve apartheid racial hierarchies. The restoration of the Malay Group Area by the city council carried out in the 1970's would censor the diversity of Bo-Kaap's architecture and culture, to produce a single romantic image of Malay community as representing a Dutch national past. An invidious industrial policy also curtailed economic development in the area, maintaining the community in small subsistence cottage industries isolated from the wider city.

It was not until after the 1930's, emboldened by Modernist municipal legislative and planning authority[250], through mass property expropriations[251], new zoning controls[252], and the widening and extension of Strand Street[253] could a definitive and discreet 'Malay Quarter' be demarcated. The effects of the Group Areas proclamations show a diminished and isolated Malay and Coloured Group Area within an enveloping White City (Figure 19). Maintaining a boundary separation between the two areas is a buffer strip that managed the containment and exclusion of Bo-Kaap from the City. The buffer strip is one of the defining characteristics and legacies of the spatial project of Apartheid – manifest across South Africa on all scales, from the city ('the Group Areas') to the nation (the 'Homelands'), as an uninhabited zone of social distance. It coupled the apartheid fantasy of racial purity with the Modernist vision of technical

[250] In terms of the Town Planning Ordinance of 1934
[251] In terms of the Slum Areas Act of 1934
[252] In terms of the Town Planning Scheme of 1941
[253] By the Foreshore Approvals Committee of 1950

efficiency. The Cape Town Foreshore Plan of 1951 demonstrated both the modern efficiencies of automobile-centred infrastructural master planning[254] as well as the street as an uninhabitable spatial zone of social separation between homogenously constructed race groups and cultural identities.

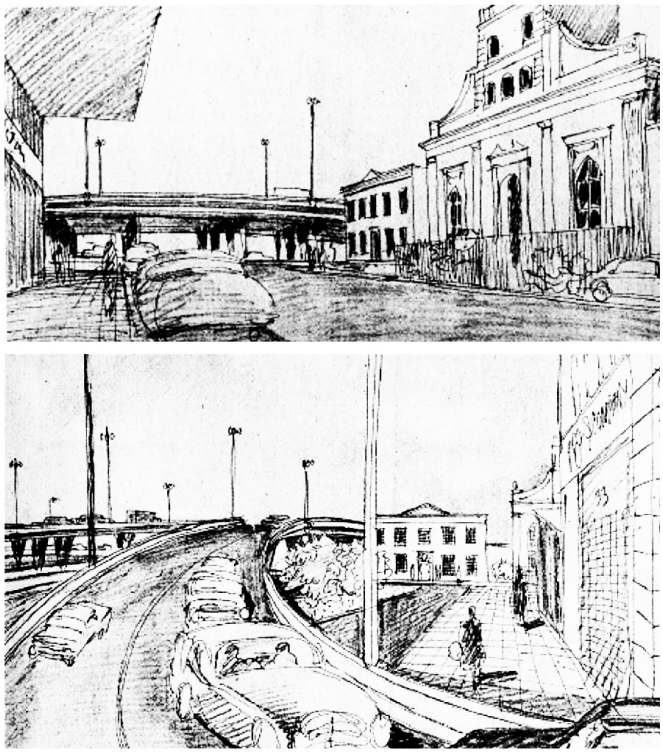


Figure 18: Apartheid modernist planning proposal for the Bo-Kaap Buffer Strip

[254] Morris 1951 Appendix III

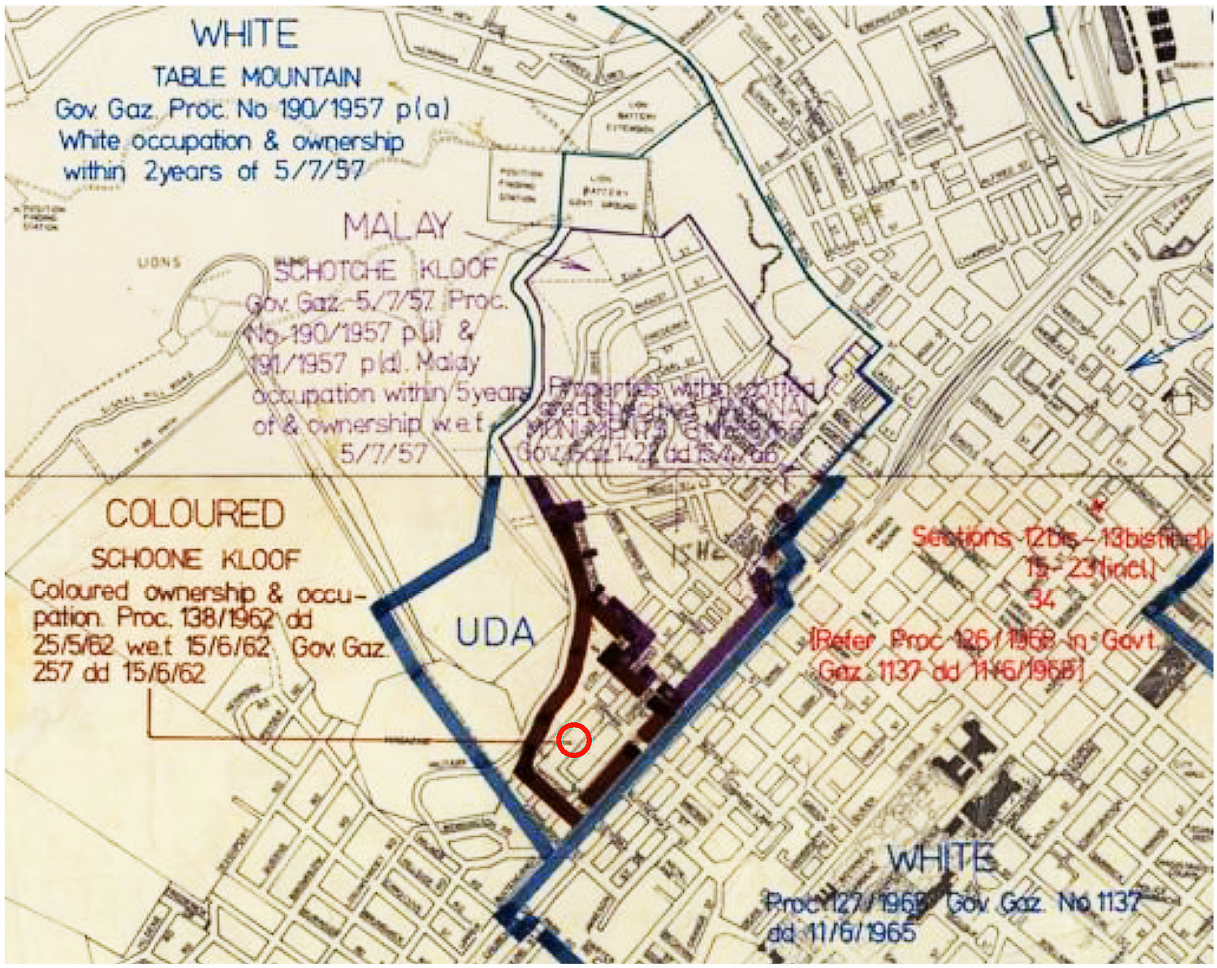


Figure 19: Group Area proclamations, Malay and Coloured Group Area and the White City

A ring road to provide rapid vehicular circulation around the central city is partially realised in the current form of Strand and Buitengracht Streets, as well as the flyovers that heralded the demolition of District Six. In the vicinity of Bo-Kaap, both streets still exhibit the Foreshore Plan's characteristic requirements of being as wide as possible, allowing only a bare minimum of crossings, avoiding active facades of flanking buildings, and promoting the erection of multistorey parking garages along

their lengths. Here, white entrepreneurs were incentivised to build car garages and workshops through depressed property values obtained by slum clearances for leasing or disposal by the City Council as well as through restrictive parking measures in the central business district.

Through its ritualised passages and ceremonial crossings, the settler city ceremonial complex performs an urban theatre of historical re-enactments of violence and catharsis that circles back on itself repeatedly, re-enacting its knowledge claims, its territorial bargains, its peace terms. The Complex describes a colonial episteme whose foundational claims are substantially rooted in early modern Europe, but whose typological conventions continues to be exerted and re-established on every historical transformation and on every moment of the present, in conflictual relations without resolution, seemingly without end, without integration. The past becomes a paradox, a doubleness, that is both past and co-present in the irreconcilable ontology of settler coloniality. Fanon described civilized society as one which dislikes uncomfortable truths and naked honesty.[255] Late modern world civilisation interfaces with the manner in which the same *imperium* is kept alive in settler society, and constitutes the pervasiveness of Neo-Roman Empire and white masculinities within which it is entrenched and prolonged. The disturbance of this Complex is a moral imagination of the aesthetics of catastrophe. The black baroque is a response of multiplicities, returns, and foldings in a perpetual journey towards individuation and wholeness. As modernity asserts a disenchantment of the world through rationality and reason that marginalizes the radical imagination and demystifies wonder and marvel, a black

[255] Fanon 1967: xi

Christo-Islamic slave vernacular emergent in the colonial encounter, has negotiated the process of modernization beyond the simplistic dialectic that for long contrasted modernity with tradition, or rationalism with ecstatic religion. In this context of ontological struggle, and one, significantly, that was contested morally, what the colonizers devalued, the colonized revalued. It was a sacred strategy of cultural defence, of a transformation of the meaning of freedom and enslavement, effective against that colonial force seeking dominance, which depended upon the colonizing of consciousness.

This chapter has offered a theoretical formulation, of what I have termed the settler city ceremonial complex, as a modern archetype of ritual re-enactments of settler foundation mythology, cultivating an episteme of settler nativity, sovereignty, and futurity within the political aesthetic of Neo-Roman imperium. A complex, defined in both architecture and psychoanalysis, describe multiple discrete terms or entities that interact relationally through programmatic arrangement, aesthetic form, and tense proximity within a closed system of associated meanings, behaviours, identifications, and productions. A ceremonial complex derives etymologically from the *caerimonia* (Latin: inviolability, sanctity, veneration) involving ritual prescriptions that perform the peace terms (*pax deorum*) between the secular and the sacred, and the integration of space and subjectivity. In architectural history and theory, the ceremonial complex is attributed to premodern symbolic interaction of public rites performed through iconic and mystified urban theatre that legitimate a centralised clerical or monarchical authority under divine sanction. My temporal transposition of impinging 'premodern' political aesthetics through the modernity of the settler colonial city critically extends

Edward Said's contrapuntal analysis of cultural imperialism and orientalism. As critical method and theory, the movement destabilises closed historical periodisations consolidated since the Enlightenment that has animated the historical dynamism of Western Christendom within liberal-secular time, whilst capturing the irreducible 'religiousity' of the nonhistorical non-west as forever outside and behind the modern.

I have drawn from the psychoanalytic composition of a Jungian cultural complex as collective unconscious processes that are related to a systemic organisation of multiple affective conflicts and compounded intensive anxieties that have a powerful internal coherence but are partially repressed, and whose interactions produce core cultural patterns of thought, feeling, and behaviour that sustain the self-preservation and self-concept of a triumphant civilizational identity. Psychical repression of irresolvable conflict engender disordered and disturbant states of consciousness, that are released as maladaptive and non-integrative subjectivities and spatialities, what Fanon described as the Manichean order of the colonial city and its subject production:

A world divided into compartments, a motionless, Manicheistic world, a world of statues: the statue of the general who carried out the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge; a world which is sure of itself, which crushes with its stones the backs flayed by whips: this is the colonial world. The native is a being hemmed in; apartheid is simply one form of the division into compartments of the colonial world. The first thing which the native learns is to stay in his place, and not to go beyond certain limits. This is why the dreams of the native are always of muscular

prowess; his dreams are of action and of aggression. I dream I am jumping, swimming, running, climbing; I dream that I burst out laughing, that I span a river in one stride, or that I am followed by a flood of motorcars which never catch up with me. During the period of colonization, the native never stops achieving his freedom from nine in the evening until six in the morning.[256].

The settler city is mystified in the foundational claim of a white spiritual axis; a 'world of statues... a world which is sure of itself'. We also know stone statues refuse movement, speak but do not respond, and cannot dream. For Jung there are ethical consequences, including impeded historical memory, compulsive thinking, and diminished responsibility.[257]

Fanonian black freedom dreaming exists here within an expansive psychic landscape of integrative therapeutic fantasy towards individuation and wholeness, towards becoming human. Jung described a complex as a 'node' or 'knot' in the unconscious, bound agglomerations of somatic expressions where axial imperium must be read with what I have described as a black baroque, of vernacular black and indigenous Christianities conjoined with postslave Islamic liberation praxis, or of an ego and relational psychoanalysis writ through an Islamic episteme. Emergent is a syncretic black cosmopolitanism that points to alternative ways of being and making the world. It significantly begins to undo the *pax deorum* of the oft cited 'clash of civilizations'

[256] Fanon 1963: 51-52
[257] Jung 1969: par 200

thesis[258], that posits epistemological pluralism as a problem for the global form of Western Christendom. Although subject to much scholarly criticism, the thesis remains an influential work of international relations in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 world order. It is notable as an inauguration of Islamophobia, or anti-Muslim racism, as a discursive legitimation externalised in the liberal public sphere and internal to a coherent and distinctive self-image of contemporary Euro-America as the 'functioning core'[259] of world civilization. I have excavated a historical urban anthropology of a black Christo-Islamic postslave vernacular not as a turning from the 'secular', conceived as a truth-seeking procedure of demystification, or as a return to 'religion', where a sacred other is articulated through universalist categories of thought and feeling within the modern-colonial form of western Christianity. Rather, postsecular critique demystifies configurations of space and time within universalist Christian humanism whose truth claims work through the modern-secular. The modern-secular as techno-scientific disenchantment of human attachment in turn provides liberalism with its teleology as the ultimate and inevitable horizon of human freedom. The settler city ceremonial complex articulates the economy of this field as a node of epistemic turbulence in the modern fashioning of the world and the human. It serves as a foundation in this thesis towards an archive of postsecular postliberal counter-genealogies of knowledge and freedom within a radical black phenomenological tradition.

[258] Huntington 2011
[259] Besteman 2020

The following chapter builds upon the theoretical scaffold of the archetypal settler city within a postsecular genealogy of the modernization-colonization third world paradigm in 20th century urbanism in Africa. I specifically explore the Catholic and Protestant missionary conversion of violence as carework, or the liberal-secular alternatives of Islamophobia-Islamophilia, within the discursive production of the Muslim ghetto in apartheid modernism and French orientalism.

3

Apartheid's Black Museum

Instead of glib talk of "white guardianship" which will let the non-Europeans develop "along their own lines" (what lines, in the case of the Cape Coloured?), let us, in addition to providing them with decent homes, place our apprenticeship laws, our salary scales for equally qualified European and non-European teachers, our thousand-and-one distinctions on the score of colour, under the lens of democracy. With all its imperfection, the latter stands – or should stand – for a principle which is embedded in all religions and in the hearts of all socially-minded men: the principle of the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World". How, then, can we condone privileges based entirely on the colour of the skin, and not on merit?... Any form of suppression must ultimately lead to impoverishment; and, looked at even from the purely material point of view, the European will, if he persists in a policy of discrimination, lose a big market waiting to tapped at his very doorstep…In a fearless approach to the problems of post-war Africa lies our only hope. Should that approach involve the ultimate disappearance of white domination, we shall have to accept this, or else belie those principles on which our "guardianship" is avowedly founded. Only when we have replaced a policy based on fear by the principle of equal opportunity for all, irrespective of race, creed or colour, we can hope to build soundly – which need not exclude drastic measures against individuals or groups of individuals who are found to be acting against the interests of the community as a whole… A policy of force may be imperative as a temporary measure in certain circumstances. It can

never be the ultimate solution to any of these problems. What we need most in this practical world of ours (which tries to commit suicide periodically in spite of its "efficiency"), is not a desperate search for some external "system" which will solve our problems, but a change of heart.[260]

This excerpt captures the only explicit expression of political challenge to apartheid by Izak David Du Plessis, an influential Afrikaans-speaking intellectual – a 'white Afrikaner' – only months before this ethnic group emerged on 4 June 1948 as the apartheid government. His later writings would be decidedly muted in any criticism of apartheid. His most celebrated scientific work, *The Cape Malays,* became a standard-bearing ethnology on Malay religion, culture, and history. His words capture the liberal imagination that cautioned the rise of apartheid. He stakes the forceful promotion of 'democracy' yet assumes a paternal whiteness; his persistent 'we' is patently exclusive of black South Africans. He propounds a 'Parliament of Man' yet endorses racial terror; a 'policy of force may be imperative' to bring the oppressed majority into democracy. He appeals to the civilizing authority of religion yet puts forward a secular posture; 'our laws', 'the purely material point of view'. And he expresses an alienation from the emergent modernism in South Africa 'which tries to commit suicide' yet enthusiastically experimented with modernist avant-garde literary forms. The text is positioned within the context of advocating for the protection of a distinctive past and separate culture for the 'Malays' of Muslim faith and, in particular, a 'Malay Quarter' in Cape Town as their ancestral home.

[260] Du Plessis 1947: 84-85

The relationship between the protection of Muslim neighbourhoods under conditions of colonial modernism has a complex and established genealogy. Le Corbusier, the most celebrated and controversial figure of international modernism held a fascination with Islamic architecture and urbanism that formed a continual thread throughout his lengthy career as an architect, writer, and urban planner. The first powerful manifestation of a lifelong infatuation is recorded in his 1911 travel notes from the 'Orient' – an ambiguous place, loosely alluding 19th and early 20th century French discourse of Islamic societies in North Africa and the Middle East, although for Le Corbusier his travel was confined to Istanbul and western Asia Minor. This would also be informed by the metropolitan Parisian avant-garde's preoccupation with the non-Western Other, through literature, travel accounts, and art.[261] The travel literature of Theophile Gautier, who was often referenced by Le Corbusier, would write of approaching Algiers from the water:

This is Algiers, Al-Djezair as the Arabs call it. We approach… Two palm trees and four windmills stand out in contrast: the palm tree, symbol of the desert and the patriarchal life, the windmill, symbol of Europe and civilization.[262]

Le Corbusier would echo this imperial modern subjectivity:

The Arab discovered his educator, his instructor. He did not bat an eyelid of doubt. With two hands outstretched, leaving all his hopeless deceit behind, he loved, admired,

[261] Celik 1992: 59
[262] Celik 1992: 61

understood the new times and respected France with all his conviction. Architecture and urbanism can be the great educator.[263]

The formative role of Le Corbusier's *voyage d'Orient* is evident in his theoretical work and practice thereafter. Reference to Islamic architecture and urban forms appear in his writings as early as 1915 and span his numerous publications and projects. In one episode of his career, however, Islam no longer serves as a source of inspiration and reference, but becomes a living challenge: his projects for Algiers, the erstwhile capital of 'French Africa' in the French Empire. His design approach would draw from a dialogue between a new field of colonial ethnography and the emergent movement of surrealism that was current in intellectual metropolitan debates in the 1920s. Questioning 'reality' and searching for alternatives to European customs and truths, surrealist ethnographers explored non-Western references for avant-garde productions, with the majority of their fieldwork carried out in the colonies, among them Algeria. In accordance with the colonial mission, Le Corbusier's Algiers was part of *la grande* France: the 'French capital of Africa', the 'head of French Africa', and the 'phoenix of France… reborn out of the ashes of the mother country' that would reinforce French rule not only in Algeria, but throughout the entire continent.[264]

The design projects were developed between 1931 and 1942, contemporaneous with the scholarly emergence of 'Muslim ethnicity' with a 'Malay Quarter' in colonial Cape Town. Le Corbusier's formal influence on apartheid modernism cannot be understated. I wish to read Le Corbusier, as the canonical metropolitan avant-garde

[263] Ibid: 66
[264] Ibid: 59, 64, 66

modernist, with Du Plessis, a marginal literary modernist in the settler society of apartheid South Africa. Following Foucault, a sustained examination of the marginal may reveal the practice and operation of the centre. A patronage relationship would develop whereby favours to 'the Malay community' would be dispensed by the State via persons with an 'intimate' knowledge of Malay affairs.[265] Both Le Corbusier and Du Plessis would admire the formal vernacular image of oriental architecture and urbanism. Le Corbusier would praise the form of the Islamic city, the casbah of Algiers: 'The narrow streets… sheltered from the sun', 'the Arab house afford[ing] a life in coolness and tranquility', and the 'miracle' that occurred when the door of an Arab house opened onto an 'adorable courtyard'. He concluded that 'the "civilized" lived like rats in holes', whereas 'the "barbarians" live in solitude, in well-being'.[266] Du Plessis would similarly describe the small and simple cubic forms of Bo-Kaap residences: 'These houses, single-storied and with backyards, were eminently suitable for the Malay way of living'.[267] Both modernists would lament the urban transformation and modernization of the oriental city. Speaking of Istanbul, Le Corbusier would write: 'The catastrophe that will inevitably ruin Istanbul [is] the advent of modern times. Stamboul will die. The reason is that she is always burning and being rebuilt'. And on Algiers, he expressed similar sentiments about its destruction, for which he blamed French interventions. 'The last fifty years of European colonization', he argued in 1942, 'abolished without any regrets the natural richness and petrified the new city into a desert'.[268] Change was denied to the Islamic

[265] Jeppie 2002: 85
[266] Celik 1992: 64
[267] Du Plessis 1947
[268] Celik 1992: 65-66

city in a process of accentuating differences between the historical dynamism of the European modern and the stasis of a nonhistorical Muslim:

Whereas the Western European worships enterprise, achievement, high office and the amassing of wealth, and thereby continually increases the mechanization of his society, the Cape Malay still abides by the five acts of worship as laid down in the Koran. He stubbornly refuses to change his old-age traditions in order to meet the clamorous demands thrust upon him from the outside… The European with facility divorces his economic system from his religion but the Muslim finds it exceedingly difficult to do so.[269]

Du Plessis's liberal sentiment frames Islam as a totality of tradition, as an Other of industrial capitalism and modernity. He is convinced of the rigidity of Islamic culture, which places it at a great vulnerability to modern transformations, seen as a destructive force to the utopian moral economy of Islam. Implicit in his liberal teleology, the only solution is further containment and isolation:

The very strength of the social order resulting from Muslim law is also its weakness. Once a Malay breaks with this tradition, all ethical and moral laws begin to be abandoned. He can easily become the enemy of society, and will then gamble, drink, and even rob his own people for personal gain. He has hastened on the evil path by the gangs which exist in the contingent non-European areas.[270]

[269] Du Plessis 1953: 67
[270] Du Plessis 1953: 72

Similarly, for Le Corbusier, the solution was further investment in the *cordon sanitairre*, the urban technique of French colonial urbanism that separated the indigenous city from the European settlement. Its political aesthetic was based upon an ideology of radical and irreconcilable difference, between ethnicity, history, and way of life. Parts of the traditional medina would be preserved, and a new European city would encompass it. This principle underlies the structure of Le Corbusier;s plans for Algiers, a phenomenon Janet Abu-Lughod has labeled 'urban apartheid', in reference to Moroccan cities. The *cordon sanitairre* has its origin in the practice of evacuating Europeans from epidemic-ridden towns in the Algerian countryside and enforcing quarantine on local populations. Le Corbusier's cleansing would be urban and social, at once providing for controlled activities for Arabs and racial contact in an ordered environment. Many other buildings would be repurposed as museums and workshops to cater for a new European tourism industry and initiate an indigenous 'renaissance'.[271] Le Corbusier's plan establishes constant visual surveillance over the indigenous population and clearly marks the hierarchical social order onto the urban image.

Displaying the historic fascination of Europe with Islam, but unversed in Muslim philosophy, Le Corbusier still attempted to explain architecture and urbanism in terms of religious beliefs. He read the formal architectural unity of Algiers as representative of the unity of religion. For him, 'Asia [was] forever religious': an ahistorical though widespread Eurocentric account that fixed a continent to an ambiguous place in the past. Le Corbusier would establish a confrontational dialogue with Islamic culture within a colonial ideological framework. His architectural and urban design

[271] Celik 1992: 68-69

experiments were accompanied by a sustained inquiry into the social norms that was consistent with the representation of Islam for centuries of European discourse. In particular, these examinations of the Orient referred to religious and sexual norms, and speculations about Muslim women and the private life of the Muslim family. Le Corbusier would provide the following architectural formula for happiness in his observations of cubic Mediterranean forms in the Islamic city:

the key = the cell

= men

= happiness[272]

Le Corbusier depicted the casbah as a veiled woman, mysterious with 'hidden treasures', to be disrobed and 'liberated'. The rationale was if women were culturally conquered, the privacy of Muslim family life would be penetrated, and the core structure of an unyielding society would be destroyed, leading to complete surrender. The 'new' Algiers would now be depicted as a winged and naked female body caressed by a hand of civilization.[273] The Muslim was dispositionally subdued, politically docile, vocally languid, and emotionally unrestrained:

He is introspective, polite, kind towards women, children and animals; inclined to speak slowly, to be passive and indolent. When aroused he may lose all self-control and run amok…[274]

[272] Celik 1992: 60-62
[273] Celik 1992: 71-72
[274] Du Plessis 1947: 2-3

Du Plessis and Le Corbusier both draw upon pejorative fetishized and feminized images of the urban world of Islam to formulate a modern and masculine colonial identity. The veil is emblematic of a physical site as well as a social and sexual subject. Frantz Fanon offers insight to the topic of sexual anxiety which lies at the heart of one of his most original contributions in the analysis of colonial racism. Fanon prioritizes practices of visuality in the colonial sphere and, more specifically, the link he identifies between racism and the scopic drive (the gaze).[275] Nigel Gibson prefaces his description of the racial gaze by noting that the subjugating colonial subject has – even without realizing it – transferred domination into unconscious sexual fantasy:

The [racial] gaze is simultaneously haunted by hate, fear, anxiety, and sexual desire of the Black body... The racial gaze of the White seals the Black into a 'crushing objecthood'… The White puts the Black together as a phobogenic object… The racial gaze is both a polymorphous perverse sexual desire, and sexual projection. The innermost repressed and sadistic and masochistic desires are externalized and projected onto the black.[276]

[275] Hook 2012: 133
[276] Quoted in Hook 2012: 22-23



Figure 20: Le Corbusier's veiled casbah



Figure 21: Le Corbusier's liberating hand of civilization

These twin trajectories of subjectivity, namely desire and identification, unfold together, in an overlapping and often jointly problematizing manner. The gaze is thus a vehicle of both identification (or apparent counter-identification) and desire. Stuart Hall (1996) also attends to this interweaving of desire and objectification. Hall emphasizes both the eroticization of the pleasure in looking and Fanon's recurring motif of the paralyzing 'look' from the place of the 'Other'.

Racism appears in the field of vision… [Fanon points to] the sexualized nature of the look. Looking always involves desire; there's always the desire not just to see, but to see what you can't see, to see more than you can see… the reaction in racism between black and white partly arises when the white looker becomes aware that he is… attracted to the black subject. The act of racism is a denial of that desire which is in the gaze itself.[277]

Le Corbusier's sole insightful observation on the relationship between Islam and built form might be found in his global diagram of the cubic form of the Kaaba in Mecca: 'the orientation of the axis of every mosque on Moslem soil toward the black stone of Kaaba is an awe-inspiring symbol of the unity of faith', where the mihrab of every mosque was 'a door to the Kaaba'. Du Plessis would also refer to Muslim pilgrimage sites in Cape Town as '*Die Mekka van die suide'* (The Mecca of the south).[278] Le Corbusier would repeatedly deploy romantic imagery of Islam, referring to Muslims' 'poignant mysticism before Allah', their 'loud laments… in the ritual rhythms of worship', 'their supplication to the Unknown, the mournful credo of their beautiful

[277] Hall, in Julien 1995: 134
[278] Du Plessis 1944: 23

prayers', and 'the swooning of their souls and those undulating recitals of all the *muezzins* on their minarets when they chant and call the devoted to prayer'. Suppressing the violence of slavery in the colonial encounter, Du Plessis would reframe enslaved Muslims as 'skilled artisans and the *chosen servants* of the Dutch East India Company's officials' (emphasis added).[279]

[The Malay's] ancestors came from Madagascar and Ceylon, from Indonesia and even China. They were princes and slaves, political exiles, some of whom were worshipped as saints, and Javanese craftsmen who became the first skilled masons, iron- and coppersmiths, cabinet makers, carpenters, plasterers and bricklayers at the Cape.[280]

This heroic description of an enslaved population by their enslavers is characteristic of the romantic nationalism of the Afrikaner *Volk* anthropology that emerged in the early 20th century. Du Plessis would write of that 'exotic part of Cape Town' which stimulated his interest in the real Orient and which was strengthened by a journey among the *ur*-Malays in the Dutch Indies in 1933. His own Cape Malays, however, also functioned in the narrative of Afrikaner *Volk* history. In a certain sense the very existence of Malay culture, which shared a language with the Afrikaans-speaking *volk*, added to the veracity of the Afrikaner nation. The function of the Other was to affirm the self. Studying the Malays enabled more reflection on the *volk* itself. The ideology of the *Volkekunde* rested on the centrality of an ethnic essence (ethnos) in all human groups. Du Plessis was not a professional ethnographer, but drew from a store of travel

[279] Du Plessis 1953: 7
[280] Du Plessis 1953: 68

and ethnographic writing and reworks it, and collected the oral tradition and folklore reproduced in his work. Du Plessis would become involved with the *Dertigers*, a literary movement that was distinguished by the influence of 19th century Romanticism, and its concern with the exotic and the psyche. The countryside of the Karoo – where he spent his childhood – and the Muslims of the city were the raw material for his literary outputs. Romanticism and Du Plessis's obsession with the local, and in his mind pre-modern, Malays reinforced each other. He expected to see an exotic oriental presence in the city; he wanted to live in intimate involvement with an 'other' world.[281]

While in his ethnologies the Muslim was the subject of praise and wonder, in his prolific poetry, Du Plessis was able to explore the psychic life of the forbidden subject of colonialism in white supremacist South Africa in aesthetic romantic register. '*Die Vlammende Fez*' ('The Flaming Fez')[282] is a book-length illustrated romance long poem that was published in 1944, just three years prior to Du Plessis's first ethnological monograph of the Malay Quarter. The long poem was a literary genre of experimental modernism emergent in the early 1900s, most notably in American literature, which explored new subjective and aesthetic relations in writing. The voice of Du Plessis's long poem is a poet-as-prophet, who leads an audience through a culture's story or represents an entire world view, telling, to quote Langston Hughes, 'the tale of the tribe'. The long poem genre has typically functioned programmatically where the tale of the tribe represents the world of culturally, economically, and socially excluded persons, and thus served to occupy voids where oppressed or

[281] Jeppie 2001: 86
[282] All English translations are the author's own. The original Afrikaans text is included for reference.

marginalised groups' voices were underrepresented in the prestigious classical poetic genre. Though this 'tale' is overtly a pseudo-epic narrative of the world of the Muslim Malay, there is considerable coded ambiguity that the tribe it critiques are white South Africans in general, and the Afrikaner in particular. The long poem form enabled literary modernists like Du Plessis to undertake cultural commentary through the inclusion of anthropological, historical, and theological material. As such, the meaning is expressly critical and didactic.

'*Die Vlammende Fez*' takes the form of a lyric series composed of 14 shorter poems in 3 parts, building a greater depth of meaning over the sequences of narrativisation. Each lyric poem has meaning in and of itself, yet functions as an integral part of the series, giving it greater meaning within the long poem as a whole. Part one of the series depicts a stillness and tranquility of daily life '*In die Slamse Buurt*' ('In the Muslim Quarter'). The first poem depicts a *muezzin* from above a *minaret* calling the faithful to prayer. His call seems to reach across the ocean towards Mecca, introducing a community of piety and diasporic consciousness. Another describes a mosque congregation in communal prayer during the holy month of *Ramadan*, their fasting a testament to a community's moral economy of sacrifice and reward. Then there is an old man who somberly observes a guitar trope rehearsing on a sidewalk. He hunches on a porch over a low wall.

Die maan sit in a mik gevang	The moon is caught in a trap
Van 'n afgeleefde appelboon	Of a tired apple tree
Wat met vermaerde vingers	Who with emaciated fingers
Krampagtig aan die hemel klou[283]	Claws crookedly to the heavens



Figure 22: Du Plessis, '*In die Slamse Buurt*' ('In the Muslim Quarter')

[283] Du Plessis 1944: 7

The formal arrangement of the group mimic the silhouette of the leafless tree. The human and natural imagery become analogous. The poem is a lament: the longing for a vanishing past, of a fading memory and fading aesthetic culture, and the heartache of its seeming inevitability at the end of a life course.

Swyg al die sangers,	All the singers are silenced
Met vae leed bevange.	Held captive with indiscernible suffering
Nog net een oue kreun	Still just one cries
'n Halfvergete melodie	A half-forgotten melody
Van hartseer en verlange.[284]	Of heartache and longing.

The gentle and melancholic tone of this first part of the long poem shifts dramatically in the second, where the theological undercurrent moves from a sacred piety to religious rapture. It opens with a legend of a saintly historical figure, passed through oral history, of Sheik Yusuf, a pious Muslim prince of the East, who resistance to Dutch colonialism in the 17th century saw him exiled and isolated to the Cape. He appears to a shepherd in a dream, bestowing to him an amulet, suggestive of mystic powers of protection from calamity. This poem, '*Karamat*' (Shrine), introduces a political critique muted in his ethnographic writing. Du Plessis is suggestive of armed struggle against colonialism – 'the worst crime' – for which Yusuf had banished and exiled.

[284] Du Plessis 1944: 7

Gebed-omringte fort.	Prayer surrounds your fortress
Sech Yussuf, jy moes ly	Sheik Yusuf, you had to suffer
Vir daardie ergste misdaad	For that worst of crimes
Jy't vir jou volk gestry[285]	You fought for your people.

The poem here introduces a sense of ambivalence and self-doubt on the part of Du Plessis toward colonialism and the white supremacist state in which he participates. It the poem '*Doekoen'* (Curse), slavery and white domination are remarkably stated explicitly. A vengeful Malay man conjures a spell in a furnace against the white minority in South Africa, and presumably against Du Plessis himself. Beyond the window of the small room a dog howls amid the Stone Pines characteristic of the Cape. On the walls we see a hooked Arabian dagger and the foreboding omen of the skull of a Ram's head.

[285] Du Plessis 1944: 23



Figure 23: Du Plessis, '*Gebed van die Bose*' ('Prayer of Evil')

Met runes uit die Ooste meegebring

Deur Voorgeslagte toe jou mense hier

As slawe vir die Blankes rond moes spring,

Wreek jy jou nog. Tussen die bome

Op Vlagkop tjank n spookhonmd teen die maan.

Kanaldorp le vannag in die swart drome;

Maar in you krot werk jy met duiwelsdrek

En vreemde salwe vir Walpurgisnag

En woorde wat die bose geester wek.

Geen rus vir die ' wat jy verskriklik haat!

Tog moet jy alles vir die' mag verbeur:

Appollyon jou metgesel, Beelsebub jou maat.[286]

[286] Du Plessis 1944: 31

With runes brought with from the East

From your ancestors to your people here

As slaves for the whites you had to jump round,

Vengeance you have still. Among the trees

On flag's head a ghostly dog cries to the moon.

District Six lays tonight in deep dark dreams;

But in your lair you work a devil's potion

and strange ointment for Walper's night

With words that wake evil spirits.

There is no rest for whom you hate terribly!

You will forfeit everything for this power

Appollyon your companion, Beezlebub your friend

Du Plessis's long poem is steeped in Biblical eschatology and cadences. As a Christian allegory, the work has many precedents in Christian devotional works that speak of the soul's path to heaven. The name Appollyon appears in the Old Testament, or the 'Hebrew Bible', 184 times as an 'angel of the abyss', a 'destroyer', and a 'place of destruction'. In The New Testament Revelation 9:11, Appollyon is the king of a plague of locusts resembling horses, who torments anyone who does not have the seal of God on their foreheads. The explicit protestant theological reading suggests the 'tribal' subject being represented is not the people of the 'Muslim Quarter', but white Protestantism in the settler colony, who are both the enunciator and the audience of the work. The following poem, '*Gebed van die Bose*' ('Prayer of Evil'), is the centre and pivot of the long poem, where all the symbolic motifs of the previous pieces come together. Ambivalence and doubt move to certainty and sublime terror. A white man lay sacrificed on a Christian alter. Surrounding him are burning crosses. Beneath him, the Arabian dagger. Beyond him, the larger than life reincarnated Ram's head. In early Christianity, the goat head, or Goat of Mendes, functioned in early Christian iconography as Satan, who manifested himself as a goat.[287]

Vors van die afgrond,	Prince of the Abyss,
Skild teen die lig,	Shield against the light,
Heer van die Bose,	Lord of Evil,
Hoor my!	Hear me!
Gee my die mag wat verskeur en verniel	Give me the power to tear and destroy
In ruil vir my siel.[288]	In exchange for my soul.

[287] Volokhine 2011: 637-642, 646-647
[288] Du Plessis 1944: 35

Here Du Plessis speaks directly to the reader in the first person. *He* is the object of vengeance, *he* is the perpetrator of injustice, *he* is the corpse on the sacrificial pulpit. The long poem emerges as a form of Dutch Protestant settler autobiography: an essay on the Afrikaner psyche. Du Plessis pleads to the 'Prince of the Abyss' and 'Lord of Evil' to offer him salvation on earth in a Faustian bargain for his immortal soul. Here the vengeful Malay, bearing a wound which doesn't close, is mystically empowered through ancestral inheritance. He is no longer, or not only, an infantilized and effeminized social subject, but a figure of terror. Within this terror is the desperation for self-preservation at all costs, even in recognition of the colonial injustice in which he is complicit. Self-preservation is the strongest source of all emotions and therefore the most powerful affective force defining the sublime. The sublime pathos of Du Plessis's inner torment and traumatic loss is heightened by his seeming lack of historical agency, will, or capacity, to redress this injustice. In this distinctive paradox, the representation of unimaginability indeed heightens, rather than lessens, the rhetorical effect of awe.[289]

The question of recognition of colonial violence and dispossession, and complicity within it, is the subject that has occupied much critical postcolonial and feminist readings of late Romanticism. For Du Plessis, the dangers posed of 'othering' the Malay is that this Other is always an uncanny Other, a process of alienation and epistemic violence for *both* other and self. The process of essentialisation and estrangement is also one of demonization and fear. Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity is also useful here, in postulating that colonial subjects inevitably include the trace of

[289] Wittenberg 2004: 21, 34

the oppressed.[290] For him, 'the subject of colonial discourse – splitting, doubling, turning into its opposite, projecting – is a subject of affective ambivalence and discursive disturbance'.[291] The romantic text highlights anxiety and unease as elements that disturb. It articulates in detail the instabilities, ambiguities, and contradictions within romantic period texts that are revealed to be at the heart of colonialism's discourses. The economies of desire in producing a colonial Other through identification and alienation has implications for the availability of representation itself. 'My soul', that most precious of romantic motifs, as Du Plessis states, is the word that enacts the tragedies and triumphs of the sublime – the trivial, the transpersonal, the beautiful, the grotesque, and the sensual.[292] As Rumi said, the soul is tested by sheer terror.[293] Without the sublime, the body is left without a soul.[294] 'The sublime is an image reflected from the inward greatness of the soul'.[295] The divine, heaven and hell, angels and demons, life and death: their vastness and potential threat of this object leads to sublime feelings.

The sublime became an important though not widespread mode of colonial writing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jean-Francois Lyotard declared that 'the sublime is perhaps the only mode of artistic sensibility to characterize the modern'.[296] The sublime has an affective force with the power to transform the subject, to evoke strong, even overpowering feelings, usually in a manner that is elevating and uplifting, but also terrifying. The early use of word 'sublime' embodied meanings of raising 'to

[290] Fulford and Kitson 1998: 11
[291] Bhabha 1994: 94
[292] Clarkson 1997: ix
[293] Rumi 1991: 112
[294] Longinus 1899: XI 21 in Clarkson 1997
[295] Ashfield and De Bolla 1996: 24
[296] Lyotard 1993: 247

an elevated sphere or exalted state; to exalt or elevate to a high degree of purity of excellence'. Freudian theories of the sublime in the workings of the unconscious speculated that 'sublimation' acquired a set of meanings as the refinement of instinctual (usually sexual) energy into more socially accepted manifestations. The sublime as aesthetic style is an overwhelming, even violent emotional force. It not only persuades but also ravishes and transports the subject and the audience. Longinus, often attributed as defining the first use of the concept, claimed that the sublime is universal to all men 'of understanding and judgment' and is thus positioned as an index of civilizational rank.[297] *Civilised Men* are thus able to experience the sublime. This is due to the feelings of terror and threat to life associated with the sublime, but this is understood and judged as only *threatening*, and is not actually unleashed upon the subject. The sublime thus arises out of the function of conversion and suspension of pain and danger; the sublime can only be experienced from a position of real safety and distance from the actual physical threat. The sublime is thus a 'theatre of the passions' in which threat and relief, pain and pleasure, terror and delight, are subject to continual oscillation.[298]

The sublime as a discursive structure had this capacity for aggressive sexual, racial, and theological differentiation already in its 18th century roots. The racial and theological underpinnings that inform Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant's aesthetic theories of the sublime can allow us to develop insights into the dynamics of the simultaneous disavowal and forgrounding of race and theology present in colonial writing. The colonial sublime becomes a category of somatic and urban experience

[297] Wittenberg 2004: 16-19
[298] Ibid: 35-36, 48

that compounds terror and thrill (as theorized by Burke), or a highly specialized technique of the Enlightenment imagination (as theorized by Kant) in which the subject masters a form of alterity that is excessive, overwhelming, threatening, and incomprehensible. In this affective technology of the sublime, the excess of otherness is managed and domesticated by reason as a discursive strategy of colonialism, where that which is to be sublimated is the violence of settler colonialism.[299] Burke's theories on the sublime helped to distinguish it from the concept of the beautiful. For Burke, the subject's aesthetic experience is not derived through the mind's imaginative access to a domain of ideal forms, but is rather a material and bodily event located in the sensory, somatic domain. By disassociating the sublime from the beautiful, Burke aligns the pleasure of sublime sensation with horror, dread, and pain. Burke's modern sublime is thus an incipient sado-masochistic psychic mechanism through which pain is converted into pleasure. In Burke's aesthetics, beauty is characterized by weak, small, and soft qualities, so that the distinction between the sublime and beauty is also the distinction between masculine and feminine aesthetic capacities. In Burke and Kant's gendered aesthetic scheme, beauty is contained within the confines of the domestic sphere; it is subject to reason and purpose. Associated with the feminine, the appreciation of beauty is the surplus of the biological need of male sexual desire. Beauty can be conquered, consumed. The sublime, on the other hand, is the purview of the conqueror himself, a thoroughly masculine, 'pure' aesthetics outside of the economy of use value.[300] The Malay Quarter, as preexistent but also a product of modernism, is a domesticated and confined site considered natural for the feminine subject to inhabit. But the aesthetic of Du Plessis's Malay Quarter also pushes beyond

[299] Ibid: 16
[300] Wittenberg 2004: 34, 37

the merely beautiful. Its terror and delight is anticipatory of the modernist representational crisis and the shocking dislocations of the modernist city. The old Malay Quarter can counter-intuitively be read as an apartheid modernist artifact, a black museum of the *avant-garde*, which disrupts conventional frameworks of representation and seizes Du Plessis in painful rapture.

Du Plessis' use of imagery in rich metaphor and illustration invokes the linguistic and representational incapacity of language to convey grand cerebral and arousing sensations. Potentially threatening facts of racial difference encountered in the ghetto are converted into an exotic colonial locale made accessible for romance and adventure to a settler audience. Yet the colonial site functioned as a repository of anxieties that could not be expressed in Du Plessis's own cultural context. Aestheticized engagement with the Malay Quarter reveals deep and problematic structures of racial and theological difference. Through discourses of sublimity, a potentially threatening site of social and urban otherness could be contained and normalized, converting fear and potential terror into pleasing delight.[301] The aesthetic of the sublime is in this sense a cultural formation in which emergent apartheid values, stereotypes and desires could be constituted and contested.[302] The colonial encounter is revealed as a dangerously charged libidinal drama that are sites for intense European desire endowed with sublime value that can be understood as a spatialisation of racial and theological difference. This allows us to discern the structures of power inherent in its aesthetic representation. The sublime becomes an ideologically useful aesthetic schema for the representational management in settler societies. The sublime, as an

[301] Ibid: 16
[302] Ibid: 6

aesthetic category, becomes unthinkable without a notion of racial and theological difference and colonial alterity.



Figure 24: Du Plessis, '*Katrina*'

In the final section of the long poem, Du Plessis' sublime terror has been sublimated through catharsis into a literary work of art. In '*Karnival*' he depicts the Cape Minstrel Carnival, the postslave ceremony discussed in the previous chapter, as a moment of short-lived splendor and feasting, 'free of worry and grief', compensating for endemic poverty and racial subordination. A grey cathedral is unmoved.

Goudgeel is the drag
Van die Sonneblom
Hy kyk na die prag
Van sy Karnivalpak
En nael deur die gang
Met geen duit in sy sak,
Maar a hart wat verlang
Tussen die walle van rooi fezze deur
Stroom hulle straat-af, n stortvloed van kleur
Wat bruis teen die hoek van die grys katedraal
Kanaldorp vier fees met kortstondige praal.[303]

[303] Du Plessis 1944: 47-49

Golden is the attire

Of the sunflower

He admires the splendour

Of his Carnival troupe

And funnels through the alley

With nothing at all in his pockets

But a heart that longs

Between the ramparts of red fezzes

They stream down the street, a flood of colour

That bristles against the corner of the grey cathedral

District Six celebrates with short-lived festivity

The penultimate poem depicts '*Katrina*', an impoverished sex worker Her threadbare finery belies her 'hatred of life', 'fear of death', to 'earn her bitter bread'.[304] Irrespective of love, hate, fear, and grief, the daily life of the ghetto moves on in its pathetic rhythms. Women appear only twice in Du Plessis's long poem, either as bride[305] or as prostitute. The sublime involves a sexually-coded dominance of 'male spectatorship' over 'objects of rapture'.[306] The theories of Enlightenment philosophers like Joseph Addison and Edmund Burke reveal the emergence of a new, independent Enlightenment subject whose body and mind is imagined as a complex and exuberant site of unbound feelings. Addison's sublime is also an aesthetics of liberation that provides a release of 'pent up' energies. The expansiveness of the sublime experience becomes an 'image of liberty' that is able to overcome 'restraint' and 'confinement'. Addison's sublime can in this sense be read not only as a political aesthetic in which the subject's race and class constraint can be overcome, but also a masculine aesthetic in which 'pent up' libidinal energies can 'expatiate' themselves in an other world.[307] Du Plessis's writing provides an understanding of colonial aesthetics, and in particular how colonial discourses around masculinity, whiteness, and civilization were articulated and represented. In the final poem of the book-length lyric series, and the namesake of the book, '*Die Vlammende Fez*' ('The Flaming Fez'), the Malay subject finally undertakes the *haj* pilgrimage that is cried for in the first poem, closing a circularity of a life course. During the journey by camel over the dunes of the Arabian desert, the Malay is met by the voice of an angel (*Malaika*), who provide a final comfort for the hardships of life. The angel speaks:

[304] Ibid: 53
[305] Du Plessis 1944: 15
[306] Freeman 1995: 3
[307] Wittenberg 2004: 22

Deur die vae kronkelgange

Van jul troebele verlede

Toe die slawe vrees-bevange

Nog moes knniel met bang gebede;

Deur die newels van die nag

Wat jul broos en bitter hede

Met sy oorgeerfde vrag

Toevou in 'n donker skede,

Gloei 'n ster die toekoms in,

Bloedrooi, ryk, beloftevol,

Streep dit soos 'n vurige koeel

Wat die donkerwolke kwes:

Die vlammende fez.[308]

[308] Du Plessis 1944: 58

Through the vague winding paths

Of your murky past

When the slaves still had

To kneel in tearful prayers;

Through the nebulae of the night

Your fragile and bitter present

With its inherited weight

Wrapped in a dark sheath,

A star glows into the future,

Blood red, rich, promising,

It strips like a fiery bullet

Cutting the thunderclouds

The flaming fez.

Yet the Malay pilgrim never reaches his sacred destination in life. He dies before reaching his earthly place of longing, Mecca and the Kaaba, having proved unable to endure the scorched earth of the desert. But he has been promised that the divine destination will be reached in the afterlife. The red fez, flaming in passion and suffering, cuts through the mortal toil, to find peace, if only in the hereafter. The Aristotelian rhetoric of catharsis provides a return to reason from rapture.[309] Ambivalence, dread, uncertainty, contradiction and psychic conflict returns to order. Du Plessis' subjectivity as white, male, protestant, in poetic pathos, is reconciled, indeed inaugurated, as the 'Afrikaner' through a pilgrim's progress.

The historical 'Pilgrim's progress' is an early modern Christian epic allegory by John Bunyan, canonical in English literature. Its protagonist, Christian, an everyman character, journeys from the 'city of destruction', weighted down by the great burden of the knowledge of his sin, towards 'the celestial city', where he finds deliverance. Yet his burden is so great, so unbearable, it may cause him to descend into hell. He encounters the Slough of Despond, thick with decadence, where Christian's doubts, fears, temptations, lusts, shame, and guilt are loads which threaten to sink him into the hellish swamp. He is tempted by the false guides of secular ethics and law, by Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Mr. Legality, and his son Civility. He meets the false Christians, Formality and Hypocrisy, and the weak pilgrims, Mistrust and Timorous. Christian is detained at Vanity Fair, where lustful pleasures are plentiful. He is imprisoned in the Doubting Castle by Giant Despair and his wife Diffidence. And he is misled into a trap by the Flatterer. The endurance of these many trials cleanses the pilgrim's soul.

[309] Wittenberg 2004: 21

Christian vanquishes the devilish Appollyan, and the rightly guiding gatekeeper to the celestial realm, Goodwill, is revealed to be Jesus himself.

Du Plessis adapts the epic Christian allegory to the pressing contingencies of the colonial settler state, where apartheid was already being formalized. He pilgrims through the trials of the Malay Quarter – longing, suffering, despair, fatalism, hate, violence, lust, poverty, vengeance, enchantment, and fleeting ecstasies. For Lyotard, 'both masochism and the sublime rely on this object, real or imagined, onto which purely subjective fantasies and investments are projected'.[310] The Malay Quarter becomes apartheid's black museum, an exhibition of the necessary condition for progress.

The Enlightenment aesthetic constitutes 'a discursive network, a knot of distinct discourses which singly both complement and compete with each other, and collectively amount to a redrawing of the map upon which we chart our senses of the self'.[311] The discursive excess of the sublime becomes linked to the rise of a colonial subjectivity, which is itself a psychical formation in excess of or in surplus to the somatic and urban reality of the person. The black museum inaugurates the modern apartheid subject as the Afrikaner and recuperates whiteness, masculinity, and Christianity as moral authority through the self-knowledge of his sin. In this way, the pilgrim conquers not only his own baser self, but also the racial, sexual, and religious Other. The sublime reveals itself as a mode of domination in which a white male and Christian subject asserts rational supremacy over an excessive and unrepresentable

[310] Lyotard 1997: 28
[311] De Bolla and Ashfield 1996: 2

experience, leading to a triumphantly enhanced sense of identity. Sublimity becomes connected to the social processes and political transformations around the rise of the modern autonomous subject.[312] In Kant's theory, aesthetic experience of sublimity rests on a paradox: the observer seeks out undisciplined and threatening vast phenomena to experience feelings of being overwhelmed, but manages these feelings in such a way that his superiority and mastery over these experiences is once again reaffirmed. Kant's enlightenment sublime is then also a political model in that it demonstrates the capacity of the Western bourgeois subject's self-rule over his unruly senses and psyche. If self-rule can be achieved in the aesthetic domain, this form of internal governance can also be extended outwardly into the political domain. The Western bourgeois aesthetic is thus not only liberatory for the subject himself, but also interpellate the subject and fix relations of power.[313]

The cultural authority of Du Plessis's discursive slippage between religion and race is reliant not only upon a Christian eschatological symbolism and the explication of the psychic inner life of a subject (as in the case of his poetry), but a concomitant scientific calculus of racial taxonomies (as in the case of his ethnoloy).

As… extra-African in origin, the [Malay] race may have tended to remain pure, Malays marrying within their own group as a 'foreign colony', and tending to avoid mixture… Many families claim a comparatively pure Malay lineage; and although Mecca has a stronger hold on the local Malay than Batavia, the "Malays" of Cape Town are still conscious of their link with Java…. Formally the Malays were regarded

[312] Wittenberg 2004: 2, 29
[313] Ibid: 40-41

as an independent division of mankind. Now they are taken to be a Malay-Polynesian type of pre-Mongolian origin, modified by mixture with other elements….The Malays can be divided into three groups. The Orang Melayu (Malay Men), the civilized Malays with a culture, literature and religion of their own. This is the group from which came the ancestors of the Cape Malays…The "pure" Malay of the East is small in stature (average height just over 5 ft.) with an olive skin which is sometimes yellowish, light-brown or cinnamon-coloured; has a flattish face, high cheek-bones, black (slightly slanting) eyes, a small nose, wide nostrils, a large mouth, hands and feet and delicately formed, thin legs, coarse, straight black hair and a sparse beard…Temperamentally the Cape Malays have retained much of the East. Oriental reserve and fatalism are features in their make-up […][314]

Du Plessis here begins his first ethnology with an extensive pronouncement of a racial classificatory (and sub-classificatory) presentation of the 'Malay'. His move is a totalistic schema, in which physical traits are tied with social character, racial purity with religious commitment. Muslims of the Cape were thus constructed as members of an original Malay diaspora – the 'pure Malay lineage' – bound socially and genetically to an Orient, and to be sharply distinguished from black Africans. As a wholly exotic 'foreign colony', ethnicity-as-nation meant they could never be fully integrated into the body of the settler state. All evidence of creolization and cultural exchange within the cosmopolitan enslaved society of urban Cape Town was expunged. In this way the 'purity' of Cape Muslims were given cultural and racial markers that were neither indigenous nor 'creole'. Neither could they be considered settlers as were Europeans, having been part of an enslaved and subordinated class. The idea of race takes full

[314] Du Plessis 1947: 2-3

form in the 18th century natural historical taxonomies that developed alongside the project of global colonization and extended into the 20th century. Du Plessis demonstrates his erudition in this racial science.

Enlightenment racial science gave priority to two determining values at the core of race and species theories: that of purity and origins.[315] Jackson and Weidman trace its theological roots in medieval Christianity, where Noah's three sons were generally considered as the founders of populations of the three known continents: Japheth (traditional ancestor of the Mediterranean people), Shem (traditional ancestor of the Semites), and Ham (traditional ancestor of the Hamites).[316] In the minds of 18th century encyclopedists that followed in their footsteps, Ham, Shem, and Japheth were respectively designated as the progenitors of one of three continental racial populations: Africans, Asians, and Europeans. During the Enlightenment, and with the European colonization of the Americas and the Asiatic, the tripartite division of humanity became extended to encompass new categories. The late enlightenment German biological anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach was one of the leading figures of Enlightenment ethnology who 'opened the way to a secular or scientific racism by allowing naturalistic explanations on the wide diversity of biological life', and considering human beings as part of the animal kingdom rather than viewing them solely in biblical terms. Blumenbach inspired an epistemological shift from Christian doctrine to modern secular science, yet his racial science remained

[315] Kilson 2000: 67, 515-37
[316] Jackson and Weidman 2004: 4

delimited by 'Christian rational forms' concerning God's creativity, human descent, and the uniqueness of the human form.[317]

His 1775 doctoral dissertation, entitled *Dee generis humasni varietate* native (On the Variety of Mankind), is often considered the first secular account of human difference and one of the most influential works in the development of subsequent concepts of 'human races'.[318] In 1796, Blumenbach produced a renowned atlas entitled *Abbildungen Natur-hisotrischer Gengendstande*. (The Nature of Natural-Historical Circumstances). Within it he provides detail of taxonomic categories by which to organize perceived patterns of difference. The work is credited into the 20th century with naming the 'five races of man'. It was a standard reference book for the causes and significance of human diversity. At the turn of the 19th century, the atlas appeared in critical years for the emerging disciplines of anthropology, comparative anatomy, physiology, zoology, and natural history, and for debates concerning the race question.[319] Blumenbach outlined five main races: namely Mongolian, Native American, Caucasian, Malaysian, and Negroid. The classification of the human being was arranged along a spectrum or gradation Blumenbach identifies as ending with two 'extremes': the Mongolian and the Ethiopian. At the centre of the spectrum is placed the 'Caucasian'. This organization had been renamed but maintains the tripartite Christian structure of racial ancestry, while adding two intermediate racial groups to complete his human taxonomy: the American and the Malaysian.

[317] Keel 2019: 276
[318] Keel 2018; Gillespie 1970: 203
[319] Eigen 2005: 278-80

Blumenbach believed in monogenism, that is, the concept that all races have a single origin. [320] This single origin and organizing category of 'race' for Blumenbach and his contemporaries was whiteness. He maintained that the Caucasian race was 'the most handsome and becoming' and the closest to the first and original human being. By positioning the Caucasian at the start of human history, the Genesis of Adam and Eve became white during the Enlightenment.[321] In agreement with Martin Luther's understanding of human creation in his 1534 Bible, Blumenbach saw white Europeans as occupying both the beginning and centre of human history. Their emergence, however, could be accounted for scientifically. The formation of the conception of whiteness was substantiated by the theology of Christian supersessionsim, which saw the Europeanization of the ancient Near East traditions of the Bible. Removed from its ancestral setting as a concept of Jewish chosenness, the Jew became displaced as a chosen group to become a perpetual social other. Through this secular procedure, from the 18th century onward, Christians could claim to have unique access to salvation and constituting a new chosen people.[322] Christian supersessionist theology created the epistemic conditions for modern racial consciousness through the practice of creating an (artificial) 'other' to be replaced, absorbed, or denied by a distinct European and Christian social body. Racial science came to reoccupy the epistemic authority on the question of human origins that was once enjoyed explicitly by Christian theology and the biblical tradition.[323] It is thus through rather than against theological inheritance that whiteness and secularism emerge conterminously in a new scientific authority that present as race-neutral, objective, and free of culture. Following Nietzche and

[320] Harris 2001: 84
[321] Painter 2003: 37; Keel 2018: 38
[322] Ibid: 8-9
[323] Ibid: 272, 277-78



Figure 25: Blumenbach, The Five Races of Man

Blumenberg, the secularization of Christian eschatology, in its orientation around an event that ruptures and transcends history, is significant in the imagination of modern freedom. Sylvia Wynter would describe 'the western European invention/ overrepresentation of "Man"', whereby modern science naturalizes and universalizes this 'Judeo-Christian genre of the human'. [324] This transformation of supersessionsit theology into an epistemic accomplishment enabled moderns to see themselves as the universal representation of 'man' via knowledge gained from science and inhabiting a boundless geography – white space – in comparison to spatially-circumscribed religious primitives.

The relationship between the origination and universalism of the Caucasian to other races on Blumenbach's spectrum of human difference was through the theories of 'degeneration' and 'progress'.

Only so much here: the Caucasian race is probably the original race, according to all physiological and historical dates, which over time shows the different causes of the degeneration in the two extremes, namely on the one hand the Mongolian race with the flat face; and on the other hand in the Ethiopian with the prominent jaw, degenerated. In formation, the American makes the transition from Caucasian to Mongolian, just as the Malay makes the transition to the Ethiopian.[325]

[324] Ibid: 266, 269, 272
[325] Eigen 2005: 285

It was believed that non-white races came about by degeneration from whiteness due to environmental factors, such as sun and poor dieting. Enlightenment scientists also believed that the degeneration could be reversed and that other races could progress to the modernity of the original Caucasian race if proper environmental and cultural controls were available.[326] This same idea was extended to other writers to describe European bodies and cultures as pure, original, and superior compared with other derivative, degenerate, inferior races.[327] Blumenbach's thesis of degeneration and progress of the person applied to all races, including whites themselves. This was particularly salient in the case of the 'poor white problem' in both South Africa and the Southern United States in the early 20th century. The 'problem' indexed a fear regarding the loss of white racial pride, and in particular pointed to the danger that the poor white would not be able to resist the process of degeneration or 'Africanisation'.[328] The Carnegie Commission on the Poor White Problem played a key role in establishing apartheid in South Africa. The maintenance of racial boundaries was also about securing economic boundaries. The Corporation reported that there was 'little doubt that if the natives were given full economic opportunity, the more competent among them would soon outstrip the less competent whites'. Liberal measures undertaken at the Cape included economic and educational affirmative action for whites to raise the underclass of the racial group above the status of other races. It included the humanitarian principle of 'Christian trusteeship' and a 'civilization bar' for blacks that captured the spirit of the liberal reformist agenda.[329]

[326] Harris 2001: 84
[327] Eigen 2005: 298
[328] Furedi 1998: 66-7
[329] Gillespie 2011: 515

Black suffrage was contingent on educational and economic qualifications, vastly limiting the political participation of non-whites.

At the extreme of the racial spectrum in Blumenbach's Atlas is the figure of an African, the representation of the 'Ethiopian race'. The African is represented as entirely assimilated into European norms: Christian conversion, bourgeois aesthetic and comportment, in every way the European man of learning, whose skin incidentally happens to be black. This is Blumenbach's only direct reference to skin colour and physical racial traits in his Atlas. It presents an image of a black man who is *not* in any way visually coded as 'African' or 'primitive', but whose clothing, posture, and setting communicate signs of social elevation and religious authority familiar to the European viewer. In this counter-intuitive representation, Blumenbach indeed attempts to challenge contemporaneous racial science by demonstrating that an African's capacity for assimilation into European cultural norms is evidence of his capacity for civilization. Blumenbach states that 'this negro provides new evidence that mental faculties does not depend on skin colour'. [330] However, Derek Hook describes the 'affective logic of racism'. Racist affectation distorts, conceals, and disguises its object, preventing the subject from confronting a variety of anxieties.[331]Fanon's theorization of the libidinal economy of racism allows us to examine its procedures.

Firstly, the 'pure' African is constructed as a figure of a civilizational deficit, defined by cultural lack. What is the remainder of the human is reduced to black flesh, the phallocentric object. This is the derogatory 'Negro myth' as political fantasy, a racist

[330] Ibid: 290-91
[331] Hook 2012: 146-47

system of representations and attitudes that is more substantial than individual psychological experience, but is a consistent feature of imperial *culture's* definition of its self that attests to a deep-rooted quality of European cultural racism. Fanon here builds on Jungian notions of a 'European collective unconscious', developed in the previous chapter, to describe a pervasive derogatory image of blackness: 'the archetype of the lowest values is represented by the Negro'. In relation to colonial notions of 'blackness', Fanon identifies a whole spectrum of derogatory values that European culture considers undesirable and that it does not wish to admit about itself, it projects onto others as a means of attaining its own 'emotional equilibrium'. The 'European collective unconscious' is akin to the Lacanian maxim of the unconscious as 'the discourse of the Other'. The 'Negro myth' has a precise political and historically contingent function, and that is to act as a repository – *a figure in which whites symbolize all their lower emotions and baser inclinations*. The black man is hence for white culture the 'object capable of carrying the burden of original sin'. There is a continual temptation to externalize, to project outward, those repugnant or unpalatable images of a given subject's ego, 'to ascribe [their] origins to someone else'. It is in this way that in the colonial situation 'the black man stands for the bad side of character'. White racism can thus be read as 'an expression of the bad instincts, of the darkness inherent in every ego, of the uncivilized savage, 'the Negro who slumbers in every white man'. As the psychological vortex of everything rejected as not European, Africa sucked in the deepest projections of the European unconscious.' The benefit of this conceptualization is that it speaks of the investment of the racist culture in its object. Anchored in potent libidinal investments it establishes the very parameters of how the other may begin to be known. Fantasy works best when it is not

openly stated but rather denied, remaining implicit, avoided, unspoken, but nonetheless condition racial comprehension in the colonial sphere.[332]

This projection, or displacement, of negative attributes on the other, enables the racist to believe that the problematic attributes in question are most fundamentally about *the other* rather than about the subject (the subject community's own disavowed qualities). Secondly, a defensive reversal is also present: the feared and threatening object also exerts an attraction – it maintains a sexual charge, proves an object of curious desire. The relation of sexuality in the racist imaginary pinpoints to traces of abhorrence and pronouncements of disgust. Fanon is careful to qualify that it is 'sexual *revulsion*' he has in mind when speaking of phobic attractions. The reviled reaction, the element of repugnance, indeed the *abject* quality of the sexuality Fanon describes, prove crucial. The best way to sidestep these realizations is to represent such troubling sets of ideas as threats emanating from the other. It is thus *the other* who is thought to possess a series of problematic desires *rather than myself.* [333] Thirdly, the neutralization of the perceived threatening abjection of the Negro is phallic castration, a transformation represented by the self-negation of the object and the utter assimilation into European aesthetic norms. Fanon refers to an 'aggressive narcissism' at work in a 'Manichean ordering' of black and white that has multiple detrimental effects to the psychic life of both colonizer and colonized. For the colonizer, there is a 'narrative ensemble' of positive, heroic and grandiose self-representations that is promoted and identified with. A libidinal economy necessarily works to substantiate a community, to establish the elementary social ties without which a coherent social group fails to exist. For the

[332] Hook 2012: 115-17, 131
[333] Ibid: 143-47

colonized, it is the 'dream of turning white' who in many ways thinks of himself as white. This desire is an outcome of a specific configuration of power, of real material, economic, cultural and socio-political conditions. Fanon insists that such 'pathologies of affect', despite being 'wired through' the sexual realms, through unconscious processes, are ultimately derived from inequalities present in wider social structures.[334]

Blumenbach's Atlas extents beyond linguistic discursive tools; he buttresses its arguments with detailed visual portraiture. The strong association between the visual and factual made atlases prime bearers of the new scientific objectivity. Blumenbach wanted biology to be a legitimate empirical science, within in a broadly Newtownian unity of science.[335] Blumenbach attempts to make his pedagogical aim and process clear when he explicitly addresses the need for representational integrity of scientific language images. He presents individual painterly portraits of the 'five races of man'. Each portrait is the figure of an actual person, rather than most of the images that were in circulation that presented non-European 'difference' through some combination of ethnographic detail and exaggerated physiological characteristics. Blumenbach suggests that portraiture constituted a representation of the particular reality of a person. He stresses also that each portrait was produced by a great artist, a 'master' who had their subjects before them. That is, we are assured of the mimetic skill of the artist and the authenticity of the unique individual representation. In their double function as works of art and scientific indices, the images promise a degree of faithfulness. In this brief section of the atlas, the anticipated 'characteristic' presentation of the individual as race type defers to the individual as unique

[334] Ibid: 107, 131
[335] Zammito 2011: 122

personality. Blumenbach's atlas is an experiment in form and a multimedia statement of ethical position toward science's regard for the human being. His insistence is on a unique personality, rather than an imagined composite or corrected racial ideal that is made to stand for an entire racial group. [336]

Blumenbach so attempts to construct an ethics of liberal personhood; that the scientific category of race, both in its logic and in the face of life, cannot accommodate the individual self. He carefully stressed that association with a particular race did not have bearing on individual and collective human capacities. Without denying a scientific use for the classificatory category of race, he attempts to demonstrate that what might actually be real and historical for scientific discourse is insufficient for discourses of culture and personhood. He does so with an intention to correct the presumptions and simplifications that were emerging in the disciplinary guise of (racist) ethnological authority.[337] In this way, Blumenbach both reaffirms and challenges the abstract taxonomic chart. Despite promoting a view of the intellectual equality of all human beings, he proposes a profoundly hierarchical Eurocentric aesthetics that has the Caucasian as the purist, most beautiful, and most civilized form of the human. All of Blumenbach's portraits, and the African in particular, contain visual markers of European culture as testament to their capacity for Enlightenment and civilization. 'The mouth of Blumenbach's work spoke out of two sides… he vindicated black people's abilities, his aesthetic standards prized whiteness above all'.[338] He reflected the liberal sensibility of each individual human being's constitution directly determines the identity of the collective, and is not merely a

[336] Eigen 2005: 281-284
[337] Ibid: 277, 291-92
[338] Painter 2003: 37

collection of beings with common traits.[339] Yet this liberal outlook also remained to see Europe as subject and referent for human potential.

This chapter has identified formative aspects of the psycho-spatial economy in the emergence of the liberal-secular subject within the third world modernisation-colonisation paradigm in Apartheid modernism and French orientalism. Critical interlocutions of 'Africa' and the 'Orient' disturbs the distinguishing criteria of 'humanitarian development' for the former and 'liberal intervention' for the latter. Following Blumenbach's late Enlightenment schema, the African is the extreme of racial degeneration, and though never equality, with great effort may attain white adjacency through Christian humanisation and cultural mimesis. For Fanon, this is the modern technology of the 'white mask' upon 'black skin', a totalising coloniality of psychic disintegration and desubjectification.

Following Du Plessis, the Malay or Oriental's cultural adjacency to whiteness in South Africa is to be both rewarded and feared within the Islamophilia - Islamophobia dialectic. As the psychic bond of the patriarchal father figure to an eternal childhood, infantilisation and devotion are the terms for both childhood security and patriarchal purpose. But as a sacred other inside settler society, where whiteness is denied its theological signifier, the Muslim is a figure of sublime terror, and cannot be integrated within liberal-secular projects of racial reform. Du Plessis' compulsive thinking of Muslim threat, the hooked Arabian dagger which returns in his visions, circulates within libidinal investments in Muslim masculinities between extremes of docile and impotent to virile and vengeful. His pathologisation of Muslim female sexuality

[339] Eigen 2005:279

similarly oscillates between bride and prostitute. For Le Corbusier, the fetish object of the veil was culturally mysterious and politically powerful. Seeing himself as the patriarchal father and 'great educator' to the mystified casbah, the lifting of the veil by his own 'hand of civilisation' would signal the exposure of Muslim sexualities to secularisation and capitalism, and destabilise Islamic social reproduction through the penetration of the private Muslim sphere for colonial conquest.

Du Plessis' aesthetic project, an auto-critical reading of the 'Afrikaner' self through a sublime encounter with radical alterity, offers penetrating insight to the psychical conflict and anxieties *within* white domination under apartheid modernism. Significantly, experimental forms of interiority within the modernist avant-garde reveals a process of spiritual catharsis and aggressive narcissism that reconciled violence as carework, and imbued whiteness with a moral agency in heroic and grandiose self-identifications. The modernism of Du Plessis converts the missionary impulse of the penitentiary-reformatory paradigm in colonial plantation society to the liberal impulse of the modernisation-colonisation paradigm under white nationalism.

Together, I.D. Du Plessis, Johann Blumenbach, and Le Corbusier reveal the circulations of global coloniality within the contingencies of local spaces and subjectivities, the productions and circulations of whiteness within metropolitan and settler masculinities, and the foldings of Christian humanism within the techno-scientific rationality of the post-enlightenment modern-secular. Combining anthropological, historical, and theological material, these relations may be read as biographical statements that reveal the psychic life and political affect of the colonial-modern subject. Modern aesthetic forms in scientific representation, literary works,

and city forms converged in the production of the liberal-secular subject through the colonial encounter. Its object was a modernist instantiation of a historical Muslim ghetto, discursively reconstructed as, perhaps the only, apartheid black museum. Through the liberal confrontation with Islam, the Malay Quarter became invested with a repository for the projections and anxieties of the identifications and alienations of modernity, an exhibition of the necessary condition against which human progress could be read. Colonial aesthetics drew idealized and fantasmatic representations of a purified and original Orient; infantilized, effeminized, and fetishized images of a sacred black subject imbued in noncapitalist moral economies. Throughout, black and Muslim voices are silent, silenced, in their objectifications. They serve as recurring tropes necessary for the moral authority and rational mastery of a utopia at once desired and threatening. The excess of otherness is managed and domesticated by reason as a discursive strategy of colonialism, leading to a triumphantly enhanced sense of identity. A libidinal economy of theologically charged racism constructed a portraiture of the Malay Quarter as both a veiled bride of mysterious beauty and as prostitute of penetrated and conquered sexuality; as angelic chastity and piety and as hellish moral debasement; as crumbling sanctuary and as feverish terror. Through the mechanism of conversion, this doubling, splitting, projecting, turning in its opposite, expatiated accumulated libidinal energies in affectively charged sublimation in an other world, where that which is to be sublimated is the violence of settler colonialism itself. The expansiveness of the sublime experience becomes an ‘image of liberty’ that is able to overcome restraint and confinement in metropolitan spaces, indeed the ‘key to happiness’ and modern freedom in the colonial context.

The following chapter expands this explication of colonial subjectivity as the 'Afrikaner' under apartheid with an examination of the 'English' that together produced the white tribal 'Union of South Africa', and joined the 'settler' to the metropole in a global imperial imagination that inaugurates both the modern tribe and the modern subject.

4

The Modern–Tribes

Through contact with the Europeans, they lost their own songs, learnt those of Holland and kept them alive when the colonists took to the covered wagons on their thousand-mile trek to the north. For these people from the East who have preserved for us part of our Western heritage, such recognition will lead to even more faithful co-operation in service to South Africa. We dedicate this book to a people who through their industry, simplicity and sincerity, their respect for the law, for their own traditions and those of their neighbours, have shown the way to racial harmony; the Cape Malays.[340]

The construction of the 'Malay' and the ethnic homeland of the 'Malay Quarter' occurs at the historical moment of the consolidation of two foundational questions for the South African twentieth century. The first was the 'native question': the anxious and punitive urban management of the 'wandering native' in the context of burgeoning urbanization and industrial capitalism, which produced new formations of proximity and dependence, albeit fraught with hierarchies, and threatened the foundations of

[340] Du Plessis and Luckhoff 1953: 7

racial separation in the cities.[341] Liberal intellectuals and politicians helped to define the 'native question' and to invest segregationist discourse with a much-needed vocabulary. Social anthropology departments at liberal academies in South Africa were instrumental in the implementation of segregation by colonial administrators, particularly in the Departments of Native Affairs and Coloured Affairs. The discursive production of the Malay Quarter occurs when the first 'Native Policy' of the South African government was officially proclaimed in 1937, when prime minister, J.B.M. Hertzog persuaded parliament to pass his segregation acts, which lasted until 1948, when the Nationalist Party gained power to institutionalise Apartheid.[342]

The second foundational concern was the problem of 'white ethnicity' in the new settler nation-state. The vulnerability of white minority domination revealed in bitter tribal conflict between the British and Dutch 'races', the latter becoming known as Afrikaners, was heightened as a result of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. The predominantly rural Afrikaner population had grown resentful of the political and economic dominance of British settlers in the cities.[343] Both the questions surrounding the urban 'native' and white nationalism found a panacea in the rooted, preindustrial romance of the tribal Malay. The Malay Quarter was discursively established in the early 20th century not simply as a region of space in the city, but as a region of time ripe for colonization. For Afrikaner intellectuals like Du Plessis, the Malay Quarter became a manifest Dutch past in the modern city, a spiritual pilgrimage of Afrikaner mythic origins that supported its historical legitimacy and ancestral claims in a settler

[341] Gillespie 2011
[342] Moloka 2014
[343] Malkin 2009

colony of rising Afrikaner nationalism. In variance to a global settler mythology of terra nullus, the 'empty land', South African settler narratives promoted the concept of the 'foreign colony' of the Malay tribe. Entangled in settler conquest, in their 'songs of Holland' that show 'the way to racial harmony', the Malay tribe, rooted to the land and to the past, but of Dutch cultural origin, would benefit colonial and early liberal historiography. This not only defended settler rights to the country but also disputed the status of Bantu-speaking Africans as indigenous people. This mythology identified the indigenous peoples of South Africa as the 'Khoisan' who by the 18th century had disappeared.[344] Their civilization had been decimated through plantation capitalism, Christian conversion, land dispossession, and genocide, though the final disappearance was effected discursively through their racialised classification as 'Coloured', or mixed race, which denied any authentic claim to indigenous title or cultural continuity. The ensuing preservationist efforts to legislate a 'group area' or tribal reservation exclusively for Malays was a way of permanently exhibiting the Malays within the urban text of settler nation-writing and the preservation of the colonial body of the state.

The [Malay] Quarter has been a sanctuary for these people for over a hundred years, and is of great importance to them. Once given, such sanctuary dare not be taken away. The preservation of the Quarter is a matter for all South Africans who claim an interest in the things of the spirit and of their own past.[345]

[344] Maloka 2014
[345] Du Plessis and Luckhoff 1953: 83-84

When age-old customs are not adhered to and family life shows signs of disruption, the causes are found to be the same as in the case of the disruption of European society. However, the evil effects of these causes are accentuated by the Cape Malays' having to abide by their own system and yet somehow correlate it with the modern western way of life.[346]

It is difficult to say now why I got to like the Malays so much. These attachments grow gradually, and one does not always know why, or for what reason. Perhaps it was their serenity and their special form of kindliness which [...] were to form the bonds which developed later.[347]

The intensely affective register of 'bonds' and 'attachments' that reach into 'youth' speak decidedly of friendship rather than of foes, of colonial love rather than racial hatred. Du Plessis freezes Bo-Kaap forever in a timeless, repetitive realm of static nativity and moral innocence, a childhood of Europe that Europe itself has surpassed. There is a deep and palpable regard for the Malay's 'own system' that is 'age-old' and rooted in 'family life'. By joining colonial governance to colonial love, Du Plessis articulates a vision of friendship that served as both an instrument and outcome of the civilizing mission. [348] It is a colonial romance driven by a pathology of incompleteness and lack, of the settler's loss of origins, and of the Malay's deficiency of modernity. As Europe's childhood, as a father's love to a child, its 'own past', so is Malay

[346] Ibid: 68, 70
[347] Ibid: 9-10
[348] Walsh and Soske 2016

infantilization in want of liberal guardianship. The child is thought beautiful, but has an innate deficiency, a vulnerability that is not shared, that is irreconcilable with 'the modern western way of life'. The precarious rule of violence becomes replaced with the cultivation of Malay subjectivity that was bound by affection and gratitude to the colonial master. The colonizer is redeemed not through the loss of power, but through the love and forgiveness of the oppressed.[349] While segregation has been the dominant trope in colonial historiography, a historical critique of colonial power in South Africa must therefore also incorporate a genealogy of the economy of intimacies.

As father to a beloved child, the colonial self becomes articulated through historical difference, where a perpetual black child provides the referent for the historical dynamism of settler futurity. Islamic time, the time of Islam, as a 'sanctuary' of 'the spirit', becomes the other of liberal-secular modernity. To produce and sustain the temporal space of the Malay tribe, it needed to be spatially contained and enclosed in a pre-industrial economy. Across South Africa, black populations were located to impoverishment and isolation in self-sufficient, inward looking rural reserves and urban ghettoes to provide home and subsistence. The purpose of segregation was for the mobilization of cheap black labour as well as for social discipline and control. Segregation was, as some put it, 'the highest stage of white supremacy'.

[349] Ibid

Whiteness is the master signifier that structures all colonial hierarchies; racial, ethnic, sexual, gender, class, linguistic, geographical, and spiritual.[350] While it is common wisdom that apartheid held apart white from black, less understood is that coloniality severed black populations from themselves and each other. The taboo of intra-black alienation and internalised racism is a necessary function of colonial love. Apartheid administrators and intellectuals spoke not of 'races', a politically charged and divisive rhetoric, but of mythic 'community'. The 'Coloured community' was a particular ideological conjunctive that naturalized and idealized expansive heterogeneity and differentiation as singularity, that included the disappearance of indigenous and immigrant histories, and becomes saturated in the potent trope of the disgraced slave mother, the illegitimate child, and the subject of history, the white father. Fanon describes this conceptual world as introjection, as racist misrecognition that undermines and disrupts the integrity of the black bodily ego, so as to indicate a form of narcissistic trauma. When blacks discover themselves objectified in the gaze of the white racist, in so far as they recognize themselves in that structure of misrecognition, they can only become Other to themselves.[351] The white gaze denies the black subject access to whiteness and thus to humanity that has been defined in relation to this phantasmatic whiteness. The type of alienation that results is precisely that of 'black skin white mask', a split between a 'real but bad black self' who seems fully embodied but is denied full access as a speaking subject to the ideals of the symbolic order, and 'a good but false white self… [a] disembodied subject who can become active… speak… but only in its masters voice'.[352] This split becomes active existentially in 'the

[350] Grosfoguel 2009
[351] Sanders 2002
[352] Vertovec and Cohen 2002

psychical interface between colonized and colonizer through the medium of the racist gaze . The black man, Fanon concludes, is 'forever in combat with his own image'.[353]

Concurrent to this colonial schema, Blumenbach's Enlightenment anthropology of the human, detailed in the previous chapter, identified three stable categories along a racial spectrum: whiteness as its centre and referent, and the African and Asian at its two degenerated extremes. By the time of his 1796 treatise, to accommodate the 'human discoveries' of global European colonial expansion, two further categories were added: the (native) 'American' and the 'Malaysian'. Taken together, the 'five races of man' schema would exceed the binary opposition of Fanon's stark Manichean ordering; white and black, colonizer and colonized, oppressor and oppressed. The new categories would constitute a third term, an intermediary ontology. The third term becomes discursively (symbolic and material) and psychically (affective and fantasmatic) positioned as boundary demarcations between the centre and the extreme in the colonial sphere. The intermediary ontology is thus relationally and intersubjectively constituted, that is, it can be understood only in relation to the dominant and subordinate categories it both joins and holds apart in a racial matrix of designations, role-allocations, interpellations, proscriptions, and locations. In this important sense, the segregation-subordination doctrine of apartheid between black and white was impossible without the constitution of the Malay and the Coloured, the technology of separation itself.

[353] Hook 2012: 114-5

Apartheid intellectuals would benefit from the doctrinal authority of Christian supersession together with secular scientific degeneration and progress theories to position the moral authority of white supremacy and the structuring of a racialised society. The Enlightenment five point spectrum of humanity would provide a reservoir of theological and scientific resources in the production of Apartheid racial classifications that was consistent with, rather than apart from, the wider colonial world order. For Apartheid intellectuals, administrators, and bureaucrats, the centre and extremes of the spectrum would remain fixed in their allocations and meanings; the European would be classified as 'white', the African as 'black', and the Asian would be classified as 'Indian' in accordance with their preponderance in the South African context. Blumenbach's intermediary categories, however, would be reworked to meet local contingencies in South Africa. Apartheid was 'underpinned by a hankering for order'.[354] The 'Coloured' and the 'Malay' would be discursively constituted as its intermediary ontology, as an essential mediating vehicle to stabilize and sustain order within the vast societal system as a whole. This mediation formed the uneven middle ground in regularizing the social collectivity in the project of settler statecraft.

Although the structure of the late Enlightenment racial schema would be reinvested, the Apartheid classificatory system would introduce a remarkable innovation. There would be the ontological splitting, doubling, an oppositional organization in the identifications between the Coloured and the Malay. Fluid categories of creolization and hybridity, the greatest threat to the Apartheid order, would be marshalled into

[354] Posel 2001: 57

frozen and divergent ethnic stereotypes in the Coloured and Malay. Part of this was a political strategy to draw out and deepen social differences between non-white populations of Cape Town and the Western Cape province in which it is situated. In the context of intensifying popular urban struggles, the boundaries of 'Malay' identify were therefore constituted against 'Coloured' identity. Malay, as a metonym for Islam, was constructed as different from the Christian and secularized Coloured. The Muslim-as-Malay came to be constructed against the Christian-as-Coloured in official and dominant discourses since the 19th century.[355] Religion was a way of identifying and differentiating bodies and to construct racial boundaries, such that racial difference between the Coloured and Malay was always already marked with religious difference.

Our policy is one, which is called by an Afrikaans word "Apartheid". And I'm afraid that has been misunderstood so often. It could just as easily, and, perhaps, much better be described as a policy of good neighbourliness. Accepting that there are differences between people, and that while these differences exist, and you have to acknowledge them, at the same time you can live together, aide one another, but that can best be done when you act as good neighbours always do.

– Hendrik F Verwoerd, Prime Minister of South Africa (1958-1966)[356]

[355] Jeppie 2001
[356] Qtd in Le Grange 2015

Religion as marked on the racialised body recentres the aesthetic order of purity and the immaculate, requiring enclosure of the social body and moral vigilance to maintain its integrity. The apartheid project was thus not simply about constructing hierarchies of naturalised racial categories, it also instituted distinct moral categories enclosed by physical boundaries. The coherency and legitimacy of these social, spatial, and moral boundaries required constant maintenance and surveillance 'as good neighbours do'. One of the defining characteristics and enduring legacies of spatial apartheid is effective boundary maintenance, widely known as the buffer strip. Across South African cities, technological modernisation constructed social enclosures, in the form of transport armatures such as railway lines and motorways; natural boundaries such as rivers and mountains; targeted municipal legislation; as well as zoning controls such as 'green belts', industrial zones, conservation areas, and uninhabited 'brownfield' sites. Apartheid buffer strips, rather than a uniform spatial device, thus formed an intricate network of new and repurposed ideological infrastructures. Within this schema, Bo-Kaap forms a unique anomaly. Black group areas were produced by forced relocation from the white city to the urban peripheries, enabling the production of new ideal townships (Figure 26). The anomalous inner city location of Bo-Kaap troubled the utilisation of the characteristic buffering mechanisms to effect an ethnic reserve, making separation via distance unworkable. The designation of Bo-Kaap as a Coloured and Malay group area required an alternative remedy.

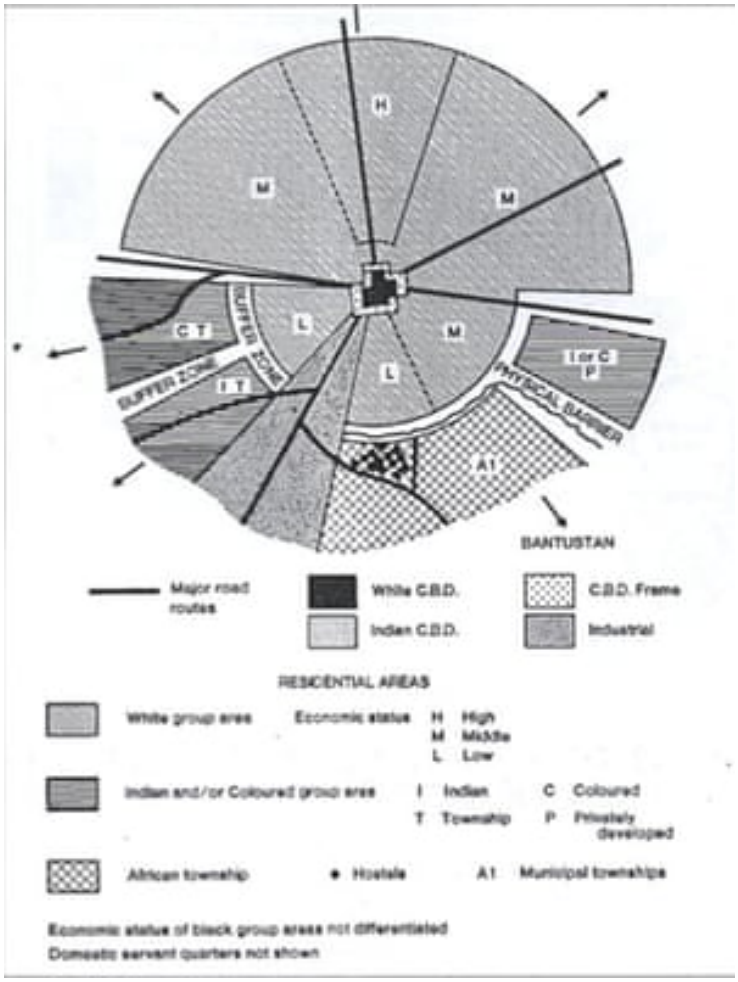


Figure 26: Diagram of the ideal Apartheid city

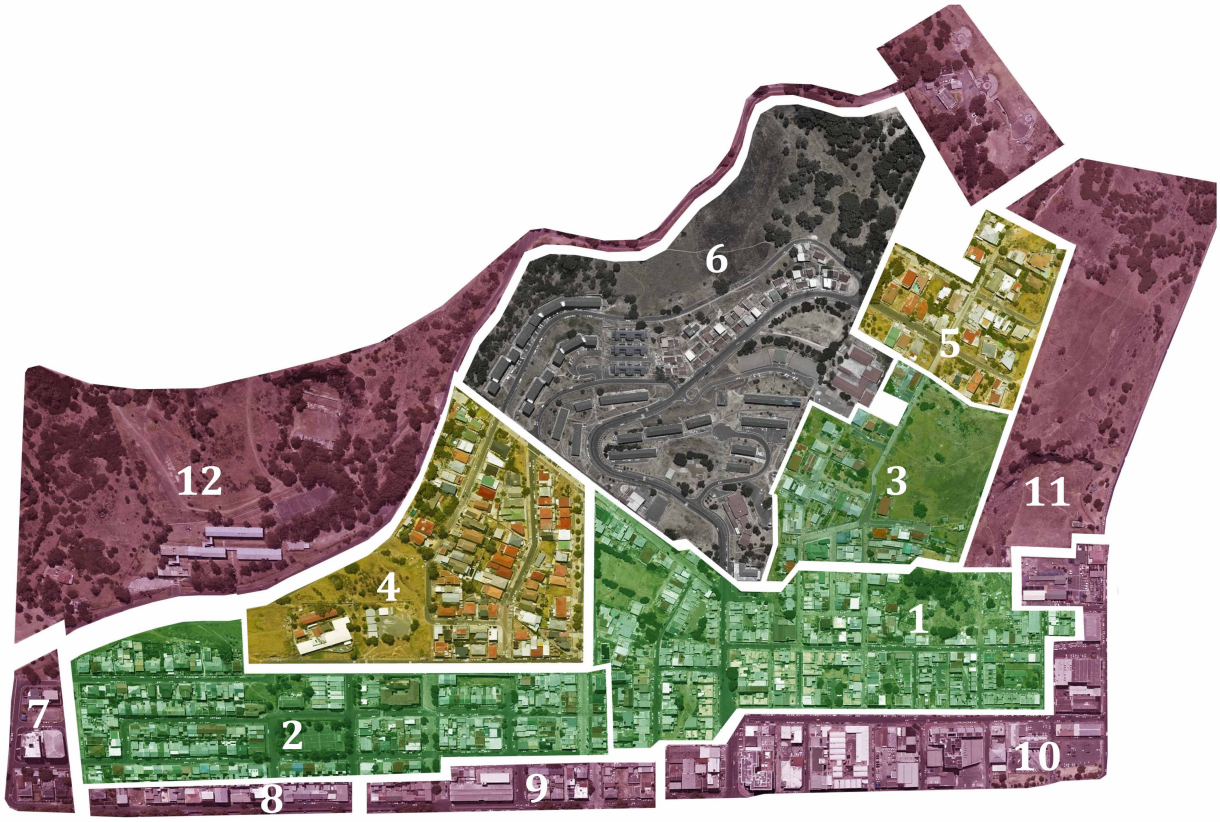


Figure 27: Bo-Kaap Group Area buffering infrastructures from the White City

An interlaced network of six buffering infrastructures were condensed largely within the circumference of a single city block (Figure 27, buffers in magenta). The Tamboerskloof Buffer (precinct 7) is a unique urban fragment in the central city, containing a residential area with no Group Area proclamation. it marks a transition between the former “Coloured Group Area” in the east and the former “White Group Area” of Tamboerskloof to its west. The Coloured and Malay Group Area Buffers (precinct 8 and 9) were zoned as ‘free trading areas’ for Coloureds and Malays separated from the White Central City by the stone wall along Buitengracht Street, the

broad boulevard itself a zone of separation. The city council's design of the foreshore scheme from the 1940's included an elevated 'Buitengracht Freeway' that formed part of a proposed ring road expressway that would encircle the inner city. The Buitengracht Freeway would cut into many city blocks in Bo-Kaap. Although never realised, buildings were demolished in preparation for its construction, and parking garages and workshops were built on its periphery as 'servant spaces' for the anticipated infrastructure. Apartheid ideology combined modernist town planning with racist sentiments, and the proposed freeway with non-residential servant spaces would serve a double function as a buffer strip segregating Bo-Kaap from the city centre that was declared white in 1965.

The modernist Foreshore Plan of 1951 identified an Industrial Shed Buffer (precinct 10) as a special development zone for transport infrastructure. Through removal of residential populations through slum clearances after 1934 for car garages and workshops, an uninhabited modernist industrial precinct was produced that maintained apartheid's ethnic exclusions in Bo-Kaap. An Industrial Labour Buffer and Defense Buffer (precinct 11 and 12) included the historic Strand Street Quarry, the Signal Hill Lion Battery and Shooting Range along Military Road, which served as installations for the military and industrial labour that precluded any civilian residential inhabitation. The extension of Strand Street was also constructed in the early 1930s, splitting Bo-Kaap to the south from the neighbourhood of De Waterkant to the north. In the 1950s the effects of the Group Areas Act which forcibly removed many black residents from De Waterkant to the townships of the Cape Flats caused the two areas

to become separated, as the communities no longer shared social ties, religion, and cultural practices.[357]

As black populations were segregated not only from the white city, but alienated from each other, a secondary buffer strip within Bo-Kaap itself separated the Malay from the Coloured (Figure 28). Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, Bo-Kaap would be divided into two sections. The northern section, towards the sea, was classified as a 'Malay Group Area', to be inhabited by Muslims. The southern section, towards the mountain, was classified as a 'Coloured Group Area', to be inhabited by Christians. Muslim-as-Malay and Coloured-as-Christian were classified and sorted across a buffer zone of Christian institutions and open spaces. St. Monica's Maternity Hospital and St. Paul's Coloured Mission School were both initiatives of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town. The medical mission serviced indigent expectant mothers of all ethnicities, but midwifery training was restricted to Coloured Christians. Boundary maintenance saw Muslim women explicitly barred from receiving education at the institution.[358] European domination cohered in the 19th century around the idea of white civilization as an assemblage of property ownership, law, and Christianity.[359] It could be speculated that Coloured-as-Christian discrimination against Muslims in apartheid Bo-Kaap was a redemptive appeal for humanisation within coloniality by associationally participating in white civilisation.

[357] O'Donoghue 2010
[358] Samie 2017
[359] Walsh and Soske 2016



Figure 28: Secondary buffer strip between Malay and Coloured within Bo-Kaap

The coherence of the two newly consolidated race groups would be arranged in the classificatory spectrum through the techniques of caricature[360] or stereotype[361]. In the ontological work of caricature, a highly valued attribute in an other, an idealized association, is reduced to that particular quality, condensed to a pejorative phallic feature, as if it exhausted all there was to know about them. To the apartheid mind, the Coloured would become a symbol of sexual virility. The Malay, inversely, would be eclipsed in her or his religious piety. The potentially positive and apparently oppositional attributes of virility and piety are transformed into an inverted ideal

[360] Hook 2012
[361] Bhabha 1994

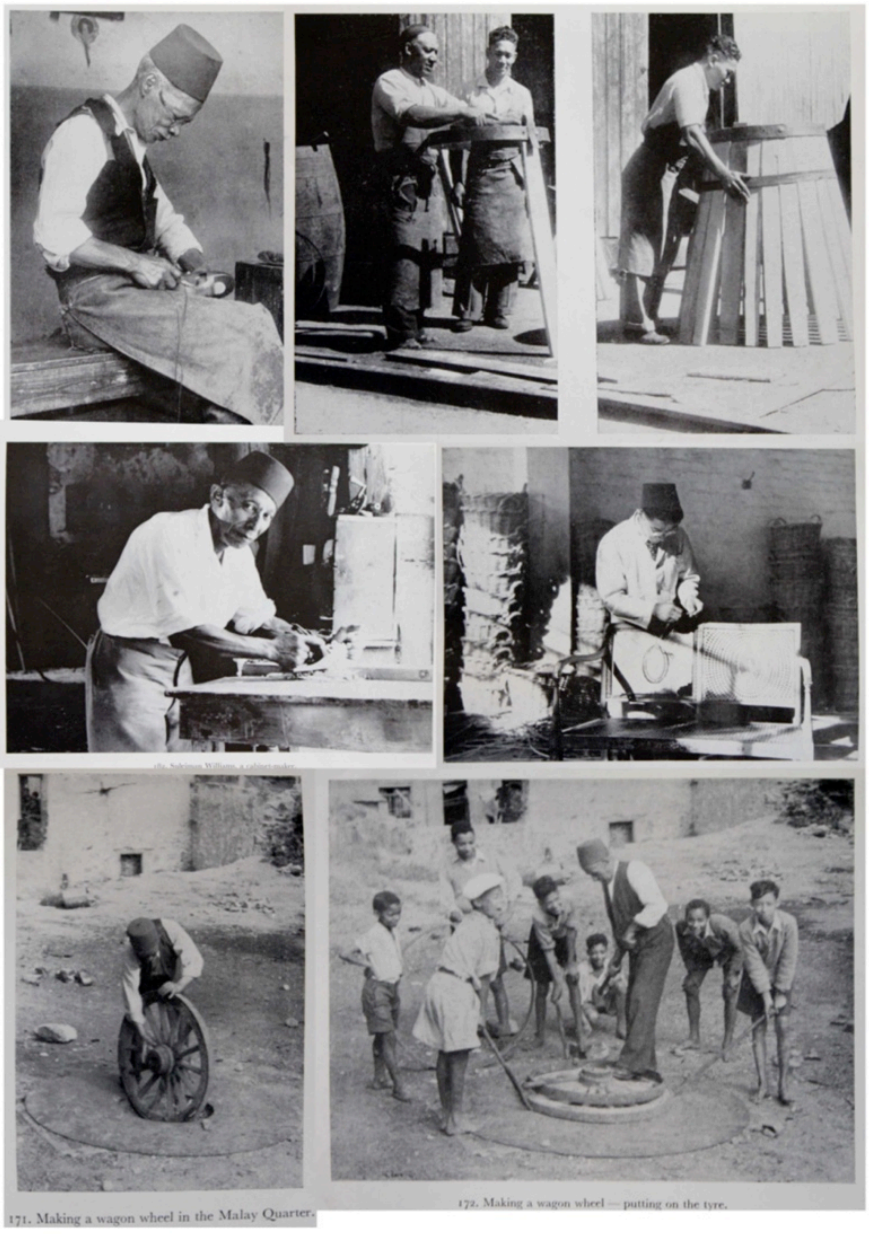
beyond which nothing else is worth knowing. It becomes the salient feature of the other that overrides historical or social complexity. The Malay is thus nothing more than piety, tradition and racial purity. The Coloured is nothing less than racial miscegenation, rootlessness, and virile unrestraint. Working with Fanon, in the psychoanalytic work of inversion, of inverted admiration, the fetishized attribute to the apartheid mind is one that is highly prized and desired, but is exaggerated and spoilt by its excess, turned into a deficiency, even a threat to the established order, and must be controlled, regulated, and disciplined in the other. Phallic stereotype or caricature is thus the productive work of racist lack. 'Racist lack' produces an anxiety, of something intensely wished for, that is analogous with a 'reversal of blame' or 'negative reflection' between the apartheid self that is deposited upon the figure of others: a psychical projection whereby my lack is your unacceptable attribute.[362] Fanon details the paranoid-schizoid mechanisms of splitting and denial at work in colonial racism, where the European subject is tethered to, rather than confronted by, his dark reflection. Fanon gives the profoundly disturbing insight that colonizer and colonized mutually constitute each other's identity, such that desired and disavowed attributes are anxieties of likeness rather than of difference.

The anxiety of likeness, similarity, or proximity to whiteness by an intermediary ontology needed to be combatted, reversed into a series of stringent cultural and psychical barriers to identification. Both Coloured and Malay resembled whiteness in culture, language, and modes of conduct. For Fanon, this mimetic relationship of 'Black Skins, White Masks' both affirmed the coloniser's sense of superiority and yet

[362] Hook 2012

also nonetheless disturbs him. Rather than being reassured by their own cultural reflection – mimicry understood here is simultaneously as resemblance and menace – the colonizer, 'sees a grossly displaced image of himself'. Fanon here shifts the focus of cultural racism from the politics of settler statecraft to the politics of narcissism.[363] Through identification through similarity and difference, the intermediary ontologies of the Malay and Coloured could approach whiteness, but it must remain unattainable, unreachable, untouchable. The wider significance in the operation of racist lack beyond its insight into white settler subjectivity, is that the historically fluid identifications between what was to become the Coloured and Malay, would fundamentally become two histories, two cultures, naturalized as if it had always been and will always be so. Du Plessis is at great pains, in proffering a definition of the Malay, to distinguish her from the Coloured, a difference that was needed for its definition. Implicit is that in this discursive division of conceptual labour was still fluid and unconsolidated until the rise of apartheid. Du Plessis provides us with a taxonomy of this racial economy. Coloureds are lower classed 'fish-sellers' and 'street-cleaners'. Malays, however, are skilled artisans, a Coloured 'aristocracy' (Figure 29).[364]

[363] Ibid
[364] Du Plessis and Luckhoff 1953: 9


171. Making a wagon wheel in the Malay Quarter.

172. Making a wagon wheel — putting on the tyre.

Figure 29: Malay occupational designations

Race was to be infinitesimally identified in the field of economy even among and between the working classes, producing divisions within divisions. It would be deterministic in every facet of life in a fundamentally racist society. Gender, religion, leisure, education, and property among the black working classes would also be raced in obsessive, overdetermined investments. Du Plessis and Luckhoff continue:

A Malay girl will not be a member of a social or sports club. She will not participate in activities such as dancing, singing, or acting. These are left to the men, who are very active therein. At dances and public social gatherings, the partners will be coloured and not Malay girls.[365]

As coloured prestige is expressed in terms of educational achievement and material possessions… Malay prestige is assessed in terms of the fulfillment of religious demands.[366]

The determination of Coloured and Malay racialization extended into the intimate spheres of domestic, sexual, and gender relations under the sign of desiring white male colonial subjectivity. Coloured girls could be recognized in their proclivity for dancing with men and worldly pursuits, Malay girls by their chaste refrain. The interlocutory genealogy of these paired intermediary ontologies gives historical authority to these seemingly casual observations. Pre-apartheid conceptualizations of Coloured identity

[365] Ibid: 71
[366] Ibid: 80

were understood in terms of 'miscegenation', specifically between white male masters and black female slaves that created a stigma of shame around those of 'mixed' descent.[367] Radical asymmetries of power itself sexualizes and engenders forms of sexual propriety and sexual anxiety. Heightened colonial anxiety around miscegenation responds to 'the awareness that the supposedly clear line between "white and black" was in reality quite blurred'.[368] The obsessiveness present in apartheid desire, and the denial of that desire, about the perils of mixture, of racial blood-mixing, can be outlined in a predictable equation: 'if the mixing of races is a sin, a sin, furthermore, that whites are supposedly congenitally predisposed against, then 'is white-led South Africa, with a "bastard" Coloured population numbering millions, not implicated in sin from its beginnings?'[369] Zimitri Erasmus writes:

For me, growing up coloured meant knowing that I was not only not white, but less than white; not only not black, but better than black (as we referred to African people)… The humiliation of being 'less than white' made being 'better than black' a very fragile position to occupy. The pressure to be respectable and to avoid shame created much anxiety…. Being coloured often meant having to choose between blackness and whiteness… between being kris (Christian) or slams (a derogatory term for Muslim). Being coloured is about living an identity that is clouded in sexualized shame and associated with drunkenness and jollity…Colouredness as an identity… has always been understood as a residual, in-between or 'lesser' identity –

[367] Erasmus 2001
[368] Hook 2012
[369] Coetzee 1991: 9

characterized as 'lacking', supplementary, excessive, inferior or simply non-existent.[370]

Intermediary ontologies share a far greater degree of intimacy and proximity in the colonial relationship. It is a fragile and ambiguous state, caught in the alienations of domination, and the special rewards of complicity in the colonial order. The apartheid of middle class Coloured experience expresses both a trauma of 'sexualized shame' marked on the body and the 'non-existent' identity of a historically unmarked body as determined by a racist society. In the conceptual architecture of apartheid, race and religion were inseparable, such that it was not possible to be Malay and not a tradition-bound Muslim, not possible to be Coloured and not a shamed Christian. These discursive dependencies and material intimacies between Malay and Coloured did not disrupt or diminish difference. An economy of intimacy instead produced and structured the difference, as inclusion and exclusion between assimilated black ethnicities, that was central to the technologies of apartheid as the management of entanglement between intermediary ontologies. The Black Consciousness leader Steve Bantu Biko determined black solidarity and community-building as a necessary shared civilisational project that could effectively resist colonial liberalism and guarantee a common future.[371] By considering the intimate intra-black ontological economy that produced and reproduced intersectional apartheid hierarchies, 'brownness' problematises the Black Consciousness paradigm as a heroic romance that was not universally desired, or easily achievable.

[370] Erasmus 2001: 13-14
[371] Walsh and Soske 2016

The Cape Malay differs from that of any other racial group at the Cape. It is the outcome of his religion which… eschews the pursuit of wealth and power for its own sake… The Malay community has not absorbed the values and attitudes expressed by the European surrounding him… The Malay does not want to become part of Western European culture… Class distinctions within the Malay community are primarily determined by the capability of the individual to fulfill religious demands, for by doing so he will enrich the whole community... The family is the social unit to an even greater extent than pertains in European society… There is overwhelming evidence to show that family life among the Cape Malays is maintained in an exemplary way.[372]

The social form of the family, and the material form of domestic space, is suffused with sacred meanings in Islamic epistemology. It constitutes a foundational institution which formed the backbone in the Quranic cosmology of Islamic urbanism.[373] Houses are places of prayer, like mosques, extending beyond ordinary habitations to include the principle holy sites of Mecca and Medina, looked toward daily in prayer rituals, where every day social life is imbued with *baraka* (blessings) and *ibadah* (worship). Houses in Bo-Kaap are typically modest, but many accommodate extended families within or nearby the household, promoting values of multi-generational care and community commitment. 'House' appears over 160 times in the Quran, with complex and nuanced meanings and associations including enclosure, shelter, refuge, family,

[372] Du Plessis and Luckhoff 1953: 68, 70
[373] Bamyeh 1999

community, paradise and garden.[374] In all descriptions, the quality of life in paradise is an idealised rendering of the best aspects of domestic life in this world. Home and paradise is separated from each other by a barrier or veil (*hijab*) across which inhabitants of each realm converse with each other that gives spiritual context to the idea of privacy in the home , and how this value is mediated. A genealogy of home in Bo-Kaap project beyond the unbanning of Islam at the Cape in 1804, where enslaved Muslims would meet weekly to pray and read chapters out of the Quran in private houses. Called *langar*, the practice originates in Java as a word for a place of worship in a house.[375] The house becomes a moral centre for believers linked to the human, making prosaic customs and hospitality part of a universal pattern of order and salvation, where the home as the garden in the ghetto affirmed dignity, life, and social reproduction.

For Du Plessis and Luckhoff, quoted above, these discursive meanings of the Muslim home shift entirely yet imperceptibly. Under apartheid nationalism, the Muslim home comes to represent the Ruskinian ideals of bourgeois domesticity, and its associations to public respectability, trust in authority and hierarchy, and the privacy of the heteropatriarchal nuclear family based on companionate marriage. Through a conversion to modernity, the Islamic domestic sphere would be ideologically wielded to promote apartheid as a modern idealisation of Afrikaner *volk* values. Apartheid constructions of Muslim sexuality and femininity would further be aligned with the mythic trope of the Afrikaner 'volksmoeder' (mother of the people). By the turn of

[374] Campo 1991
[375] Davids 1980

the 20th century, the volksmoeder became the protagonist in the historical movement of an epic narrative of Afrikaner culture. Her characterisation graces her as the embodiment of a 'covenant with God' for the salvation and triumph of a 'chosen people' of *Voortrekkers* in their historical 1838 defeat of indigenous resistance to their migration from the coastal Cape Colony to settle what would become the South African interior.[376]

The volksmoeder symbolised the strength and virtue of a patriarchal private sphere as wife and mother, but more significantly, as the ontological security and spiritual sustenance of the 'public household', the mother of the Afrikaner nation. The historical dynamism of the peculiar cultural form is animated by three distinct impulses that model an inhabitation of volk values. As sacred icon, volksmoeder is an archetypal Christ figure of sacrifice and suffering. She endures with forbearance in the maternal hold to her flock amid persecution in the British concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. She is also the secular figure of political and economic action, who maintained the agrarian economy in the absence of the patriarch gone at war and was determined to cross the Drakensberg mountains barefoot rather than submit to British rule. This political reading of a nascent feminism was suppressed in the dawning years of apartheid.[377] The third impulse synthesises sacred and secular modalities. Volksmoeder is a vernacular Christ, radically transformed as a woman. As a settler vernacular, the woman-Christ extends patriarchal agency beyond the familial economy: she is rural and labouring to sustain the fertility of the volk landscape; she

[376] Van der Watt 1996
[377] Ibid.

inhabits both the domestic sphere of social reproduction and the public sphere of political action; and in contrast to the global imperial British settler imaginary, she establishes intensive attachment to place locality.

The woman-Christ vernacular joins the maternal hold to cultural landscape with potent origin myth of perilous exodus and promised land, and of imperial persecution and scorched earth, that imbues volksmoeder with a sacralised blood-in-soil title that assembles an ambivalent indigenisation unique within settler historiography .In the abjections of land alienation and concentration encampment by British imperial military strategy, volksmoeder is invested with her most radical and ambivalent potential. Afrikaner women and children perished in approximate numbers to black colonial subjects in the segregated British camps of the Anglo-Boer war. The radical historical potentiality of the woman-Christ is the transformation of feminine piety and social suffering from white masculinities as colonial alienation to empathic identification across the colour line. Psychoanalytic identification describes the assimilation of attributions of the other by the self, in which the model of the other provides for a reconstituting process of self-transformation.[378]

The critical availability of volksmoeder on the eve of white nationalism was as transformation of land as entitlement, belonging as possession, and difference as colonisation extending from the nearly 200 years of plantation slavery, toward an ecology of ethnocultural empathy where she is decentred in sustaining relations with

[378] Laplanche 1973

the natural world and black and indigenous peoples. However, a radical vernacular genealogy of volksmoeder is foreclosed almost as soon as its critical potential emerges. In the ensuing decades after white union, the early British liberalism of the 19th century postslave Cape Colony reconfigures the formal abolition of the plantation economy to one of urban industrial capitalism integrated within liberal imperial networks and a hardening of anti-black racism.[379]

Rapid social, economic, and technological transformations of twentieth century industrialisation, urbanisation, and secularisation present a dramatic departure from the patriarchal, agrarian, and domestic model of femininity prescribed by volk articulations of separate spheres for men and women. Afrikaner masculinities perceived an emergent liberal-secular urban bourgeoisie transformation of the volk as a crisis of social reproduction in the spiritual and gendered iconographic registers of volksmoeder. In the decades after white nationalism is consolidated with Anglo-Dutch Union in 1910, the Afrikaner masculinist anxiety of a corrupted vernacular woman-Christ icon had converged with racial and class difference,[380] such that spiritual vitalism converged with racial purity and white wealth. A moral panic of miscegenation, framed as sexual violence committed by threatening black masculinities against the victimhood of white femininity, both invigorated antiblack racism and reaffirmed patriarchal gender norms. This convergence was unremarkable, in the sense that it occurs in the global context of potent circulations across the British

[379] Kent 1999
[380] Van der Watt 1996

Empire of anticolonial rebellions –including in Jamaica, Ireland, and India– framed as sexual crimes against white womanhood and Christian civilisation.[381]

Volksmoeder now as racial purity, class privilege, and gender normativity, was still vulnerable to the spiritual and temporal rupture of modernisation. Apartheid modernism enters to rationalise these turbulent currents in stable idealisations of home and community through colonial displacements with vernacular Islam. Du Plessis constructs the Malay woman as the 'angel of the house' and the Muslim community as a 'walled garden' in the city that eschews European pursuits of wealth, power, and individualism. He further praises the Malays as a 'Coloured elite' and a 'working class aristocracy'.[382] In this manner, Muslim women become temporally suspended outside of modernity to provide sanctuary to the anxieties of psychic impotence for white Christian masculinities, and the 'traditional' volksmoeder is displaced upon Muslim women as a colonial sacred other that secured the ideology of a separate domestic sphere for Afrikaner men. Consequences of the colonial temporal suspension of Islam would include liberal freedoms granted to Christian women and denied to Muslim women. This would, for instance, see half a century between the white Christian and black Muslim women student franchise at the University of Cape Town.[383]

As the bourgeois family and domestic sphere could capture and reshape the social and political order of Malay-Muslim life, both in imperial Victorian respectability and

[381] Kent 1999
[382] Jeppie 2001
[383] Swingler 2019

Afrikaner *ordentlikheid*, the colonial appropriation of the 'Malay home' as social unit and the 'Malay Quarter' as integral community formed an urban bulwark against the corrupting prospect of a black modernity: the perceived moral panic resulting from the ferment of black migration and urbanization, impoverishment, the proliferation of shanty towns, rising levels of crime, 'juvenile delinquency', and the decay of 'native family life'. [384] Apartheid religious values offered the promise of salvation to the black majority, social discipline and the notion of rehabilitated family life. The portrait of the 'Malay' constructed an idealization for the attainment of these ambitions.

As with the Afrikaner volksmoeder and the Victorian domestic ideal, Malay-Muslim women in particular brought and guarded virtue and piety into the home, and the desirability of domestic 'discipline' and 'hygiene'. The desire for order and discipline in the domestic sphere would correlate in the nationalist, modernizing desire for a similar discipline in the public sphere, that is, for a rule of law enforced by the colonial state. The dominant framework for staging the relationship between colonizer and colonized was paternalism; [385] the patriarchal and heteronormative nuclear family provided the template for the affective dimensions of the colonial relationship by gender and generation grafted onto religion and race. The ideological reworking of Malay respectability towards the legitimation and consolidation of Afrikaner nationalism produced Cape Muslims as proto-European subjects, a privileged recipient of the civilising mission, that garnered favour and reward from the colonial state.

[384] Posel 2001: 57-58
[385] Walsh and Soske 2016: 19

By the 1970's, the effects of the Slums Act of 1934, the Health Act of 1935, and the Group Areas Act of 1950 among other social projects had successfully achieved their ideological purposes of stigmatising black spaces as materially and morally deviant. Apartheid modernism had also achieved a normative social order of tribalising black associational life within new mono-ethnic urban fragments that would appear natural and common-sense frames of identity. Within the ghettos, as new tribal spaces, urban and social problems could be attributed to the internal cultural character of the tribe rather than to the structural and institutional violence of the settler state. Similarly, the racial cleansing of white settler space and its attendant accumulations and concentrations of capital, would also appear naturalised and desirable as the spatial referents of urban modernity. Liberal subjectivity would be moved to a moral project of intervention, rehabilitation, and development in the ghettos, transforming structural violence into affirmative carework, and recentring whiteness as the civilisational agency of moral salvation and modern progress.

A large-scale restoration project of the derelict Malay Quarter was initiated in the mid-1970s by the Cape Town municipality at the time of the Soweto uprising in the city of Johannesburg's largest ghetto. 20 000 Black school children participated in protest action to resist the *Afrikaans Medium Decree* of 1974, a national statute that Archbishop Desmond Tutu would describe as having placed "the language of the oppressor" in the mouths of every black child.[386] Based on the South Africa Act of 1909, that recognised only the cultural union of white Anglo-Dutch settlers, the same language requirement in schools was not demanded of English-speaking white settlers.

[386] South African History Online: 2022

Black school children were burdened with a punitive economic sanction for pursuing an education, which was legally required only of whites, and indigenous languages spoken by black South Africans would be reserved only for religious instruction.[387]

The Malay Quarter restoration provided a deep reservoir of cultural legitimation to aggressively project European culture generally, and Afrikaans specifically, as the origin and future of South African national identity. Within the imaginative restoration, only 'Cape Dutch' historical architectural styles would be restored, and where it did not exist or appeared insufficient, they would be created and amplified. It was also important that a 'black' Cape Dutch authentically resembled and affirmed the 'white' progenitorship of the Cape Dutch plantation style, but deviated sufficiently as an exoticised subsidiary. The innovation of brightly-painted multi-coloured urban facades (inhabited by Malays), in contrast to the universally white-washed plantation houses (inhabited by Dutch-Afrikaners), provided striking confirmation of this Apartheid multiculturalism. Multiculturalism, in its historical and contemporary forms, with normative whiteness as its master signifier, censors dissent as diversity, reconciles social difference as choice, converts inequality to opportunity, and transforms culture to commodity under liberal capitalism.

The political aesthetic of the Malay Quarter National Monument would discursively implicate black South Africa as historical beneficiaries of white nationalism, and thus authorising continued white cultural and linguistic mimesis. The restoration process

[387] Boddy-Evans 2019

was carefully documented by its conservation architects, Lesley and Steven Townsend, in a seminal 1977 publication titled 'Bo-Kaap: Faces and Facades'. The book's spartan text successfully avoids historical analysis, disentangling architecture and power, and prioritising technical and stylistic attributions. However, the publication's ideological force is as visual narrative essay, replete with dramatic wide-format black-and-white photography that capture the everyday urban scene of ghetto life. The aesthetic form serves a double function. The photographs carry the truth-making procedure of accurate documentation of the scientific record, providing assurances of the authenticity of the restoration that suggest the methodological rigour of an archaeological excavation. The scientific formula of professional heritage practice and faithful historical reconstruction follow the trace evidence of building technology and architectural formalism in the archaeological record. However, the techno-scientific study of 'Facades' is accompanied by social portraiture of 'Faces' embedded within the same images, producing a visual anthropology of the Muslim ghetto that signal a civilisational narrative within a charged affective and moral register.

The restoration architects' formal training in the Italian conservation tradition in the 1970's would have exposed them to the celebrated genre of Italian neorealist cinema, to which their aesthetic form appears intimately indebted. Neorealism emerges as a cinematic movement in the immediate aftermath of Post World War II Italy as an aesthetic response to catastrophic loss, shock, and trauma, engendering a deep social malaise towards the moral condition of human suffering, and anxiety and despair within an examination of the psychical drivers of destruction internal within European

civilisation. [388] Within this historical moment, neorealist aesthetics directs a critical reaction to the bourgeois artifice of *Art Deco* stylisation reflective of contemporaneous American capitalism, and social and political conservativism within Italian Fascism. Its portraits are characterised by a perspectival shift towards archetypal expressions of ordinary lived experiences of the urban underclasses within everyday struggles amid economic poverty, social injustice, institutional failure, and psychological survival. Its narratives are typically constructed by non-professional actors engaged in quotidian routines filmed in non-studio settings with the atmospheric contingencies of real-life locations.

'Faces and Facades' innovatively combines its techno-scientific urban restoration procedure with neorealist portraiture documenting ghetto life in Bo-Kaap. Its conservation strategy identifies the formal aesthetic recognition of a vernacular arts tradition and illustrates a co-constitutive value with the social recognition of traditional Malay community life. Its historical socio-spatial framework demonstrates an image of a romantic ideal city form characterised by a fine-grained and mixed-use urban texture fostering community cohesion, intensive public street life, and working class belonging in the central city. This was consistent with contemporary international critiques of the Modern Movement in architecture and urban planning, notably by its breakaway movement *Team X*, which decried the socially disorientating and destructive effects of dominant trends in post-war European reconstruction, particularly its aggressive promotion of monofunctional zoning, mass production and

[388]Rocchio 1999

standardisation, and mechanised efficiencies that organised the city as a 'machine for living in'.[389]

Liberal professional ethics under apartheid modernism transformed the metropolitan post-war anxiety of the loss of traditional European urbanism with the settler anxiety toward the loss of traditional non-European cultures. In the colony, settler ontological security required sustaining a vital relation to the metropole, or 'internationalism', a security that also enabled a heroic projection in the world of living the planetary destiny of European civilisation. The vital metropolitan relation for settler ontological security meant aesthetic reproductions of Europe symbolically interacting among local idioms, significantly within architecture and urbanism, as regional and national styles of thought and practice. In the context of both post-war Europe, where reconstruction produces a new self-conscious historicity, and first-wave decolonisation in Africa, where settler ontological security is threatened, a high arts heritage paradigm of great import emerges alongside apartheid modernism in South Africa, the last settler colony in Africa. Its mission is ontological carework in the preservation of the material body of the colonial state.

'Faces and Facades' produces a sympathetic conservation ethos within its framing of traditional Malay life and the historical urban ghetto that sustains it. The work was publicly sponsored by the apartheid state through an Afrikaner local municipal authority, but written in English by British-descendent settlers trained in the post-war

[389] Le Corbusier 1986

Western European conservation canon. Its immediate audience can therefore be assumed as the Anglophone settler establishment in South Africa, the buttress of the national metropolitan economy, as well as its global integration in the international liberal bourgeoise. The United Nations Resolution 1761 of 1962 had called for imposing economic and other sanctions against the apartheid state 'for its direct threat to peace and security in Africa and the world.'[390] Although widely imposed across Africa and Asia, the resolution was universally rejected in Euro-America, whose global dominance rendered black world solidarities ineffectual. In the USA, long-held federal support of apartheid projected globally its domestic relation to the 'Civil Rights Movement' in the 1960's, with slow and piecemeal 'foreign policy' gains enabled predominantly through marginal black leadership in corporations and institutions, and student-organised divestment campaigns and civil disobedience on university campuses.[391] In the United Kingdom, British Labour government leader, Harold Wilson, would argue in 1964 that pro-democracy/anti-apartheid sanctions would harm 'the Africans and those white South Africans who are having to maintain some standard of decency there'.[392] The position constructs Africans and 'decent' whites as suffering equally and together under an externality of white supremacy. The endorsement of apartheid as a humanitarian appeal to 'decency' can only be comprehended within the sphere of an Anglo-Protestant liberal bourgeoisie, across its metropolitan and settler identifications, as moral authority within a global imperial imaginary.

[390] Lisson 2000
[391] Knight 1990
[392] Lisson 2000



Figure 30: Malay urban restoration and moral rehabilitation

‘Faces and Facades’ performs a sophisticated international cultural diplomacy. Within the contemporary west, the ontological signifier of the ‘Afrikaner’ has become delegitimated and essentialised as the totality of apartheid power, and whose whiteness has become ethnically marked through its loss of sovereignty, through its tribalisation, as its name is not equivalent to the name of the nation, as is the form across Euro-America. However, attendance to the consolidated form of Anglo-Dutch Protestantism as white tribal union in South Africa’s settler state, is necessary to work through the narrative structure of the documentation of the Muslim ghetto restoration. ‘Faces and Facades’ is not arranged as processual or chronological, a scientific norm in the archaeological tradition. The work’s narrative structure is instead arranged as dialectical, intimating toward political contradictions and their resolution. The national particularities of Afrikaner ideology moves as a receding shadow through the work, ever present but evasive and coded. Instead, it is within Englishness as decency, as moral agency, and as liberal power, that the work secures its international legitimacy. White tribal union in South Africa, as globally, is asymmetrically aligned in knots and cleavages. However, the Afrikaner-and-English sacred compact together perceived a shared fate, a shared threat, and a shared mission, and mobilised differential agencies and impulses in a civilisational bargain.

Through a repetitive motif of ‘before’ and ‘after’ photographs on facing pages, and combining the scientific study of historical ‘Facades’ with a romantic portraiture of Malay ‘Faces’, ‘Faces and Facades’ produces a discursive slippage between reformed homes and reformed subjects (Figure 30). Consistent visual motifs of family virtue, maternal care, public respectability, noble simplicity, and especially childhood

innocence and childlike joy, constituted a synecdochic rhetorical strategy that writ large the idealised institution of the 'Malay home' as a rehabilitated domestic sphere toward the institution of the ghetto as 'Malay community' within a disciplined public sphere, and at a time when widespread black resistance to the settler state was intensifying in the streets and on the screen. Urban restoration as social reformation and temporal suspension under apartheid also provided release to a Protestant articulation of moral decay within modernisation and secularisation transformations. Discursively framing an aesthetic register of Protestant moral rehabilitation of the Malay as the archetypical proto-European, the restoration of the Malay ethnic homeland signalled to the Afrikaner nation, and a sympathetic international liberal Anglo-bourgeoisie, the virtues of 'apartheid' within their own disavowed apartheids and postimperial locations, and the capacity for both the moral regeneration of the ethnic Muslim and the civilising of the native alike.

The original insight for this analysis is derived from a generalised sentiment felt by many elders of Bo-Kaap today, who had experienced formal Apartheid directly, towards the stakes of the bargain in white tribal union under apartheid. A sentiment communicates an affective register, a sensibility rather than any precise articulation, gleaned through many intimate encounters that we call fieldwork. There is a certain counterintuitive sentiment, which is one of empathic identification, rather than of any resentment, towards the 'ordinary Afrikaner', where the ordinary Afrikaner refers to the social body of a spiritual community rather than to the atomised individual or the national body politic. It is that there is an estranged resemblance, but a resemblance of likeness nonetheless, between Afrikaner Christian and Malay Muslim spiritualities.

The resemblance of likeness is that they are both socialised and distributive forms of mutual care and responsibility to others: of place attachment and social belonging that is not nationalism, of prosaic relationality between the self and the divine that is not individualism, of cultural recognition as social praxis that is not commodification. But there is also a darker resemblance of estrangement. Both Afrikaner Christian and Malay Muslim are ethnically marked and socially alienated by an imperial Anglican paradigm moving through the design of the liberal-secular modern, and have both been touched by it as psychic injury and colonial distortion. The formation of spiritual whiteness as tribal union is thus understood to be more fully held in the global Anglo-imperial world, to which Afrikaner youth desire participation through increasing secular-liberal Anglicisation, a coloniality turned in on itself. The delegitimation of the Afrikaner as the totality of apartheid has preserved 'Englishness' as its greatest beneficiary, and thus remains an enduring imperial form occluded from meaningful transformation or growth. A greater loss, however, is perhaps the liberal multiculturalism that has also occluded the space for empathic dis-alienation and re-integration as an encounter of ordinariness between oppressor and oppressed.

The previous chapter interrogated the psycho-spatial economy of colonial desire that cohered white settler subjectivity as the 'Afrikaner' and produced the Malay Quarter as apartheid's black museum. This chapter joins the Afrikaner and the 'English' as the white tribal 'Union of South Africa', and examines the discursive structure and cleavages of union in its cultural production under apartheid in national and global contexts. The circulation and aggregation of the white tribes of Europe as the 'settler' produces itself as the modern subject and a privileged global form. I have also

articulated its shadow term, the 'traditional', which apartheid modernism inaugurates, marks, and governs as the modern tribe. I have described the inauguration of black tribal enclosures in the settler nation-state as a distinctively modernist innovation. Modernist aesthetics, as the 'international style' of world-historical transformation through much of the 20th century, took as its project the modernisation of the body, the city, and the nation. It was propelled by a renewed epistemic confidence of the western subject – secure in its techniques of rationality, efficiency, and mastery – to transform itself and the world through a self-conscious break with particular stagings of the 'traditional', and the technological restructuring of social and spatial relations across society. In Europe as postwar reconstruction, and in its former colonies as nation-building, catastrophic trauma undergoes a psychical conversion to feverish creativity across ambitious social programmes.

For the South African 20th century, modernist rationalities resolve the emergent settler nation-state's two most foundational questions. The liberal response to the 'native question' was a sustained and exacting project of dismemberment of the black social body across space and time, that alienated a threatening black majority as multiple fractured minorities at war with itself. Conversely, the resolution of ethnic conflict between Dutch and English settlers consolidated Anglo-Dutch Protestantism as white tribal union to secure minority domination in South Africa, and provided privileged (albeit differential) access to being human within an international liberal bourgeoisie. The axiomatic formula of black dismemberment and enclosure, and white consolidation and internationalism, belies its radical innovation as a settler colonial project. Although referring specifically to social processes of urban transformation

under late capitalism, geographer David Harvey's dialectical terms of 'creative destruction' and 'accumulation by dispossession' are instructive. While European romantic nationalism purges the monoethnic tribe for the modern nation-state and compulsively refines the internal purity of its social body from sexualised penetration, the settler nation-state multiplies internal difference as liberal multiculturalism under its exceptional tutelage. It is therefore, within the historical contingencies of apartheid modernism, that Germanic late Enlightenment racial science and race theology became articulated along an efficiently managed spectrum of compound and intersecting hierarchies. Significantly, it inaugurates the intermediary tribal enclosures of the 'Coloured-Christian' and the 'Malay-Muslim', whose ontological status becomes marked through pathologised sexualities, femininities, and masculinities, and whose dispositive vulnerabilities drive disintegrative psychical strife and distorted patterns of multicultural misrecognition.

These local articulations contribute to new readings of global processes of historical creolisations as well as contemporary western Islamophobia. Multiculturalism in postcolonial contexts describes the resolution of violence after conclusive 'Truth and Reconciliation' in contemporary settler nation-states, particularly as they have been revealed in South Africa, Canada, and Australia, as the Kantian liberal dreamscape of a new 'permanent peace'. In the following chapter, I examine the economy of multicultural misrecognition within democratic liberalism in contemporary Bo-Kaap and South Africa in the aftermath of apartheid.

5

Liberal Futurity

Apartheid modernism was the massified, modernised, and industrialised aesthetic of the development and reformatory South African national paradigm within the civilising mission of coloniality and modernity. However, the joining of modernist urban renewal and moral reform of the colonial subject was also a therapeutic bond with the other that responded to spiritual anxieties of the modern western subject. The restoration-reformation paradigm of the Malay Quarter would appease a particularly Protestant articulation of moral decay related to social transformations in early 20th century industrial urban capitalism. Traditional social relations grounded in place and history were felt to erode under pressures and opportunities of industrial modernity.[393] New and distant relations grounded in liberal secularity and capital mobilities began to transform generational ties to Volk community under Apartheid. The Malay Quarter demonstrated a bounded ethno-sacred space of Muslim piety in the modernist city that formed a traditional defence of Christian urban citizenship against social transformations under apartheid modernism. Following a Hegelian model of civil society, Christian urban citizenship is grounded in the family, which forms the root institution of society, connecting civil society to the state. The associational life of religion is thus mediated through the family, that connects the individual to civil society, and instilled notions of morality, order, stability, education, purity,

[393] Webb 2011

refinement, and discipline.[394] The Volk-Afrikaner and Anglo-Victorian preoccupation with the family in colonial Cape Town saw home life as a conservatory of both white nationalism and Christian piety.

The project of apartheid focused on preserving a social order grounded in the bourgeois family. The Christian home became an ideal of how family life was to be structured, that defended the family against the moral dangers of modernisation. However, the idealism of bourgeois domesticity provided a spatial arrangement for family order that became an instrument of racial ordering, moulding the poor black in the image of the white middle class. Community life in the neighbourhood or small-town was thought to be the proper social and spatial formation to sustain the Christian home, requiring both kinship and relationship to place. To order the city, a proper sense of domestic space, relationships, and habits had to be instilled into the urban poor.[395] The Malay Quarter became an ideological carrier for urban family piety – as well as the threats to it in slums and poverty – the family had to be protected. Design precedent for the restoration was drawn from medieval Italy (Figure 31), where its conservation architects had been educated, transposing the Italian hill town to Bo-Kaap. In an imaginative rehabilitation of pre-restoration derelict white-washed houses (Figure 32), an orientalist romanticism was assembled as a Malay Quarter that had never before existed. The same view of brightly-coloured houses that fascinates visitors today (Figure 33), and is celebrated as a defining feature of the

[394] Ibid.

[395] Ibid.

neighbourhood, is a contemporary innovation dating from the restoration period in the mid 1970s. The political aesthetic accounted for the anomaly of Bo-Kaap as the only black community in central Cape Town to have survived apartheid forced removals, a survival narrative that belies an artifice, an augmented authenticity that romanticised a high Dutch vernacular arts tradition under apartheid nationalism.

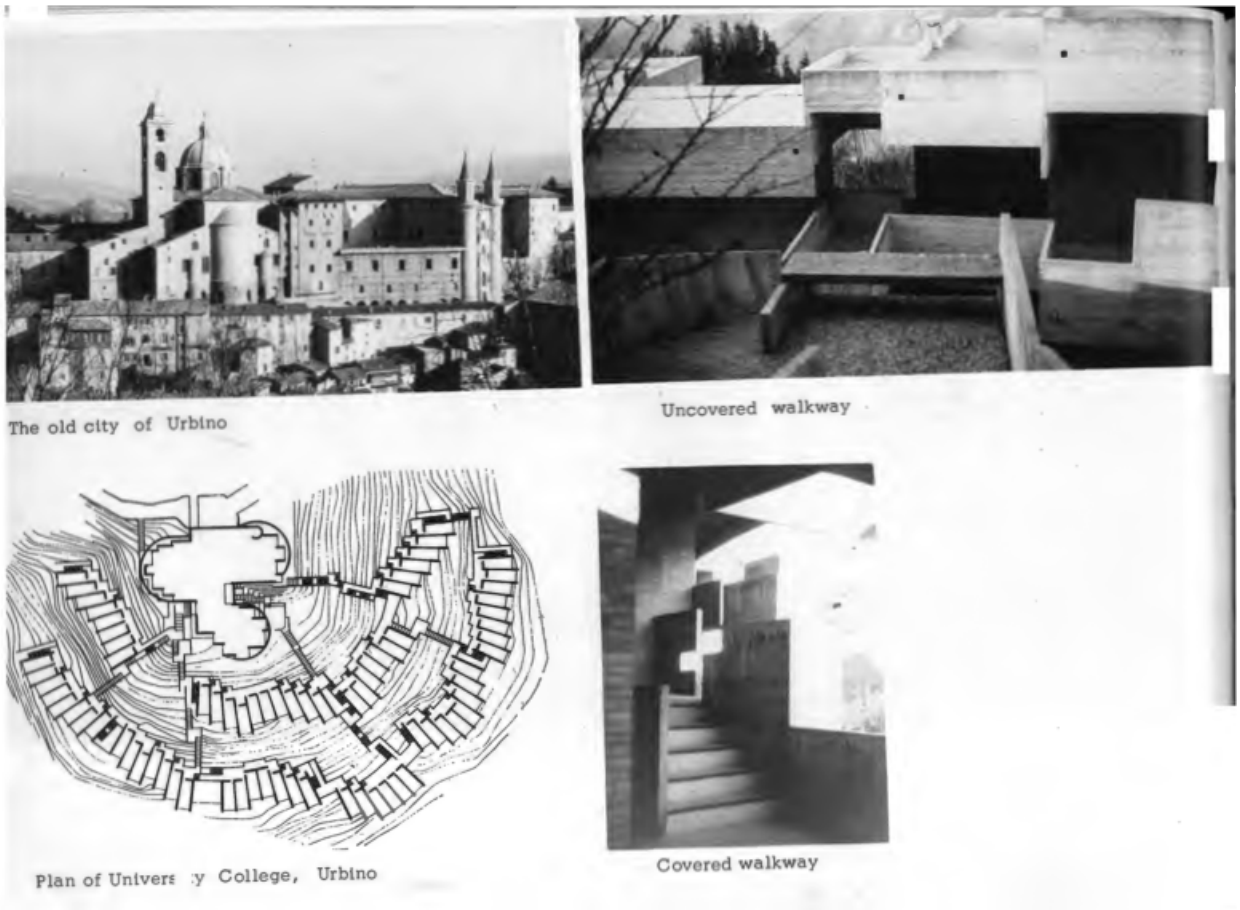


Figure 31: Malay restoration design precedent



Figure 32: Pre-restoration Bo-Kaap



Figure 33: Post-restoration Bo-Kaap

This community [of Bo-Kaap] is made up of three groups: a small number of "coloured" (as different from "malay") people living in the western part, an even smaller number of squatters living in derelict houses in the eastern part of the quarter, and a large number of muslims of "malay" descent who actually constitute the only community, and it is for this last group that the Communities Facilities Building is being specifically designed. This second group are a cause of considerable social tension as they run shabeens and the like, upsetting the righteous muslims.[396]

Steven Townsend, the principal conservation architect responsible for the Malay Quarter restoration, quoted above, identifies three distinctive "communities" within Bo-Kaap: 'Coloured', 'Malay', and 'squatter'. Although three are identified, only one community is recognised for consideration in in the restoration project: the Malays who are 'actually', 'specifically', 'righteously' the 'only community' in Bo-Kaap. The marginalisation of coloured 'squatters' within the Malay Group Area is an historical erasure that was inconsistent with both Malay self-identification and Afrikaner nation-writing. The squatters, or informal settlement known as the *Kraal* (the Afrikaans word for a traditional African animal enclosure), inhabited the Washhouse Quarry, one of a chain of stone quarries near the perimeter of Bo-Kaap. Their impoverished condition was unaltered by the Malay restoration, throughout apartheid, and under democratic liberalism, where its image of urban poverty became a hostile blight in the shadow of rising luxurious glass towers (Figure 34, 35). The stone quarries were historically sites of enslaved hard labour that produced the building material for much of the city's buildings during the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries until the formal abolition of

[396] Townsend 1978

slavery in 1834. They also served as sites of clandestine congregational prayer prior to and after the unbanning of Islam in 1804, before which the Dutch Reformed Church was the only legal confession in the Cape Colony. The quarries also contained public washhouses for an indigent class to service middle class residents of the city in the early and mid-20th century.[397] The social practices within the Bo-Kaap quarries thus hold a genealogical imagination of extreme social marginalisation, excluded from authorising narratives within the city as well as within Bo-Kaap itself.



Figure 34-35: 'The Kraal' informal settlement in Cape Town

[397] O'Donoghue and Buttgens 2010



Figure 35

The Kraal informal settlement, a small community of approximately 23 extended families, was established in an abandoned Bo-Kaap quarry in the 1970's[398] during a period of mass urban dislocation. The 1970s saw the instituting of the Black Homeland Citizenship Act 26 of 1970, a law which denaturalised Africans with the rights of South African citizenship, forcibly resettling 3 million Africans to rural 'homelands'. The law declared Africans as aliens in urban areas, and could only live

[398] Townsend 1978

there after receiving special permission.[399] In Cape Town, the 1970s also marked the forced removal of 60,000 people from the destroyed community of District Six, relocated to fragmented townships across the city's peripheries. The displacement saw some of the most ethnically and economically marginal in society, the indigenous, the unemployed, and the homeless, the 'poorest of the poor', re-establish a community within the declared urban slum of Bo-Kaap to seek out itinerant employment offered by the proximity of the city, within its marginal spaces disregarded by both municipal authorities and private capital.

Resident: We asked for electricity but they don't want to give it to us. If we had electricity we would have everything. We asked that man, the Councillor, already in 2010, at the time of the Olympics. They said they couldn't because they have a project planned for this ground.[400]

The condition of the Kraal remained unchanged for 20 years throughout the remaining years of apartheid, despite the considerable public rehabilitation of surrounding dwellings. It would endure a further 20 years of public neglect under democratic liberalism, despite pleas by the community to the postapartheid local authority for the delivery of basic services, including electricity and sanitation, towards the formalisation of their dwellings. A small number of communal toilets were later installed to provide a minimal provision of a municipal duty of care. Formalisation of the settlement, however, was resisted by the city municipality, whose policy goals and

[399] Davenport 1977, Shukla 2017
[400] fn/20150401:1-3

ideological commitments offered no recourse for affordable housing in the inner city. Restricted to low-density peripheral sites at considerable distance from employment opportunity or established social and urban networks, the provincial affordable housing policy has been widely criticised for exacerbating and reproducing spatial apartheid, making South Africa in general, and Cape Town in particular, the most socially polarised, spatially segregated, and economically inequitable society in the world.[401] From the early-1990s, the residents of the Kraal were instead registered on a provincial subsidised public housing 'waiting list', a backlog provision of which is numbered above 600,000, with waiting periods extending into decades, and with the greatest need in the city. This socio-economic and political environment produced the Kraal as a community of precarity and uncertainty. Decades of residence, and with a younger generation born in Bo-Kaap, would not shift perceptions of transience and impermanence, with social belonging in Bo-Kaap subject to stigma and vulnerability, as a community considered within but distinct from, exclusive of, a wider sphere of religious, ethnic, or class aggregations.

The South African liberal democratic transition in the early 1990s brought a series of social and economic transformations in Bo-Kaap. Macro-economic liberalisation and tertiarization of the economy towards post-industrial services, the decline of manufacturing in the city, and the legal erosion of apartheid enclosures increasingly rendered Bo-Kaap, as an historical urban black labour reserve, a surplus population vulnerable to displacement. The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act of 1991 repealed the formal Group Areas. Together with an absence of any postaparthied

[401] Macdonald 2012

public programme to redress distorted development patterns in the city, Bo-Kaap became exposed to the fundamentalism of market forces. The Bo-Kaap apartheid buffer strip, as a redundant infrastructure within an artificially depressed market, was re-capitalised most immediately and most intensely. Cape Town's emerging reputation postapartheid as a locus of international tourism saw the earliest conversion of parking lots within the buffer zone to a major international hotel chain. This was followed by incremental re-capitalisation of parking garages and workshops along the buffer strip into a succession of 'A-grade' office blocks, with maturation in an accelerated development of luxury condominiums in the last decade. The socio-cultural and economic displacement these transformations have signified has been accompanied by intense anxiety and conflict. Its complex unfolding process of public disinvestment and private re-capitalisation has been conflated with the term 'gentrification', the displacement of long-term working class residents of historic inner city neighbourhoods with new mobilities of capital. Gentrification discourses, framed as natural or even inevitable economic transformations in late capitalism, overshadows its historical contingencies, that processes of public disinvestment and private re-capitalisation is neither natural nor inevitable, but emergent in enabling politico-economic and ideological determinations, and the liberal aesthetic registers of progress, beauty, and prosperity. Within this ideological and aesthetic liberal reimagining of Bo-Kaap and the city, the Kraal became uniquely marked as the preeminent site of social deviancy in the city centre.

The streets are a disgrace and I am constantly aware of busloads of tourists who are herded down Shortmarket Street in order to avoid the shameful shack land that

is "The Kraal". That this area has not been resolved and the people rehoused is a revolting state of affairs and stands testament to the unacceptable lack of commitment our council has to their residents and their well-being. The airport re-creation of the "Bokaap" is a complete hypocrisy and as one of Cape Town's representative areas for tourism it is becoming a joke.

– Frustrated and Concerned Resident.

[The Kraal] originally comprised 28 coloured families who were registered with the City and were promised houses by the city... Some of these families are involved in drug dealing, prostitution and crime... Some of them do casual day work in the building industry, others work for the local drug dealers, some are alcoholics and or Tik addicts. These shacks also operate as brothels for prostitutes. The criminal elements of the Coloured community tolerate these Illegal settlers as they are a convenient scapegoat and diversion from their own illegal activities. Huge numbers of tourists walk through the Bokaap on a daily basis and this will only increase in the future – The numerous muggings which have occurred can't be good for the image of the City and must seriously detract from their experience of our wonderful City... There is huge concern amongst all the Bokaap residents about this community as it is generally agreed that the kraal is the source of most of the crime in the Area (if not the whole City Bowl) – which is spiraling out of control.

The residents of the Bokaap are tired of living in fear!

The City has neglected their duties in this area for long enough!

Kind Regards

– Bokaap Resident

We hereby request that the City urgently addresses the issue of Crime in the Bokaap and resolves the problem of the Kraal informal settlement as soon as possible.

Kind Regards

– Resident of the Bokaap.

We have been living under constant siege from the illegal shacks that are constantly being erected illegally on the ridge just above the Kraal. Most of the illegal inhabitants of these shacks are drug-dealers, and in particular, the one shack just below our property has been operating as a makeshift brothel. In addition, these shack dwellers defecate and urinate along our fence, and there is rubbish piled up.... This is a serious setback to rehabilitation of this area... I don't need to remind you that Bokaap has a long, beautiful and important history, which is being constantly eroded by the vagrants and the thieves. In addition, please note that we are among many professionals living in the Bokaap who work with issues of urban regeneration, community participation and sustainability on a daily basis. We offer our skills and commitment to engage with the City to find a compassionate and holistic resolution to this untenable situation.

– A.C.

The feverish sentiments expressed in this sample of correspondences in late 2014 to the Mayor of the City of Cape Town and other City officials by some Bo-Kaap residents describe the Kraal as a 'coloured community' in the moral register of reprobation: they are "shameful", "a disgrace", a siege of drug-peddlers and addicts,

criminals, thieves, vagrants, muggers, alcoholics, public urinators and defecators, and prostitutes. The moral register of Coloured reprobation has a mimetic correspondence to the intermediary apartheid racial ontology of the Coloured and Malay. Within a liberal teleology, moral rehabilitation vis-à-vis the Malay as proto-European archetype is a scripted response whose execution procedure here becomes authorised. Two rhetorical devices are consistently deployed in a pattern of meanings. One is of amplification, of the repetition and superabundance of condemnatory ascriptions, inviting agreement to universalist appeals to human decency and human security. Individual complainants confidently claim to speak for 'all the Bo-Kaap residents', as well as that it is 'generally agreed' that the kraal is 'the source' of crime in 'the whole City Bowl'. The other rhetorical strategy is depreciation, the subtraction or omission of value-laden social intersections, of race and class, of historical dispossession and the struggle for social belonging in the city. The Bo-Kaap Civic Association, a registered community representative organisation, did not share the universalist sentiments:

Chairman: Last week was the most opportunistic week you ever saw. The emails came in hard and fast about crime in Bo-Kaap, all directed at the Kraal. They are a group of foreigners, there is not a single Muslim among them. They are all people who came from outside to live in Bo-Kaap. The Ward Councillor is in the middle of all this. He has encouraged them to be vocal, the whites, it is only them that complain...[402]

[402] fn/20140902:2

They started to co-ordinate their activities through the [Schotsche Kloof] Ratepayers Association[403]*, encouraged by the local estate agent. They are determined to move the Kraal by becoming more brazen about it. You must know the whities numbers have increased now. There's no longer two or three whites. There's one whitie with five houses. There's one whitie with four houses. There's one whitie with lodges. There's one whitie with this. So they've become much more organised.* [404]

The signatory list and near simultaneous distribution of the battery of letters to the City Mayor are described by the Civic Association as a co-ordinated political strategy among a resourceful class of business-owners and recent property-buyers in Bo-Kaap, cohering as white subjectivity. The Civic Association here discursively performs a critical analytic inversion. The moral and aesthetic danger attributed to 'the coloured community' of the Kraal is held in suspicion, revealing instead a deeper 'foreign' threat to the integrity of Bo-Kaap: of whiteness as an intersecting axis of privilege, domination, and oppression. Constructing white subjectivity as a foreign instantiation in the historical black ghetto is at once a provocative assertion, one that exposes its global centricity, normativity, and invisibility. As 'the group of foreigners' underscore their commitment to participate in (but not to derive benefit from) the 'long, beautiful and important history' of Bo-Kaap, the terms of this commitment is unnegotiated, relying on a misrecognition of the conditions of social marginalisation, economic exclusion, and institutional violence on which its beauty has historically been

[403] A rival, now defunct, civic association within Bo-Kaap, promoting itself under a development ethos of neighbourhood revitalisation and rehabilitation, and considered by its critics as driven by the interests of race, culture, and class privilege
[404] fn/20150329:1-3

contingent, and for many, remains salient. 'Rehabilitation', in this schema, under the authority of 'professional skill', becomes the moral and aesthetic category that replenishes the conservation ethos of apartheid's programme of place identity and subject formation, of rehabilitating both faces and facades, in a writing of liberal dreamscapes of the postcolony. The spiritual attachments of whiteness as a moral and aesthetic project of rehabilitation – 'there is not a single Muslim among them' – registers a profound epistemic and ontological disturbance to the Civic Association, constituted entirely by black residents.

Chairman: It can't only be a parochial aim. We mustn't fight only a battle in Gaza. We must fight the larger battle... The strategy of the City is to gentrify the central city, that the central city is not for the poor.

Member E: The city's plan is to destroy Bo-Kaap, who have thought the DA is good.[405] *We need to remember.*

Chairman: This is a battle that, if won by them, we would lose the very identity we stand for. It becomes a matter of time that just eats away. We will go down fighting.

Member E: They rely on divide and rule. The kind of values they want you to uphold is, I only care about my family, I only care about me. I don't have time for you, I'm here to run my business. Every man for himself. That's how this community is slowly getting smaller and smaller.[406]

[405] Democratic Alliance, the liberal provincial government of the Western Cape province, headquartered in Cape Town. It is the party-political amalgamation of the inheritors of British and Afrikaner political representation under apartheid, the Liberal Party and National Party respectively, with a majority support among white and coloured voters in the Western Cape. It is the official national opposition to the ruling African National Congress, widely perceived as the party of the black majority.
[406] fn/20150520:1-2

City official: The issue of Bo-Kaap is a hot potato in the City. It is under debates.

Chairman: This is a City Council policy, to dispossess the very people that have been in possession of these places for so long because they have an economic plan. .[407]

Resident: There are different crimes for different colours of people.

Chairman: Everyone in the country needs to be treated the same.

Secretary: The whities never knew a doekie or a koefiyah. We grew up in Bo-Kaap between St. Pauls and District Six. That's where the problem comes in. They see the ISIL story and not everybody is ISIL.

Chairman: Now they exploit that story.[408]

Consistent in these charged narratives is the global frame of contemporary western Islamophobia and liberal coloniality, the threat of ontological annihilation, cast within local inflection. What is perceived to be at stake is not private property or individual choice of association within parochial community politics, but 'the larger battle' of a vulnerable vernacular tradition of Islamic civilisation. 'Dispossession' here is greater that an economic metric of capitalism and gentrification, or of social deviancy in crime and vagrancy. As 'a battle in Gaza', Bo-Kaap signals to generational residents their perceived location within global projects of settler colonialism and western Islamophobia. The 'battle in Gaza' for material life is therefore epistemologically related to the battle for Bo-Kaap – 'the very identity we stand for'. This self-identity

[407] fn/20150527:1-3
[408] fn/20150527:1-3

is a complex configuration. Firstly, it identifies a problem of western cultural hegemony, that is unable or unwilling to know 'a doekie (scarf) or a koefiyah (fez)', metonymic figures of local Islam in Cape Town. This construction of white subjectivity as religious intolerance or wilful ignorance is discursively read against Bo-Kaap as a Christo-Islamic vernacular, a black cosmopolitanism that 'grew up between St. Pauls (Coloured Anglican Mission School) and District Six'. This is a frontal challenge to the peripheralization of religion to the personal conscience and private sphere of modernity, as opposed to the public sphere of civil society, where non-Christian spiritualities are seen as marginalised. Secondly, there is a challenge to the trope of Islamophobia that renders Islam as the other of modernity, as a temporal and spatial other by which the modern constitutes itself – 'That's where the problem comes in. They see the ISIL story and not everybody is ISIL'.[409]

The Bo-Kaap Civic Association here vividly rehearses the Islamophobia – Islamophilia dialectic within popular orientalist discourse, the discursive inversions of a marked Muslim subject as victim and perpetrator within the modern. By positing an alternative Christo-Islamic vernacular tradition – 'the very people that have been in possession of these places for so long' – the Civic Association puts forward the proposition that spiritual progress can be a potential aspect of the modern itself.[410] Lastly, it identifies a problem of liberalism – of a narcissistic individualism held up as the highest moral value of selfhood, and of positioning competition as the defining

[409] 'Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant', a radicalised militia and widely designated terrorist organization that gained prominence for a guerilla insurgency following the contested US-led Iraq invasion of 2003
[410] White 2012

characteristic of human relations – where a liberal polity is seen as corrosive of community, against communitarian values, where 'every man (is) for himself'.

Community here is constituted by generational bonds in a 'unity of wills' through cultural and spiritual values that are nurtured and sustained in place attachment. What may have begun as a community of kinship, of family relations, develops into community of place, binding life together materially, maturing as a community of spirit, holding shared life on the level of consciousness.[411] Beyond the enclosures of the private dwelling, one is still able to 'feel at home' where shared social relationships and commitments produce a community of spirit. The divide between black and white subjectivity in Bo-Kaap can be read as an agonistic public sphere of asymmetrical power relations. One is between civil society, of disunited people in a unity of place, where ties between spirit and place are severed, and conflictual relationships are abstracted, transactional, or contractual, directed at an authority, such as the Mayor, rather than each other. Non-contractual norms of community, that enable familial affiliation, trust, and loyalty to flourish, become shifted by capital to competitive forms of social life, and struggles over territory and social reproduction, and a modernist constructions of 'public' and 'private' spheres.[412] A genealogy of colonial and apartheid political urban economy in late capitalism thus moves beyond a neo-Marxist analysis of gentrification, of class displacement where the city is the locus of capital, to a juxtaposition with the ideal of neighbourhood life as spiritual fulfilment. 'The battle for Gaza' is a battle for the spirit of place, to conjure a moral

[411] Webb 2011
[412] White 2012

universe, expressed in terms of the sacred, to mark what is important to them, to say things about themselves, and to express their anxieties about social change. Bo-Kaap as 'community' begins to articulate an ontological difference between western secular modernity and a vernacular western Islam, describing a specifically modern of piety.[413] However, despite severe grievances and vivid problematisation, the Civic Association ultimately remained in agreement with the claims laid to the City Mayor, lodging no formal or public contest against its charges.

Chairman: [The Kraal] only knows one thing. They survived the most cockroached situation in life. I'm not only talking about toilets and electricity. I'm talking about the real scum-of-the-earth that also went into that Kraal.

Member R: Those smokelaars[414] must go! They must go! Offer them proper housing, and they must go!

Secretary: It's been identified that there is terrible crime in there. The crime is a threat. It is serious. And the bloody police don't want to look after it. [415]

Chairman: Seriously, it is a question of , we are anti-gentrification. We are anti-whities-taking-over-positions. We are anti-compromising our very being of staying here. [416]

[413] Ibid.
[414] Drug addicts
[415] fn/20150319c
[416] fn/20150329:1-3

The Civic Association thus perceives two immediate and present dangers to Bo-Kaap's cultural survival. It self-identifies as a major site of political resistance to the dehumanisation and epistemic violence of white paternalism and liberal guardianship in the postcolonial city that it sees is taking hold in Bo-Kaap. Yet it also both reaffirms and distances itself from the stigma of poverty and coloured shame, 'the 'scum-of-the-earth', discursively implicated in an alarming suite of degenerate social ills. The pejorative of 'cockroaches' by the Chairman is analogous with the moral register of coloured reprobation circulated by white residents. Thus, notwithstanding moral outcry and political rhetoric, the charges of social deviancy in the coloured community claimed by white residents is implicitly support by the Civic Association. Its political agency becomes one of moral ambivalence and epistemic conflict, of resisting colonial forms of life while consenting to its terms and reproducing its effects. Ethical ambivalence of contradiction and simultaneity, of racial embrace and moral distance, of extending care and sanctioning abjection, I consider as a conflictual internalised racism and tribal maintenance whose psychic drive is the self-preservation of the colonially constituted body ego that becomes critical to the social reproduction of colonial love and postcolonial community. Despite radically diverse subjectivities and positionalities, the moral panic directed at the Kraal is shared altogether by the Civic Association, the white residents of Bo-Kaap, and the municipal authority of the City of Cape Town. However, a professional team of municipal social workers, social integration officers and fieldworkers of the Social Development Department of the City of Cape Town provide an alternative narrative of the Kraal:

You've seen the emails about them. People want to get rid of them. Criminal elements, they run through the Kraal. It's the easiest way for them to run up into the mountain and hide there. The criminals, they pass through there. It's people who have just been released from jail. It's others. I'm working there every day. I know these people. It's not the Kraal. They are a community. They take care of each other and of their belongings. On the other side, over the Hill, it's all foreigners staying there in a camp. Their shacks are marked inside the Kraal. It's safe . By going up, over the Hill in the camp, it's not safe, not even to street people. Yet there are hardships in the Kraal. Some of them are drug addicts. There is domestic abuse. Unemployment and poverty is there. There is alcohol abuse. Prostitutes come in there and stay there, but don't do their business there. They live at the back in the quarry. People claim there is prostitution, but it's not there. Those are poor people. They can't say anything, or they will get hurt. They are scared to say anything.

They're actually very open. They are good people. They accept help. They are committed people. They have manners. They are not rude. They are very generous. It is the ones on the outskirts that creates all these problems and issues. Whenever there is crime or people want to come in and do things, they don't allow it. You will see this difference between the camp and the Kraal. Even though there are no toilets in the Kraal, you won't get a smell there. There is cleanliness. What we wanted to do with them, because there are matriculants there, and those who didn't finish but want to, the Department of Social development is trying to help them. They do life skills awareness such as the rights of children and parenting skills. These people really want to do something with their lives. They really want to change their lives. If they just get

attention from people and not be treated as outcasts...They are interested in finishing school. We tried to do job creation with them. They also participate in craft skills development at the St Andrews Presbyterian Church. It's close by. They can walk there. They give classes there to kids and beginners for school subject tutoring. There is also beginner self-defense and martial arts classes. Some of them really don't want to move out of Bo-Kaap.[417]

Conditions have actually been getting better over the years , because some of them are on the EPWP[418] *programs for work. Before they didn't even want to talk. Now they've come around. There was also a new street people programme. We are giving the money for them to employ 40 people from the streets for CCID*[419] *cleaning. The number one thing they need in the Kraal is employment and skills. That will change everything. It will enhance them and change their lives. It's because of unemployment that the kids are falling into the wrong track. We need to work on restoring those children by giving them counseling, work with them, nurture them. Otherwise we're going to lose them. When their parents are working , the kids are alone and get up to mischief.*[420]

The reports of the public social workers formally employed by the Cape Town municipality underscore the vulnerability of Kraal residents, that they themselves are

[417] fn/20150324a
[418] City of Cape Town Expanded Public Works Programme, temporary low-skill employment to indigent people in the city.
[419] Central City Improvement District, a public-private partnership to promote capital investment in the inner city.
[420] fn/20150324a

fearful of the crime attributed to them, but lack the social agency and public representation to counter dominant narratives and articulate their own experience. The hardships they experience are described as a function of poverty, segregation, exclusion, and stigma. Criminal responsibility laid elsewhere, in a makeshift camp with which they have been conflated. The historical caricature and stereotype of coloured shame and social deviancy were accepted by all factions in Bo-Kaap and by the public authority, and remained difficult to dislodge. The aesthetic association of material impoverishment with moral reprobation inaugurated in early liberal and Apartheid public scripts proved highly resilient, despite its confrontation by disconfirming evidence from professional sources. The declarations of virtuous character contained within the reports of the social workers implicitly recognise the potency of this political aesthetic. Defensive appeals to virtue is revealed in their emphatic refrain to 'manners' and 'cleanliness' and to the ongoing success of social projects as liberal interventions for moral rehabilitation that would 'enhance', 'nurture', and 'restore' Coloured character rather than the material deprivation of their environmental circumstances. The reception of the Social Development reports by the Civic Association was confrontational and revelatory:

Chairman: The report of the social workers are a bad indictment on this community. We can say la illaha'ill'Allah[421] *until our brains are deurmekaar.*[422] *We can run a thousand times to Makkah. We can go one hundred times on umrah*[423]*. But if we can't*

[421] "There is no deity but the one God": part of the *shahadah*, or Islamic declaration of faith, the 'first pillar' of Islamic belief.
[422] Confused
[423] Makkah, or Mecca, referring to the annual hajj and umrah, Muslim pilgrimages and foundational articles of Islamic faith.

help our people, it doesn't matter... I am shocked as I'm sitting here. The biggest indictment coming from a third party that works in our community. And we claim to be a Muslim community. We claim to be the forebears of Tuan Guru[424]. We can make noise, we can gadat[425], we can make athan[426], we can recite Quran, but we're the biggest bunch of flipping hypocrites... Fifty to one hundred years from now, when we are no longer around, then on paper, in the social worker's report on the Kraal, her document will be the archive. That's how it works. The archive becomes your guide. And history will remember our Muslim community as being amiss.

Member M: The issue is security. If this bourgeois class in Bo-Kaap lived in the time of the Nabi[427], they would never have become Muslim. Do you know why? It was people like those in the Kraal who first accepted Islam.

Secretary: People in bourgeois society all cover up for their children. Their children are on drugs, they drink, but it is covered up. It is because these people are poor that it's exposed... But she is the City's social worker. She isn't a private social worker. The city has all her information. They control it in order to say, lets chuck them out.

Chairman: Then they can just bulldoze all of it. [428]

An analogy is drawn between the social stigmatisation of the Kraal and the Quranic allegory of the religious persecution of the Sahabah in seventh century Mecca – 'It

[424] One of the primary social and intellectual founders of Islam in the Cape in the 17th century, also regarded as the first Karamat in the Circle of Islam.
[425] Communal gathering of Divine remembrance.
[426] Ritual call to prayer
[427] The Prophet Muhammed in Islam
[428] fn/20150329:1-3

was people like those in the Kraal who first accepted Islam'. The Sahabah in Islamic historiography are 'the companions of the Prophet', the earliest community to embrace Islam, who are recognised as bearing exemplary piety and wisdom. Islam introduced revolutionary political ideas to seventh century Meccan society, confronting a tribalist and capitalist elite urban polity with a system of thought and belief that advocated social equality and economic justice. [429] This message of early Islam bore particular appeal to the poor and oppressed in its challenge to institutional arrangements that reproduced injustice and inequality, and the psychical economy of egoism and social hierarchy. The Sahabah are recorded as having endured hostility and violence by the beneficiaries of class and race privilege in ancient Meccan society, but defined new vectors of human freedom and political struggle, that has become foundational to Islamic epistemology. The shock and dismay expressed by the Civic Association, for being 'flipping hypocrites', suggests a recognition of betrayal to the egalitarian values it claimed to defend, of a performative artifice of piety and indignation, and of a capitulation to protect the public virtues of bourgeois respectability awarded to the Malay in service to the tribal maintenance of apartheid's racial classificatory schema.

In early 2015, only months after the circulation of complaints of the Kraal by white residents of Bo-Kaap, the City of Cape Town announced an offer of formal housing to the 21 families of the Kraal registered for provision on its public housing database. The offer would not formalise their community of 40 years within the Kraal itself, within Bo-Kaap or indeed within the city, but in a new subeconomic housing project located 27 kilometres outside of central Cape Town. The new development, known as

[429] Razwy 2015

New Horizon Pelican Park, is a sprawling coloured township of 2,000 people on the Cape Flats (Figure 36). The project has been widely criticised for substandard housing and infrastructure, poor healthcare and schools, endemic unemployment, and rife gangsterism and drug addiction.[430] The city municipality itself provided its official narrative to the housing offer and relocation:

Councillor: The most groundbreaking project I've been engaged with, but also the most difficult one over the last while, has been the offer of formal housing to residents staying in the Washhouse Quarry in the Bo-Kaap area, part of three very historic quarries... So the city, for the first time ever, has put on the table an offer for alternative housing, formal housing in Pelican Park, which is a new state-of-the-art development which the city is putting in place in Strandfontein. It's not a take it or else kind of offer. It's an offer that we're putting on the table. And if those people would like to relocate to a formal dignified place, they are more than welcome to take that up. We have all the documentation in place, but obviously we can't force anybody to leave and we don't intend to.[431]

[430] Pather 2014
[431] fn/20150317a







Figure 36: New Horizon Pelican Park public housing relocation area

Here's a home with a garden. It's brand new. It's a very nice development close to a nature reserve. The new development will have two new schools on the site, a clinic operated by the Western Cape government, and two religious facilities. And there is also going to be a commercial precinct to enable economic opportunities. The whole development is near an eco-park so there are job opportunities in the area as well.[432]

Up until now the only option has been moving to a Temporary Relocation Area like Blikkiesdorp, but I don't think that is something we really want to do. [433]

There is a brand-new mall that's being built. And new schools, religious institutions, health clinics, everything. It's fantastic. It borders on the False Bay Ecology Park. I wouldn't mind living there! We've got results. The official handover is next year, but some people have already moved in.[434]

Pelican Park subeconomic coloured housing is described by the central city ward councilor as a 'ground-breaking' 'fantastic' 'brand-new' 'very nice' 'dignified' 'home with a garden'. He concludes emphatically that 'I wouldn't mind living there'. The councilor, who is white and upper middle class, earning approximately 1,3 million rand per annum,[435] within the top 1 percent in the country, makes the declarative

[432] fn/20150318c
[433] fn/20150318d
[434] fn/20150519:2
[435] News24 2015

personal statement certainly of one of grandiloquence if not disingenuity. The residents of the Kraal communicated their own experience of the City's housing offer for relocation in Pelican Park:

Resident One: We were told by the City we mustn't speak at all with the press. But we told the press we're not interested in going. The City didn't come and ask us our opinion. They gave us papers to sign here on the field. But they treat us like criminals. Every beggar is a criminal. And it's horrible there in Pelican Park. The whole place leaks. But they told us if we sign then we're already gone. We signed for Pelican Park. We signed and they took the paper.[436]

Resident Two: They said if we don't take this, and they come again, they're going to throw us out even further. And if we don't take that, they're going to give us a court order to evict us. Because they'd already given us an option for a house. That Councilman, he told us this. That is the only thing he explained to us. We are like bystanders in this.

Resident 3: They came with a letter and [the Councillor] explained to us if we don't want to go, if we want to stay here, then we will get an eviction order from the court, because we will have lost our opportunity for houses.[437]

[436] fn/20150317c
[437] fn/20150318a

The public record of the relocation offer to Pelican Park, represented as one of free and informed choice, what I will call liberal choice, differs starkly from residents' own testimonies, that reveal threat, coercion, misinformation, and intimidation by public officials. The liberal choice understood by residents' themselves was voluntary acceptance of the relocation offer, or face eviction and being 'thrown out even further'. The Civic Association provided a rationale for the suddenness of the relocation offer to residents after a decade or longer on the housing waiting list, and the pressure placed on them for a hurried decision:

Member J: [The Councillor] is actually not being honest. They want that precinct. They've been working on development for that precinct for years. He thinks we're ignorant. Since the Strand Street development was bought last October, all of a sudden there is a media spotlight, there are meetings, there is security, there is police, they're pushing hard. They are behind this pressure. They need those people out.

Secretary: The redevelopment of the city does not include the poor and working class. Why not keep them where they are? They don't want to move to Pelican Park. [The Councillor] was keen to speak about heritage. Working class housing is Bo-Kaap's heritage... We need to remind Council that you are actually forcibly removing. And we thought forced removals were something of the past... It is apartheid tactics actually.[438]

[438] fn/20150318d

Member T: Those people told me they wanted to improve their roofs but the city pressured them. The City wants to them to live under those conditions as long as they are here. So the City has a reason for them to move... If they go, then Bo-Kaap is open for investment. How long will you still be able to stay in Bo-Kaap then! When you've become ten percent of Bo-Kaap, do you think you'll have a voice?[439]

The presence of the Kraal informal settlement is seen as anathema to the re-capitalisation of the Bo-Kaap Buffer Strip, with new five-star hotels, premium-grade office space, and luxury residential towers ideologically irreconcilable with a social stigma associated with the visibility of urban poverty. The Civic Association's assertion that 'They want that precinct... They need those people out' recognised the contemporaneous approval by the City for a luxury 600 million rand commercial and residential tower, known as '117 on Strand' (Figure 37), located adjacent to the Kraal, which notably broke ground at the same time as the Kraal relocation offer in 2015. The project is described by the developer as the "progressive upgrading" of "our heritage" within a "dynamic creative neighbourhood market" that "combines rich history with timeless appeal."[440]

Situated on the boundary of trendy de Waterkant, minutes away from Cape Town's entertainment hub, the V&A Waterfront, with easy access to city-based businesses, 117 on Strand offers a cosmopolitan, vibrant lifestyle in the heart of the city.[441]

[439] fn/20150319b
[440] privateproperty.co.za (2015)
[441] 117onstrand.com 2020



Figure 37: 117 on Strand luxury mixed-use residential tower

There is a narrative erasure by omission of the naming of 'Bo-Kaap' in the geographical imagination of the project, and its stigmatising association within property markets with a black ghetto, plantation slavery, cultural marginality, political dissent, and urban poverty. The development project dislocates cultural capital from a postslave cultural economy, eroding the spatial integrity of Bo-Kaap, and discursively relocates the precinct within the affluent neighbourhood of De Waterkant. The De Waterkant area is itself the outcome of forced removals after its former declaration as a 'White Group Area', and its reassociation with a leisure economy and urban tourism. The physical and symbolic violence of apartheid is disappeared in neighbourhoods such as De Waterkant that physically, though not socially, survived apartheid's spatial re-engineering. The 'apartheid tactics' imbued in the relocation offer to the Kraal reworks the symbolic violence of apartheid as both physical removal and as cultural dispossession. A liberal discourse of 'rich history' and 'timeless appeal' provides two different visons of the postcolonial city, one where 'the poor and working class' are kept 'where they are', where the accumulations of historical capital remains generationally transmitted, and a 'progressive upgrading', where capital is mobilised and concentrated as rehabilitation. Here, a discursive postapartheid historical revision produces a creative but limited regime of liberal sight I conceive as multicultural misrecognition that enables a mode of recognition without its attendant demand for responsibility. Unwieldy histories are reconfigured as heritage resources wielded as opportunity for capital accumulation, and where unwieldy subjects are produced as surplus and nonhistorical, enabling alienation from those resources as dispossession. Thus Pelican Park is produced as 'brand new' and the historical and geographical disappearance of the Bo-Kaap is revised within the 'timeless history' of De Waterkant.



Aunty Mina's Poem

Our shack there in the Kraal
Makes me really angry
It jerks me hard against the wire
It pulls and plucks to save me
Now the children ask:
Where does Aunty Mina come from?
I say that what you learn
I have long ago learnt
You must show how it pulls and plucks
Our shack there in the Kraal
Makes me really angry
It jerks me hard against the wire
It pulls and plucks to save me

Figure 38: Portrait of Kraal resident, Aunty Mina[442]

[442] fn/20150401:1-3

Subjects and geographies without history and those with timeless histories becomes co-constitutive in a neoliberal social economy of accumulation and dispossession. The liberal choice presented to the Kraal residents were a source of profound distress. Aunty Mina's poem (Figure 38) captures the enduring violence of a personal life of social marginalisation, economic destitution, and structural vulnerability, but also the institutional violence where forfeiting either formal housing or community, identity, and livelihood are produced as a necessary, alternative, and incompatible individual choice. In poetic verse, the Kraal is a salvation that holds her and shelters her, as it provides a sense of place attachment and social belonging, however fragile and painful. Yet the Kraal also 'pulls and plucks'. It is a wrenching psychosomatic distress viscerally evoked as a painful experience analogous to body trauma. The violent question by a young and forgetful postapartheid city to the elderly indigenous woman, 'Where does Aunty Mina come from?' is addressed as a question of knowledge and memory – 'what you learn I have long ago learnt'. Born in the Karoo, but long ago settled in the Kraal, hers is a cultural memory of dispossession and uprooting. She has a double relationship to this space – an itinerant labourer produced by compounded displacements from ancestral community, and resettlement within proximity to the locus of production. The city, thus, becomes both a precarious home and the site of displacement.



Figure 39: Portrait of Kraal resident, Aunty Shireen

Aunty Shireen: I am the nanny. I look after everyone's children when they are working. When we have birthdays, we make 50 to 60 party packs for all the neighbours children. Many of us living here are family. We look after each other. We all cook and eat together from one pot, like the old days. Moving to Pelican Park would mean our family is broken up. There are three rooms in our vertrek for the twelve of us. In each room is a parent and their children. We don't know how we will manage in Pelican Park. There are only two very small rooms there, one for parents and one for children. We will have to buy extra matrasses and sleep in the corridors. The place is raw there. The floors are raw. It's just cement. And it's very sandy everywhere.[443]

[443] fn/20150401:1-3

City official[444]*: All the different kinds of people have now started to move in to Pelican Park. Gangsterism has become part of that lifestyle now, smuggling. They've got a world there created for them.*

Secretary: That's typical of townships. "Don't come to town. Stay there".

City official: There are some private schools in the area, but they are already filled. So all those people won't be able to go there. They'll have to go somewhere else. Pelican Park only has place for 200 high school children. All the people from the farms go over to that side. New people moving in now from the Kraal, there isn't place for them. Pelican Park requires a 700 rand deposit for the high school.

Secretary: What you need to remember is that they will say and do anything to get people to move. There's been a mother in Mitchells Palin complaining the whole year already. She cannot get her child into a school.

City official: The City is putting it in the papers, signalling for people to go. People reading the papers would think, "Wow, look at what the Council is doing!" The backdoor story is there are lots of problems.[445]

In Bo-Kaap, there is a common refrain among the elders of an idealised past, 'In the old days, we all ate from one pot, and there was always left over.' Aunty Shireen describes a social infrastructure of care-giving and inter-dependence within the

[444] This municipal official spoke candidly on condition of anonymity, siting an administrative culture in the municipality of executive compliance and professional silence
[445] fn/20150818:1

families of the Kraal itself, and a wider economy of intimacies that ties the Kraal to Bo-Kaap (Figure 39). Through this oral narrative she claims the social memory of Bo-Kaap as her own; she is both its inheritor and transmitter. 'The old days' refers to mythic cultural origins in slavery, imperialism, and apartheid, where oppression and dispossession was an accepted part of life. But it also refers to a mutuality, hospitality, and sense of shared fate that always exceeded this violence. 'Community' is discursively sheltered as a beautiful and painful space. In this sense, the evocation of 'the old days' adjudicates apartheid as better than 'a world created for them' in Pelican Park. 'The old days' is thus always a historical romance. It draws on the Islamic urban model of *a'ilah*, of extended and generational familial networks within a community of place.[446] More specifically, it is the praxis of the culture of *kanala*, an esteemed and universal trope within vernacular Islam of cultural hospitality across class difference that has defined Cape Muslim life, both internally and in its external representations. *Kanala*, a word of Indonesian extraction, used colloquially as an approximation of 'please', is originally articulated as *Karna Allah*, 'because of Allah',[447] describing mutuality, hospitality, and gifting as a form of divine blessings within a social transaction. 'Kanala culture' has historically developed as part of a survival ritual that sustained a subsistence economy for social groups under conditions of socio-economic marginalization and ideological containment. *Kanaladorp* ('a place of gift') was an unofficial name also given to District Six. The ritualised response to *Kanala* is *Tramakasie*, or *Terima Kasih*, approximating 'thank you', but precisely meaning 'I accept your affection'.[448] *Kanala* and *Tramakasie* are ritual enactments that reproduce

[446] Al Faruqi 1978
[447] *Dictionary of South African English* 2020. Web. 10 December 2020
[448] The Cape Muslim Vernacular. Web 30 October 2014

and strengthen communal ties among extended family, friends, and neighbours. It sustains cultural identity in a multifaceted exchange of material and symbolic goods. In addition to its common usage, *kanala* and *tramakasie* are also a local parables that warns material satisfaction can bring spiritual want, a moral code that is increasingly incongruent in neoliberal economic relations. By evoking this parable of communal memory and spiritual investment in place, Aunty Shireen ritually enacts material scarcity and spiritual abundance, and positions herself along a continuum of maternal custodians of a collective past.

Member Y: There is one man who is a drug merchant. His wife actually wants to move. She said herself, if they're going to be in a house, her children will be there, and she knows her husband wants to change. She says if they're in another environment, her husband will be with the children. But she doesn't want to live there, because she gets all the blame. There are a lot of rumours blaming him for a lot of things. The bulk of people who will remain are actually those who don't belong there. [449] *The fears of the people down there is the merchant. But they are all being thrown in the same box. Everyone there is a merchant now.* [450]

The 'merchant's wife', as described by a Civic Association member, is constructed as an archetypical figure of shame. Her experience is the other side of black community within settler society, not of mutuality and care, but the side of limited freedoms, of enclosure and censure, of the ghetto and township. In the context of material

[449] fn/20150319b
[450] fn/20150319c

deprivation, home in the Kraal is not a function of property, but of the social reproduction of family and community. The merchant's wife carries a burden of social stigmatisation for the Kraal as an entirety, her gendered subjectivity unable to reclaim respectability through the making of home. New Horizon Pelican Park for her holds the potential of a new horizon in a new beginning. A formal house is indeed a utopian promise of liberal choice, a reformation of coloured character: a man who will change, a father who will be with his children, a family who will honour their community. While liberal philosophy upholds the universal moral worth of the individual as the primary site of human freedom, liberalism in the colony denied individuality to indigeneity. The 'native problem' was always a singularity, the Kraal compromising not of individuals but of a class and racially constituted 'coloured community' constituted through social bonds that denied individual self-actualisation. The illiberal public discourse of the Kraal, as 'a coloured community' without individual agency and always with distributed accountability, produced the effect that 'They are all being thrown in the same box. Everyone is a merchant now'. For the merchant's wife, home ownership holds the promise of reclaiming a personal identity that comports with the apartheid configurations of public respectability and family piety that is instructive to self-actualisation, community belonging and social value in Bo-Kaap and the Kraal.



Figure 40: Demolition of Kraal informal settlement

Chairman: Now what is happening is a lot of people from up Africa have moved in informally. So what I would suggest we do is that when money is available, to fence off the whole Kraal, from a safety point of view, and from a preventative point of view.

Councillor: I agree with you 100 percent [chairman]. In addition to the fencing, the city also has to front up funding to provide security, to ensure that we know who is going in and out at all times, to ensure that only people who live there are coming in and out in terms of access control. For the Kraal, there is a plan in place.

The last informal settlement in the Cape Town city centre was destroyed on the 15 September 2015 (Figure 40). Early that Spring morning, 18 homes were demolished by the City of Cape Town in Bo-Kaap's Kraal. Its inhabitants had consented to relocation to the New Horizon Pelican Park subeconomic formal housing development on the Cape Flats. Its residents were loaded, together with their few belongings, in the back of a caged flatbed truck for the 25km journey to a new life and a 'world created

for them'. The moment was not one of joy or excitement, but one marked by fear and uncertainty. Within a few short hours thereafter, their dwellings were dismantled, building material removed and dumped, the ground cleared, and like the working-class public washhouse before them, their presence of 40 years was erased from the material memory of the city. Any return is rendered impossible. Only three homes would remain, residents who had invested their labour and resources in upgrading their homes independently of public support, and refused to be relocated. The most significant day in the lives of Kraal residents passed by almost unnoticed in the waking city. The media was absent, as was the Civic Association. What was being discussed between the Chairman and the Councillor was the beginning of the 'future' of the Kraal, its past finally closed. The Kraal was to be 'fenced off... from a preventative point of view' to prevent its past from returning. 'Access control' was to be installed 'to ensure that only people who live there are coming in and out'. We are reassured that 'For the Kraal, there is a plan in place.' Until that certain but unknown future arrives, the Kraal is today an inverted prison barring entry for unwanted histories and subjects. It becomes a new terra nullas that is the original accompaniment for colonisation, an empty land that has been cleansed, and ripe for liberal dreamscapes that may be invested with fantastical projections of permanent peace and limitless prosperity.

The post-removal dialogue between the chairman and the councillor resembles the securing of vanquished territory by tactical alliances in the aftermath of war. It is historical minutia whose accumulations become signal events in the securitisation complex of liberal futurity in the postcolony, where multiculturalism describes the

resolution of violence after conclusive 'Truth and Reconciliation' as they have been revealed in South Africa, as well as in other contemporary settler nation-states, particularly also within Canada and Australia. In the historical contingencies of white minority domination in South Africa, the special rewards of white adjacency afforded to local black elites or, in the case of Bo-Kaap the celebrated 'Coloured aristocracy' of the black national majority, undercuts political resistance within the seductions of complicity as wish fulfilment in the desire of the black body ego for recognition of its reflection in the aesthetic accomplishments of liberal humanism. As political aesthetic, the dream of becoming white is necessary also an unbecoming, the dehumanisation that sustains black psychic alienation and strife, and participates in the postcolonial re-inscription of a post-Enlightenment world where whiteness replaces Europe as the centre and referent of human flourishing. The chairman and councillor's postcolonial war-room cabinet performs the psychic inversion in the 'new' South Africa of the 'old' South Africa's civilisational bargain that historically produced whiteness in its origination as the nation-state through Anglo-Dutch Union.

Contemporary democratic liberalism becomes the traumatic aftermath rather than the heroic successor of apartheid. Its utopian global imagination of perpetual peace, limitless prosperity, and accumulating freedoms is achieved through a security apparatus in three entangled strategies. Liberal futurity designs tactical alliances of self-interest through historical repetitions among differential agencies with asymmetrical alignments of power to secure fragile peace terms. Rather than revolutionary transformation, postapartheid tribal maintenance is secured through internalised racism as the self-preservation of the colonial body ego. This maintenance

and repetition together enable multicultural misrecognition as a liberal regime of limited sight that provides for a mode of recognition and reconciliation without responsibility.

6

Cives Romani

Cives Romani

White race, around this half-won land
Your slender chain is flung
Whether from Holland's sea-swept strand
Your ancient stock is sprung;
Whether the records of your line
Proclaim the Huguenot;
Or whether, bearing Britain's sign,
From teeming towns by Clyde or Tyne
Ye come as overflow: –

Full often will your thoughts leap back
To catch the older charm,
The busy street, the rustic track,
The sea-pot, or the farm.
Yet let not misty memories press
Too close upon the brow;
Let them be dear – yet none the less
Turn mind and heart to raise and bless
The land that holds you now.

Let the swart tribes that round you fare
Live scatheless and apart.
Do ye, white workers, fearless share

The task of mine and mart.
The men who sailed, and found, and fought,
They too can delve and build,
And carve the image of their thought,
And raise again the soul that wrought
In every ancient guild.

The mountain-barrier and the plain
Have no mean limits here;
Wide-sweeping as the boundless main
Our vast half-hemisphere.
From Durban to the Orange shore
One face the veld-land wears,
Whose silent spaces all implore
One master-race to mould it more,
And love to call it theirs.

But not as British, not as Dutch
Shall that race speak and think.
The soil itself is like a touch
Of feeling, and a link.
By Weenen of the weeping night,
On Isandhlwana's hill,
Yea, and in dark Colenso's fight,
Lie men who now might rede us right,
Had we the hearer's skill.

Perish the feud's that mar and clash!
Let this new nation rise,
Unfettered as the summer flash
In Afric's midnight skies;
Breathing the wind that sweeps at will
This great blue southern dome;

Fearless of war, yet keener still
To bridge the drift, and mine the hill,
And lead the harvest home.

So from the Cape that boldly rounds
Our southward continent,
Up to the mighty ‘smoke that sounds’
O’er canons cleft and rent,
By tended stream, no longer dry,
By coal-bed and by well,
Far as the plains that round them lie
With space and height for purpose high,
The Great White Race shall dwell!

– Lance Fellow

The poem *Civis Romani* stands as the epilogue to the collected 'Poems of South African History, A.D. 1497 – 1910', published in both Oxford and Cape Town on the ten year commemorative anniversary of white union as the founding act of the South African nation[451]. The poem is included in full for its epistemological and ontological productions of western civilisation expressed as both intimate sentiment and utopian imagination. The collected works in the volume were selected and edited by the Victorian classicist Alexander Petrie. Petrie's biography describes a late 19th century modest upbringing in the Scottish highlands of imperial Britain. Through talent and industry, he receives the Scottish scholarship to read the Master of Arts in Classics at Cambridge, before returning as assistant lecturer to Aberdeen University. His fortunes shift dramatically when appointed in 1910 as the founding Chair and Professor of Classics at the establishment of the then Natal University College in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa[452]. Petrie's oceanic move from metropole to settler nation-state is the actualisation of the liberal dreamscape that drew generations of the metropolitan working classes to fulfil aspirational social status and material abundance unimaginable domestically. The poem celebrates 'white workers' of 'every ancient guild' who are rewarded by virtue of 'ancient stock' to 'lead the harvest' of 'mine and mart'. The work is therefore one of confident settler futurity.

Cives Romani is also a work of settler historicity. The *Cives Romani* were full citizens of the Roman empire. Petrie's editorial epilogue alludes to both this elite legal status of rights and privileges internal to Rome and attributes them to settler citizenship –

[451] Petrie 1919
[452] Steven 1959

'the land that holds you' – as well as to the imperial ideology that a Roman citizen was unique as a world citizen by virtue of its expansiveness and dominance – 'the boundless main, our vast half-hemisphere'. As an epistemic project, Petrie suggests a genealogical transition of likeness of individual freedom conceived between imperial Roman and settler national citizenship. Yet Rome also constructed multiple modalities of citizenship along differential degrees of access to freedom under its legal framework of *ius civile*. These included ethnicity (*gens, natio, populus*) as a basis for establishing identity. Hence the Union of South Africa was able to consolidate white tribalism as the modern subject – 'But not as British, not as Dutch/ Shall that race speak and think' –_ and tribal territorialisation as the nation-state where 'The Great White Race shall dwell'. The Roman empire also required the ideological construction of threatening others, the *barbari* (barbarians) to justify conquest and domination[453]. The internal fragmentations, tribalisations, and self-alienation of black South Africans are revealed as a deliberate design in the settler colonial project: 'Let the swart tribes that round you fare/ Live scatheless and apart'.

As a spiritual project, settler nationalism is further indebted to the Roman *patria* (home) as a distinct way of organizing the political domain, conceived as a household, or dominium of the sanctified father, which conflated racial, patriarchal, and divine sanction. The master's house as a foundation of political life would be reinvested throughout the modern period, notably as the Renaissance city-state, Baroque republicanism, and Apartheid Calvinism. A fundamental principle of psychoanalysis is that human interiority is organised as a family system. Frantz Fanon would radically

[453] Mathisen 2006

extend this insight into the political domain in his analysis of the family as an institution that is the precursor of the much wider institutions of the tribe and the nation.[454] This coda marshals attention to the 'house of the father' within a critique of the institutional life of the postcolony.

The previous chapter outlined the biographical narratives of Kraal residents that described the maternal hold of family as a foundational social form and its extensions in community and place. Home functions as a symbolic register for cultural narratives of the family, social belonging, as well as national order, and the division that is constituted between the public realm of the political and the private sphere of the domestic and familial is a central organising principle in the secularisation of modern society. New narratives of the person are enabled in the constitution of the private sphere, which in turn enable new relations to be conceived between religion and family, between place and the ideologies of love and care.[455] The Kraal narratives capture the complexity of social experience patterned on roles and relationships that have long characterised family relations, emphasising solidarities as much as tensions, dissatisfactions, and inequalities that not only persist, but may have intensified after apartheid. [456] For the Kraal, liberal choice brought a social regulatory function to the family as an intimate site of household governance. 'Dignification' of the poor black, as the official trope of 'dignified housing', becomes a social and intimate site for the domestication of liberal rule. Dignity is produced as the domestication and disappearance of surplus populations necessary for the vitalism of the settler city, as an

[454] Fanon 1952
[455] White 2012
[456] Smyth 2016

economy of capital intensification produced through wealth extraction and social death. The historical configurations of the Malay and Coloured, through the restoration-reformatory paradigm under apartheid and the dignified homemaking paradigm under late liberalism, follow along a colonial genealogy of civilisational carework that transforms threatening others to domesticated others. Domesticity, as an organizing principle for the bourgeois family and settler nation, produces a series of spatial practices around which colonial distinctions of race, class, religion, sex, and gender emerges.[457] It is here that familial domesticity operates at a specific intersection of power relations that produce violent exclusions and inclusions.

Liberal dignification transforms terror into civility. Historical and intimate sites of Muslim social reproduction, the maternal hold and the gift economy, are penetrated through disciplinary and pedagogical regulation that reworks the intimate meanings of the 'Malay family' through a political reconfiguration of domesticity, intimacy, and family life in the name of civilising white subjectivity. Foucault describes the private sphere not as an arena of personal freedom, but rather as a site for greater penetrations of power and governance, drawing attention to the politics of the institution of family.[458] The penetrative power of this form of pedagogical regulation is that it is not only state imposed but also that it reproduces and naturalizes a historical ideal of European bourgeois domesticity that is rendered a desired ideal, natural and commonsensical. Certain laws, such as those relating to family life and other salient moral issues are accepted not on the basis of their legality, but because they express

[457] Turner 2017
[458] Foucault 1981

moral principles which are held as absolute values in themselves.[459] The legality of the public authority's coercive 'apartheid tactics' in the Kraal become secondary to the social regulatory function of desiring whiteness, civility, and bourgeois norms through the aesthetic of family piety. The domestic reformation of the 'Malay' and the dignification of the 'coloured' is reinterpreted and mobilized through the material capital and moral unit of the western bourgeois family. Whiteness and civility are idealised as western homemaking across the intermediary ontologies of the settler city, becoming a form of both actualisation and subjection, both civility and terror. This liberal reworking and moral penetration recognises how colonised and settler histories overlap and made the programme of domestication and its strategies of intervention possible. In the maternal hold of Bo-Kaap, family is an institutional form defined by a set of coordinated normative expectations about home and community that guides, rather than determines, how people interact. This is a disorganised type of institution composed of agents who are not simply inventing practices at will, but in relation to specific configurations of norms of gender and generation, however contradictory and contested, that allow them to transform or reconfigured as agents creatively interact with its normative structure.[460] Domesticity and respectability, dignity and reform, both contest liberal rule and hold an alternative social world, but also reproduce liberal governance in its mirroring of whiteness and bourgeois civility.

Member S: It's all interlinked. It's linked under the guise of development. You need to galvanise around an issue. Bo-Kaap will not be dispossessed. Bo-Kaap will not be

[459] Spencer 1970
[460] Smyth 2016

moved. Bo-Kaap is not for sale. We must now get militant and hold our boundaries. Put flags where Bo-Kaap begins. Here we are, here is Bo-Kaap.[461]

In the neoliberal transactional economy, the maternal hold of non-contractual relations is increased in fragility while the social reproduction of the institution of family is also more reliant upon it. The gift economy of *kanala* and *tramakasie* is one of trust and openness that mediates its vulnerabilities to visitors and guests, strangers and enemies across borders and boundaries. Barth (1969) puts forward that the construction of boundaries themselves are more salient to identity than the matter contained within them. The Bo-Kaap Buffer Strip did not contain discontinuous and categorical cultural entities, but was an interactional negotiation between asymmetrical power relations and mobilities that shaped relational racial and religious subjectivities across it – white subjectivity is constructed and relational as much as the Malay. The erosion of ethnic boundaries has brought ascriptions and self-ascriptions[462] of selfhood, social belonging, place identity, and a struggle over pasts and futures. As a physical and ontological schema, with the erosion of physical boundaries has been the corollary of a revanchist ontological space for the intermediary Malay and Coloured ontologies of 'traditional' residents by reinvestments in traditional forms of authority.

Chairman: Like the City fools us, we fool them. The City plays with smoke and mirrors. It's like what we did in the apartheid years. In the apartheid years, we weren't many. When we took a decision, it was just a handful that could have fitted in

[461] fn/20150527:1-3
[462] Barth 1969

a room. But they'd think the whole of Bo-Kaap had made the decision. It was smoke and mirrors.[463]

Postapartheid transformations within Bo-Kaap prompted the organisation of defensible space of the horizontal structures of the maternal hold against new forms of liberal power. The defence of the maternal hold of social reproduction in the domestic sphere of family and community redirected new black masculinities that remained compatible with colonial gender, generational, and class hierarchies rather than replacing them. Colonial and apartheid governance did not create enclosures for immutable orders of familial characteristics, but prompted the reconstitution of the patriarchal station in the communities it governed. Governing relationships and resources within the family formed an important lynchpin for many black social structures on which colonial power had depended. The expansion of colonial rule was accompanied by a reconsolidation and heightening of existing social hierarchies and relationships of dominance in South Africa. This gendered and social division of power between a political and domestic sphere was reinforced by colonial administrators' own ideas about a separation of political and social authority based on western notions of temporal and spiritual realms of power.[464] Inherited from apartheid is thus the investment of political authority in autonomous masculine energies, with the maternal hold cast in the social sphere of apolitical social bonds within the organization of colonial domestication. The Bo-Kaap Civic Association is a political association modelled on the order of the family as an institution. This includes its gender and

[463] fn/20150329:1-3
[464] Newbigin 2010

generational orders as well as the normative division between public-private spheres, or of the patriarchal as the political, and the feminine as domestic sites of care. The political sphere of publicity and representation of patriarchal power reinforced in new ways many of the coercive power relations on the maternal domestic sphere which colonial rule had come to depend.[465] The Civic Association becomes an organisation defined by persistent sets of rules for action, usually supported by sanctions and generating strong degrees of conformity that serves to tighten the control of unchecked power within a new patriarchal order. The constitution of the organisation under apartheid in 'smoke and mirrors' contested as much a reflected colonial social hierarchy – 'Like the City fools us, we fool them'. It points to a democratic deficit that liberal reform has emboldened rather than dismantled. The Chairman is an institutional 'head' in whom absolute and non-negotiable power is resided and defended, representing stability and power in the face of ontological threat in a transforming wider normative landscape of capital flows and cultural and economic displacement, but also from a perceived threat of new black feminisms, local professionalisation, and generational empowerment emergent in postcolonial Bo-Kaap.

Chairman: I am a businessman. I looked at the wealth and success of the wit boere[466] *and said, 'He hasn't worked very hard for that. I thought he won't be the only one. I will do that'.*

[465] Ibid.
[466] White Afrikaners

Member Y: The non-registered residents have been filtering in over the last year or two. They are the ones who use the Kraal as a hideout. There is a squatter camp behind the hill in the Strand Street Quarry, on the field grounds. Those are the ones who break in and are doing all those bad deeds. But the others are all getting the blame. The City blames the registered residents. When they leave, the others will just be kicked out to Wolwerivier[467]*. They are making these people a scapegoat.*[468]

Chairman: They are pulling them in one direction. They are intimidating these people. That's why I say, let's do it properly. It is a process.

Resident: The Councillor came this morning. I spoke to him. I said to him: "Don't swear at me again, okay? You're a young man, and I'm not your child. Please, we must tackle this diplomatically." I said to him, "I know already what's going to happen here. We will have to go. We will have to cement our own floors". He wants to tell me that there is running water. I said there isn't. He told me I don't speak for other residents. But facts are facts.

Chairman: There are quite a few people that want houses. And that is something we must understand. We must just clarify the process. That's all.

[467] A 'Temporary Relocation Area' of the City of Cape Town, established in 2015 for poor black residents who have been evicted from informal settlements or homeless. The TRA is located 25 km north of the Cape Town city centre with approximately 5,000 households. It is burdened with isolation and high overcrowding and unemployment.
[468] fn/20150319c

Chairman: There is a stigma. The Kraal doesn't sit well with a lot of people in Bo-Kaap.[469]

The breaking down of an old colonial patriarchal order and the establishment of a new postcolonial patriarchy is based around the authority of the propertied.[470] The Chairman, one of the wealthiest figures in the community, has been the chair of the Civic Association for over 20 years. The Chairman dominates its public and political sphere, and having saturated the institutional memory of the organisation, has come to embody this purported representative governance within the individual person. Here a reconfigured array of norms reconciles a form of traditional authority with new liberal legitimations of charismatic individualism. The advent of representative government such as in the form of the Civic Association permitted the emergence of a powerful local creole elite to access a new array of legislative public powers that enabled a mimetic reproduction of 'the wealth and success of the wit boere'. The colonial administration, a numerical minority in South African settler society, organised large and complex populations into governable 'communities' through effective bureaucratic power. Evidence of institutional forms of violence – 'the City blames the registered residents' – and a strategic disinformation campaign – 'They are making these people a scapegoat' – raise alarming ethical dilemmas for a representative community organisation. However, this is perfunctorily marginalised through a colonial mimesis of bureaucratic power – 'We must just clarify the process. That's all.' Appeals to an externalised formal bureaucracy cloaked the Chairman's political

[469] fn/20150520:1-2
[470] Smyth 2016

commitments to an influential constituency of the black bourgeoisie – 'There is a stigma. The Kraal doesn't sit well with a lot of people in Bo-Kaap' – whilst maintaining moral authority and public civility. Bureaucratic power thus succeeded in distancing the Chairman's agency from publicly withholding support or empower an isolated and impoverished ward. Such a position would have been unpalatable to bourgeois sensibility and importantly, the political legitimacy of the Association's public anti-gentrification stance: 'Bo-Kaap will not be dispossessed. Bo-Kaap will not be moved.'. Through scapegoating and appealing to correct procedure, bureaucratic violence is wielded in concealed and unnoticed manoeuvres, and is done so identically by both the Civic association and the liberal government. In both instances, bureaucratic forms of liberal justice did not render transparency or accountability in the way its authority is exercised. This slippage between traditional authority and liberal power is a performative contestation between adversaries who share likenesses, producing them as co-constitutive in a political aesthetic of the postcolony where difference, tradition and modernity, radicalism and conservatism, convergence in identical political consequences.

Democratic liberalism in South Africa brought about changes in the institutional form through which authority is exercised but limited change in the nature of that power, where local elites are able to draw upon legitimations in traditional authority in status, class, and gender, that has a mimetic relation to unchecked liberal power of the state. Although political representation sought to bring the state into a new, more accountable relationship with South African society, it simultaneously strengthened the powers of new politically-empowered local elite masculinities over the social

resources and intellectual labour of their constituencies. Traditional confidence and trust towards patriarchal power provided an overarching structure for other systems of governance and social control – the sphere of the political and of publicity. The shifts in patriarchal power in the South African postcolony thus provides a lens to understand South Africa's transition from white nationalism to democratic liberalism.[471]

The first major segregation legislation passed by the white nationalist Union Parliament in 1913 was the Natives Land Act. The Act restricted black 'homelands' to 13% of South Africa's landmass, with control of these territories vested in African chiefs under 'communal tenure'.[472] The promulgation of the Restitution of Land Right Act 22 of 1994 was one of the first of the new liberal democratic dispensation, providing the establishment of the Land Claims Commission, that sought to redress historical land dispossession dated from 1913 through fair and equitable compensation or land restitution. Rather than the predominant pattern of restitution under the Act conflated with rural land reform related to the former 'reserves' and 'Bantustans', Bo-Kaap is a unique anomaly in the Cape Town city centre, having constituted a singular Malay ethnic tribe and urban homeland under apartheid, sustained through anthropological inquiry, spatial containment, social enclosure, and political regulation within a largely subsistence economy. A tribal enclosure is an exclusive, territorially-bounded, self-conscious collectivity sharing a common culture and history, and underpins approaches to tradition, norms, and authority. Throughout the African

[471] Newbigin 2010
[472] Cousins and Walker 2015

continent, the colonial state was organised either ethnically or on a religious basis. [473] Religion here does not subscribe to a modernist container of the private sphere, but as a generator of meanings for the social self and social life.[474] Bo-Kaap is a site that condenses strategic meanings of both ethnicity and religion in colonial and anti-colonial formations. Tribal authority and consciousness undergirded European racialised thought in Africa, which remained a powerful force of social and political mobilisation in the postcolony, and in South Africa in particular. Mamdani contends that political agency in the postcolony is always already a historicised agency and must attend to the manners in which colonial institutions shaped the contemporary agency of the colonised. Democratising institutions must focus not only on who governs, coloniser or colonised, but how governance organises different categories of persons. Twentieth century South Africa consolidated white ethnicity as it fragmented a racialised majority into alienated and governable ethnic minorities.[475] Tribalism is thus a specifically modern phenomenon.[476]

Chairman: We can't speak about Bo-Kaap without speaking about the wrongs that we need to right. Land restitution. People that have lost their property. The people from Loader Street and Coburn Street[477] are now in Manenberg[478]. We are going to claim the quarry as restitution. We're going to claim all open public land for restitution. We're going to tie up all the land in Bo-Kaap in restitution claims.

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[473] Mamdani 1996
[474] White 2012
[475] Mamdani 2001
[476] Spear 2003
[477] The primary roads in the now affluent adjacent neighbourhood of De Waterkant, dispossessed from black residents by forced removal after its declaration as a White Group Area under apartheid
[478] An impoverished coloured township on city's periphery

Secretary: We must take the land in a restitution process for low cost housing for our people . It is rightfully our place who have been here for centuries. We must put restitution in 'security terms' to appeal to the whites. [479]

The Chairman's rallying rhetoric of 'all open land in Bo-Kaap for restitution' follows a sustained pattern across a spectrum of affective registers, of charismatic banding of ethnic supporters behind a visionary leader that carries the approximation of tribal leadership, or the apparatus of chieftaincy, that regulated nonmarket relations in community affairs. The chief historically is a masculinist, class-privileged, ethnicised, single individual in which is condensed all moments of power: judicial, legislative, executive, and administrative. The political legitimacy and cultural authenticity of chieftaincy is a contested category in South African political historiography. The chief was integrated in the administrative structure of colonial power: colonisation in Africa without exception produced a native policy; native policy created ethnic territories; ethnic territory established chieftaincy; chiefs mediated colonial administrations and the colonised.[480] The viability of chieftaincy rested on perceptions of legitimacy. The critical question here is not how chieftaincy was externally imposed, but how it was internally accepted and imbued with awe and reverence, and how a colonial anthropological category is sustained in a postindustrial and neoliberalism urban political economy.

[479] fn/20140902:2/ 20140922:1/20140706:1
[480] Betts 1985

The human institution of the family serves as the stable model and provided the framework for the social and political structure of the Civic Association as the House of the Chief. The dynamic social form of the chieftain's house is an informal but powerful associational life of the charismatic band. The 'first tier' of leadership in the Civic Association is the Chairman and the Secretary, as masculine chief and feminine matriarch, forming the dynamic domicile of politics and carework, with subordinates of who is required absolute loyalty. This hierarchy sorts and organises members, allocates and manages resources, and enables social and political control. Obedience is rewarded with love and affirmation of belonging, the subaltern side of colonial love, but disapproval, betrayal, or independence is met with disgrace and excommunication from the political family. As a voluntary association, membership is vulnerable and contingent on continuous consent to be governed by the chief's embrace. Betrayal is typically a function of media publicity, read as a threat to the chief's rule. Expulsion has been characteristic of the youth, professionals, and competitors. Members fear the terror and seek out the love of the chief, but the principles of family piety – altruism, trust, and self-actualisation – undergird its order. The socialisation of family piety offers stability and reproduction, effective governance, and lasting political legitimacy, meeting the psychosocial needs of adherents in its offering of security, validation, order, and purpose.

The chief is constructed as ambivalent figure of the postcolony. As a necessary intermediary, he is a relational subject that affirms hierarchy. Chieftaincy fragments blackness and reconsolidates whiteness, as well as shaping the form of revolt against it. As a figure of revolt, he calls for cultural rights and self-determination of

ethnicities.[481] He leads and directs a population to know how to respond and act under conditions of risk, uncertainty, and crisis.[482] He mobilises the deeply affective aspects of ethnicity in the political defence of group interests. Yet he limits colonial rule as he facilitates its reproduction. He is complicit in the reproduction of ethnic tribalism as constructed in the 'native policy' that secured colonial rule. His obligation to ensure community wellbeing also maintains his legitimacy on which liberal power depends. He mobilises the colonial constructs of ethnicity and community to resist insecurity and competition. Yet this mobilisation includes extra-ethnic and intra-ethnic competition to his own domination, reinforcing a clientelism that enhances his own status as a cultural elite.[483] Liberal governance in micro-institutions like the Civic Association provided a change in nomenclature from the 'customary' and 'native authority' toward 'civility' and 'representation', without a major change in the organisation of that power. British colonial power in Africa assured black cooperation by promoting the liberal bargain that their welfare and happiness must be deeply-rooted in their traditions as well as their prejudices.[484]

The postcolony provides new articulations where local elites are able to exercise hierarchical control within a local community. Liberal rule is buttressed and strengthened through creole patriarchal authority in local networks inherited from apartheid. New liberal modes of governance re-invests new orders of legitimacy through inherited social hierarches of dominance and power – class, gender, and

[481] Mamdani 2001
[482] Morawski 2013: 30
[483] Cooper 1997: 157
[484] Betts 1985: 315

generation – even as racial hierarchical structures were resisted, reaffirming some colonial views as it contested others. Secularisation and coloniality relegated Islamic institutions to the private sphere of liturgical worship and family piety. But religion is also the bearer of cultural authenticity and ethical determination. For Bo-Kaap, it is the idiom through which struggles to define an alternative social order are often expressed. The Civic Association constructs a nondistinction and vacillation between religiosity and secularity, the ethical resources of the sacred and the secular grammar of political participation, troubling colonial notions into an oppositional capacity. It wrestles traditional authority with liberal power in a conjunctive political project, a dramaturgy of the postcolony, a non-revolutionary resistance. This conjunctive system of order, rather than assimilationist or direct rule, responds to the friction and conflict between European and creole elites. The contradictions of ethnicity, its subjects and institutions, thus comprises both social control and social emancipation.

Chairman: You have to understand. We will lose the support of the middle class vote if they stay. We could have our museum there [...] We need to have an alternative on the table. That alternative has to do with our heritage. I think those are simple things. It was a Washhouse originally. That was the whole purpose of the Kraal. It's easy to put up a Washhouse again with all the heritage.[485]

[485] fn/20150317c; fn/20150319b

Member Y[486]*: Even if we have this monumental museum there, they can still be a part of it. There must be a plan. It doesn't mean we must move them. A few houses can be built there, and we still have it as a monument area. Those people can be upgraded, mentally and everything. We must have that on the table!*[487]

Epistemology and ontology, formulated as genealogy, and instrumentalised as heritage, has its aesthetic institutional form in the museum. Heritage is the instrumentalisation of pasts to legitimate contemporary ideological projects. A settler genealogy of heritage ideology traces the creative transposition of European Christian forms in the invention of an Anglo-Dutch high vernacular tradition in the colony, a white myth of origin that materially grounds an historically expansive civilising project, cohering as a white spiritual axis in the condensation of the settler city. Heritage is institutionalised with the emergence of white nationalism in the early 20th century as the preservation of the colonial body of state. As minority rule, settler statecraft could never be a non-recognition of the colonised. 'Diversity' and 'inclusion' are constitutive in the normative production of liberal power. Rather, liberal governance continuously re-enacts ad renews the spiritual foundations of the city with regard to a 'native policy' in a penitentiary-reformatory complex. Its condenser is the subjectivized figure of the slave, the social unit of the tribe, and the spatial form of the ghetto. The liberal moral order of the institutional complex entangles coloniser and colonised within a system that educates as it disciplines, develops as it dispossesses, disgraces as it dignifies. Protestant moral rehabilitation has

[486] This Civic member shared this alternative view privately in whispered voice for fear of reprisal from the Chairman
[487] fn/20150319c

its origin moment in the slave lodge, moulding a captive creole subject in the languages of Europe, Christianity, and capitalism. The restoration and dignification paradigms of apartheid and postapartheid reify the tribe and the ghetto as the regulation of colonial terror and the interventions of colonial love. A black baroque fold of early modernity, rituals of homemaking and self-actualisation, is not an alter-ego of the Imperial God-Man complex, a spiritual inheritance of Imperial Rome, but a dissolution of the ego itself. Neo-Roman white spiritual investments and the black baroque mark two counterpoints of a postsecular episteme of the modern. The postliberal articulates a tense conceptual space that exists between the liberal self and liberal civil society, a relation that reproduces aspects of anti-blackness even as it articulates a black political subject in opposition to white supremacy.

Rather, an intermediary ontological space is a third pole of community, the macrocosm of the human institution of the family. Community is an ideation of the colonial complex, of the Malay Quarter as apartheid's Black Museum, a fantasmatic psychopathology of whiteness, but it is also the deep well of cultural creativity and organic social bonds that exceeds the matrix of liberal humanism. The Chairman posits reinvestments in these cultural resources as 'an alternative' to the social displacements and economic erosions of neoliberal capitalist transformations that has penetrated Bo-Kaap after apartheid. 'Our museum' will be 'a monument': a supersession to the Black Museum, one that reifies familial and communal bonds, ennobles a postslave community, elevates a slave lingua franca to a high arts tradition, and transforms shame and disgrace in subjugation to honour. It is a postcolonial aesthetic of recovery after loss, of healing after injury. Yet the postcolonial aesthetic

must also account for the erasure of the Kraal, of bonds broken, of histories denied, of dislocations reproduced in new articulations of loss and injury. It represents a particularly local struggle of black alienation against itself, a narcissistic trauma of self-identification, rather than a clear reassertion of colonial authority. It represents a specifically local struggle between the values of an older moral economy and an emerging capitalist one. Local, elite, creole, patriarchal power shores up difference of religion, gender, generation and class that cut against the emphasis on race that underpinned the Chairman's position. The black bourgeoisie and its relation to the cultural resources, prejudices and aspirations of local communities emerge in the postcolony as a pivot in the shaping of contemporary liberal-secular power. While the European bourgeoisie claimed the historical struggle to dignify work in the 18th century, the black bourgeoisie lacks any similar ethical and intellectual project. Democratic liberalism did not naturally empower blacks, women, the poor, or religious minorities, but has, in the case of Bo-Kaap, although advancing new forms of emancipation, reproduced a new realignment of older modes of oppression.

This is a recuperation but in a liberal grammar: that develops as it dispossesses, disgraces as it dignifies. It searches for a new subject of history from unthought locations, but through the multicultural misrecognitions of colonial love. This reimagining of Bo-Kaap formulates a paradox of the museum as symbolic restitution; and restitution as dispossession. A new coalescence of traditional authority cultivated in conditions of spatial and temporal containment and liberal individualism, opened through boundary erosion, capital influx, and neoliberal governance, created new forms of postcolonial rule that opens this array of contradictions. The Kraal

represented an unusable past to bourgeois self-preservation and its transformation of a postslave community using languages of cultural rights to reinforce their position of dominance. Reading slavery, white nationalism, apartheid, and the postapartheid as historical moments along an unbroken genealogy of liberal rule in modernity reveals elite networks of patronage and accumulation couched in the language of rights and restitution. The Bo-Kaap offers a laboratory to consider the intricate entanglements of domination and resistance in the postcolony. There are no relations that exist in exteriority to power; the colonial difference touches each of us. A genealogy of liberal-secular power through its margins reveals moments where sites of power are historically transformed, as cleavages, joinings, contradictions, and residues, where alternative social worlds can emerge. The project of restitution has a future as well as a past. Political community must rescue emancipatory social practices and intellectual legacies from its intimate historical sites silenced through the colonial romance to unimagine the neoliberal saturation of the future. The current moment in Bo-Kaap is one of intense ontological conflict. It is within such conflict that alternative political imaginaries can emerge, where native authorities and the intermediaries of whiteness can be detribalised, whiteness itself is deconstructed, the local can be diversified, resistance can be deromanticised, and communities of suffering can heal.

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Figure 3: Morris 1951: 72

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Figure 12, 13: Desai 1993: 253

Figure 14: Critchlow 1999: 160

Figure 15: Author

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Figure 17: Maskew Miller

Figure 18: Urban Vigilance 1978

Figure 19: Heritage Western Cape

Figure 20: Le Corbusier 2016, cover

Figure 21: Le Corbusier 2016: 41

Figure 22: Du Plessis 1944

Figure 23: Du Plessis 1944

Figure 24: Du Plessis 1944

Figure 25: Blumenbach 1779

Figure 26: Kay 2007

Figure 27: Author 2015

Figure 28: Author amended from WCA ACLT 630

Figure 29: Du Plessis 1953

Figure 30: Townsend 1977

Figure 31: Townsend 1978

Figure 32: O'Donoghue and Buttgens 2010: 53 (1963)

Figure 33: https://www.ajowellness.com (2019)

Figure 34: Author 2014

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Figure 40: Author 2015

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