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BO-KAAP ARCHITECTURE

A CRITIQUE OF STRUCTURALIST THEORY

JOANNA BEHRENS



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by

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ABSTRACT

Within the last decade, the study of vernacular architecture has expanded dramatically. The built environment has been recognized as the conversion of ideas into architectural space and the durable and stationary nature of construction has facilitated the development of a broad data base complementing more traditional historical sources. Much interpretation has been orientated within a structuralist framework of analysis and the validity of such an approach is questioned by a critical examination of two structuralist interpretation - Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* and John Gribble's analysis of sandveld vernacular. A comparative data base is provided by a sample of houses from Bo-Kaap. Interpretation suggests the inadequacies and limitations of a structuralist understanding and recommends the need for new direction.

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CHAPTER ONE

"... housing is a basic fact of human geography. It reflects cultural heritage, current fashion, functional needs and the positive and negative aspects of the non-cultural environment" (Kniffen 1986:4). Despite such broad potential, however, architectural studies have, until relatively recently, defined a narrow, contracted discipline, focused on elements of style and examples of the unusual. In South Africa this concern with classification and description has been well advanced (Sir Herbert Baker, Fairbridge 1922, Pearse 1933, Grieg 1971, Obholzer et al 1985). Investigations have focused on the decorative detail of buildings - of particular concern has been a debate over the 'origins' of 'Cape-Dutch' architecture and a preoccupation with gable forms; buildings have been artificially categorized into periods or 'styles' and closed boundaries of historical influence have been sharply delineated.

This particularistic 'art-history' approach has carried with it a number of ramifications. Clearly the area of study has been unrepresentative and consequently is more illustrative of an "academic architecture of power" (Hall quoted in Gribble 1989:140) than a discerning penetration of a broad based society. From an archaeological perspective this focus is particularly unsatisfactory for it ignores the potential of material culture to democratize and exclude - interpretations are positivistic, thus living space is viewed as primarily physical or explicable in rational, scientific terms based on a consideration of environment and technology. Essentially such an approach has failed to consider human behaviour as symbolic action and thus, the importance that artefacts may play as signifiers of social acts (Beaudry 1978:19-20).

It is this awareness of 'architecture as artefact' that in recent years has accounted for a burgeoning, interdisciplinary interest in an expanded data base that has moved beyond an antiquarian and nostalgic interest in the quaint to incorporate a broad range of building

types : "factories, farmsteads and school houses as well as whole landscapes - milltowns, suburbs, agricultural settlements and commercial strips" (Wells 1987:1). Influenced by the theories and methods of cultural geography, sociology, folklore, social history and anthropology, a coherent field of vernacular study has developed. Triggered by early literature (e.g. Levi-Strauss 1958, Rapoport 1969), architecture has come to be viewed primarily as social space engaged in dialogue with such moderating influences as economy, society and culture. Thus the resolution of practice and function with an awareness of structures as material manifestations of culture, and therefore laden with meaning, has become the goal in reaching an understanding of the built environment.

Archaeology, or more specifically historical archaeology, has become a primary interpretive vehicle in this search for meaning. As a discipline directly concerned with the material aspects of past societies, it is uniquely situated to facilitate an interpretation of the silences of the historical record (which is used as a complementary source of information) and to discern the ambiguities, or layers of meaning, concomitant with non-literary texts. This definition of architecture as "the conversion of ideas into spatial form" (Hubka 1986:426) is one that has become well advanced in American studies of the vernacular and has moved towards collapsing common misconceptions which have adversely distinguished between a 'folk-design mind and the modern design mind' (Hubka 1986:430). The elitism of previous studies has been moderated by a recognition of mutual influence between levels of design, the guise of functionalism has been pulled away, notions of vernacular culture as stagnant and 'naively spontaneous' have been effectively challenged (Hubka 1986:427-428) and generally a far more rigorous approach concerned with social function of the interior and form, rather than simply style has been widely adopted.

Despite these far reaching advances however, vernacular architectural studies remain open to a wide range of theoretical considerations. There is broad agreement that technical,

economic and functional considerations are mediated by cultural values which builders wish either to promote or which are unconsciously reflected in their designs, but the precise nature of these values has remained open to debate (Japha and Japha 1989:2). Japha et al (1989:2) have distinguished three broad areas of interpretation : "First buildings have been seen as reflections of economic capability and the social status that accompanies it. Second buildings of particular kinds have been seen as reflections of the values of particular groups, such as ethnic groups or classes [Interestingly, this field of study has developed at a fairly accelerated pace in South Africa - see for example Frescura (1988) who has argued that the ephemeral architecture of South Africa's indigenous people is a "sophisticated mirror of their social structures, inheritance patterns, economic activities, religious rituals and ultimately cosmological beliefs"]. Third the formal structures of vernacular architectural systems have been taken as evidence for the structure of thought, for what amounts to a history of mentalities".

It is from the baseline defined by this latter interpretation, and more generally within a structuralist framework of analysis, which lends itself so well to a consideration of mental process, that a majority of studies have grouped in recent years. Hubka, (1986:429) in a discussion of vernacular designers and the generation of form, writes:

"Folk design is carried exclusively in the human mind and maintained within it's culture by tradition ... To understand this method one must be prepared to hypothesize about the way in which the human mind works to transform tradition into complex architectural designs".

It is therefore around this consideration that vernacular architectural studies have established a benchmark and from which a number of seminal analyses have developed (Upton and Vlach 1986).

Of central importance has been Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975), a structuralist analysis of rural architecture which has had a far ranging and sustained

influence within the discipline. In South Africa this approach has been adopted at both a rigorous and a more general level (Gribble 1989, Winer and Deetz 1990). Increasingly, however, the value of a structuralist paradigm in archaeology has been questioned (e.g. Hodder 1982, 1986) and the value and appropriateness of this direction in vernacular architecture must consequently be considered.

A close reading of *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* reveals the mechanisms of this direction in America and in South Africa. Gribble's analysis of the Verlorenvlei vernacular facilitates an examination of how successfully the approach may be transplanted. The theoretical advantages and disadvantages are illuminated and weighed accordingly. At a more practical level the structuralist methodology will be tested by a comparative analysis of a representative sample of houses from the Bo-Kaap. The generation of a rule set or grammar will assess structuralist principles as an explanatory framework for house form and the potential of this particular paradigm in vernacular architectural studies will be evaluated.

CHAPTER TWO

The importance of a theoretical orientation in archaeological research is paramount for not only does it condition the manner and content of what is observed, but "how it is interpreted, how interpretations are explained and how understanding is achieved" (Kent 1987:513). This importance has not, however, always been recognized, primarily because, as Kent (1987:513) points out, "one paradigm has dominated since the 1960's - cultural materialism and ecology. The primacy of this orientation has been noted by Watson, Le Blanc and Redman (1984:117) who wrote that by the end of the 1960's "American archaeology was almost entirely dominated by the ecological approach". In broad terms, this direction may be subsumed within the theoretical framework of "Functionalism" discussed by Hodder (1982, 1986), in which an analogy between social and organic life is introduced and society is viewed as a series of interrelated parts which become mutually explicable by a consideration of their functional relationship to each other and the whole.

According to this viewpoint, societies exist in a state of equilibrium or 'homeostasis', into which 'pathologies' or disequilibrium intrudes as a result of maladaptation. Adaptation is defined on three general levels :

- a.) adjustment to the physical environment - an ecological adaptation
- b.) internal arrangement and adjustment of components of the society in relation to each other
- c.) the process by which an individual finds a place in the society in which he lives (Hodder 1982:2)

It is suggested that through these three types of adaptation societies survive and evolve. Thus 'culture', a cornerstone of archaeological study, is viewed as a "homeostatic device", a conservative influence ensuring that change in the system will be minimized (Hodder 1982:3).

This functionalist, or more specifically 'ecological functionalist', approach provided the main theoretical framework in which several generations of archaeologists developed and became widely adopted as a result of the 'New Archaeology' of the 1960's and 70's. Increasingly, however, the fundamental limitations and inadequacies of the functionalist stand were recognized. Hodder (1982:3-7) has identified the central problems :

- 1.) A functionalist approach which assumes that homeostatic equilibrium is the natural state of things is forced to conclude that change is externally derived. Thus the impact of 'independent variables', such as environmental factors and population increase, are emphasized.
- 2.) All aspects of culture are assumed to have utilitarian purposes - explanation is therefore sought in terms of adaptation and function, a viewpoint which extended early notions of material culture as 'fossilized action'.
- 3.) Linked to this separation of function and culture was a decreased emphasis on archaeology as an historical discipline - since material culture was explained in terms of adaptive efficiency there was little concern to situate the society within a temporal framework.
- 4.) An adoption of a 'cross-cultural' approach resulted in the collapse of diachrony into 'sameness'. Thus despite the New Archaeologists' concern to identify variability, the functioning of systems were interpreted in synchronic terms "as instances of some general relationship".
- 5.) The functionalist view gives little emphasis to individual creativity and intentionality. Individual roles and social categories are "regarded as functioning in relation to each other to maintain the efficient equilibrium of the whole system".
- 6.) The emphasis on cross-cultural generalizations resulted in statements of "high predictive value" - rules of behaviour and artefact deposition were identified regardless of historical and cultural dimensions and it became possible to 'predict' aspects of human behaviour without any understanding of causal links and relevant context.

It was an increasing dissatisfaction with this qualified ability of 'Functionalism' to provide a comprehensive and systematic framework of interpretation that was to result in a general abandonment of this particular theoretical paradigm. In moving beyond antiquarian considerations of material culture functionalism had proved important, but the growing awareness that there was more to 'culture' than "observable relationships and functional utility" (Hodder 1982:7) made an academic reorientation vital. Edmund Leach had advised archaeologists to "embrace structuralism" (Gellner 1982:97) and it was indeed in this direction that the discipline turned.

The application of structuralist theory in archaeology was thus an attempt to counter the problems perceived in Functionalism. At the broadest level structuralists tried to move away from generalizations limited to the mechanical or physical aspects of society and culture. Practically this constituted an introduction of 'mental' considerations or theories of mind, the kernel around which all structuralist projects inevitably centre.

THE STRUCTURALIST MODEL

The principles of Structuralism, which have been applied in a wide range of disciplines from logic and mathematics to literary theory, derive from a linguistic model built around the work of Jakobson, Saussure and Chomsky. In broad terms analyses of verbal categories have provided the mechanism, or channel, through which universal structural characteristics of human minds have been hypothesized (Leach 1970:38). Drawing a parallel with common biological performance and capacity it is suggested that the human brain subconsciously orders and interprets sensually received stimuli:

"The basic assumption is that the human mind categorizes and divides; creates contrasts and opposition, that it reverses and displaces and distinguishes between inside and outside, culture and nature, male and female; furthermore that the mind uses a limited repertoire of contrastive categories to think about virtually all reality" (Leone 1982:742-743).

The implication of this from an archaeological perspective is that all material culture can be examined as a structured set of differences - thus the form of *any* artefact is viewed as the result of the mental mediation by its creator of a series of binary oppositions - the cross-cultural generalizations are carried forward to a new level and it is now suggested that "cultures differ from one another in the manner in which the mediations are effected" (Winer and Deetz 1990:56).

The central importance of the application of structuralist theory to archaeological considerations has thus been the search for meaning beyond function - essentially the symbolic element of human behaviour has been recognized. Practically, attempts to understand this have been grounded in a considered suggestion of a 'logic of the mind', an innate or 'deep-structure', which although not directly observable is concretely reflected. The search for meaning is therefore a search for patterning in the data base and an interpretation of the relationships between patterns is organized and orientated within the proscribed framework. The advance of this method beyond the limitations of Functionalism have been underlined by Leone (1982:743):

"... the promise held out by structuralist analysis is that it is no longer necessary to assume that levels of culture, like technology, social organization and myth, are separate, nor do either efficiency or function have to be found within these phenomena or their artefacts. The benefit for an archaeologist is that from this point of view all artefacts can be treated as having equal significance regardless of their function. Another benefit is that prehistoric thought patterns, long assumed to be irretrievable, can now be approached since no class of artefacts ... is any further from the root of the culture than any other: the human mind ordered them all".

This academic potential to reconstruct patterns of thought and meaning within the structuralist framework has proved one of archaeology's most important innovations and the widespread application of the theory, in both pre-historical and historical archaeology, has stood testament to its advantages. Increasingly, however, the inadequacies and failures of such a methodology have been highlighted and its potential

within the discipline called to question. The application of structuralist principles to vernacular architecture provides a specific example.

FOLK HOUSING IN MIDDLE VIRGINIA AND VERLORENVLEI VERNACULAR - AN OUTLINE OF INTENT

Henry Glassie's analysis of 'common' housing in the Goochland and Louisa counties of Middle Virginia has become for many scholars of vernacular architecture a touchstone of academic endeavour. Working within a structuralist framework of analysis and drawing on the transformational or generative grammars of Noam Chomsky, Glassie has successfully challenged traditional, 'art-history' considerations of architecture and defined buildings as "meaning-determined material" (Wylie 1982:45). He suggests that residents of his research area absorbed from their neighbours a way of thinking geometrically which may be codified into a set of rules, or grammar (the specificity of this claim, and that made by Gribble for his research area, will be more closely examined in following chapters). Subconsciously applied the rules resulted in the generation of form. Thus from a basic geometric unit, (a diagonally defined square which could be transformed by the addition or subtraction of units) obligatory and optional rules which determined the location of windows, doors, chimneys and extensions acted as cultural regulators in the process of design. Glassie argued moreover that members of the culture learnt the principles of generation, rather than the specific details, which allowed a certain degree of freedom within the closed system of thought and facilitated the invention of new "cultural performances" (Upton and Vlach 1986:xxii). In the final analysis however all examples were reducible to a single 'form', a suggestion which disregarded time or history and dismissed elements of style as "convenient fashion" (Glassie 1975:151) and not a reflection of deep mentality.

An explanation of competence or the generation of form, was then sought through the application of a series of binary oppositions (natural-cultural, external-internal, public-

private and extensive-intensive) which were linked to the commanding opposition of chaos versus order. Diachronic change was interpreted as the result of an increased infatuation with, and dependence upon, technology and a desire to control nature. This was accomplished by using building materials that emphasized the natural/cultural dichotomy, going from rough log materials blending in with nature, to white wood frame and red brick houses standing out from nature. The house provided a home which complemented Euroamerican culture by emphasizing compartmentalisation and privacy on the inside and promoting a segmented use of space (Kent 1987:524-525). Essentially, therefore, Glassie's study is one of form which he uses to answer questions of process: from the houses studied he attempts to extrapolate back to mental process.

It is this approach which has provided the benchmark in Gribble's (1989) analysis of Verlorenvlei sandveld vernacular architecture. Closely following the methods set out by Glassie, a rule set or grammar of architectural competence was developed for the area in an attempt to explain the form of Cape long houses. These were then interpreted through a series of culturally mediated oppositions tied to the dichotomy of culture and nature. By *reintroducing* historical considerations it was suggested that these oppositions functioned as a reflection of invisible social and cultural dynamics linked to the marginalisation of a frontier experience.

THE STRUCTURALIST LOGIC AND VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE - A CRITICISM

Bordieu (1977 in Thompson 1984:45) has suggested that the central problem of structuralism is "the lack of a theory of practice" and Hodder (1982, 1986) too, has stressed the "incoherency" or variability in approach which is not always made clear.

French anthropologist Levi-Strauss, in attempting to "reach into the human mind" (Leach 1970:112), was the first to recognize the application of linguistic models to other

disciplines and his analysis of "deep-meanings" was greatly influenced by Jakobson's theories of phonetic universals and binary forms which were hypothesized as common to all human languages (Leach 1970:5). Today this approach is recognized as largely inadequate and a more coherent school of thought has developed around the principles of Saussure (Hall 1990:2). Building on the argument that meaning requires structure, Saussure drew a fundamental distinction between language and speech. Language was regarded as the primary object of investigation and was formalized as a series of codes structured by syntactical rules "from which the messages of social intercourse are constructed" (Hall 1990:2-3).

This distinction between 'code' and 'message' parallels the distinction drawn by Chomsky between linguistic competence and linguistic performance, or a deep and surface level structure linked by rules known as transformations and mediated by an innate 'hypothesis-making device', or mental blueprint (Aitchison 1976:101). The notion of tacit or latent knowledge, from which concrete expression is generated, is however rather vague, for although the principle is clear, its application raises difficulties which extended beyond the sphere of linguistics become negatively compounded.

The idea of 'structure' appears to cover two kinds of knowledge :

"on the one hand it consists of knowing how to produce and comprehend utterances. This involves using a rule system, but it does not necessarily involve any awareness of the rules ... on the other hand knowledge of a language also covers the ability to make various kinds of judgements about the language ... the speaker does not only know the rules, but in addition, he knows something about that knowledge - for example speakers can quickly distinguish between well formed and deviant sentences" (Aitchison 1976:155).

The notion of a transformational grammar relates most obviously to this second kind of knowledge - the speaker's awareness of language structure - "however it is by no means clear how a transformational grammar relates to the first type of knowledge - the knowledge of how to actually *use* language" (Aitchison 1976:156). This criticism has been answered within linguistics by Chomsky's claim that although a speaker's internal

grammar has an important bearing on the production and comprehension of utterances, this grammar "does not in itself prescribe the character or functioning of a perceptual model or a model of speech production" (Chomsky in Aitchison 1976:156). Moreover he labels as 'absurd' any attempt to *link the grammar directly to processes of production and comprehension* (Aitchison 1976:156) (my emphasis).

Juxtaposed against the interpretations of Glassie and Gribble the irony is clear. Not only have the 'Chomskyan like' grammars or rule sets developed for the vernacular houses been cited as the bases of the architectural competence, but they have been directly explicated as the unconscious generative mechanism of form. The analysis is complicated still further by the insistence on *unconscious* mental design processes: Aitchison (1976:173) underlines the point within linguistics -

"there is no clear cut line between knowing *how* to utter and comprehend sentences and knowing *that* these sentences are grammatical and how they are related to other sentences ... Humans do not behave like spiders who can weave webs without any conscious knowledge of their skill".

The analogy with architectural design is clear. Indeed, if we are to accept an unconscious design process, an explanation of change and variance becomes particularly difficult and defines the two weakest strands of the structuralist matrix.

In developing a set of universal human cultural oppositions that account for the structure of artefacts, both real and intangible, structuralist analyses have been forced to work within prescribed limits, within the ability of the mind to "spawn logical and analogical oppositions, forever replacing binary oppositions already installed with new ones in a round [that] *cannot transcend the matrix of nature that had given rise to it*" (Wolf 1980 in Leone 1982:742-743) (my emphasis). It is the 'closed' nature of analysis which raises difficulties, for if cultural patterns *are* random variants of structures in the mind then it may be argued that change too must be arbitrary and an explanation of how desired ends are reached through interpretation and use of rules becomes impracticable. Moreover

organization, or structure, of a culture is continuous" (Leone 1982:744). Thus details of place and time become elements of a synchronic whole - the temporal dimension is collapsed into 'sameness'.

Levi-Strauss has argued that "events in the historical past survive in our consciousness only as myth and it is an intrinsic character of myth ... that the chronological sequence of events is irrelevant" (Leach 1970:16). In so doing he set the guideline for a generation of analyses compelled into an explanation and defence of synchrony. Taylor (1984) provides an example:

"Whilst it is obvious that synchrony is an artificial, academic construct, that is applied to artefacts which are diachronic by nature, it is nevertheless also clear that without such a concept, scholars would be unable to say very much of importance about the past, its products and ultimately its people".

It is this stand which has become widely adopted in structuralist analyses of vernacular architecture. Gribble (1989:32) dismisses synchrony as "a necessary evil" and Glassie (1975:8) concludes: "establishing a formal series leading from the old to the new is not an explanation ... [rather] ... Time must be stopped and states of affairs examined before time can be reintroduced".

In avoiding the acknowledged pitfalls of a preoccupation with chronology, both Glassie and Gribble develop an analysis without the 'distraction' of historical considerations. Thus houses from different time frames (spanning as much as 200 years) are generalized into a single synthesis or architectural competence. "A little history" (Glassie 1975:176) is then tagged on in order to produce "a full and democratic account" (Gribble 1989:32). The irony is thus that while both Glassie and Gribble acknowledge their own contemporaneity and the influence this exerts they deny it, at least initially, to their objects of study - views are generated in a temporal vacuum rather than firmly lodged against potential technological and social constraints. The primacy of considerations of mind thus results in an inadequate examination of change or diachronic phenomena.

Synchronic generalization which dismisses the reality of historical experience as "successive manifestations of a stable, permanent core" (Gellner 1982:119) is the unsatisfactory result.

The overriding concern with unconscious generative mechanisms has led to the clear delineation of a second major problem within structuralist analyses - the exceptions which fail to conform to the symmetrical moulds predicted by rule sets and mental oppositions. In Glassie's own research area, six houses from an intensively studied sample of 156 were 'ungrammatical', that is they failed to follow the obligatory rule sets developed as an explanation of architectural design. Moreover eight other houses, contemporaneous with the data sample, although not directly included in analysis, were described as 'innovations', yielding a total of 14 houses (8.54%) which could not be explained in terms of the structuralist methodology. The statistical significance of these figures is arguably low and indeed Glassie proposes at the outset of analysis to create a systematic model that accounts for the design ability of an "idealised maker". Hence he dismisses ungrammatical houses as "an individual's mistakes and not mistakes in the idealized competence" (1975:21). Such an explanation is, however, unconvincing. It is at immediate variance with a basic premise of structuralist theory adopted by Glassie - the unconscious generation of form from a system composed of interrelated elements, none of which can undergo a change without effecting changes in all the other elements (Kent 1987:523). If, as Glassie suggests, the design process is *not* reflective, but subconsciously ordered, the possibility for manipulation and variance seems remote. The dismissal of 'unknown' houses is reductionist; it falls back on the unproved autonomy of the grammar and in terms of the structuralist aims to 'understand mind' becomes circular and inconclusive. An alternative explanation must clearly be sought; effectively the ability of a rule set to explain architectural form must be more closely examined.

Closely linked to this argument is the myth that structuralism involves a rigorous analysis of observable data, that conceptual schemes are empirical and analysis 'objective' (Hodder 1982:32). The rule sets developed by Glassie and Gribble provide a telling example for, essentially, they suggest that systematic and objective measurement and comparison of designs through time and across space defines an exacting and conscientious approach - their houses 'speak' to them, and although a modification of rules is admitted as the data base expands, the approach is labelled inductive, the structures emerge naturally and the possibility that data is fitted (albeit unconsciously) to an expected or hypothesized pattern is dismissed. Essentially the rule set assumes that the human mind always works in an ordered manner, the design of a house is in a sense predetermined. Casual floor plans which grow through time to meet new spatial requirements, additions and repairs are unaccounted for or disregarded. The explanation of the house is pinned to the moment of conceptualisation and the context and manner in which it continues to function becomes irrelevant.

Beyond analysis, however, the development of a rule set poses additional practical problems. The artefactual grammars developed by Glassie and Gribble derive from a particular premise in the theory of knowledge which suggests that 'apprentice' or potential designers simplify and order the visual complexities of the world around them into an assemblage of geometric entities, thus developing a 'geometric repertoire' consisting of summaries of shapes such as a line or angle or curve. This notion appears to refer back to Levi-Strauss's theory of 'bricolage', or the idea that complexity is simplified to geometric shapes. It is suggested, most specifically by Glassie, that the ability to design is intellectually grounded in this geometric repertoire, a proposition which not only assumes an inward capacity for ordering and reordering, but also that this process is comparable, if not the same in all individuals (thus allowing a scholar removed in time to work back through the process of production, via the artefacts it produces, to a theory of mindset). This concept that people reduce complex visual sensations to ordered geometric

assemblages is put forward without defense. As a testable hypothesis, however, it remains open to debate and defines a bent of ethnocentrism within the analysis: the idea that movement towards order is both natural and predictable.

The notion of geometric entities as the basis of design is further complicated by the apparent randomness in choice (in Glassie's area a square is selected, in Gribble's a rectangle). Indeed no explanation of choice is offered, although technological and social constraints may have mediated available options. In Glassie's research area the problem is compounded as the square *per se* is not generally incorporated into house designs. Rather the geometric entity has a scale of shapes (nine possibilities in fact) which are moderated by the unit of measure. Again, however, there is inconsistency, for measurements display a non-modular procedure; that is, they cannot be proportionately divided and subdivided. Moreover various systems or standards of reference appear to have been used - a foot for example did not always equal 12 inches and the traditional measure of the pace was sometimes employed. Glassie, however, works out the scale of shapes on the basis that a square equals 15 feet and the unit was 3 feet - this unit however varied - 3 feet could be 30" or 34" or 36". Thus, despite the apparent rigour of Glassie's approach and the acknowledgement of inconsistencies in the indigenous unit of measure, an unsystematized play with figures and shapes is suggested.

The development of a rule set and architectural competence as a baseline of explanation has also contributed to a collapse of social division in the historical record. A single system suggests that all houses from simplest to most elaborate were products of the same mind at work; a mindset that cut across barriers of economy and race. As Japha and Japha (1989:4) point out however, such a notion ignores the "important ways in which buildings function as carriers of meaning" or, put more explicitly, the way in which buildings may consolidate social standing, a consideration which appears to have been of some importance, as William Kelso makes explicit:

"Things were different for the very rich. In the late eighteenth century in Albemare County, Thomas Jefferson's *Monticello* and a small farmhouse now known as *Solitude* were being built almost within sight of each other. They are representative of the extremes that architecture had come to in Virginia during the eighteenth century. On the one hand *Solitude* represents the persistence of the hall-parlour folk tradition, and on the other hand *Monticello* is symbolic of the mansion houses being built under the neoclassical influence of whatever 'proper' architectural rules appealed to its owners."

The structuralist concern with resolution of wholes, based on an analysis of form, is clearly problematic. The rigidity of the rule set cannot accommodate the possibility of differences in design process (often articulated simply through 'style') and attempts to do so result in a subordination of person to the organizing mechanisms of the unconscious. Indeed, as soon as any human choice is involved, the behavioural laws defined by structuralism appear "simplistic and inadequate because human behaviour is rarely entirely mechanistic" (Hodder 1982:5). Essentially then the rule sets have functioned in the development of a dialectical relationship intermediating between form and context and the justification for the separation of problems of meaning and use from the statement of competence has been the consequent rigour of the approach (Glassie 1975:21). The objectivity of method has, however, been questioned and the notion that meaning is inherent in simply the physical form of the building dismissed. The structuralist analyses have successfully eroded the myth of utility inherent in functionalism, but ironically have remained open to a number of similar criticisms, for example, the difficulties of explaining change within the system and the decreased emphasis of history and individuals. The practical application remains open to further consideration. Particular problems with the research of Glassie and Gribble have already been highlighted - the following chapters will more rigorously debate the premises and claims of structuralist theory in an understanding of vernacular architecture. The data bases are provided by Gribble (1989) and a representative sample of houses from Bo-Kaap.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER THREE

Straggling slowly above the bustling, metropolitan streets of central Cape Town lies an area called Bo-Kaap. Today it is a residential and religious home for Cape Town's Muslim community and in its widest sense covers an area bounded by Buitengracht Street to the east, Strand Street to the north, Carisbrook Street to the south and an indefinite western boundary climbing the slopes of Signal Hill (Map A).

MAPPING BO-KAAP

Price (1986:124) has demonstrated how the details of the biographies of vernacular buildings "may be learned or inferred from evidence concerning the origin and development of town plans". In Bo-Kaap, where documentation is sparse (limited to deeds of sale which furnish ownership (Appendix 1) and street directories which provide partial evidence of occupancy (Appendix 2), this direction has proved particularly useful in building a clearer and more detailed understanding of the area's development. Moreover, as Price (1986:124) points out "one can be reasonably certain that the cultural values that operate in a town's planning in some measure also influence the planning of its houses" (this suggestion is explored in greater detail in Chapter 5). A series of maps thus provide an overview of development.

Map 1 - Brink's 1767 plan of Cape Town (redrawn in the Land Survey Branch, May 1978)

There are only two blocks beyond Bree Street; Buitengracht Street has still to be developed, but the farm Schotschekloof is indicated: this was the first grant of land in Bo-Kaap - Transferred to Alexander Coel in 1707 (Townsend and Townsend 1977:5).

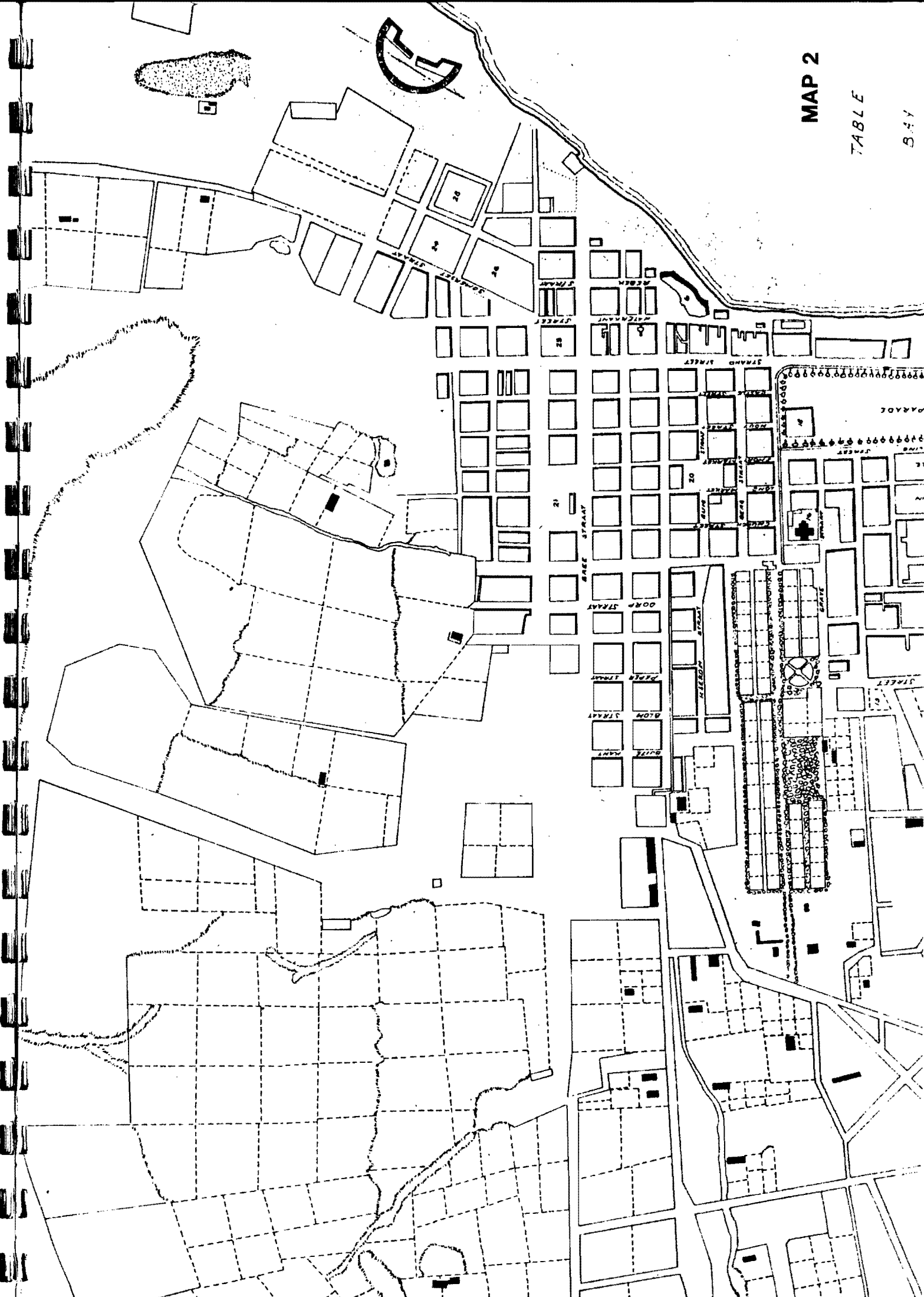
Map 2

Elemain's 1818 map indicates that the blocks between Buitengracht and Chiappini Streets, extending as far as Leewen Street, have been laid out. The extent of development

MAP 2

TABLE

B.47



is not, however, indicated, although deeds of sale suggest the area between Buitengracht and Rose Streets was probably developed by this stage, with initial building in the Rose and Chiappini Street areas underway.

Map 3 - Plan of Cape Town 1826

Four blocks south of Wale Street and west of Buitengracht Street are indicated forming the extensions of Dorp, Leewen and Pepper Streets. The blocks between Wale and Waterkant, Buitengracht and Rose Streets have been built up. The area between Rose and Chiappini streets is still 60% open (Kent 1965). Longmarket Street is almost its present length and two market gardens are indicated: one at the top of Longmarket Street: 'Schmidtsburg' (see deed 120, 28 October 1814 and deed 205, 1 December 1820 - referenced in Appendix 1 under BK90/20) and the second at the top of Wale Street: 'Schotschekloof', owned during this period by Petrus Johannes Pentz (see Appendix 1, deed 262, 15 December 1820).

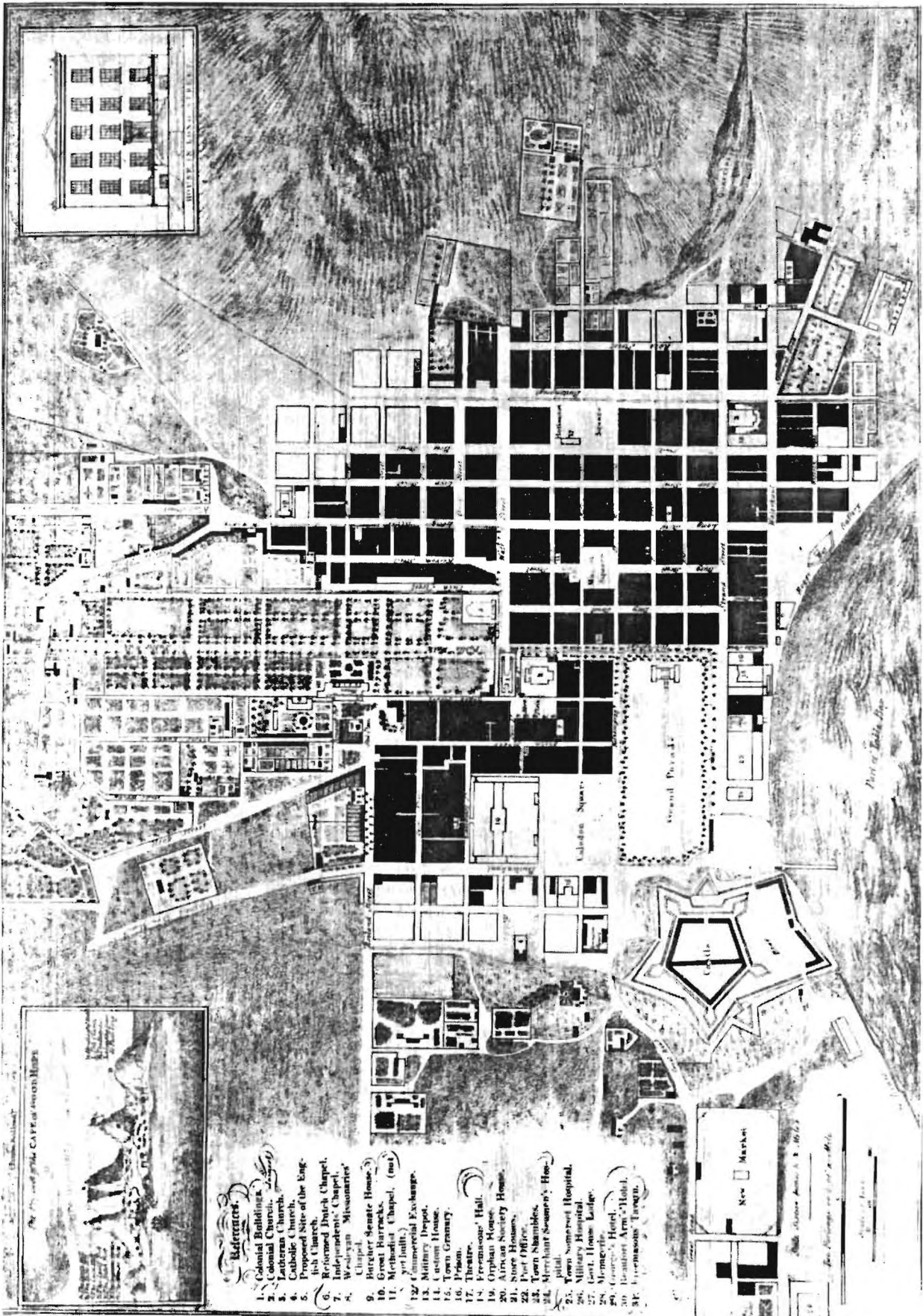
Map 4 1838

The market gardens 'Schotschekloof', 'Schmidtsburg' and 'Stadzicht' (see Appendix 1, deed 143, 23 June 1826 c/f BK90/27 and 28) are indicated; the street pattern appears unaltered (Kent 1965).

Map 5 1862: Snow's Municipal Survey

The area between Buitengracht and Chiappini Streets is extensively developed, although gaps are still evident. There is little development above Chiappini Street except at the head of Wale Street; the market gardens are still indicated, but are beginning to be subdivided for residential purposes.

Map 6 1885



References.

1. Colonial Buildings.
2. Colonial Church.
3. Lutheran Church.
4. Catholic Church.
5. Proposed Site of the English Church.
6. Reformed Dutch Chapel.
7. Independent Chapel.
8. Church of 'Missionsaries'.
9. Barrack Senate House.
10. Great Barracks.
11. Methodist Chapel. (not yet built).
12. Commercial Exchange.
13. Military Depot.
14. Auction House.
15. Town Granary.
16. Prison.
17. Theatre.
18. 'Sons of' Hall.
19. Orphan House.
20. African Society House.
21. Store Houses.
22. Post Office.
23. Town Shambles.
24. Merchant Seaman's Hospital.
25. Town Seaman's Hospital.
26. Military Hospital.
27. Court House Lodges.
28. Surgeon's Hospital.
29. Garrison Armory.
30. Garrison Armory.
31. Garrison Armory.
32. Garrison Armory.
33. Garrison Armory.
34. Garrison Armory.



Part of TABLE BAY

- a. Extension to Somerset Hospital
- b. Reformed Church Burial Place
- c. St. James' Church
- d. St. James' Church
- e. St. James' Church
- f. St. James' Church
- g. St. James' Church
- h. St. James' Church
- i. St. James' Church
- j. St. James' Church
- k. St. James' Church
- l. St. James' Church
- m. St. James' Church
- n. St. James' Church
- o. St. James' Church
- p. St. James' Church
- q. St. James' Church
- r. St. James' Church
- s. St. James' Church
- t. St. James' Church
- u. St. James' Church
- v. St. James' Church
- w. St. James' Church
- x. St. James' Church
- y. St. James' Church
- z. St. James' Church



MAP 5



Cape Town

OLD
ADMIRALTY
HOSPITAL

DUARRES

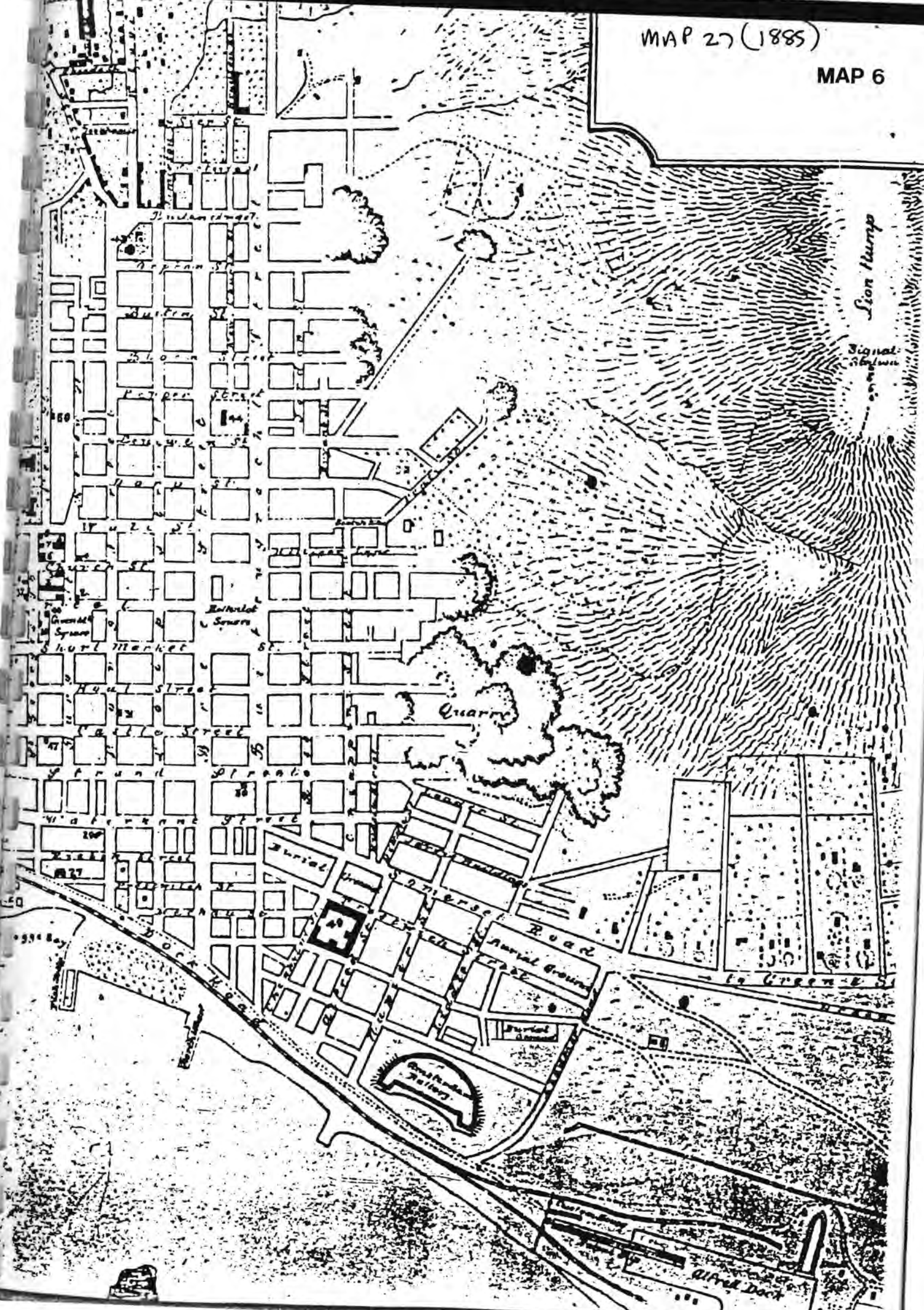
DE WYCK
STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

DE WYCK
STREET



The market gardens have disappeared and the current street pattern has been completed, although it extends no further than the top of Wale and Pentz Streets. The only new roads since 1885 have been those serving the Schotschekloof council flats (Kent 1965).

THE BO-KAAP DATA BASE

Research has concentrated a more confined area than the broad, natural limitations of Bo-Kaap and is bounded by Leewen, Rose, Shortmarket, Carl and Pentz Streets (Map B). This area incorporates the oldest part of Bo-Kaap - the 'Walendorp' blocks between Leewen and Wale Streets; the dwellings which were erected in the early decades of the nineteenth century in Rose and Chiappini Streets and interconnecting lanes such as Helliger and Berg as well as houses built in the 1850's and 1860's which completed gaps in existing street vistas; the sample area also includes a small number of 'Victorian' houses built in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, when the adjoining Schoonekloof area was being extensively developed.

A total of 32 houses (BK90/1 - BK90/32) were included in the data sample and proportionately are representative of the pulses of building and development in Bo-Kaap: 8 houses (25%) are included from the eighteenth century (BK90/1-7 and 9) - the majority of these appear to have been erected in the later years of the eighteenth century, with the exception of BK90/5, which was built between 1763 and 1768 (Townsend and Townsend 1977:64); 10 houses (31,25%) are included from the rapid spate of building which occurred in the early decades of the nineteenth century (BK90/8; 11; 12; 19; 21; 23; 24; 25; 27 and 28); 6 houses (18,75%) from the middle decades of the nineteenth century (BK90/13-18) and 8 (25%) from the final decades of the century (BK90/10; 20; 22; 26; 29; 30; 31 and 32). In all cases dates are approximations based on deeds research (Appendix 1), but the suggestion that 75% of the sample houses were constructed by the mid-nineteenth century is in broad agreement with Townsend and Townsend's (1977:14) proposal that the majority of houses were built between 1790 and 1840. It is, however, important to

realize that the delineation of periods of construction is somewhat artificial, the reality of the situation was probably more complex with sustained building marked by bursts when the demand for housing became acute, or as more money became available for development (e.g. in the immediate post-emancipation period when compensated slave owners became aspirant landlords).

Twenty one of the sampled houses have been included in recent renovation schemes undertaken by the Cape Town City Council. In these instances plans were obtained from the National Monuments Council and two plans are provided for each house. The first indicates the present structure (these plans are labelled with the prefix A740): hatched walls indicate new construction and dotted lines demolished walls; the second indicates the dwelling prior to renovation with walls, doors and windows identified as original in placement - this plan has been included in the analysis. Measurements of the houses were spot checked to validate accuracy. A further seven plans were obtained through the City Council.

Houses were visited to determine whether any recent renovations had been undertaken and again the measurements were spot checked to ensure accuracy. The remaining houses included in the analysis were exhaustively measured and recorded. Interestingly, almost all the houses have undergone some form of structural alteration and often it was difficult or even impossible to ascertain original floor plans, particularly in cases where the present occupants had not lived in the house for an extended period. The contrast with Glassie's research area, in which houses are presented as closed systems, is striking and, taking into consideration the different building materials, potentially problematic. In Bo-Kaap the houses are built of brick and stone, in Virginia of wood, a fabric far more amenable to alterations which would not be reflected during routine recording and measuring procedures. In translating such a criticism into the Bo-Kaap data, a measure of caution was exercised in a consideration of floor plans, which were viewed as organic, changing in

tandem with new spatial requirements, building new layers of meaning around a stable structural kernel¹.

The scale for plans is provided in Rhinland Feet, the indigenous unit of measure at the Cape for the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century². Bird (1823:339) provided the ratio with English feet: "If an English foot be divided into 1000 parts it requires a 1033 for a Rhinland foot". Diagrams accompanying deeds of sale indicate that Dutch measurements continued to be used into the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the 1890's, however, the English foot had become the official unit of measure and houses built during this period are provided with the appropriate scale³. A short description of each house is provided below and a sample of elevations and photographs illustrate the visual dimension of Bo-Kaap houses.

* * * * *

BK90/1 (1 Lion Lane) and BK90/2 (2 Lion Lane)

Small, flat-roofed, two-bay asymmetrical plans with narrow entrance passages leading into kitchens. Large (eight pane) sashes and panelled Georgian doors with simple plaster rustication are common to both houses (Louw 1983:336). The cornice is stepped to accommodate the slope of the ground and the stoep walls are plastered. Modern bathrooms have been built in the courtyards.

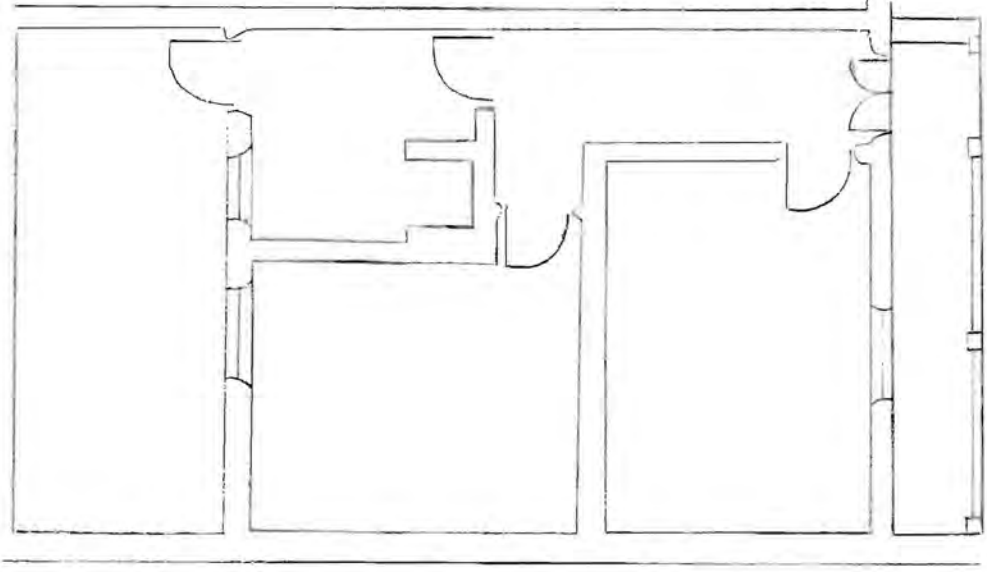
BK90/3 (67 Wale Street) and BK90/4 (69 Wale Street)

Two-bay dwellings under a single moulded plaster cornice. The windows are large (12 pane) sashes with internal shutters and each unit has a panelled bolection mould Georgian door and fanlight. Decorative plaster architraves are present. There is a raised stoep with a repaired balustrade and wrought iron railings (Louw 1983:336). The parapets and flat

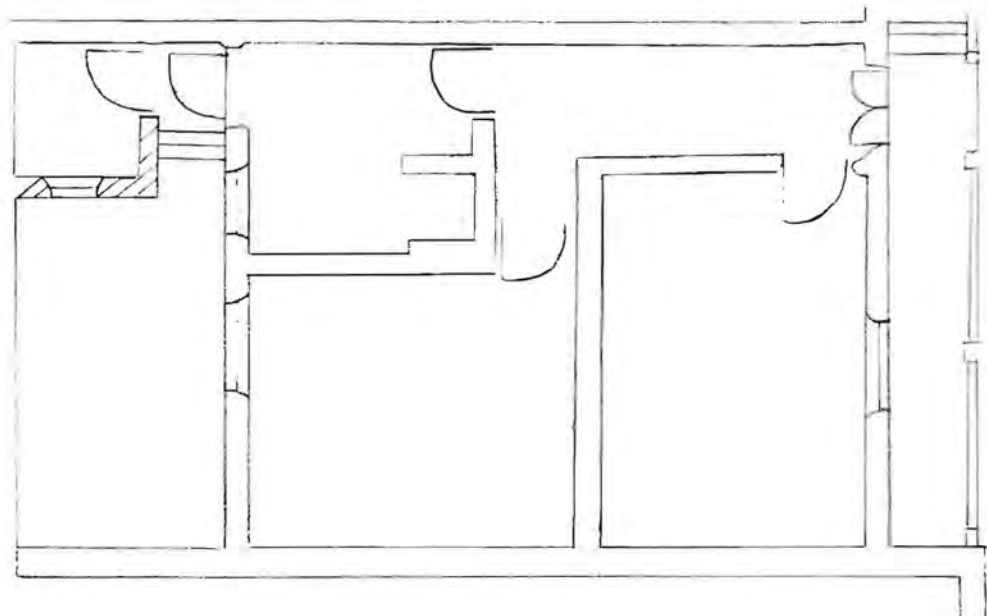
1 Ascertaining original floor plans would only be possible with extensive plaster samples - since all of the houses included in analysis are occupied this is not a viable possibility.

2 Rhinland measurements were obtained by conversion as a Dutch measuring tape could not be obtained.

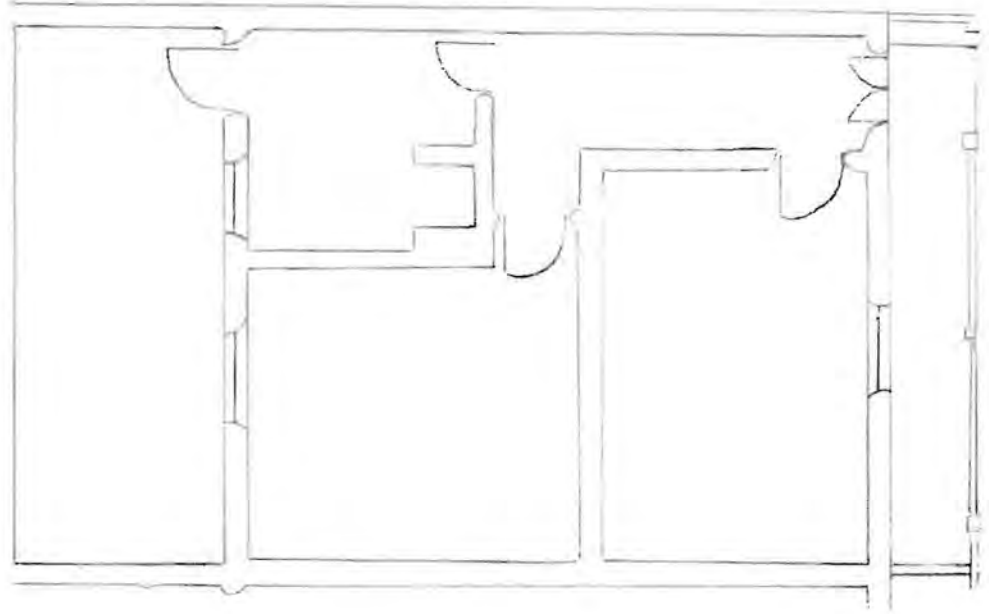
3 It has unfortunately not been possible to determine when measuring rods and/or tapes were introduced and consequently what part these may have played in the construction of individual buildings. It is possible, however, that the earliest Bo-Kaap dwellings were built without formal measuring apparatus and that traditional measures such as the pace and span were used - the size of dwellings were a function of plot size and the spanning potential of roof timbers.



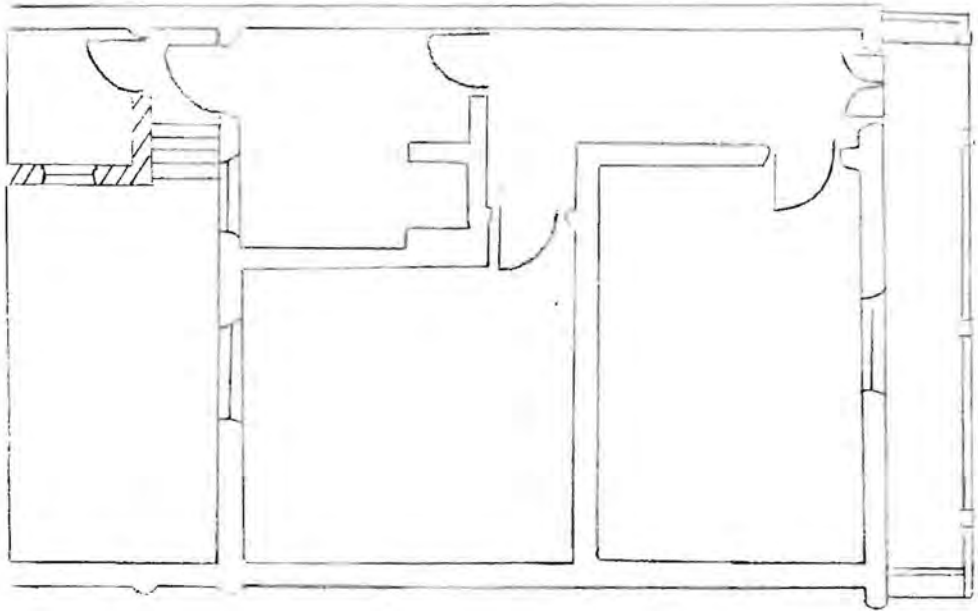
BK90|1



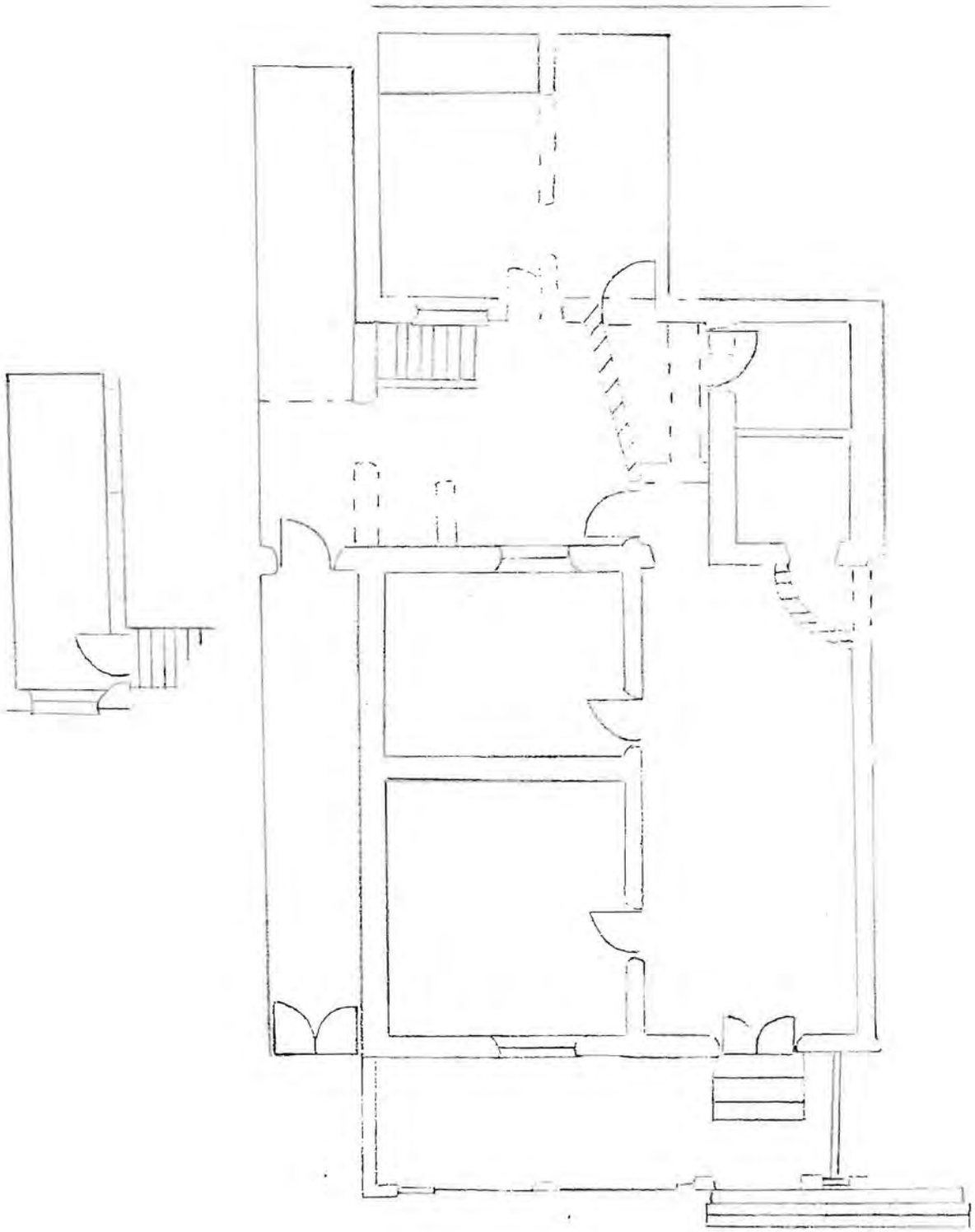
A740|67
1 LION LANE



BK90 | 2

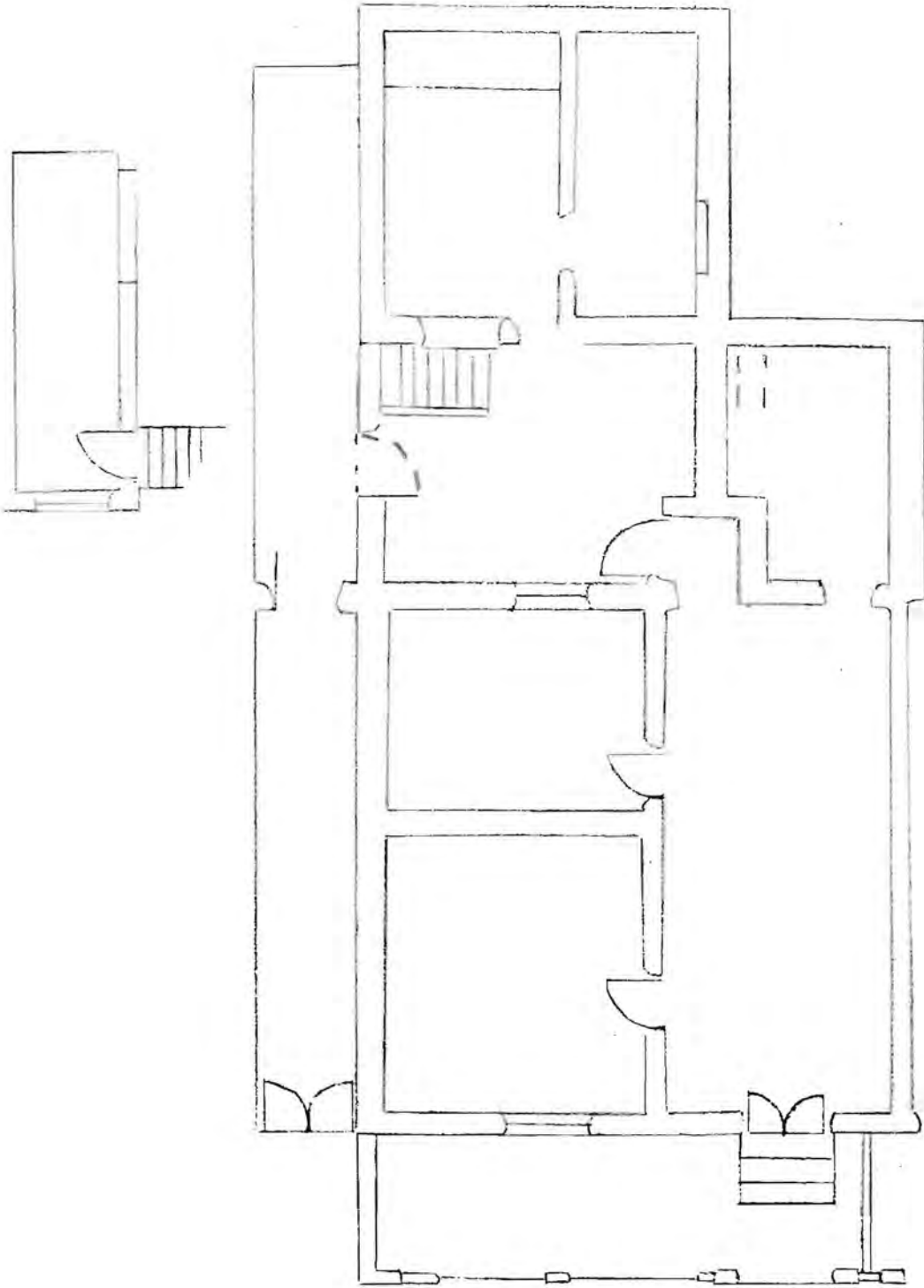


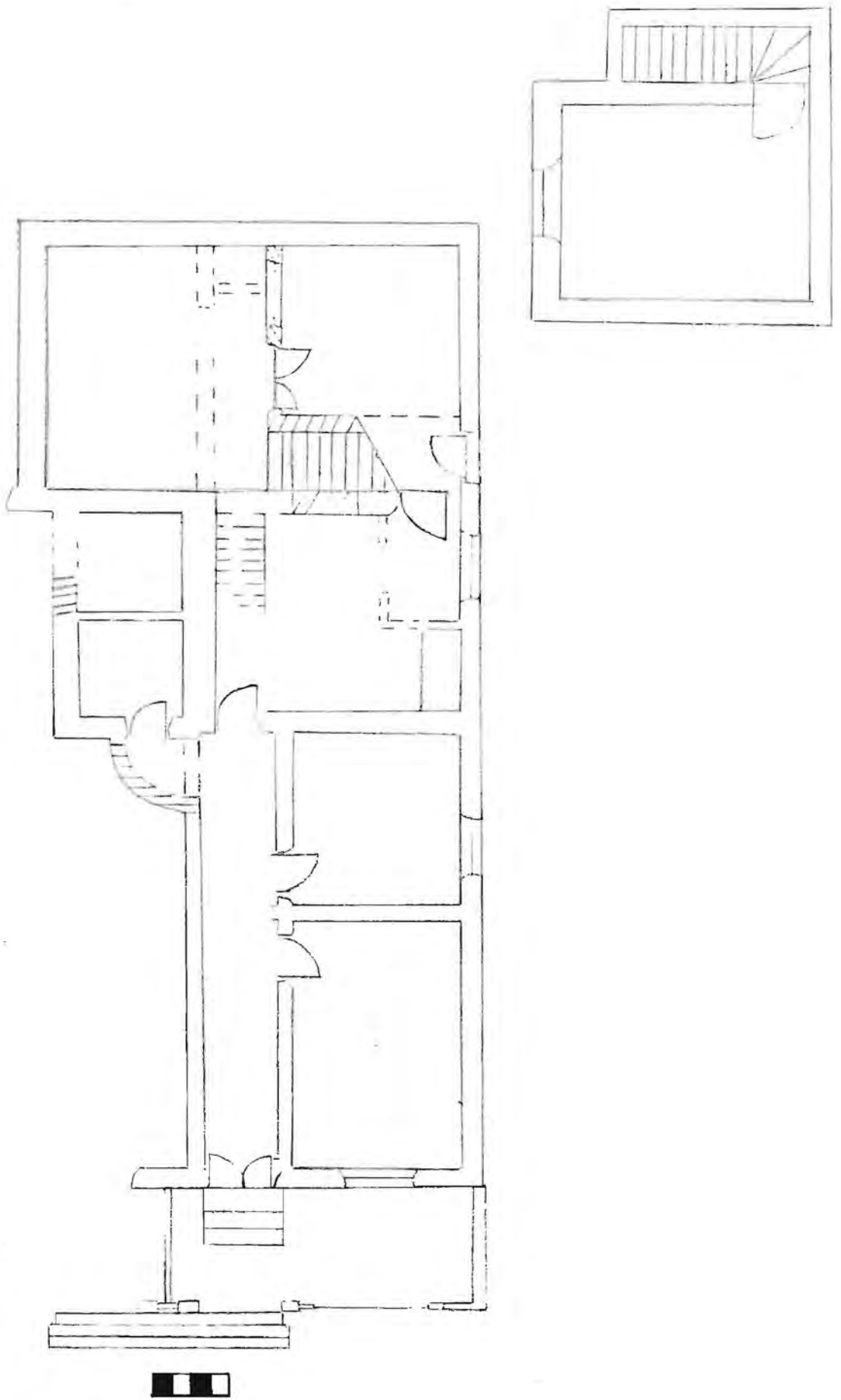
A740 | 67
2 LION LANE



A740|67

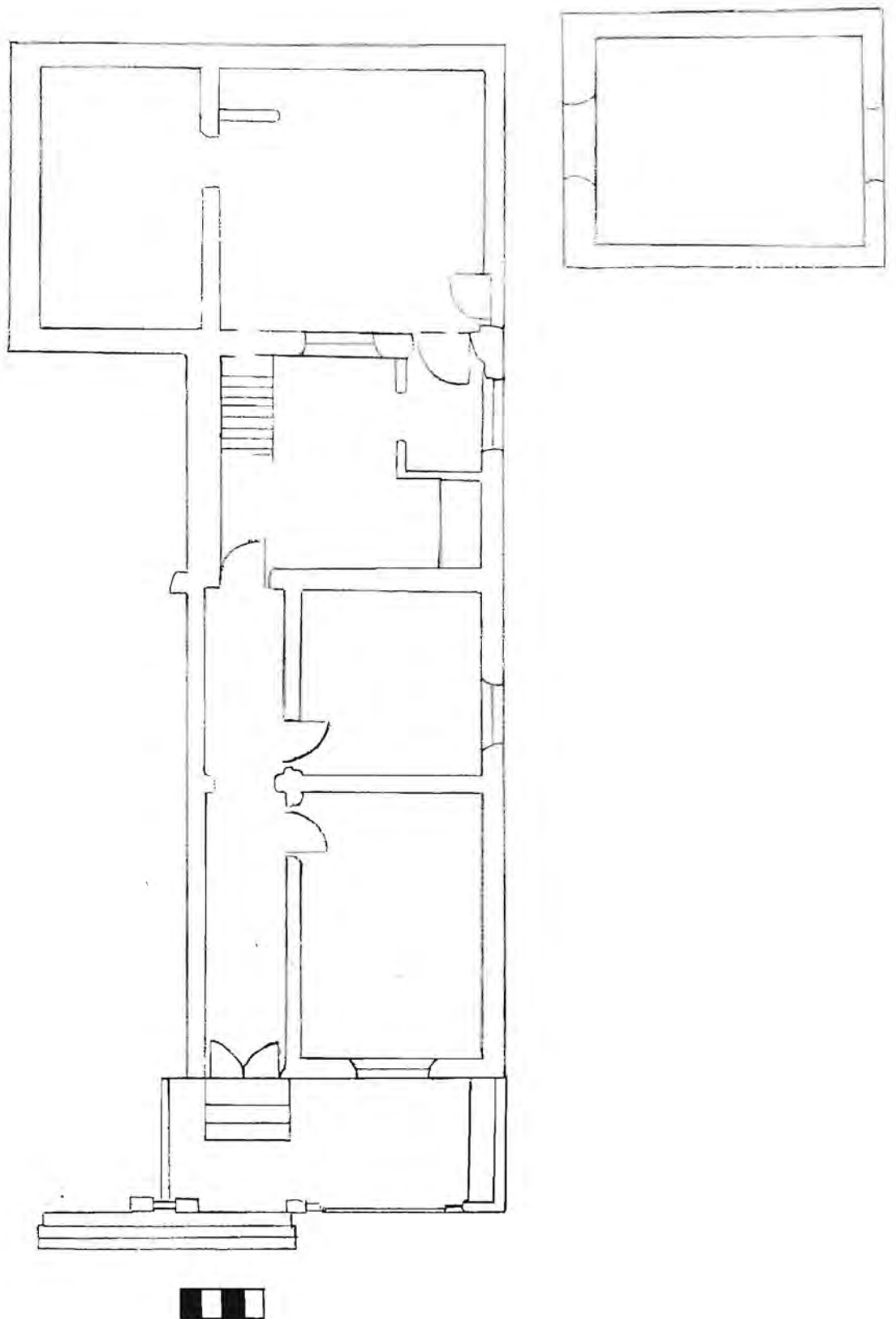
67 WALE STREET





A740|67

69 WALE STREET



BK90|4



**FRONT ELEVATION
1 AND 2 LION LANE
A740|67**



**FRONT ELEVATION
67 AND 69 WALE STREET
A740|67**

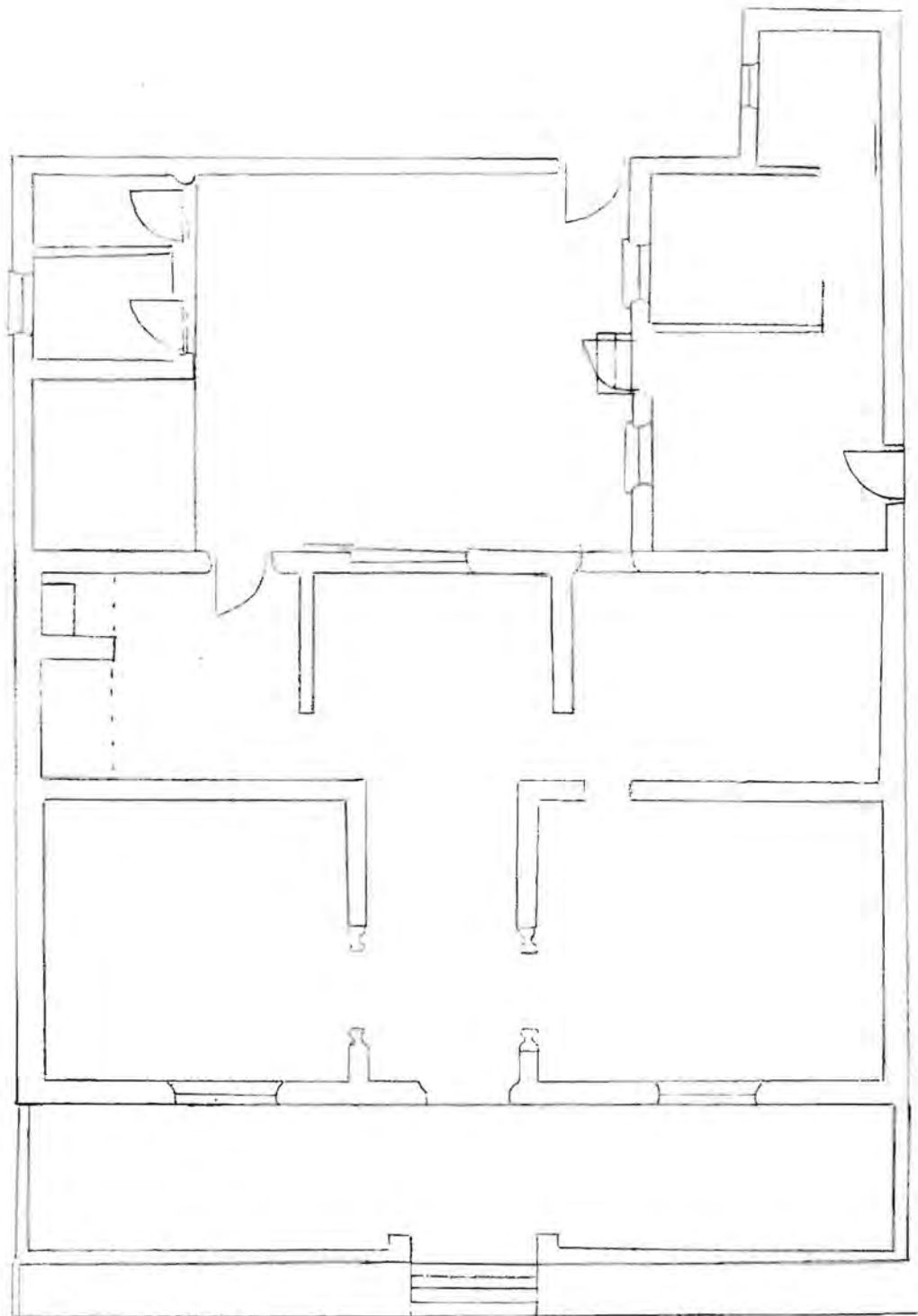
roofs, with simple plaster chimneys, are visible on the Millard survey (Louw 1983:336). Fransen and Cook date the pair to the mid-nineteenth century; deeds research (Appendix 1), however, suggests an earlier eighteenth century date.

BK90/5 (71 Wale Street)

A single storey, stone plastered, central passage plan of particular interest because it is one of two remaining houses with the curvilinear baroque gable (or wavy parapet) common in Cape Town during the later eighteenth century. The original facade woodwork has also been retained - Cape Dutch teak windows with teak and yellow-wood shutters at the rear of the house and the two panel bo-en-onder door. The fanlight with radiating glazing bars and lantern has been restored as well as the yellow wood floor and ceiling boards (Louw 1983:336). During restoration all additions and alterations made over the years were removed in an attempt to restore the 'original' form (Townsend and Townsend 1977:64). This flat-roofed house is also important as it is one of the few in the area that can be accurately dated. It stands on land granted in 1763 to Jan de Waal, a sexton of the Oude Kerk, and was an addition to his property at the top of Wale and Dorp Streets, known as 'Walendorp'. When he died in 1768 the land was divided and sold as small plots with the 'huur-huisies' (houses for rent) de Waal had erected. This house was almost certainly one of them and must therefore have been built between 1763 and 1768 (Fransen and Cook 1980:68).

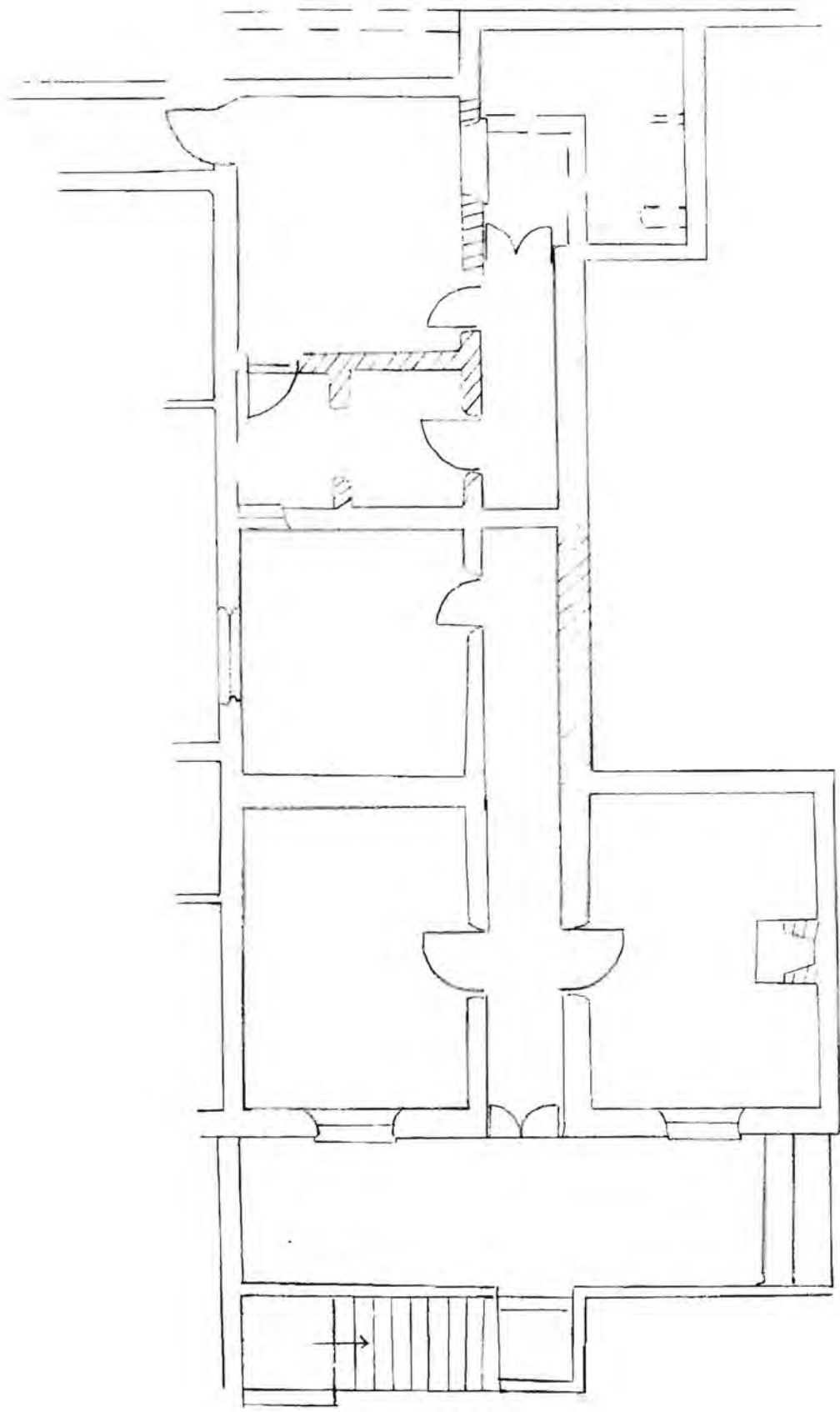
BK90/6 (79 Wale Street) and BK90/7 (81 Wale Street)

Two single storey dwellings under a common cornice and parapet. The Cape Dutch sash windows, set flush with the wall face, were remade during the restoration scheme but the eight-panel bolection mould Georgian teak doors and rectangular fanlights are original. The raised stoeps have plastered walls with concrete balustrades (Louw 1983:335). The roofs are flat with plaster chimneys and the ceilings are timber boarding. Both houses have been altered, but the annotated plans indicate original walls and door and window



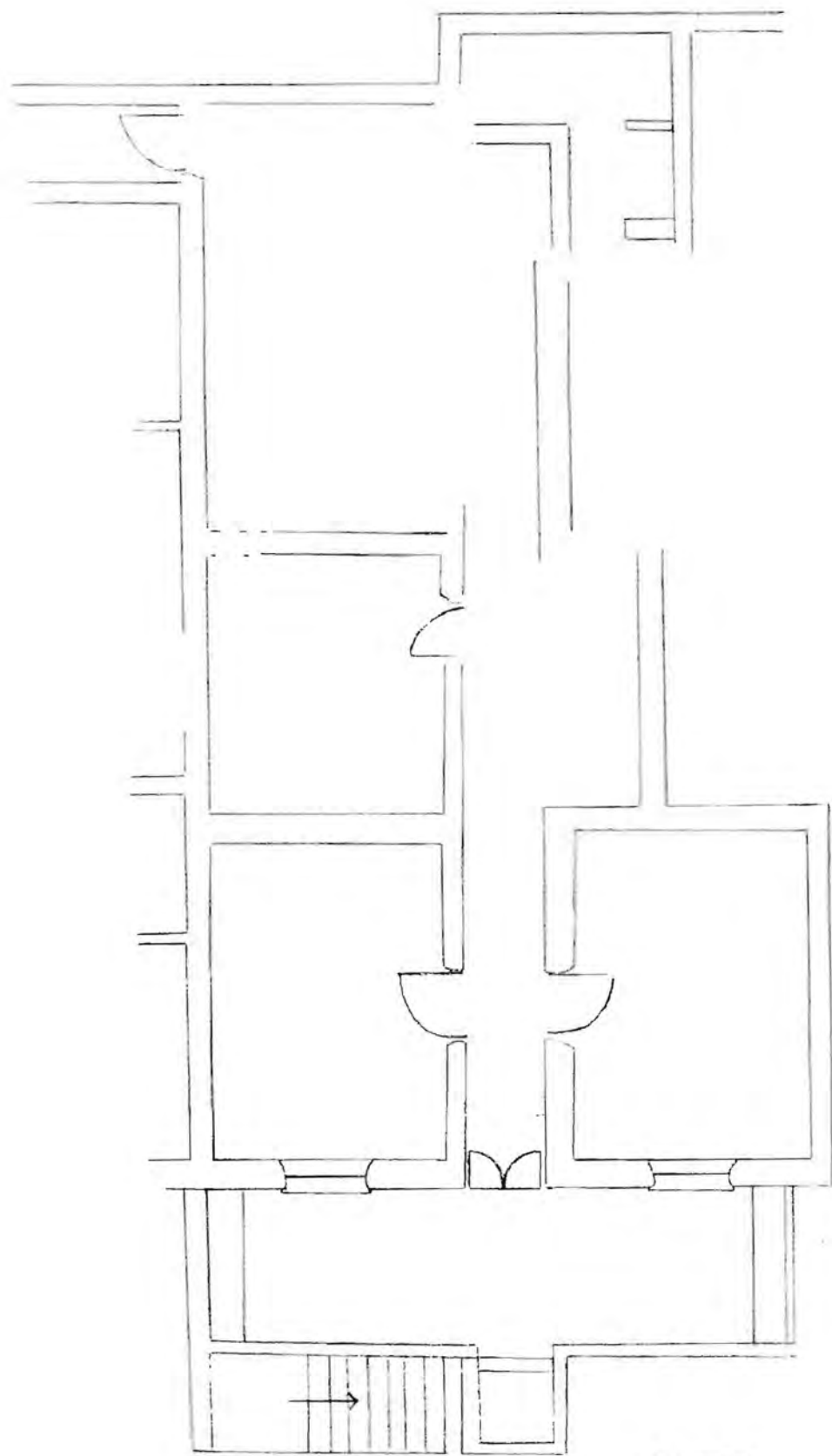
BK90|5

71 WALE STREET

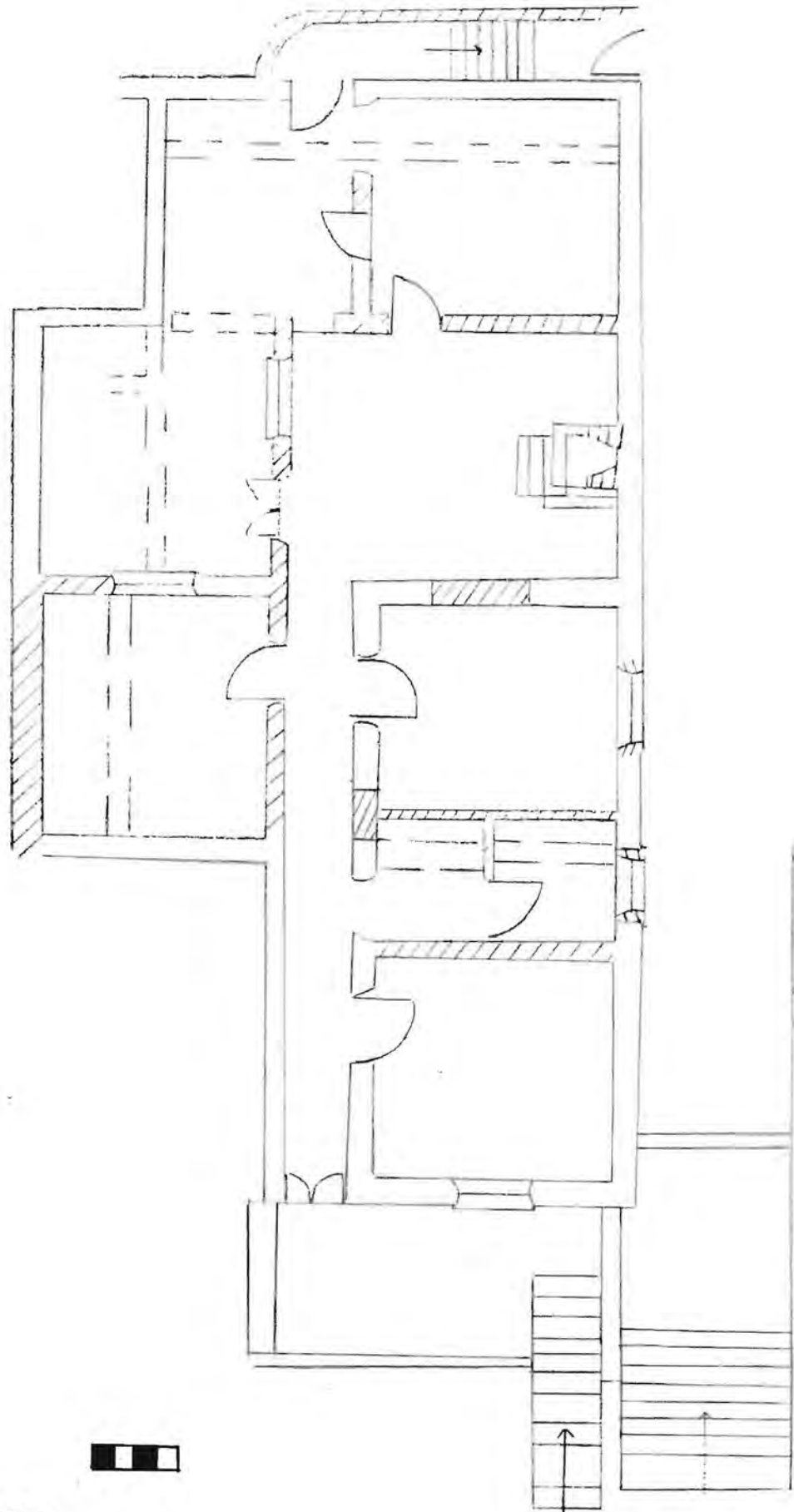


A740|66

79 WALE STREET



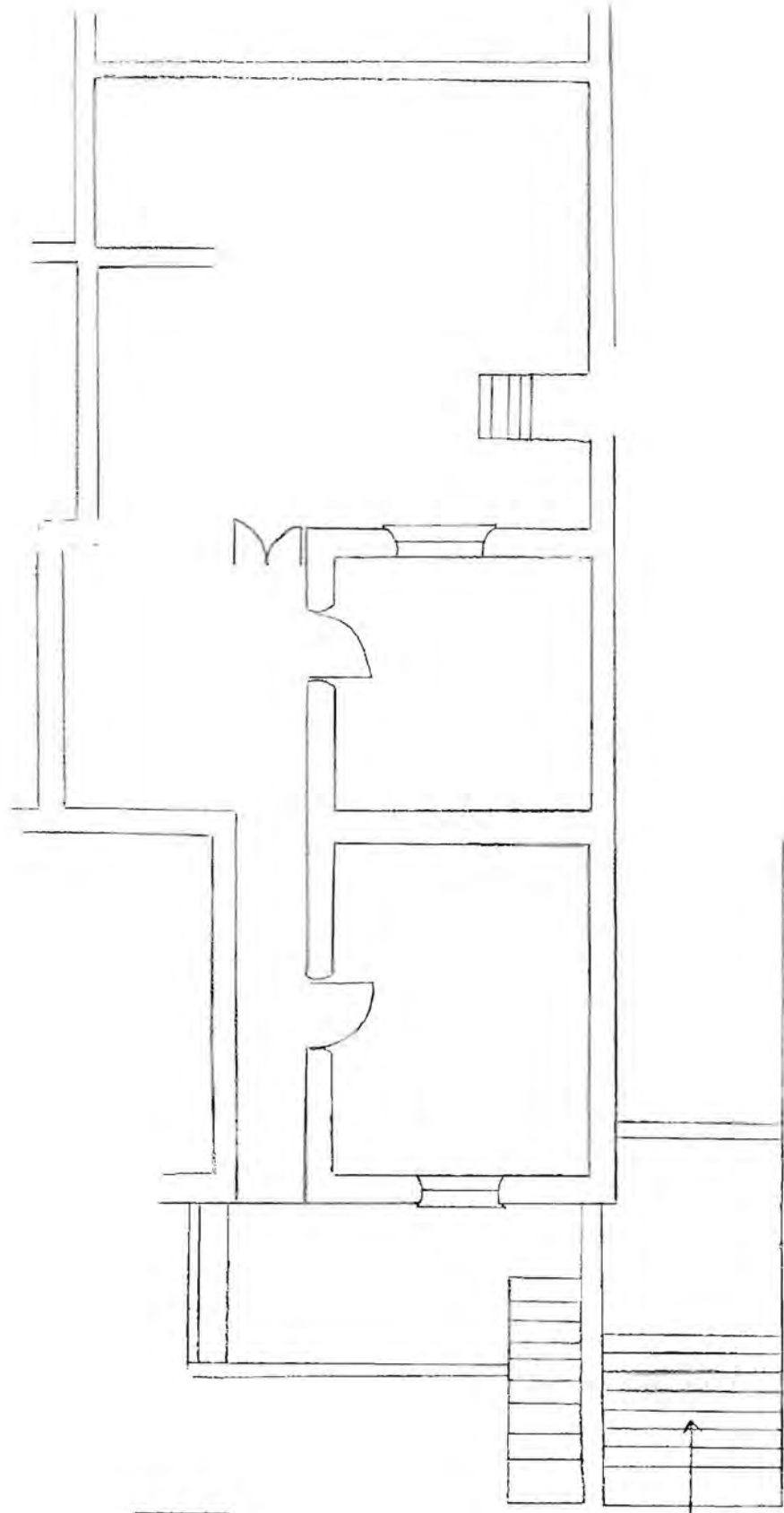
BK90|6



A740|66

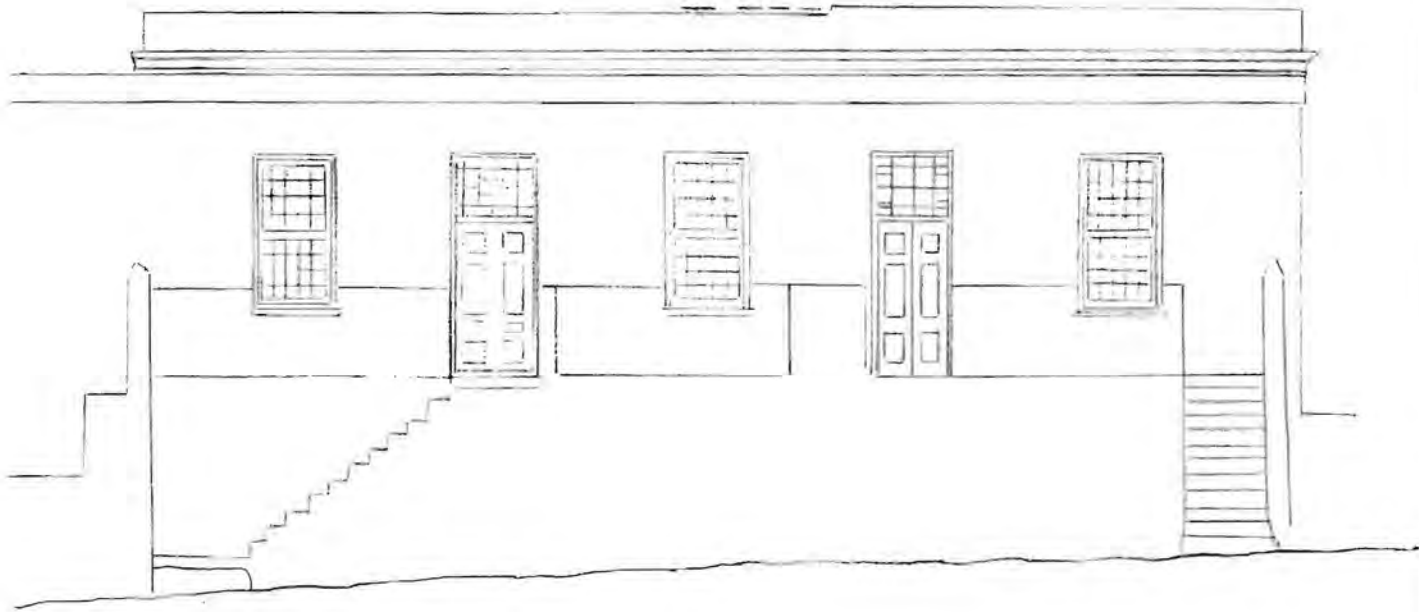


81 WALE STREET

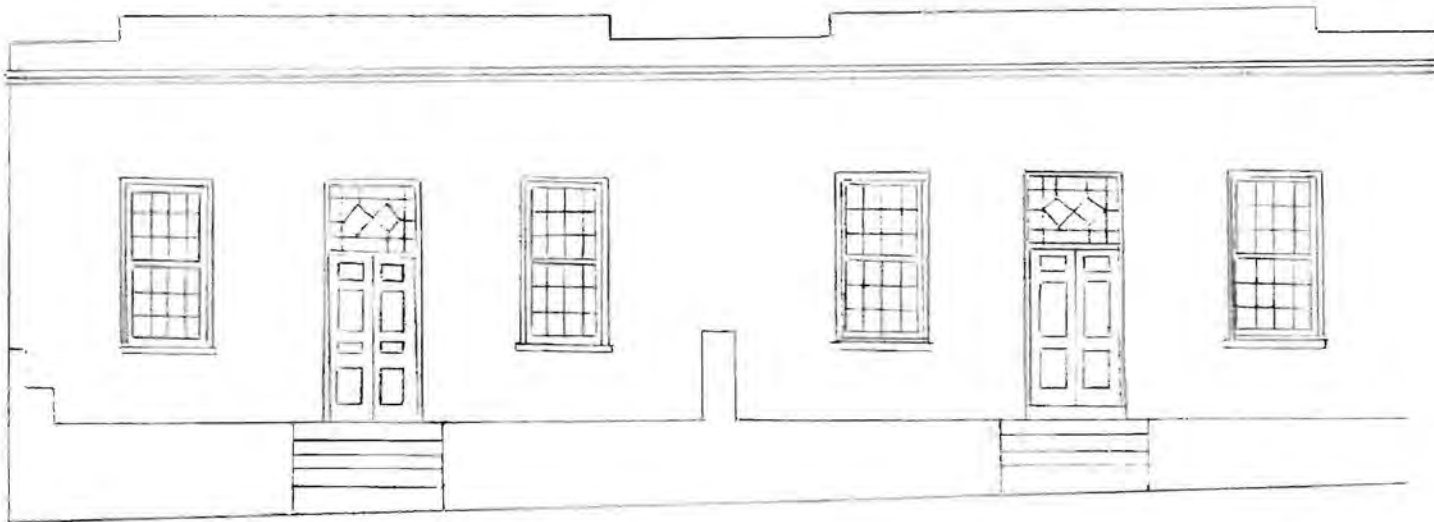


BK90|7





FRONT ELEVATION
79 AND 81 WALE STREET
A740|66



FRONT ELEVATION
70 AND 72 ROSE STREET
A740|50

71 WALE STREET

University of Cape Town

2 STADZICHT STREET

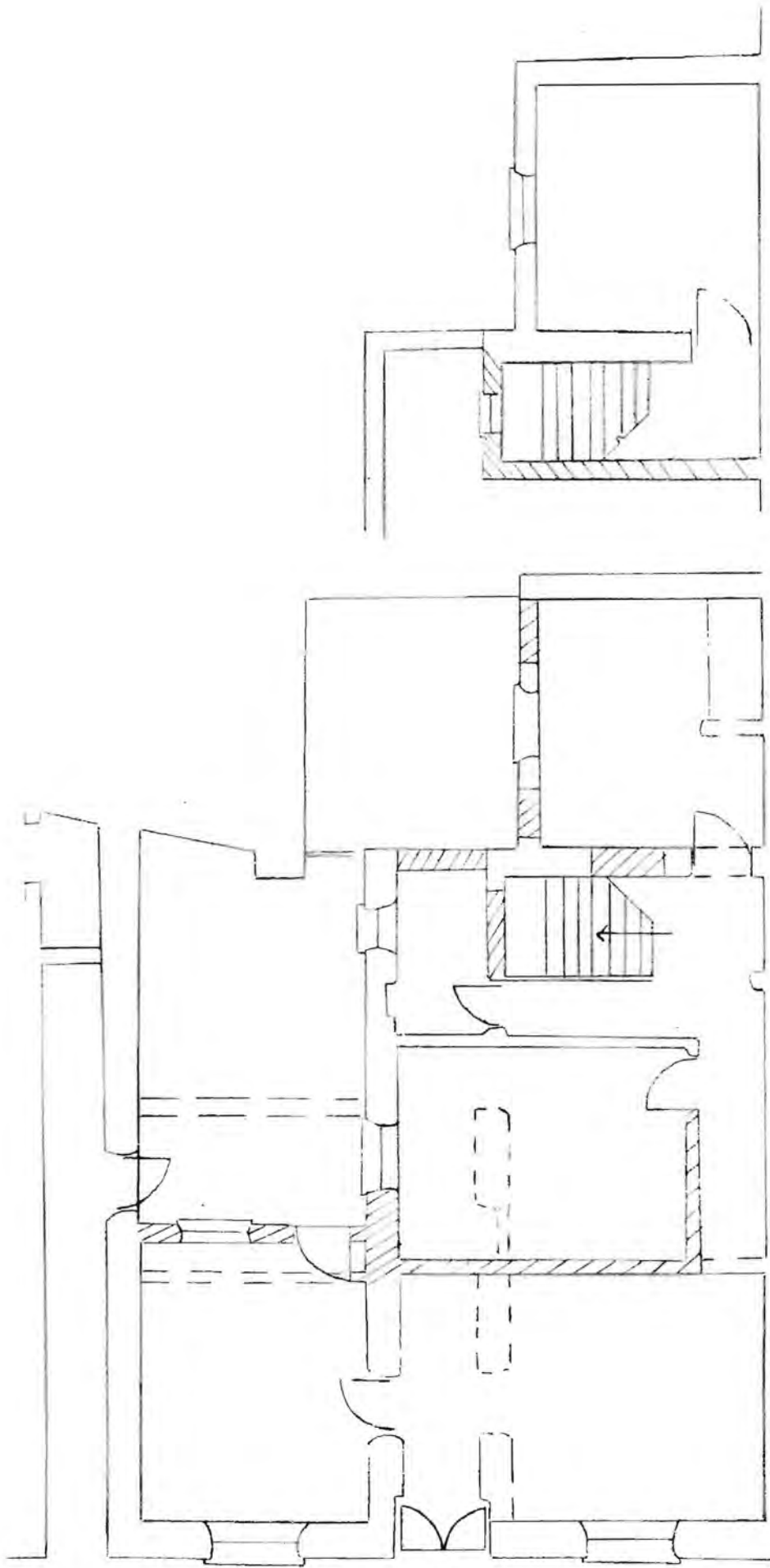
placements. Deeds research (Appendix 1) indicates the houses were built in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

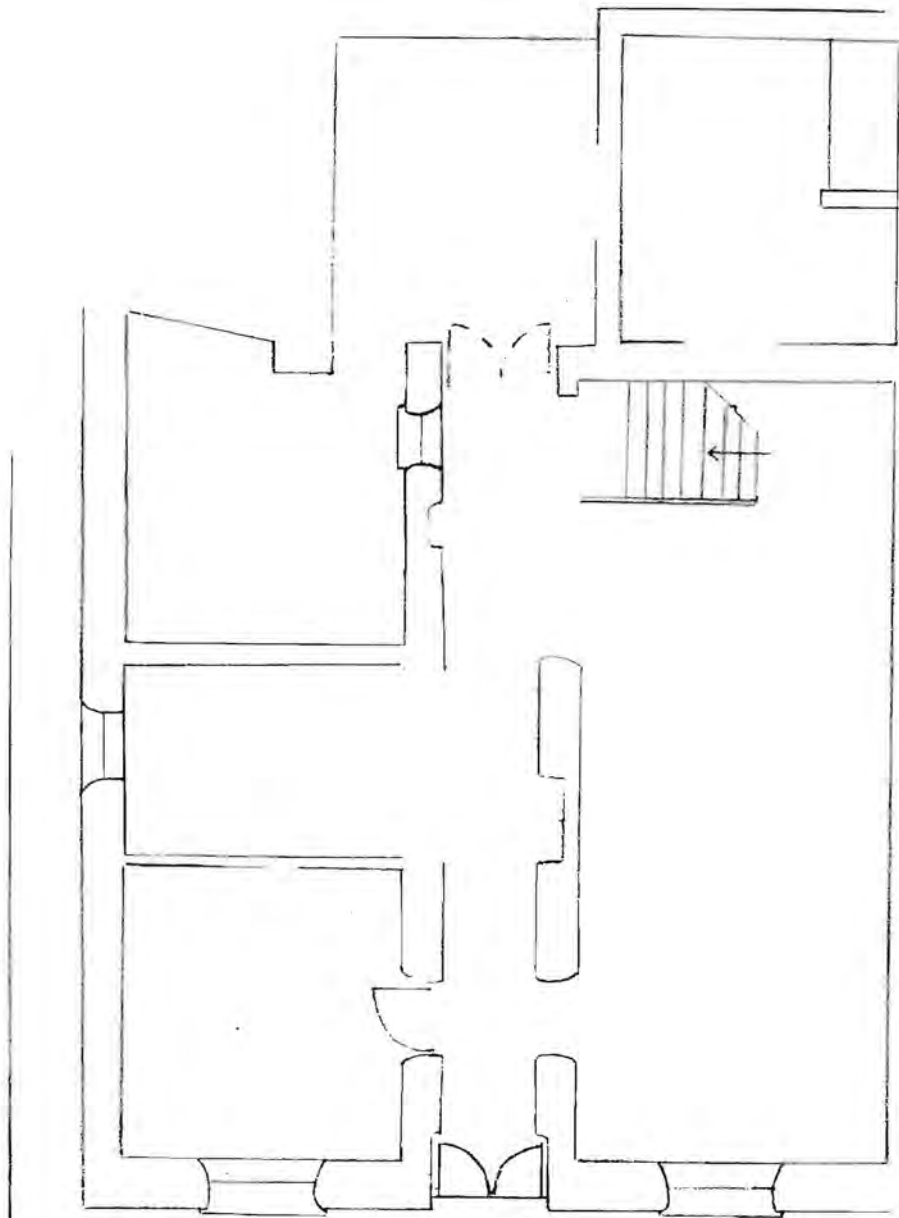
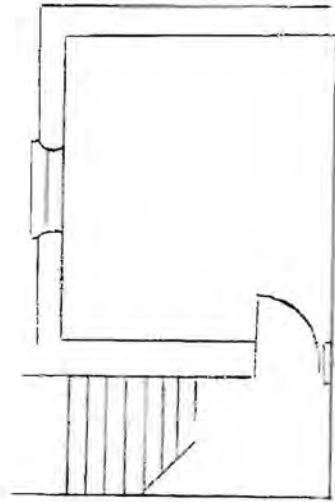
BK90/8 (106 Wale Street)

A single storey, three-bay dwelling with rear elevation. The panelled hardwood front door and bead mould frame was reused during restoration, but the original square fanlight was replaced as the door level had to be raised (Louw 1983:313). The moulded plaster hood over the door was, however, retained as were the large pane sashes and elaborate Greek revival cornice with stepped parapet and raised plaster mouldings (Louw 1983:313). The site appears developed on Snow (c1862) and on the Pocock panorama (c1884) a single storey is visible (Louw 1983:313). Deeds research (Appendix 1) indicates the house was built by 1819.

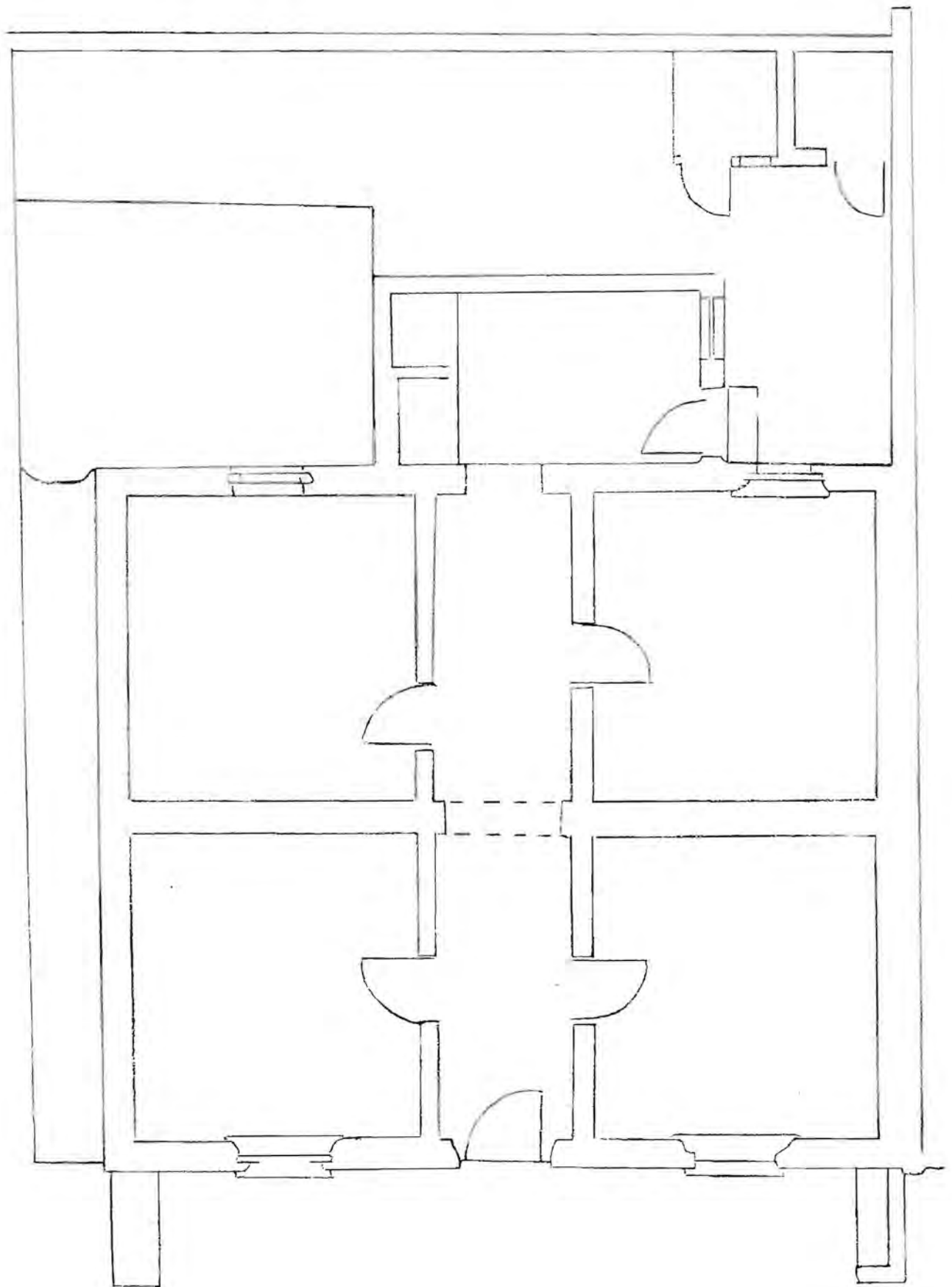
BK90/9 (56 Dorp Street)

A single storey, central passage plan which forms part of a terrace of row houses. The first deed of sale related to 56 Dorp Street is dated the 22 August 1798 (Appendix 1) and mentions the existence of a house on the property. The windows are large four pane sashes and the two panelled double Georgian door has a rectangular fanlight. There is a straight stepped parapet and a plaster chimney. Excavations in the fenced off area of the courtyard (Irvine 1990) revealed two cobbled steps in the south-east corner of the site. Although these now lead into the back wall of the house they must originally have led into a doorway which has since been bricked up. The presence of a doorway in this part of the house corresponds with the kitchen-courtyard entrance of 71 Wale Street (BK90/5) and it may be assumed that this back room was originally used as a kitchen - an assumption supported by the modern looking bricks of the present kitchen (probably built between 1913 and 1930) as well as the absence of shale used in the other walls of the house (Irvine 1990:47). These alterations may have necessitated the re-positioning of the





BK90/8



BK90|9



56 DORP STREET

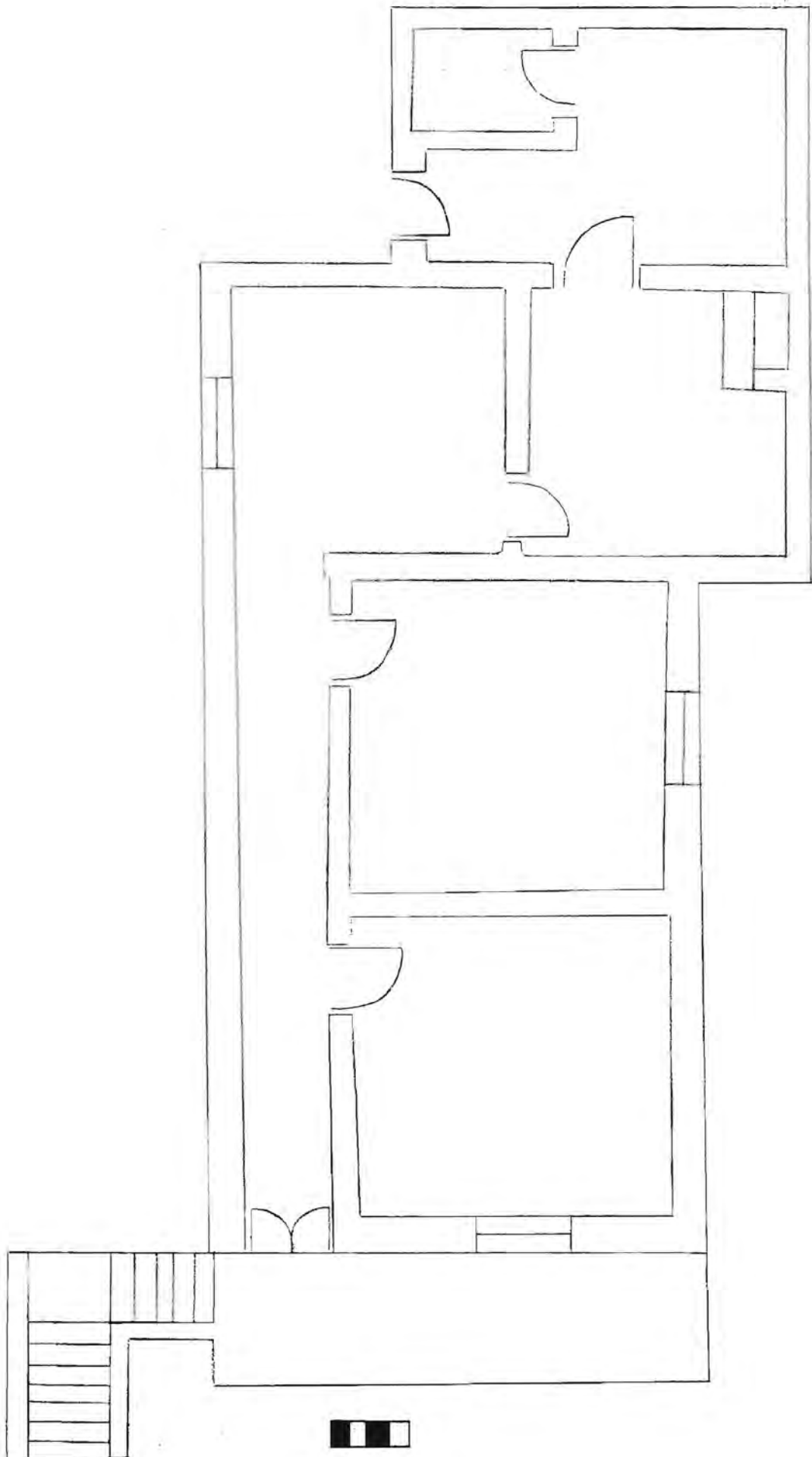
window in the original kitchen as the window that presently faces onto the courtyard has a reveal unlike the other windows in the house (Irvine 1990:47).

BK90/10 (77 Dorp Street)

This is a single storey, two-bay dwelling built of plastered brick. There is a moulded plaster cornice and parapet and a flat corrugated iron roof. A teak bead mould door frame, panel door and large pane sashes with raised plaster surrounds are present (Louw 1983:290). The site appears developed on Thom's survey (c1895) and is visible on Budrick's panorama (c1902) (Louw 1983:290). In 1905 plans for an additional room were passed by the City Engineer; the room was, however, never built.

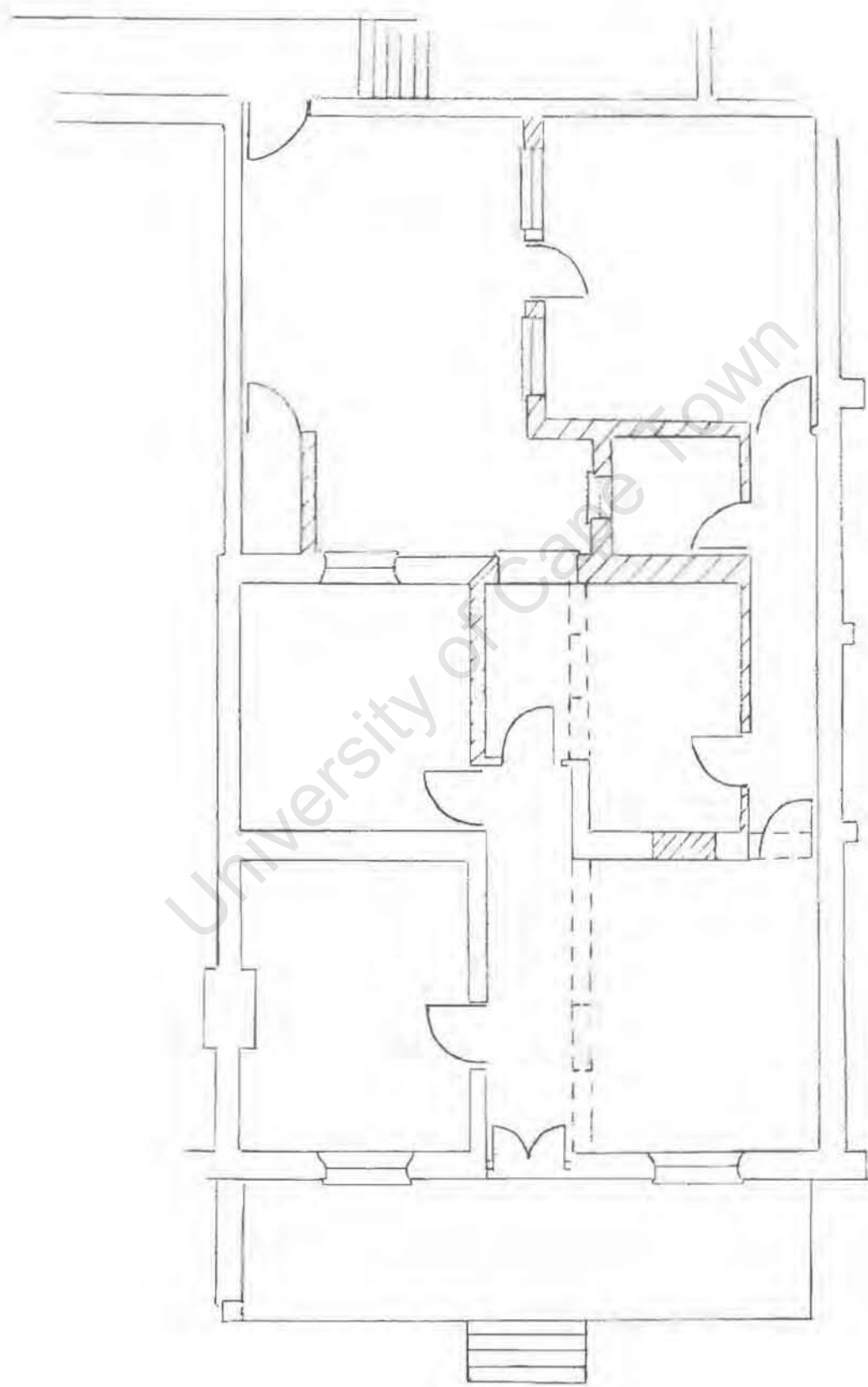
BK90/11 (70 Rose Street) and BK90/12 (72 Rose Street)

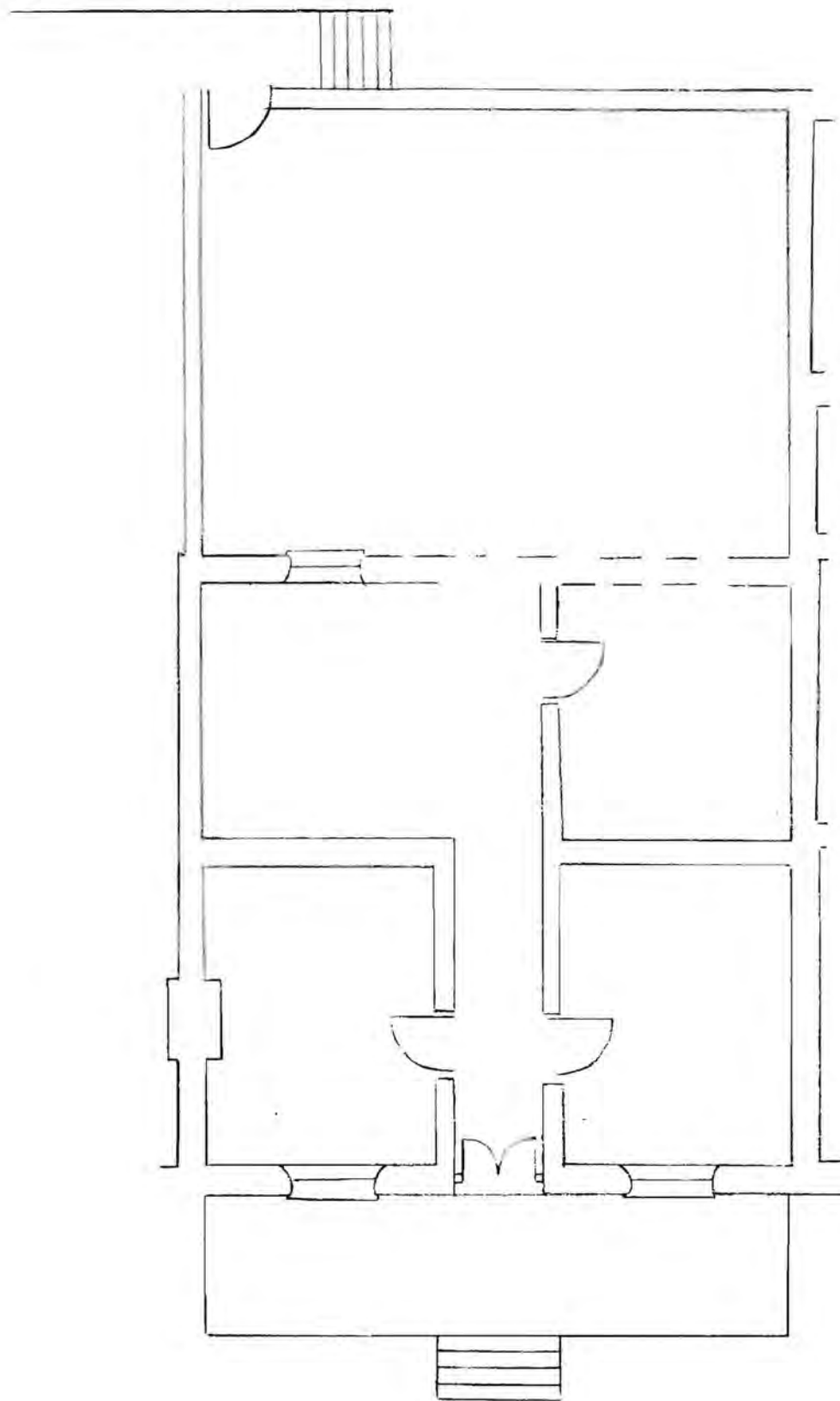
Two three-bay dwellings each with a central passage. Number 11 is a single storey while number 12 has an elevated rear (providing an extra room) and thus faces onto Rose Street as a single storey and onto Helliger Lane as a double storey. Both have restored Greek revival plaster cornices and straight stepped parapets (Louw 1983:310). The front doors are Georgian panel with moulded frames and geometric patterned fanlights. The windows in the facades and the Helliger Lane side are medium (24) pane sashes with internal shutters while those at the back are larger (16) pane sashes. The roofs are steel sheeting and the raised stoeps are constructed of bluestone. The site appears developed on Snow (c1862) and on Pocock's panorama (c1884) the parapets and flat roofs are visible (Louw 1983:310). Fransen and Cook (1980:64) date number 11 to c1840; deeds research (Appendix 1), however, suggests both houses were constructed in the late 1820's. Both houses were altered during the restoration scheme of the 1970's to provide modern bathrooms and storage space. The annotated plans for each house depict walls, doors and windows identified as original in placement.

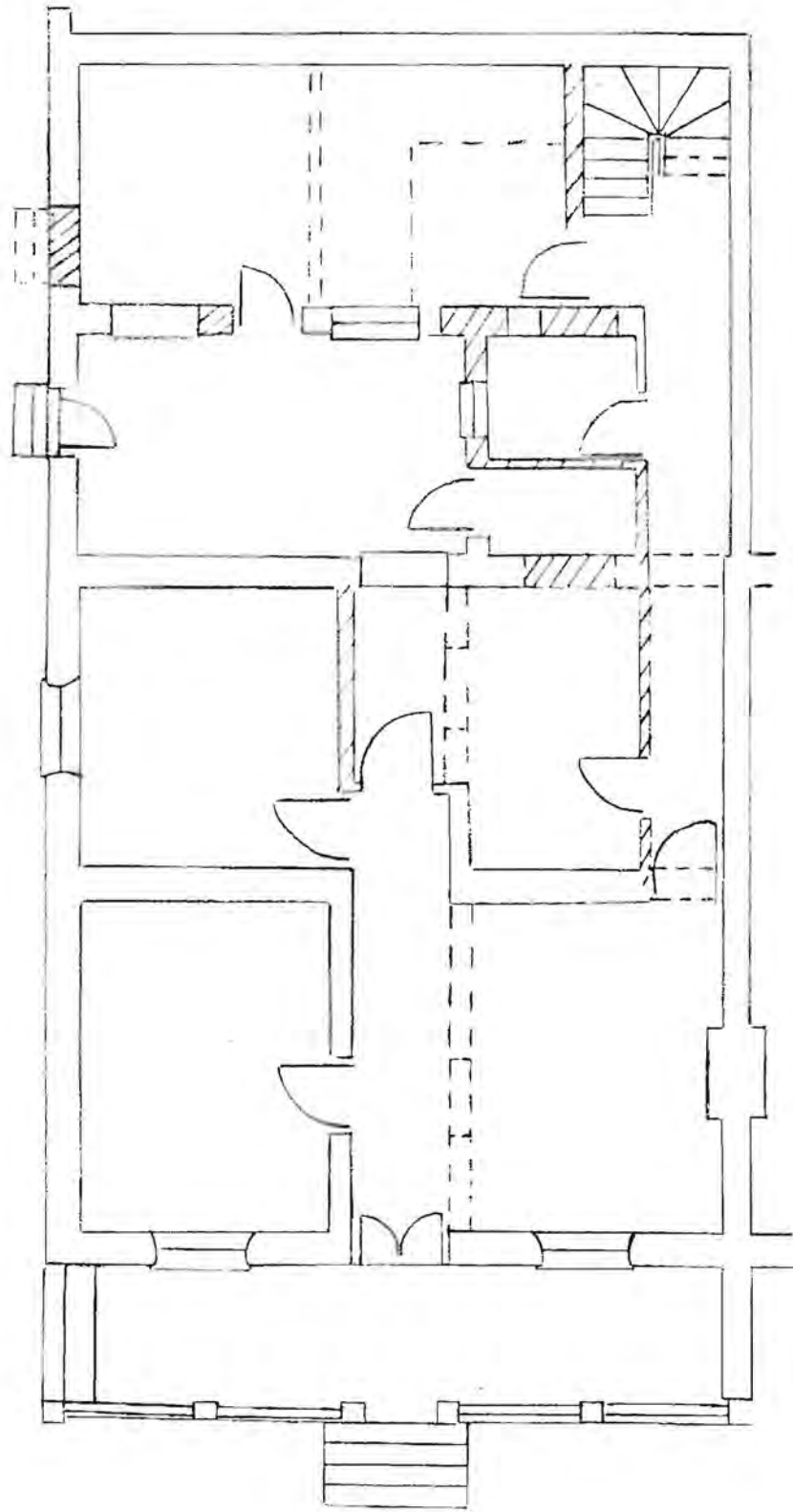


BK90|10

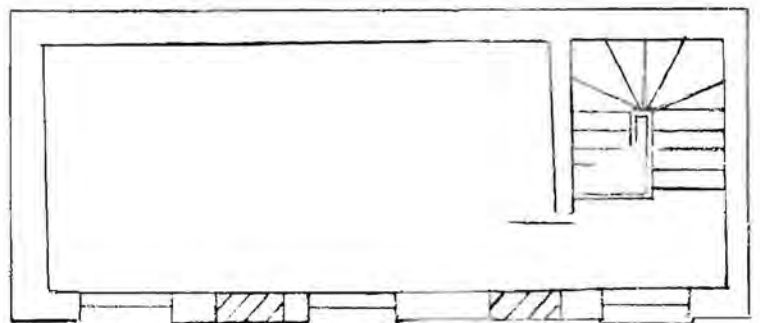
77 DORB STREET

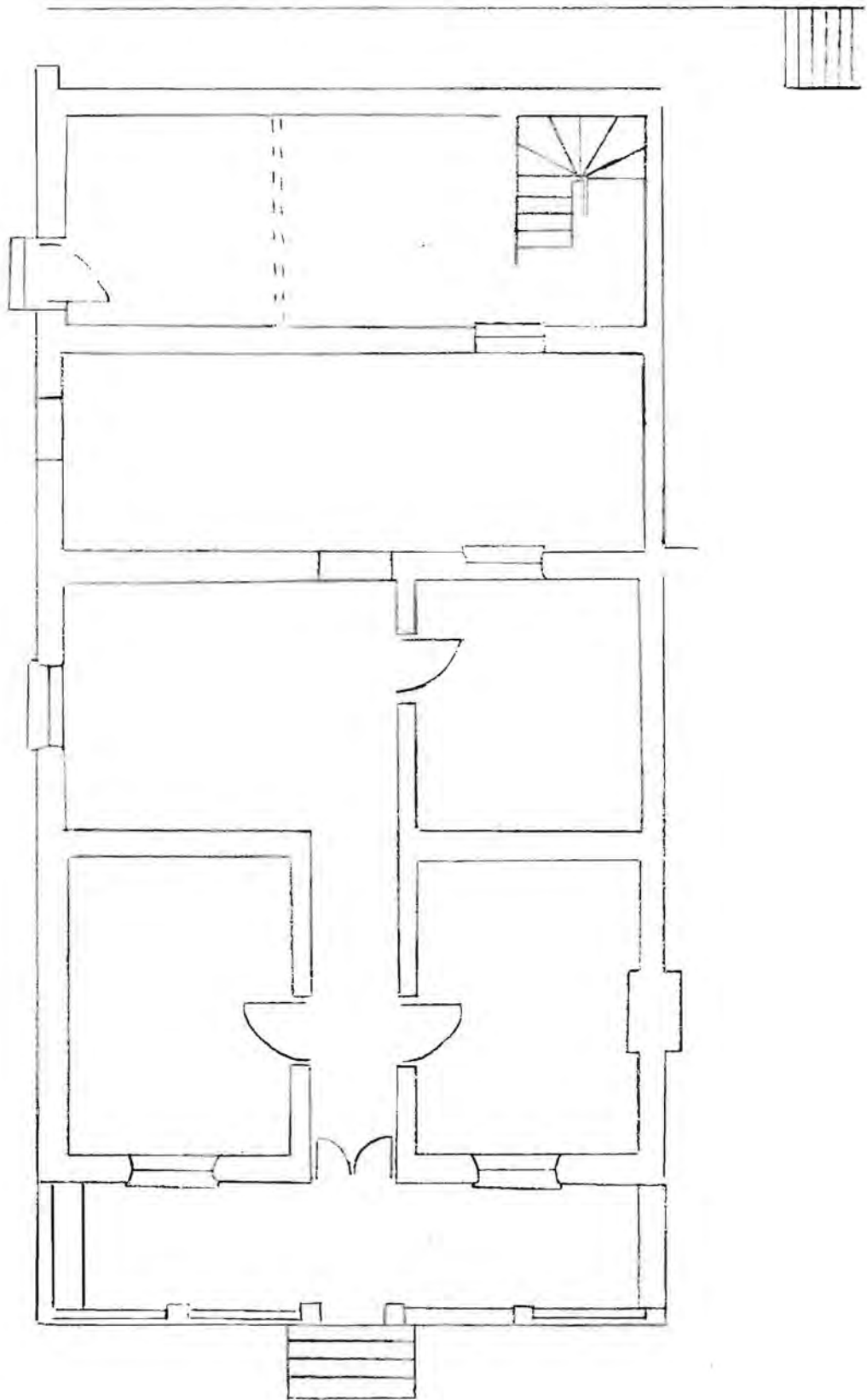




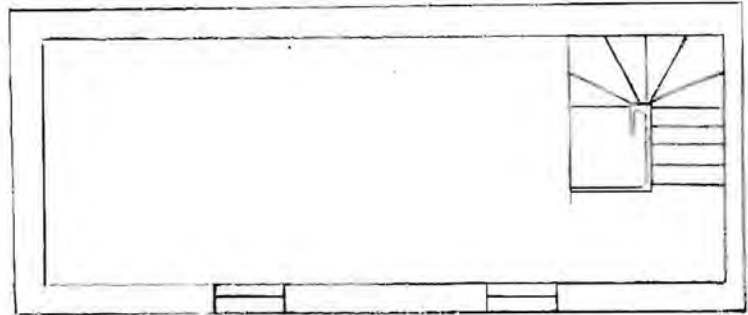


A740|50
72 ROSE STREET





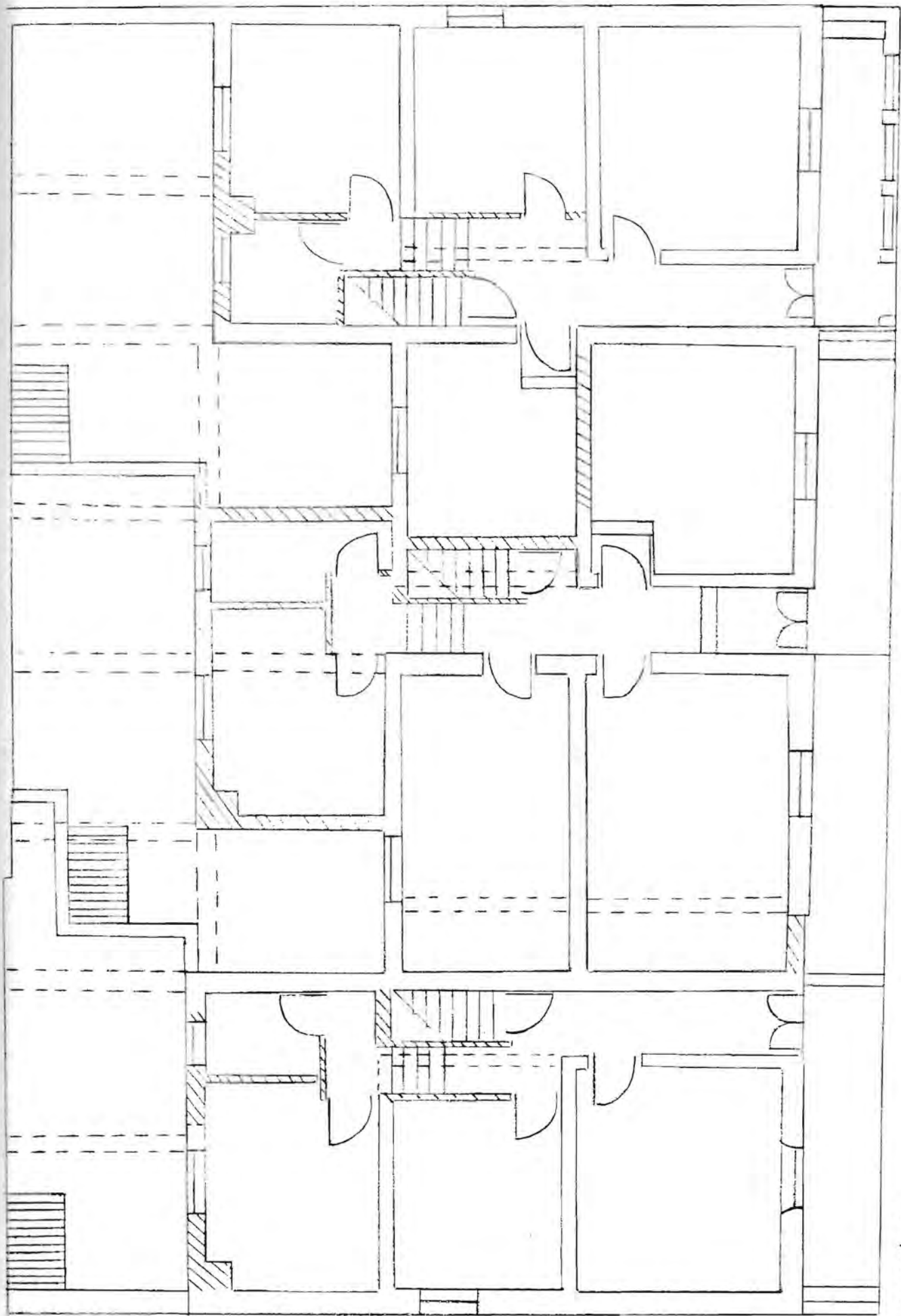
BK90|12



BK90/13 (83 Chiappini St), BK90/14 (85 Chiappini St), BK90/15 (87 Chiappini St) and BK90/16 (89 Chiappini St)

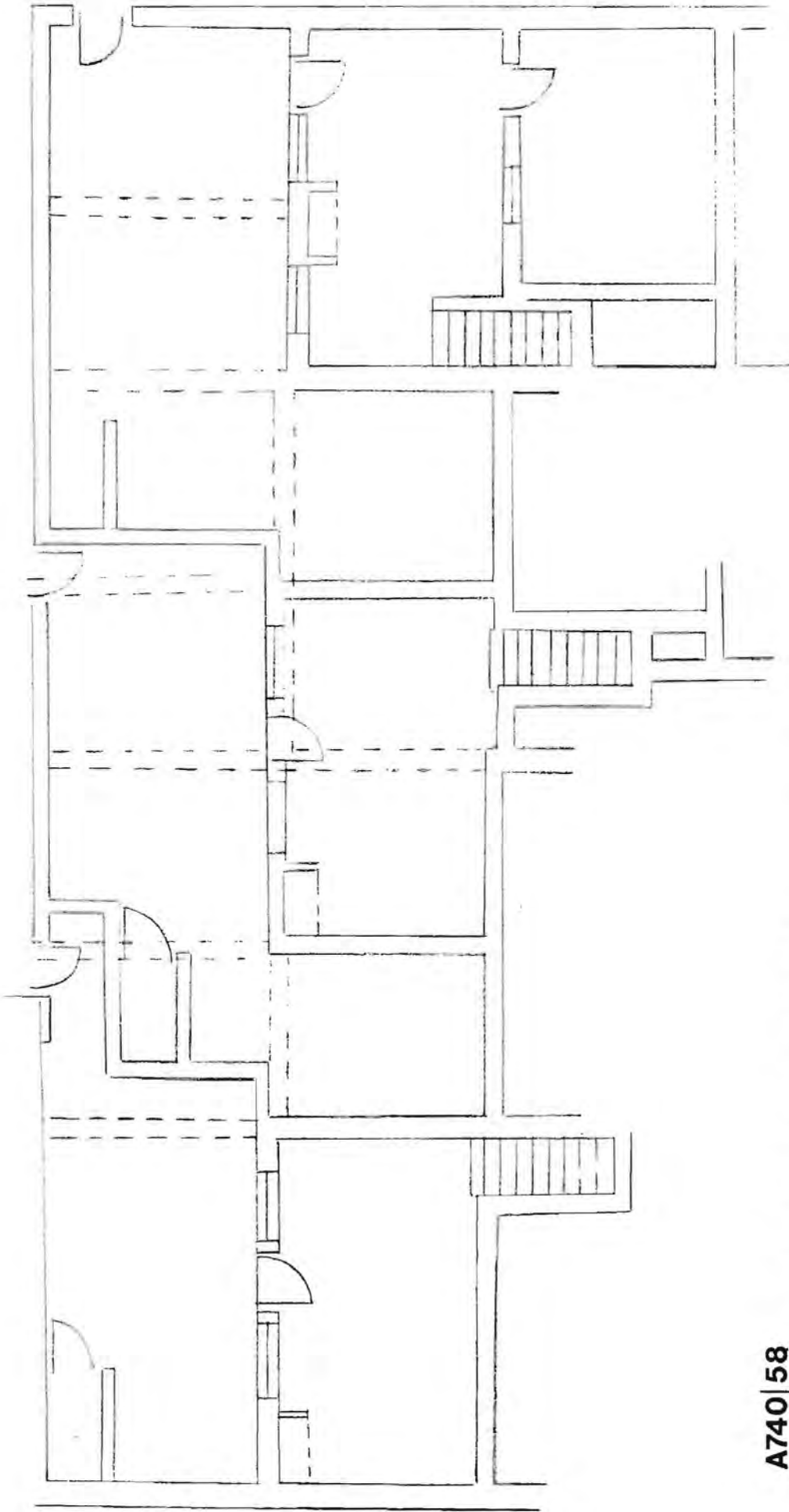
A row of attached and stepped houses of the narrower, asymmetrical plan type (side passage). They face onto Chiappini Street as single storeys but are elevated to part double storeys behind. During the restoration scheme of 1972, numbers 14 and 15 were combined to form a single three-bay dwelling with doors and windows being reused where possible (Louw 1983:309). The doors are six-panel Georgian with beaded frames and geometrical pattern fanlights and the windows, both upstairs and downstairs, are medium and large pane sashes. The existing cornices and straight stepped parapets have also been restored (Louw 1983:309). The ceilings and upstairs floors are timber; downstairs the wooden floors have been replaced with vinyl. The flat roofs are steel sheeting and the stoeps bluestone. A stone faced wall runs behind the properties. Numbers 13, 14 and 16 have simple plaster chimneys. It can be safely assumed this was also the case for number 15 as they relate to the now defunct open cooking areas in the kitchens. The site appears developed on Snow c1862 (Louw 1983:308) and Fransen and Cook date the row to c1850, a suggestion supported by deeds research (Appendix 1) which indicates the houses were built between 1836 and 1866.

BK90/17 (91 Chiappini St), BK90/18 (93 Chiappini St) and BK90/19 (95 Chiappini St)
These are single storey, two-bay houses (number 17 has a single elevated room). During the restoration scheme numbers 18 and 19 were converted into a single unit, but original wall, door and window placements are indicated. Doors and fanlights were remade but the windows are original. The site appears developed on Snow c1862 (Louw 1983:311). Deeds research (Appendix 1) suggests numbers 17 and 18 were built in the late 1860's or early 1870's; number 19 appears to have been an earlier construction between 1822 and 1839.



A740|58

83 85 87 AND 89 CHIAPPINI STREET
GROUND LEVEL

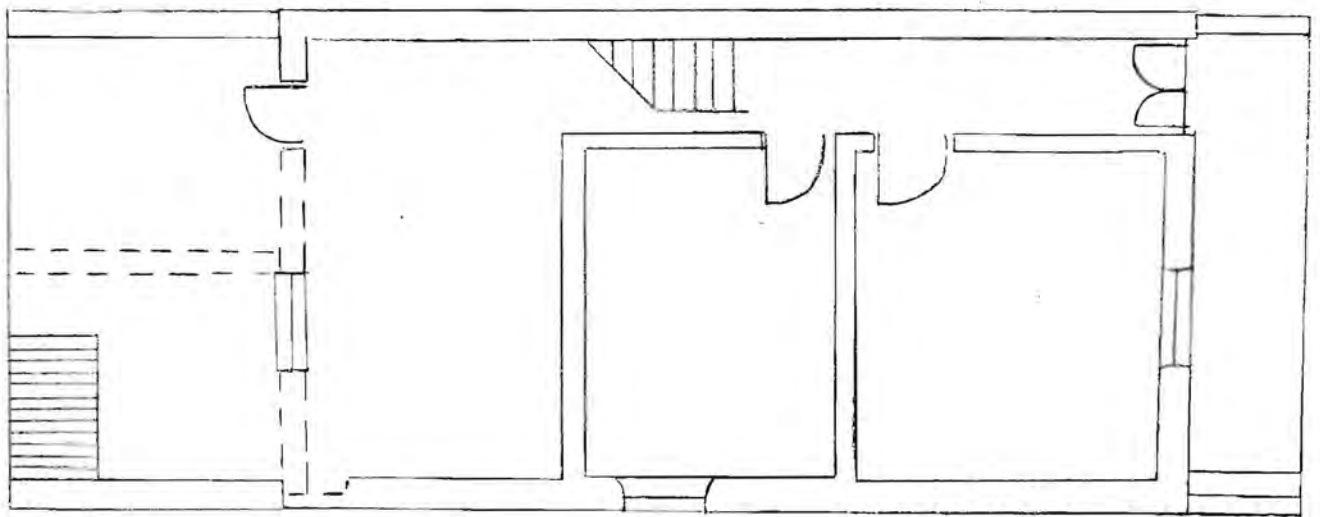
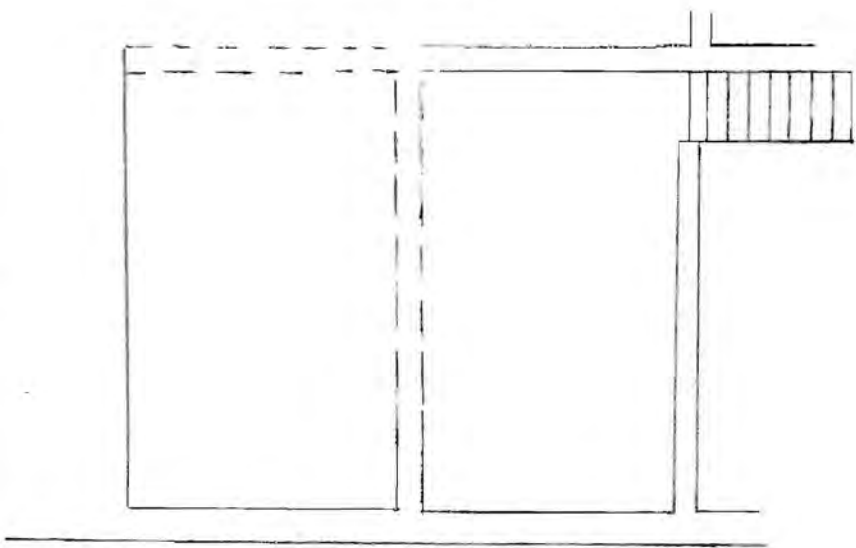


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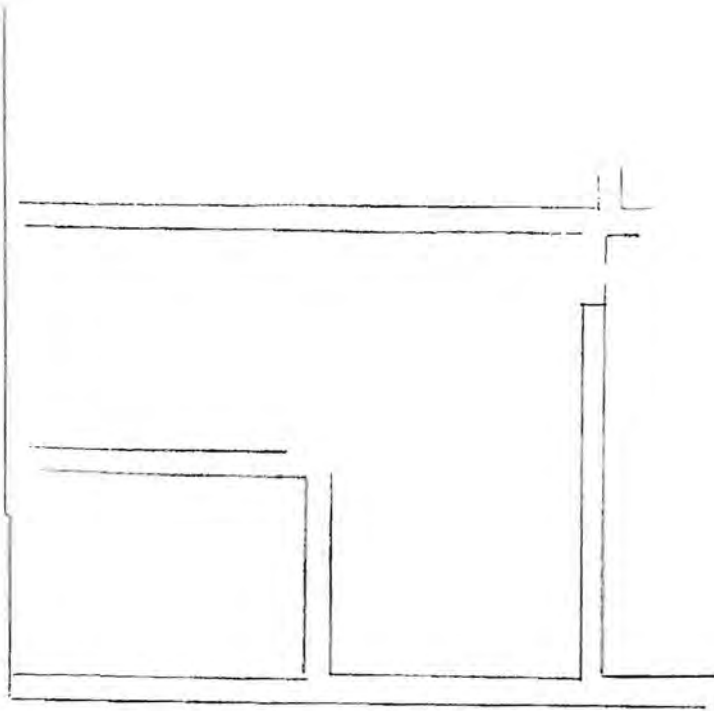
83 85 87 AND 89 CHIAPPINI STREET

UPPER LEVEL

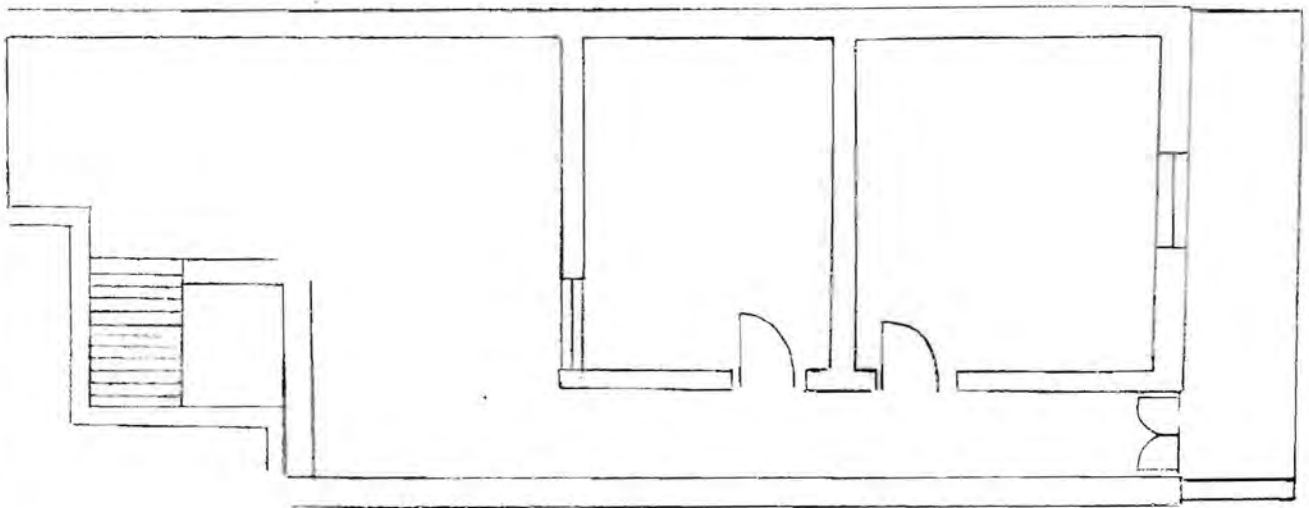


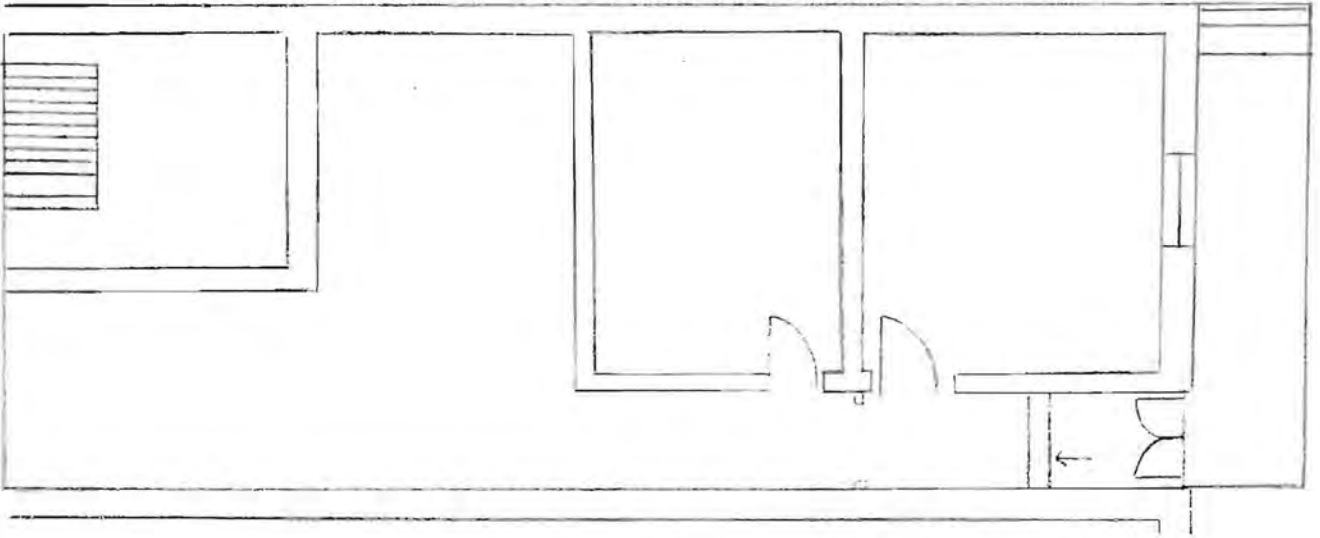
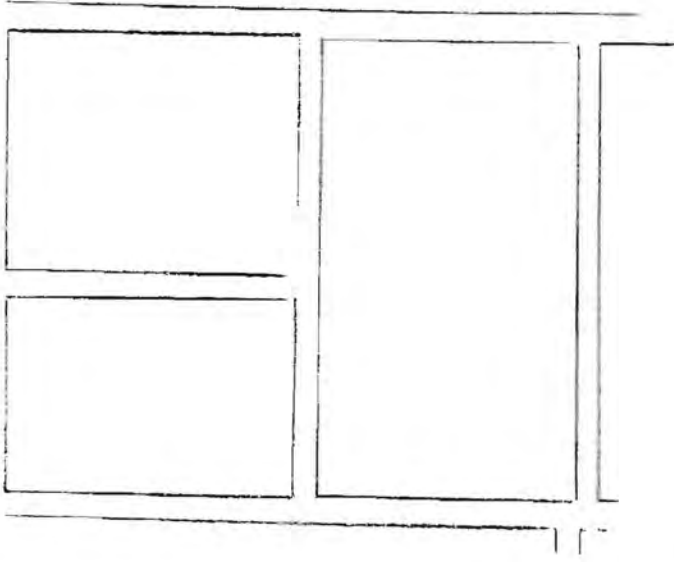


BK90|13

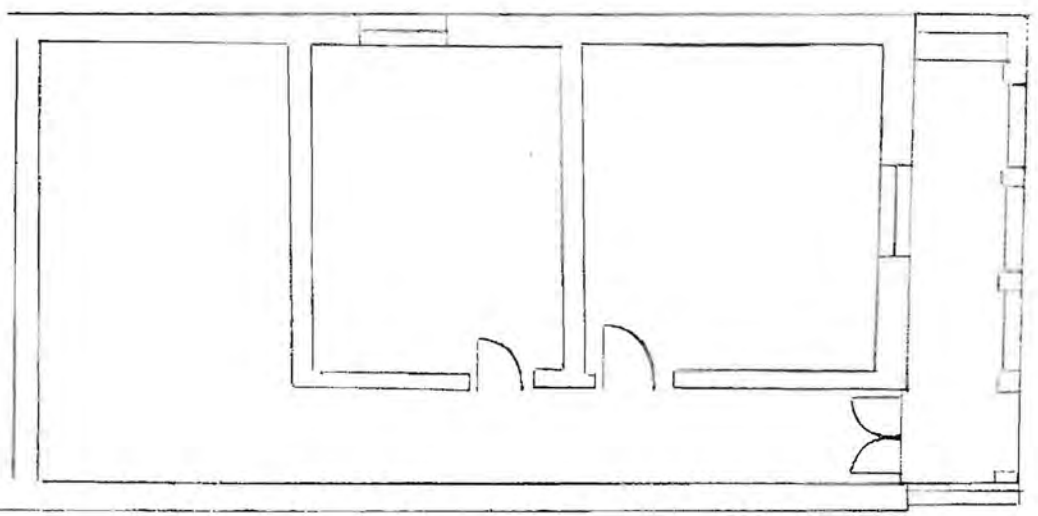
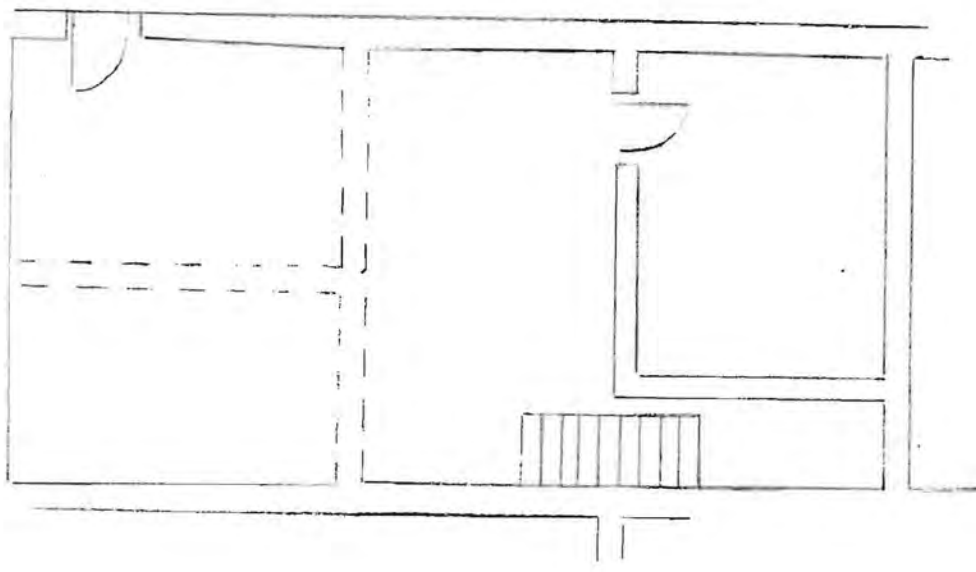


BK90|14

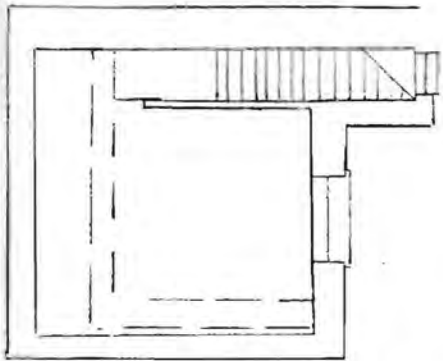




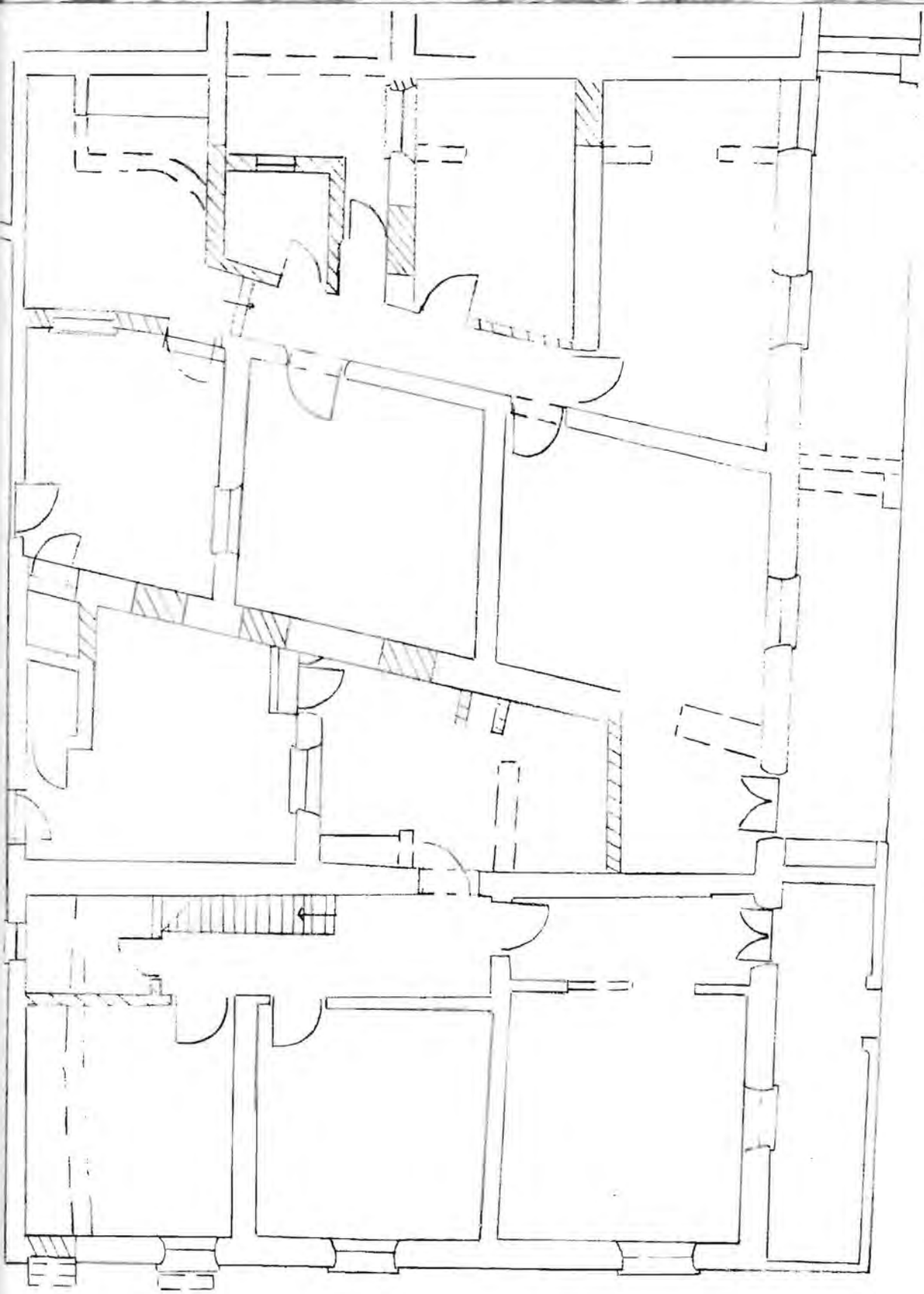
BK90|15



BK90/16

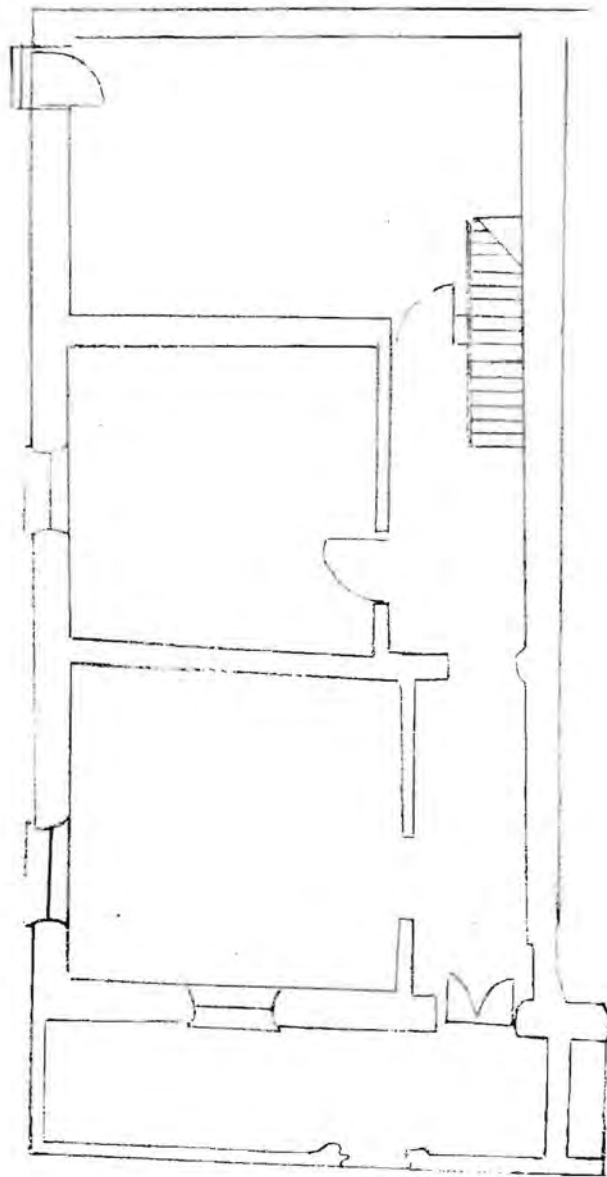
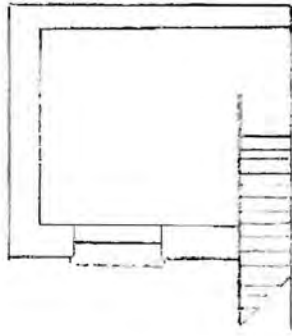


FIRST FLOOR

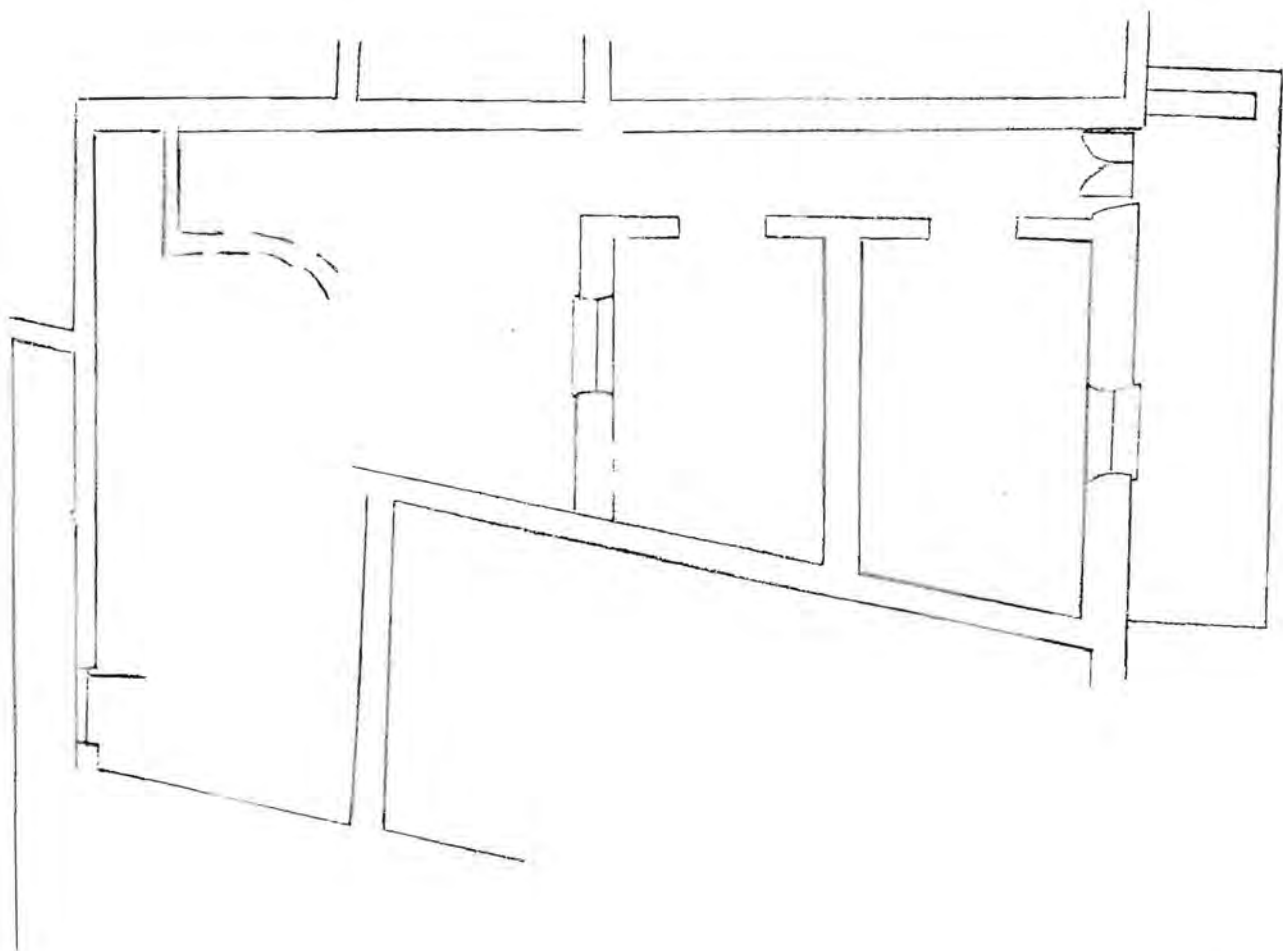


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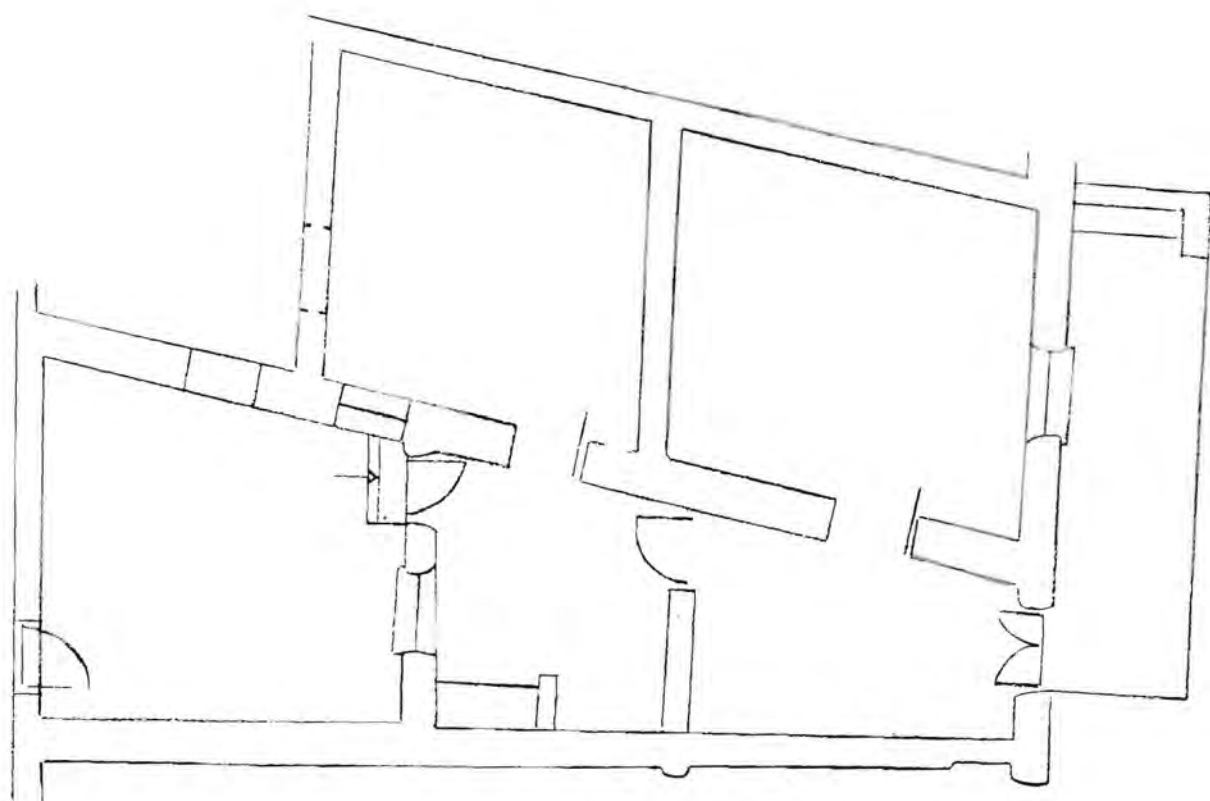
91, 93 AND 95 CHIAPPINI STREET



BK90|17



BK90|19



BK90|18

BK90/20 (106 Chiappini Street)

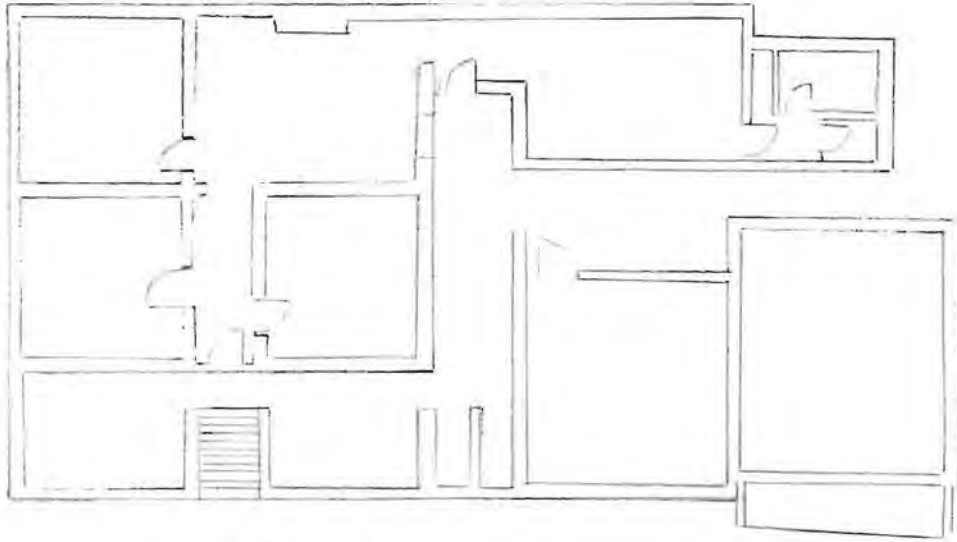
This is a single storey, three-bay dwelling with plaster finish and hipped corrugated iron roof. The large pane sash windows have raised plaster surrounds and an ovolo mould framed door and side piece with low bolection mould panels is present (Louw 1983:224). There are curvilinear cheek walls and a plastered boundary wall. The site is undeveloped on Pocock's panorama (c1884) but appears on Thom's survey (c1895). Deeds research (Appendix 1) indicates a construction date between 1897 and 1900. A coal store was added in 1819 (ref. 4847 G.P.Rampi for M.Ciaravino) (Louw 1983:224).

BK90/21 (126 Church Street)

This area of the Bo-Kaap has been extensively renovated with new houses of 'matching style' built to fill the gaps where buildings had fallen into particularly poor condition or had been demolished (Fransen and Cook 1980:66). Number 21 is, however, original - a simple, asymmetrical plan with a wide entrance passage. The internal fabric of the main house displays only minor alterations but the rear has been largely rebuilt. The bolection moulded panel doors are modern (Louw 1983:307); the windows and fanlights are original, although additional glazing bars appear to have been added. The site appears developed on Snow (c1862) and the parapet is visible on Pocock's panorama (c1884) (Louw 1983:306). Deeds research (Appendix 1) suggests a construction date between 1799 and 1827.

BK90/22 (134 Church Street)

This is a three-bay, central passage plan with an elevated rear. The windows are medium pane sashes and the Georgian panelled double door has a rectangular fanlight. The roof is flat and a simple moulded plaster cornice and parapet are present. The stoep wall is made of precast concrete. Deeds research (Appendix 1) suggests a construction date of c1896.

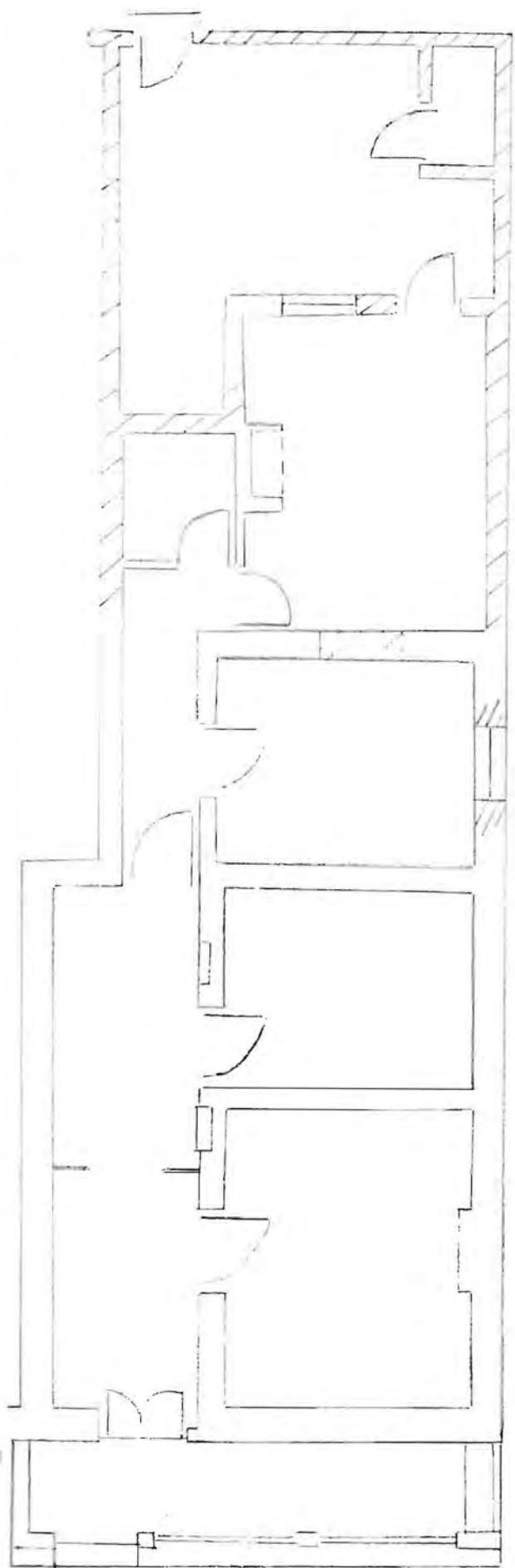


BK90|20

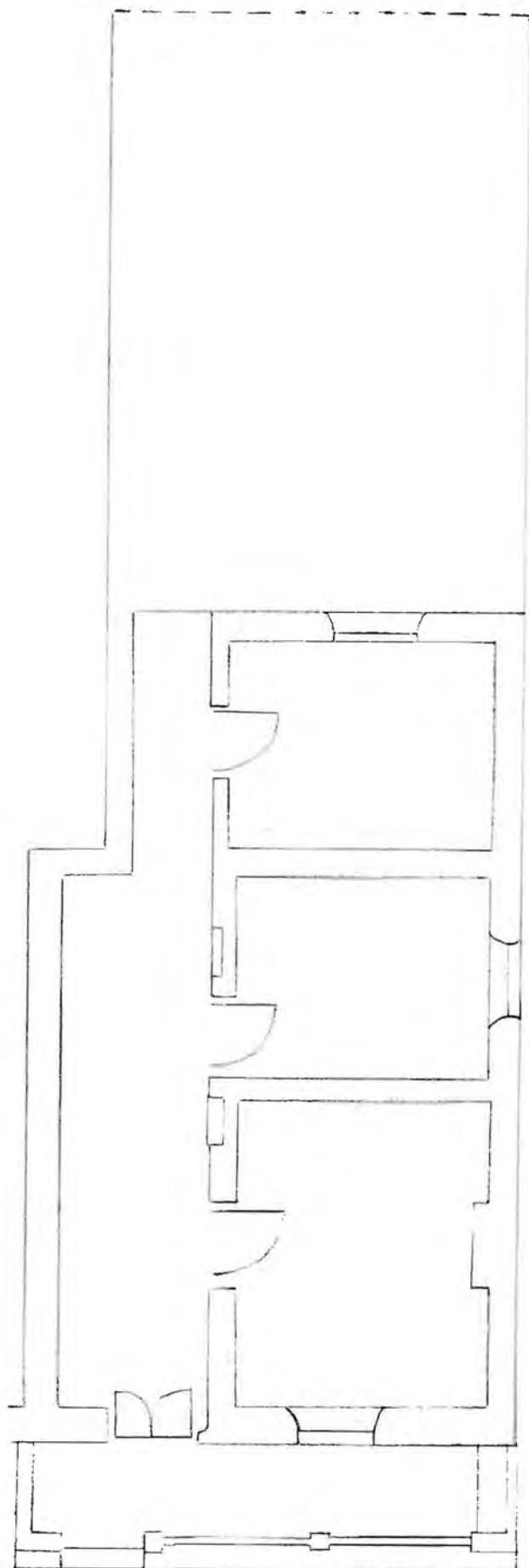


SOUTH ELEVATION

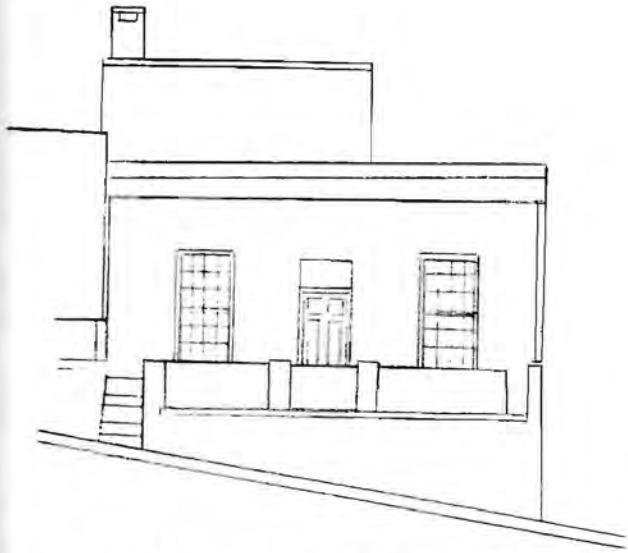
106 CHIAPPINI STREET



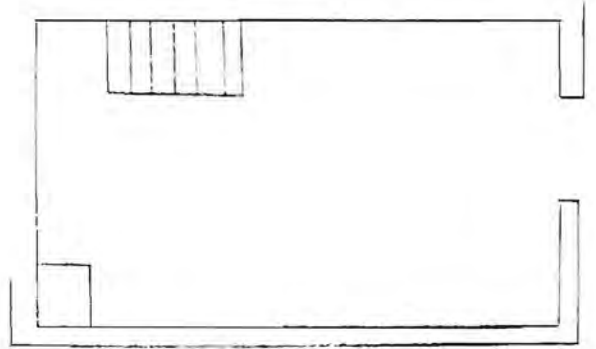
A740|39



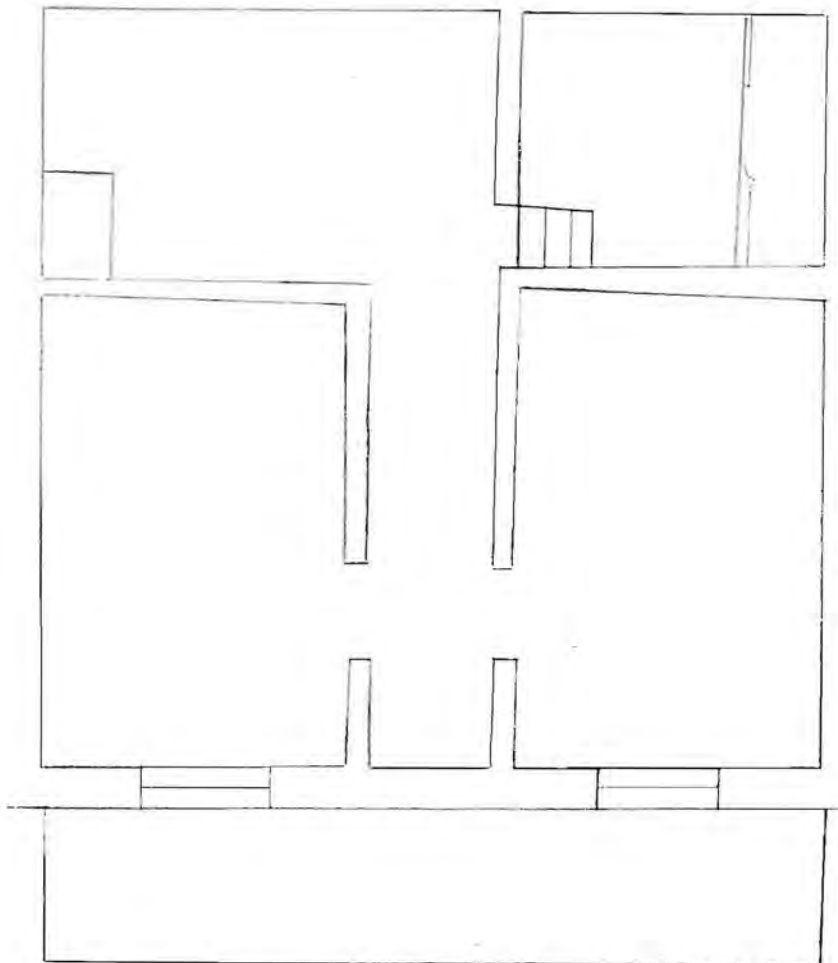
BK90|21



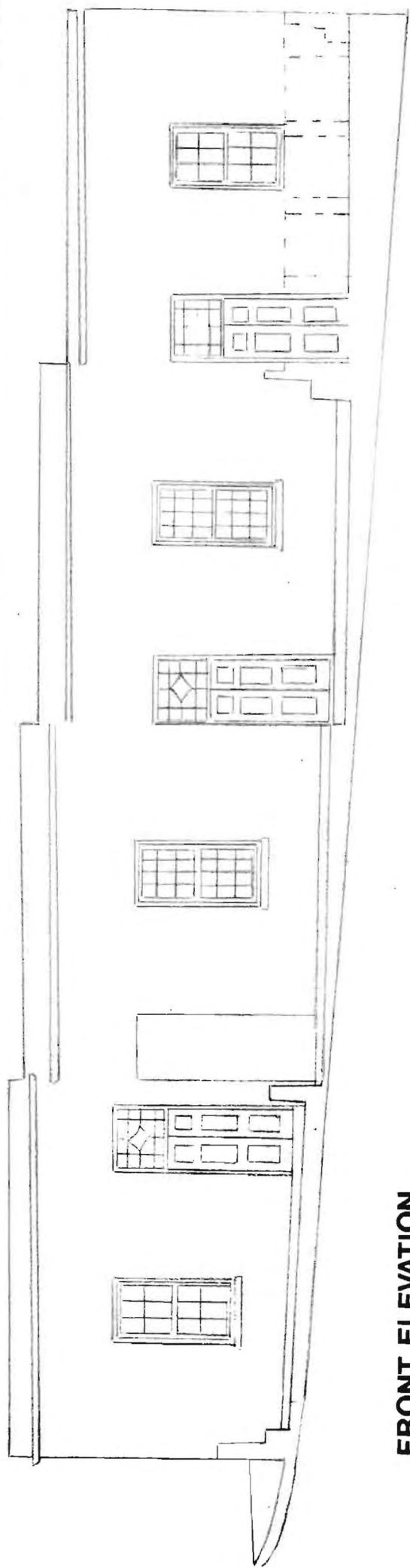
FRONT ELEVATION



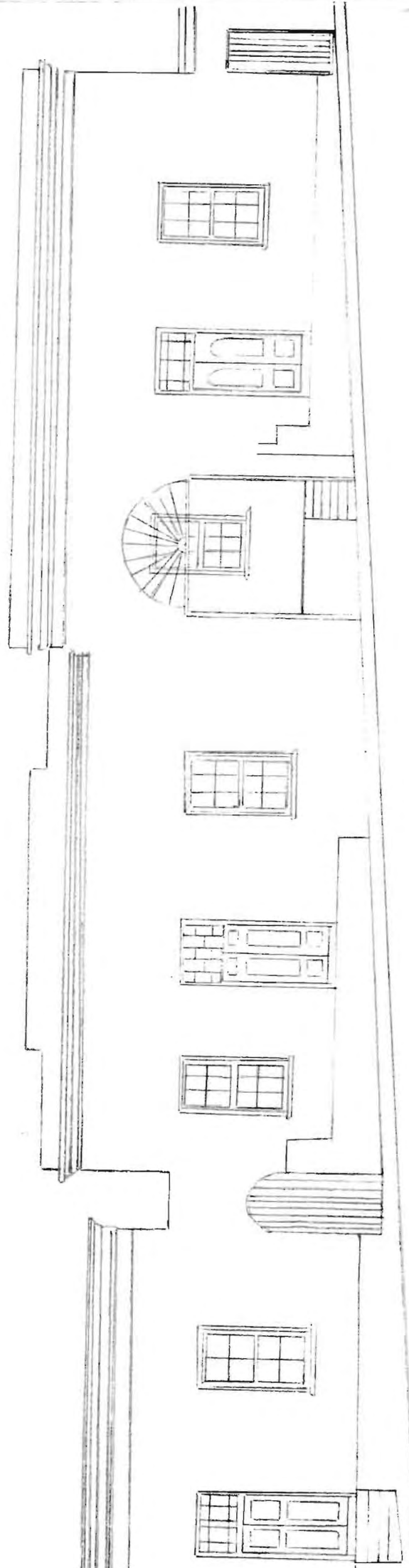
UPPER LEVEL



BK90|22
134 CHURCH STREET



FRONT ELEVATION
83, 85, 87 AND 89 CHIAPPINI STREET
A740|58



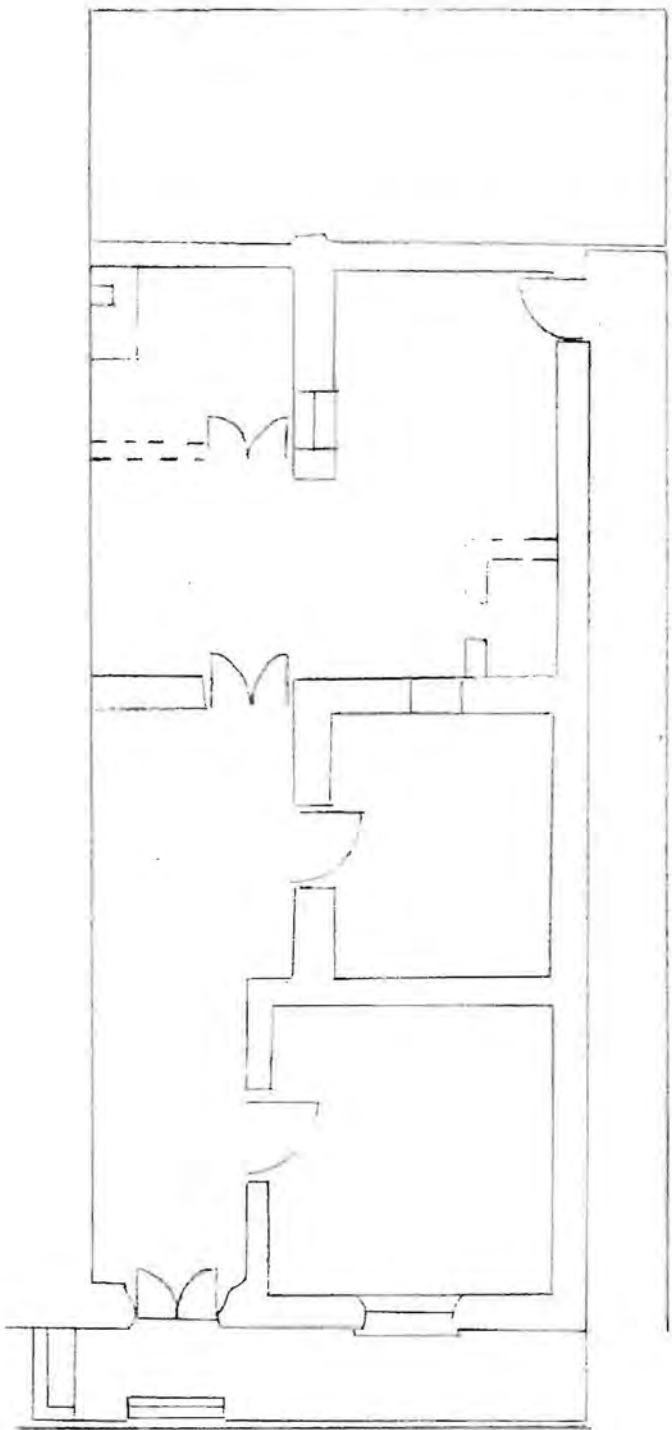
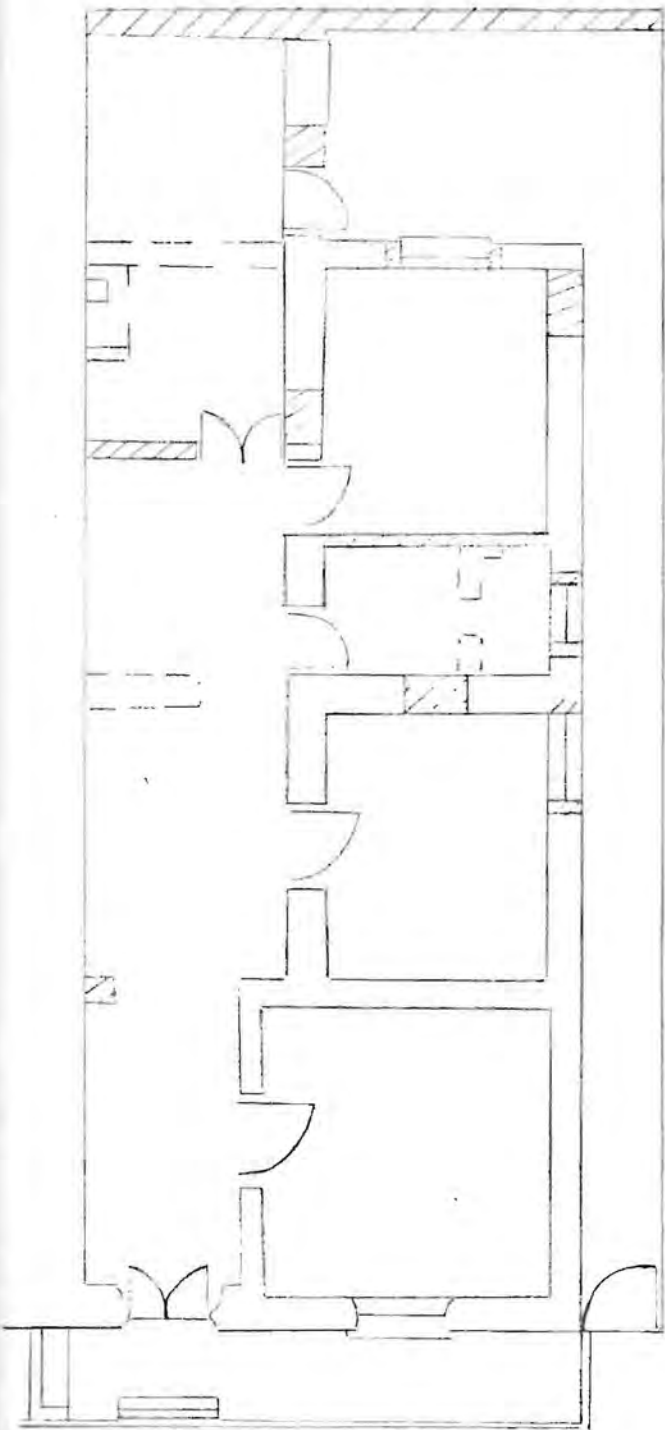
FRONT ELEVATION
17 19 AND 21 HELLIGER LANE
A740|53

BK90/23 (17 Helliger Lane), BK90/24 (19 Helliger Lane) and BK90/25 (21 Helliger Lane)

Three single storey dwellings - numbers 23 and 25 are of the asymmetrical side-passage type and number 24 is a central passage plan. Restoration shows minor alteration to the existing fabric and where possible original walls and door and window placements have been indicated. The windows are large pane sashes with internal panelled shutters; there is a repaired Greek revival cornice and raised bluestone stoeps. The granite kerb stones and sandstone setts of number 23 indicate an earlier carriage entrance (Louw 1983:312). The small courtyard beyond the radiating fanlight of number 25 was "originally probably a coachhouse, and recently the home of a family. During renovation, the court was made to bring light into the deep, narrow houses" (Townsend and Townsend 1977:92). The site appears developed on Snow (c1862) and on Pocock's panorama the flat roofs and parapets are visible. Deeds research (Appendix 1) suggest construction dates between 1810 and 1819 for numbers 23 and 24 and between 1819 and 1834 for number 25.

BK90/26 (21 Longmarket Street) 'Masondale' - plan obtained through the City Council - since demolished

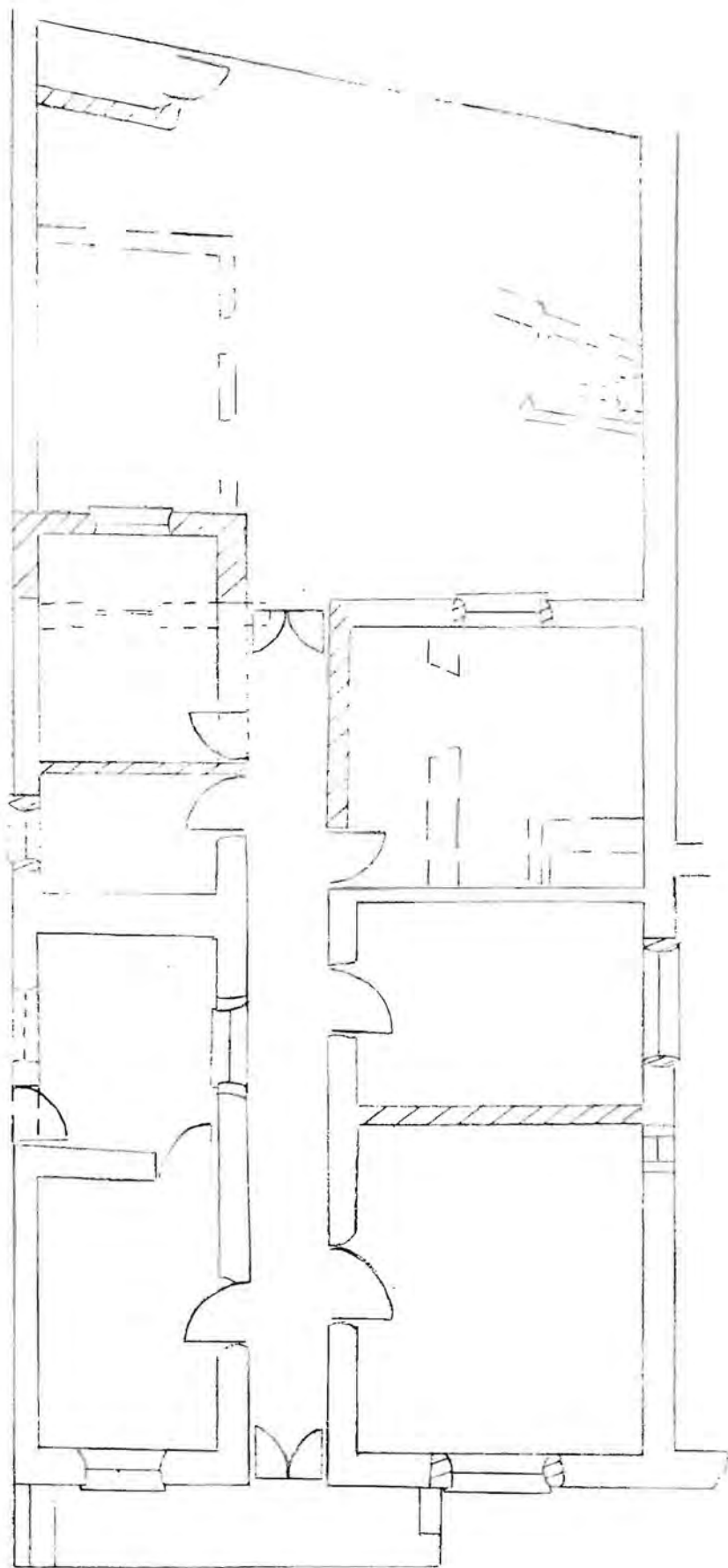
This was a single storey, 'late-Victorian' house. The entrance was set between two bay windows. It had plaster quoining and a simple cast iron verandah (Fransen and Cook 1980:66). The internal fabric of the house was largely unaltered, although a modern bathroom had been added (Mr.Soeker 1990:pers comm); a car port was also built on the side of the house in 1976. Shortly after this the house was demolished. Mr.Soeker, who lived in the house during this period and is the present occupant of the new dwelling states that the house was in particularly poor condition and that renovation had not been considered economically viable. Deeds research (Appendix 1) indicates 'Masondale' was built in the last decade of the nineteenth century (c1899); its rapid deterioration suggests poor architectural quality.



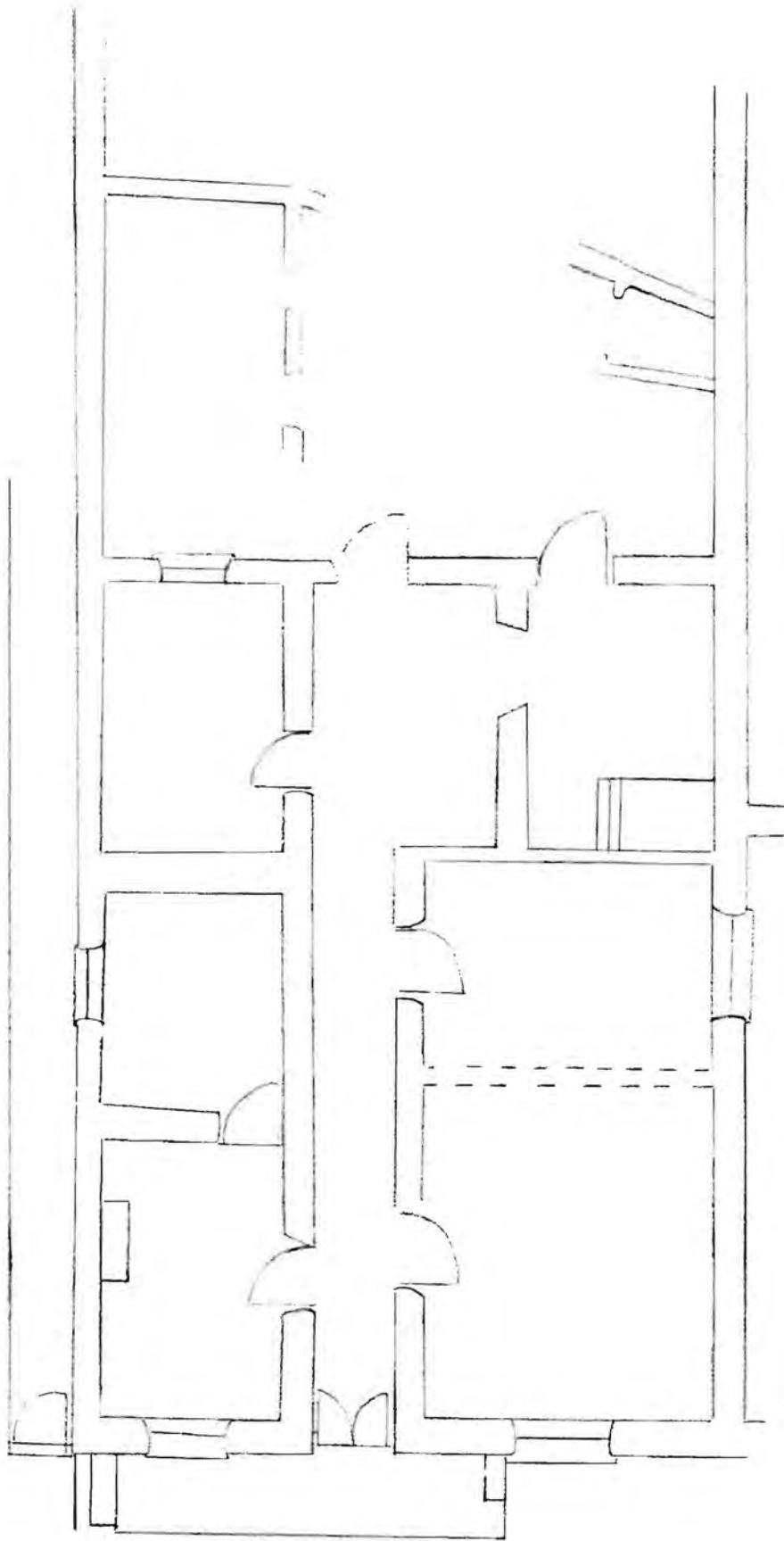
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BK90|23

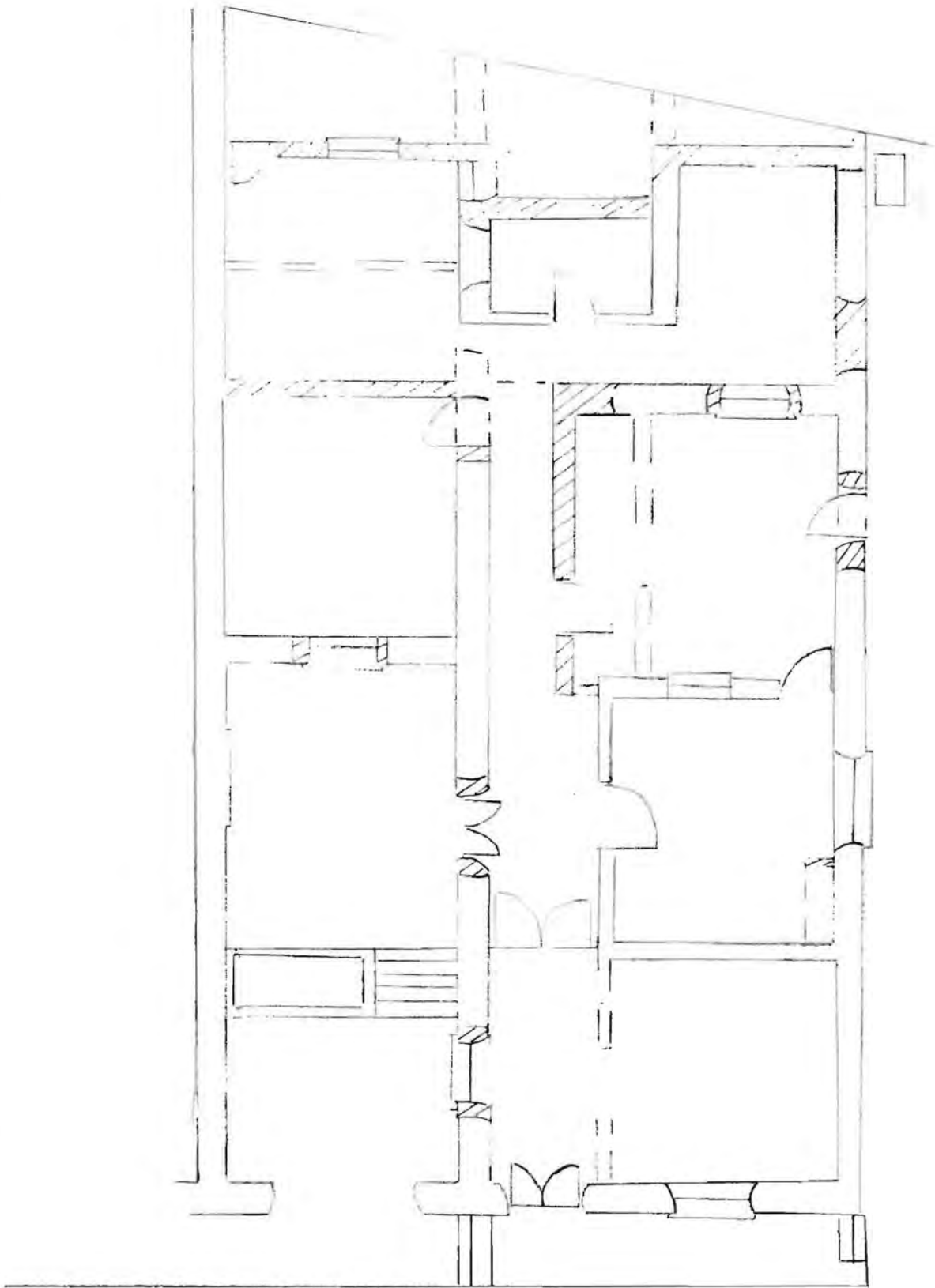
17 HELLIGER LANE



A740|53
19 HELLIGER LANE

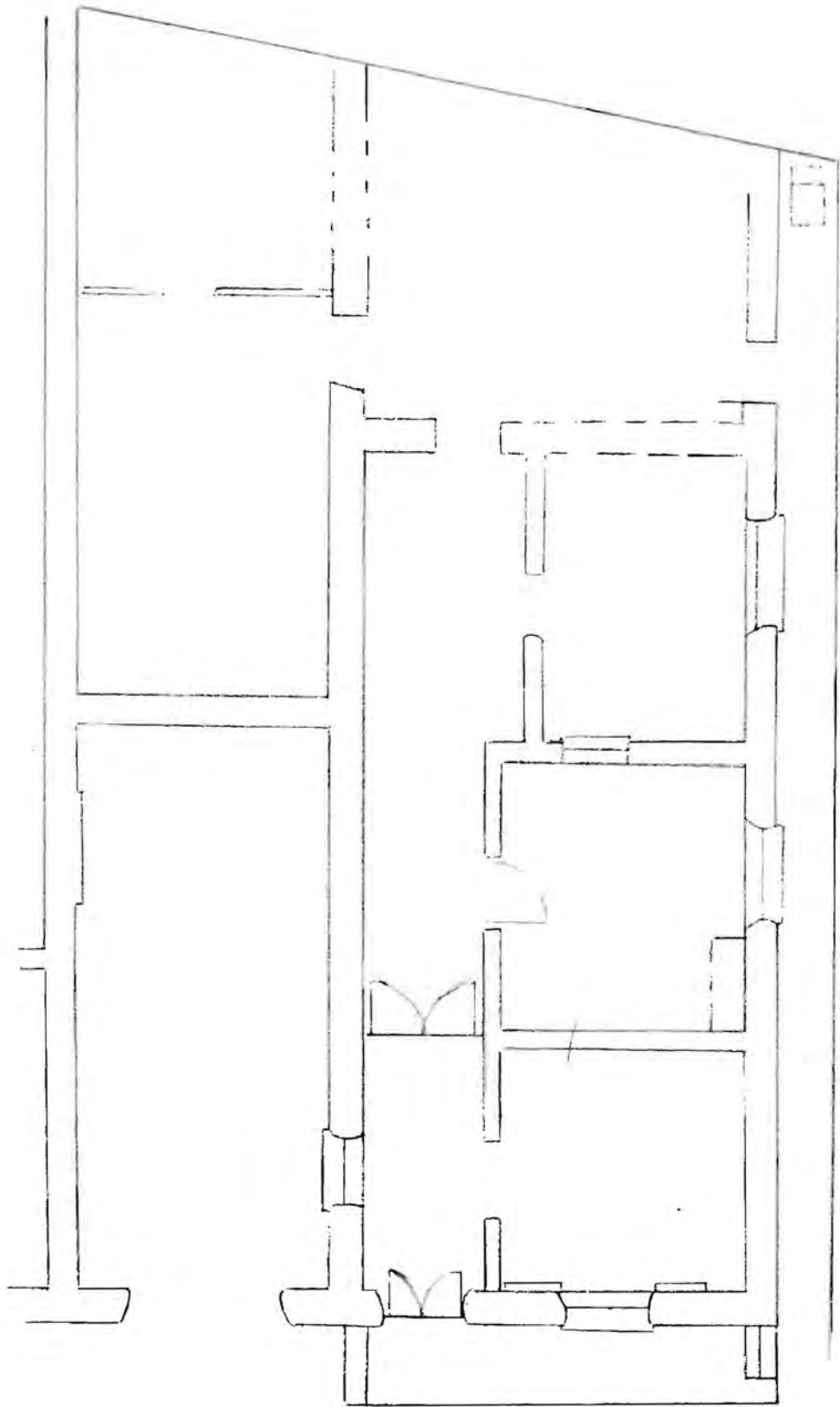


BK90|24

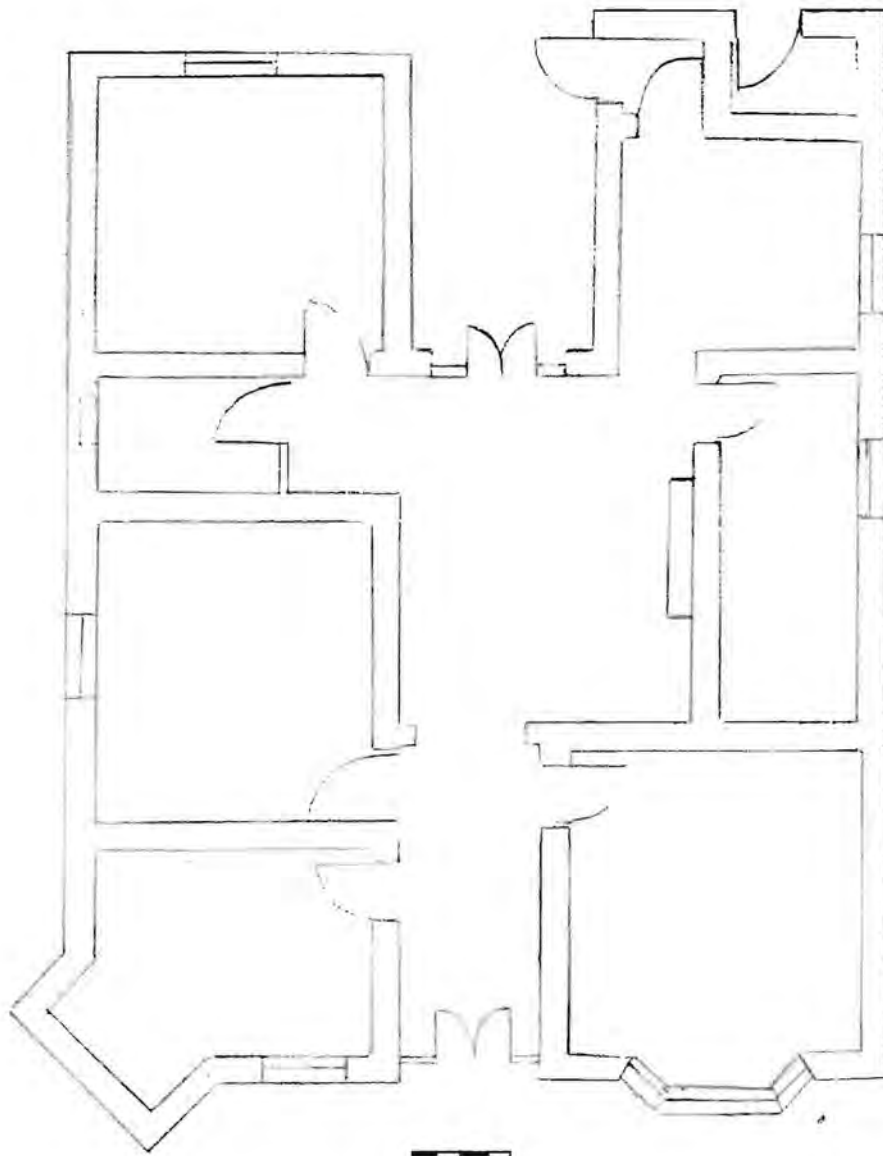


A740|53

01 HELICER LANE



BK90|25



BK90|26



SOUTH ELEVATION

212 LONGMARKET STREET

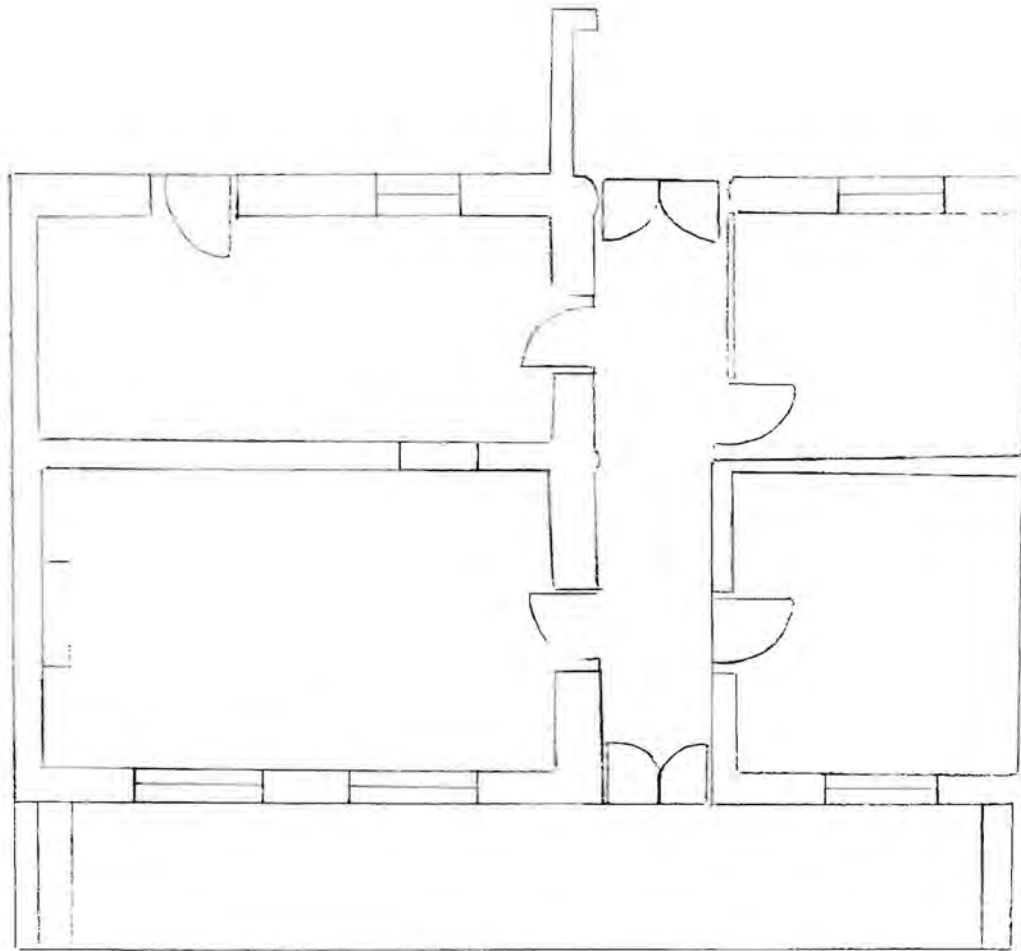
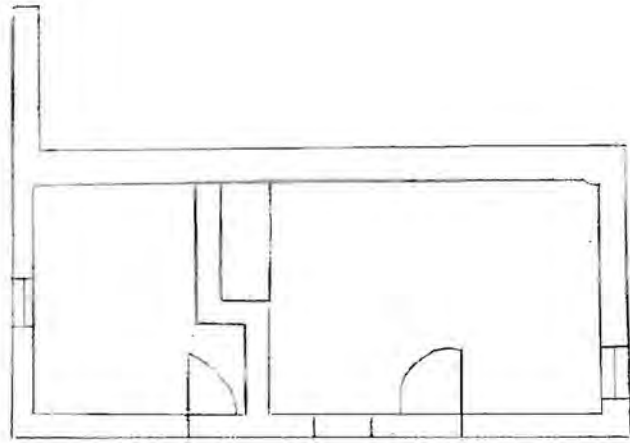
BK90/27 (2 Stadzicht Street) and **BK90/28** (4 Stadzicht Street)

These are two flat-roofed houses which originally formed part of the homestead 'Stadzicht'. In 1821 this was part of a five morgan estate described as 'seker huis en thuijn' (Louw 1983:146; Appendix 1). From early city surveys it appears that this represented BK90/27. The adjacent dwellings were probably added later and may originally have been outbuildings (Louw 1983:146). Number 27 is a single storey, irregular, four-bay dwelling with a raised stoep and plain parapet. The fitted batten doors and fanlight with radiating glazing bars are original but the front sash windows have been replaced with modern frames (the windows at the back are still original). There has been some internal change with the erection of wooden partitions. A new corrugated iron roof has recently been added.

Number 28 is also a single storey four-bay dwelling with an elaborate moulded plaster cornice, hoods and consoles. The fenestration is original but the front door has been replaced. The present occupant, Mev. Isaacs, has lived in the house for several decades and states that the present kitchen and access route are modern. The passage was originally open to both the front and back of the house and the kitchen could be entered only through an external doorway. It is interesting, however, that the kitchen formed part of the main structure rather than an outbuilding which is common in much of Bo-Kaap. This house also has a small prayer room. Both houses overlook front gardens and are in a fairly good state of repair although several of the walls are bulging.

BK90/29 (12 Dawes Street)

This is a late nineteenth century house which originally formed part of the estate 'Stadzicht', situated on the upper fringes of Bo-Kaap. The internal fabric of the house appears unaltered. A bolection mould panel door with bead mould frame is present (Louw 1983:147) but the original sashes have been replaced with modern steel windows. The roof is pitched corrugated iron. The traditional raised stoep, common in the older

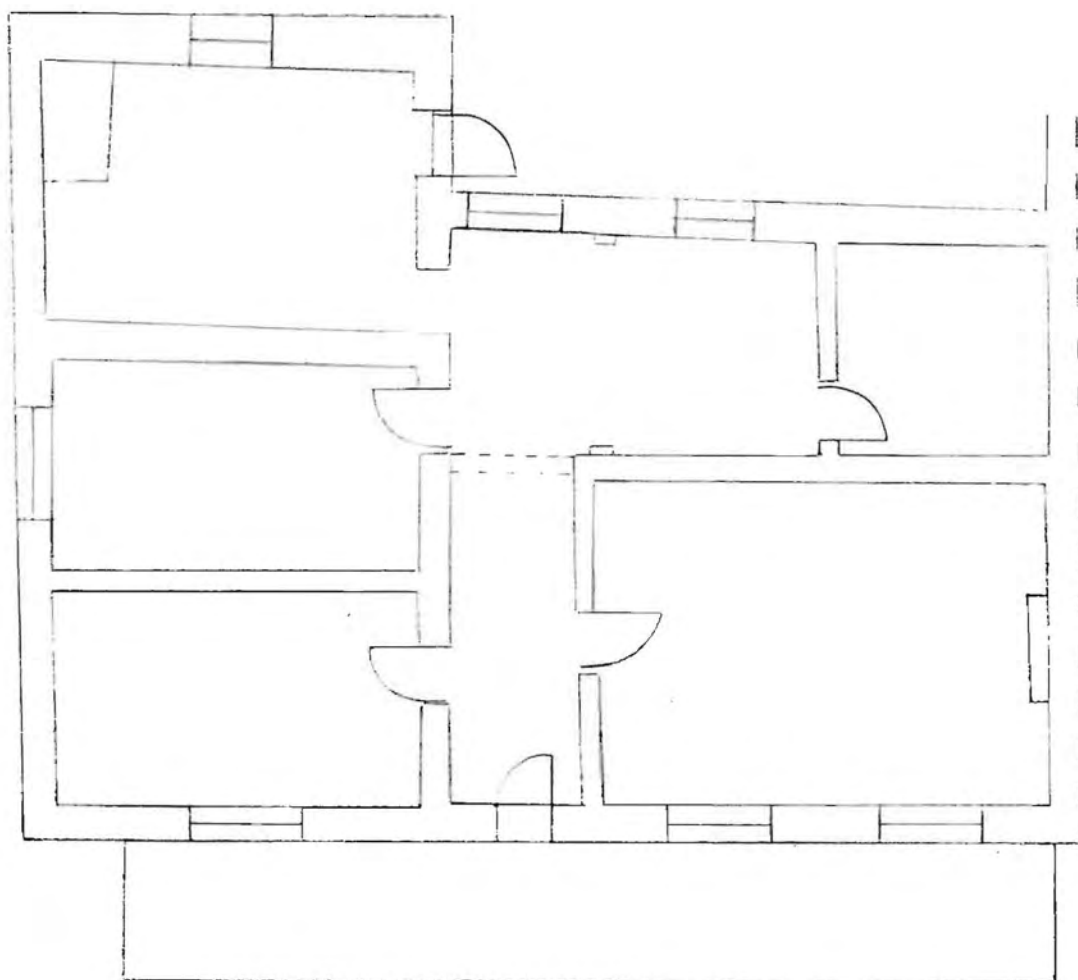


BK90|27

2 STADZICHT STREET

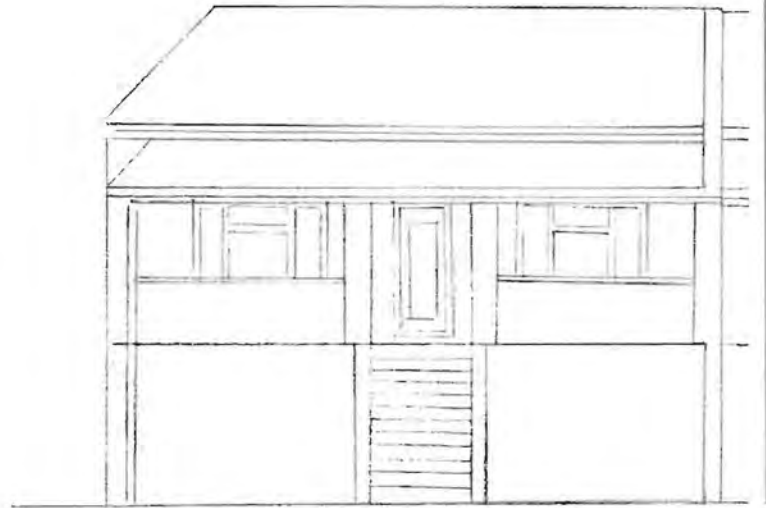
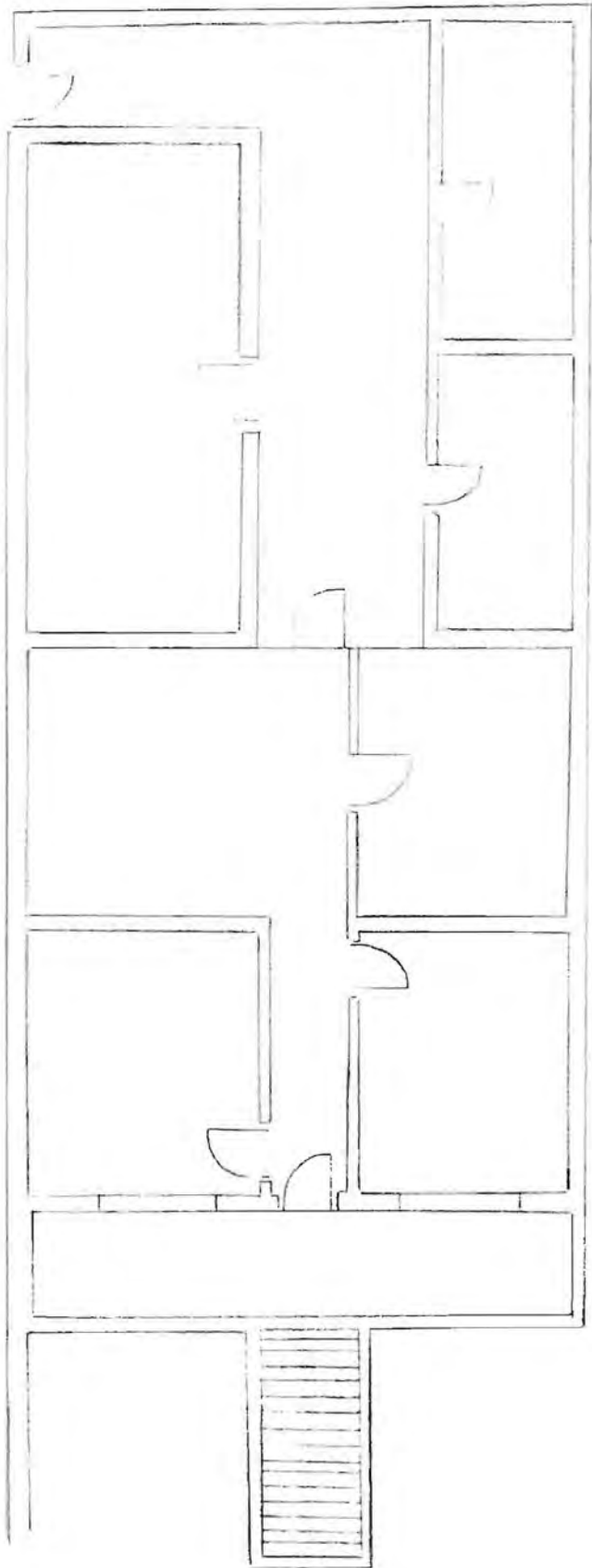


MEV. ISAACS



BK90|28

4 STADZICHT STREET



SOUTH ELEVATION

12 DAWES STREET



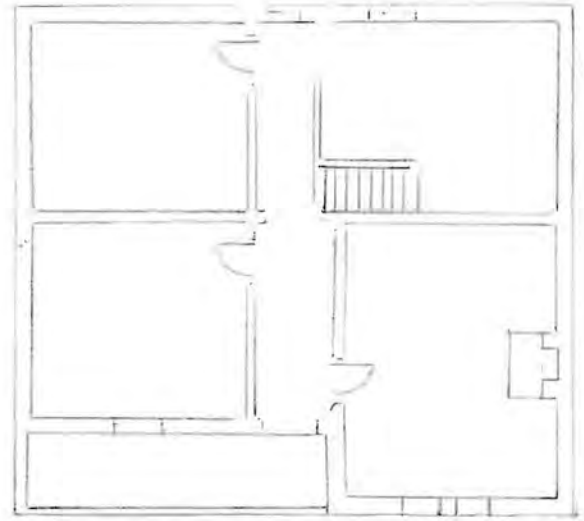
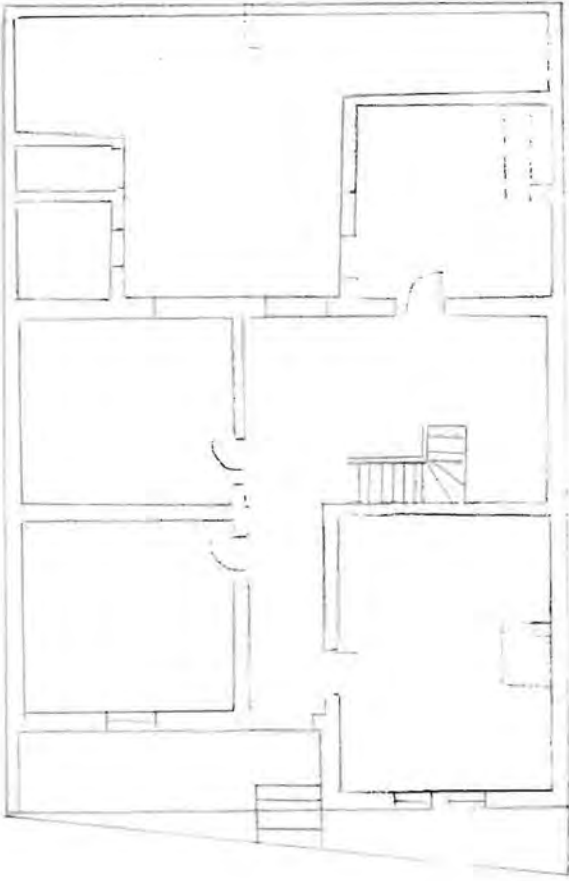
areas of Bo-Kaap, has been modified to form a covered verandah which overlooks a sizeable front garden.

BK90/30 (29 Pentz Street)

This is a late nineteenth century double storey brick and plaster dwelling. An elaborate six panel door and large pane sash windows are present (Louw 1983:287). There are plaster mouldings around the doors and windows and "cast iron columns and filigree work on the stoep" (Townsend and Townsend 1977:70). The remains of an upper level balcony is present below a hipped corrugated iron roof.

BK90/31 (31 Pentz Street) and BK90/32 (31A Pentz Street)

Flat-roofed, asymmetrical plan dwellings with moulded parapets; number 31 is a single storey and number 32 a double storey. Both houses have chamfer mould door frames and large pane sashes with raised plaster surrounds. Number 32 has steel windows in the upper level and shows remnants of an earlier timber balcony (Louw 1983:287). The site appears developed on Thom's survey (c1895) and on Budrick's panorama (c1902) the houses are visible (Louw 1983:287).



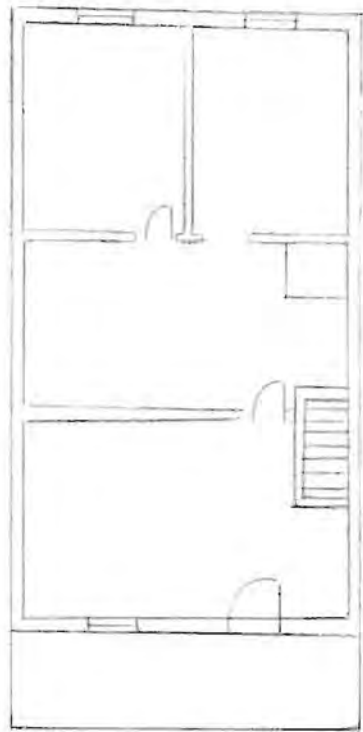
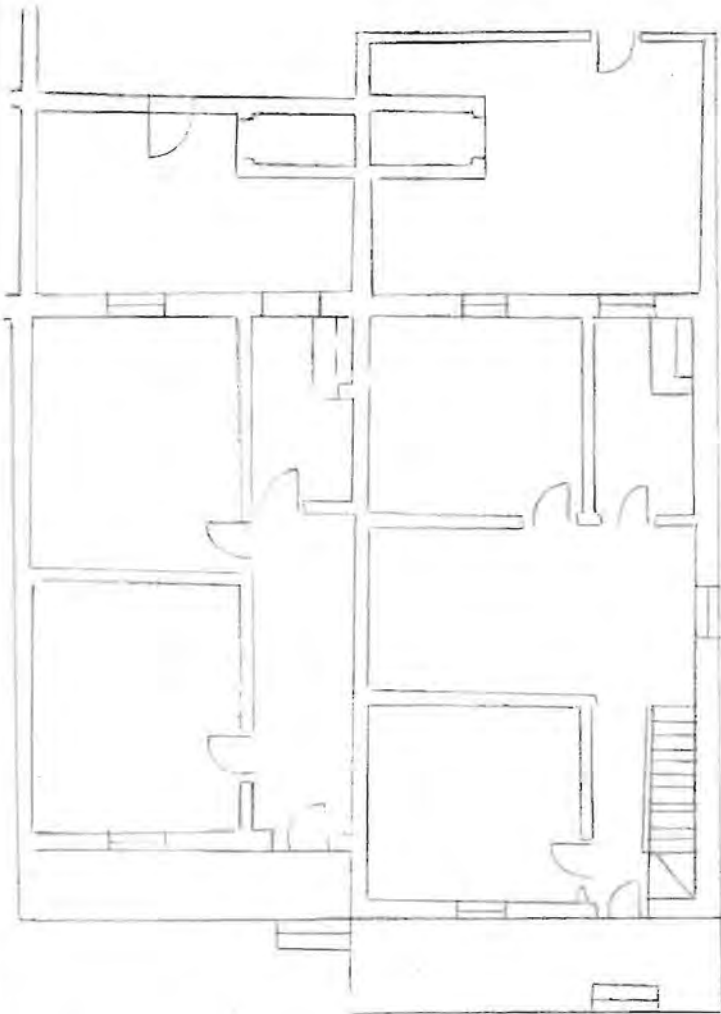
FIRST FLOOR



BK90|30



29 DENT7 STREET



FIRST FLOOR



**BK90|31 AND BK90|32
31 AND 31A PENTZ STREET**

CHAPTER FOUR

The structuralist analyses of vernacular architecture developed by Glassie and Gribble have been effected on two general levels: a study of competence through the generation of a rule set and an interpretation of form through the appropriation of a range of binary oppositions. In both cases the development of a grammar has provided the point of departure. It is claimed that the ability to design is intellectually grounded on a geometric repertoire. "Competence proceeds from this set of geometric ideas, spiralling from the abstract to the concrete, from useless ideas to livable habitations" (Glassie 1975:19). Glassie points out that the static sections of this process have often been categorized as levels of "typological abstraction" which translate into simple classificatory conveniences "unless the levels are tied into a system of transforming rules - the mental procedures used to move from level to level" (Glassie 1975:19-20). The account of competence then is an attempt to reach these unconscious rules and thus the process of mental generation. The viability of such a methodology is defended by Glassie (1975) and adopted by Gribble (1989):

"These rules precisely like those in a grammar, are unconscious, but they are not unconscious in the sense that they are unknown. They are known as their proper use proves, and they can be brought into consciousness through questioning or contemplation ... whether the analyst's rules are the rules in the designing mind is a question without an answer. If the rules that emerge during the attempt to indwell in other minds account completely for observable phenomena, the chances are fair that many of them coincide ... with the mental acts of the creator of the phenomena" (Glassie 1975:20).

In both cases therefore a degree of specificity is claimed: Glassie's rules document the structure of a 'middle Virginian mind' and Gribble's the mind of the folk of the Verlorenvlei and Langevlei valleys. The studies represent in some sense an attempt to move beyond the universality of structuralist claims. In so doing the hypothesis of mind put forward becomes open to more critical assessment. This is executable on two principal levels: (a) either it must be demonstrated that houses exist within the area which

wholly fail to conform to the grammar (in which case it may be argued that the academic model simply requires modification to accommodate natural form - indeed both Glassie and Gribble admitted an 'organic' rule set that grew to accommodate form as the sample of houses was enlarged) or (b) the integrity of the grammar as an explanation of form may be challenged by valid comparisons between disparate data bases.

Towards this end the 'form' of a sample of houses from Bo-Kaap was examined according to the structuralist principles laid down by Glassie. A rule set was generated and analogies with the rule set developed by Gribble were sought. The logic behind this approach was simple: based on the highly specific nature of the grammars, which claim to document all aspects of architectural form such as room size and shape, door and window placement, extensions etc, it was assumed that the houses from Bo-Kaap and the Verlorenvlei, which are different in form, would produce different grammars, or grammars that could not be legitimately compared.

However, advancing the structuralist premises determined by Glassie and Gribble, a different design competence (which it is argued is unconscious and therefore presumably not open to manipulation) forces the conclusion of a different mindset and by extension 'different people'. The approach makes nonsense of social reality. If however different houses could be 'grammatically compared' a similar mindset for similar people could be argued (although the validity of this too will be questioned). The approach would collapse artificial social constructs, it would make sense of social reality. More importantly it would move towards a dismissal of unconscious grammars providing the baseline of design competence. It would become possible to question what a 'theory of mind' really meant, to whom it referred and how justified the execution of structuralist principles, in an understanding of vernacular architecture could be.

BO KAAP VERNACULAR - A GRAMMAR OF DESIGN?

The Bo-Kaap data was considered in terms of the structuralist principles laid down by Glassie and Gribble. An initial sample of ten houses was carefully analysed in an attempt to determine common rules that accounted for the shape and juxtaposition of the rooms, the manner in which walls were pierced and the potential for extension and upward expansion. Rules were modified slightly as the sample was enlarged until the physical form of all structures included in analysis was 'understood' - or in structuralist terms until a common set of rules had been generated. The Bo-Kaap grammar and Gribble's Verlorenvlei grammar, both closely based on the precedent set out by Glassie (1975), are given below and provide the material for grammatical comparison.

RULE SET I

The Creation of the Base Structure

I.A. Choosing the Geometric Entity

The entity chosen is a rectangle.

I.B. Invariability

The geometric entity will be present in every structure.

I.C. Transformation of the geometric entity

A range of sizes and shapes of the geometric entity is created by the addition and subtraction of units of measurement.

I.D. Addition

I.D.1. The transformations of the rectangle are selected and related to form the base structure of each house.

I.D.2. A house may not consist of a single geometric entity.

I.D.3. The whole will consist of more than one transformation of the rectangle.

I.D.4. The relation of the entities may occur in one (depth) or two (depth and width) directions.

I.D.5. Relation of the entities is not necessarily symmetrical (although this is usually the case).

RULE SET II

The base structure is expressed three-dimensionally in space

The base structure becomes "the plan for a three-dimensional object" (Glassie 1975:26) (the first storey of a building) i.e. the 'mental construct' is given physical reality.

II.A. The height of the extension is not always uniform over the whole base structure, but may vary to accommodate the slope of the ground.

RULE SET III

Massing

The extension of the base structure three-dimensionally "requires that it has substance" (Gribble 1989:123). Thus following Glassie and Gribble the term massing is used to denote the imagination of the "existence of substance" (Gribble 1989:123) i.e. walls.

III.A. The boundaries of the geometric entities and base structure are real.

III.A.1. These boundaries are expressed as walls.

III.A.2. The walls are outside the limits of the geometric entities and base structure i.e. external walls are formed outside the geometric forms and internal walls do not appropriate space from the entities but are formed between them.

III.A.3. Adjacent geometric entities share a common wall external to them both.

III.A.4. Geometric entities may not be internally divided or partitioned

III.A.4.a. except by a hearth.

RULE SET IV

Piercing the Massed Structure

Imagining the existence of substance (i.e. massing) necessitates imagining the existence of "holes that allow passage through the substance" (Glassie 1975:26). Practically this is facilitated by piercing.

IV.A. Piercing takes two forms: doorways and windows.

IV.B. Not all the walls surrounding an entity may be pierced.

IV.B.1. A single wall may not be pierced more than twice.

IV.B.2. Each geometric entity must be pierced at least twice: one piercing will be a doorway and the other a window.

IV.C. Piercing position: Piercing is not necessarily central to an entity wall

IV.C.1. - except the facade where fenestration is central

IV.C.1.a. If the facade wall of a single geometric entity has dual fenestration (e.g. BK90/27 and BK90/28) this is always symmetrical.

IV.D. The common wall between geometric entities may not be pierced.

Movement between entities forming the base structure is therefore external.

IV.E. This movement is facilitated by the creation of a passage.

IV.E.1. The passage width is determined by the size of the first geometric entity and the plot of land (the external dimensions of the house).

IV.E.2. The passage is external to the component walls (see Rule III.A.2.)

IV.E.3.a. Where addition of geometric entities occurs in only one direction (see Rule I.D.3.) the passage will have its own external boundary (which in reality it may share with an adjacent house) and share one with the geometric entity/entities it cojoins.

IV.E.3.b. Where addition occurs in two directions the 'width-wise' extensions are separated by the passage i.e. the passage will lie midway between the entities and share a wall with each.

IV.E.4. The doorway piercing of each entity is thus internal and common to both the entity and the passage (except where Rule IV.E.5.b. applies).

IV.E.5. The passage is pierced externally by a door in the facade.

IV.E.5.a. If the passage extends the length of the house there will be two external piercings, both of which will be doors.

IV.E.5.b. If the passage does not extend the length of the house a rear room will be pierced by a second external doorway.

RULE SET V

Covering of the Piercings

V.A. All external and internal piercings are covered.

V.A.1. All doorways are covered by doors.

V.A.2. All windows are covered with glass.

V.A.2.a. Windows may also be covered by internal or external shutters.

RULE SET VI

Differential Piercing

Optional

VI.A. Fireplaces (distinguished from hearths) occur infrequently but where present:

VI.A.1. The fireplace does not fully pierce the wall on which it is located.

VI.A.2. It is always located in a front room.

VI.A.3. It is only located on walls that run at right angles to the facade.

VI.A.4. It is central to the wall on which it is located.

VI.B. Cupboards:

VI.B.1. do not fully pierce the wall on which they are located

VI.B.2. occur only on walls running at right angles to the facade.

RULE SET VII

Upward Expansion

Optional

VII.A. Upward expansion constitutes an addition of geometric entities.

VII.B. Upward expansion demands the presence of a stairway in the lower level of the house.

VII.B.1. This may be variously located:

VII.B.1.a. in the passage

VII.B.1.b. at right angles to the passage

VII.B.1.c. in the courtyard

VII.C. Upward expansion takes two forms:

VII.C.1. Rear elevation of one or two rooms

VII.C.2. A complete upward expansion of the base structure

RULE SET VIII

Massing and Piercing the Upward Expansion

The rules for massing and piercing the upward expansion do not constitute an independent set but relate to those for the completed, singly extended base structure (Glassie 1975:32)

VIII.A. All the upstairs openings of the facade are located over lower openings.

VIII.B. Upper window piercing is identical to that of the lower storey.

VIII.C. At the upper level doorways are not replicated

VIII.C.1. except where a balcony is present

RULE SET IX

Roofing

IX.A. The roof will cover the whole structure.

IX.B. The roof may be:

IX.B.1. flat

IX.B.2. hipped

VERLORENVLEI VERNACULAR - A GRAMMAR OF DESIGN? (Gribble 1989:120-134) (The Verlorenvlei grammar is quoted directly from Gribble - ellipsis indicates editing undertaken to prevent the repetition of information provided above.)

RULE SET I

THE CREATION OF THE BASE STRUCTURE

I.A. Choosing the Geometric Entity : The entity chosen is a rectangle (X)

I.A.1. The base structure consists of two rectangles of equal width placed end to end (XX)

I.A.1.a. The base structure has the facility to be doubled laterally.

I.A.2. By definition, all sides are parallel.

I.A.3. The diagonals are not always parallel.

I.A.3.a. The length of the rectangles may therefore not be identical.

I.B. Invariability : The base structure formed in Rule I.A.1. will be present in every structure.

I.C. Transformation of the Geometric Entity : A range of sizes and shapes of the geometric entity is created by the addition and subtraction of units of measurement.

RULE SET II

THE BASE STRUCTURE IS NOW EXPRESSED THREE-DIMENSIONALLY IN SPACE

II.A. A house can consist of a base structure only.

Should this be the case Rule Set III does not apply to such a building.

RULE SET III

GROWTH

III.A. Growth occurs through the selection and addition of transformations of the geometric entities to the base structure.

III.A.1. The structure is extended from the end of the base structure furthest from the chimney (see Rule Set VIII)

III.A.1.a. If the base structure contains no chimney, extension may take place on either side of it.

III.A.2. The extension is in a straight line parallel to the base structure.

III.A.2.a. Extension may also be lateral - this implies a structure of double depth (Rule I.A.1.a.).

III.A.2.b. Extensions must always have parallel walls.

III.A.2.c. The walls must line up with the base structure.

III.B. The diagonals of the extensions need not be parallel to those of the base structure.

III.B.1. The lengths of the extensions therefore, need not be parallel to those of the base structure's geometric entities.

III.B.1.a. The lengths of the extensions need not be identical to each other either.

RULE SET IV

THE EXTENSIONS ARE EXPRESSED THREE-DIMENSIONALLY IN SPACE

RULE SET V

MASSING ...

V.A. The boundaries of the geometric entities, the base structure and the extensions are real.

V.A.1. These boundaries are expressed as walls.

V.A.2. These walls are external to the boundaries of the geometric entities of both the base structure and the extended form ...

V.A.2.a. Adjacent geometric entities share a common wall, external to them both.

V.A.3. Geometric entities may not be internally subdivided by a partition

V.A.3.a. - except when Rule Set X is applicable.

RULE SET VI

PIERCING THE MASSED STRUCTURE ...

VI.A. Not all the walls surrounding any component need be pierced.

VI.B. Piercings take two forms - doors and windows

VI.C. Piercing position : Piercings need not be central to a wall

VI.D. The side walls of an entity may be pierced more than once.

VI.D.2. The walls between entities may be pierced once only,

VI.D.2.a. except when pierced, or partially pierced by a wall cupboard

VI.D.2.b. in which case any one wall may be pierced three times only

VI.E. The piercings of the first geometric entity of the base structure (Kitchen)

VI.E.1. Two walls must be pierced.

VI.E.1.a. One will always be an external wall pierced by a doorway

VI.E.1.b. The other will always be an internal wall pierced by a doorway allowing access to the second entity of the base structure.

VI.E.2. A third wall may be pierced

VI.E.2.a. This will always be an external wall

VI.E.2.b. It will always be pierced by a window

VI.E.3. A fourth piercing is possible.

VI.E.3.a. This piercing may take the form of a window or a doorway.

VI.E.3.b. If it is a doorway it may be external, or internal (Rule I.A.1.a. and III.A.1.a.)

VI.E.3.c. If it is a window it will be positioned in the same side wall as the external doorway

VI.G.6.a. The other entity will have an external door.

VI.G.6.b. There will exist no internal door between these entities.

VI.G.6.c. Rule VI.G.3. applies to the external walls of both of these rooms.

VI.H. The piercings of the second geometric entity of an extended form (second bedroom)

VI.H.1. Only three wall of this room may be pierced.

VI.H.1.a. The wall furthest from the kitchen will never be pierced.

VI.H.2. One side wall may be pierced by an external doorway.

VI.H.2.a. Rule VI.D. can apply to this wall in the form of a window.

VI.H.2.b. The same wall will always be pierced by a window.

VI.H.2.c. Rule VI.D. can apply to this wall.

VI.H.3. Should this room be formed by Rule I.A.1.a., Rule set VI.G.6. will apply.

An extended form may also incorporate up to three outside rooms (Buitekamers) which are pierced as follows :-

VI.I. This room must have an external doorway, as it has no internal link with any other room.

VI.I.1. One wall must be pierced by a window.

VI.I.1.a. A second wall may be pierced by a window.

RULE SET VII

COVERING OF THE PIERCINGS

VII.A. All external piercings are covered.

VII.A.1. External doorways are always covered.

VII.A.1.a. These coverings are usually halved or stable doors.

VII.A.2. Internal doors need not be covered.

VII.A.2.a. If covered, these coverings are full doors.

VII.B. All windows are covered

VI.F. The piercings of the second geometric entity of the base structure (Voorkamer)

The Voorkamer shares a common end wall with the kitchen which is always pierced by a door.

VI.F.1.a. This piercing will always take the form of a window.

VI.F.2. In an extended form all four walls must be pierced.

VI.F.2.a. One side wall will be pierced by an external doorway

VI.F.2.b. The shared internal wall opposite the kitchen will always be pierced by an internal doorway

VI.F.2.c. The fourth wall will be pierced by a window.

VI.F.2.c.1. Should Rule III.B. apply, the fourth wall may be pierced by an internal doorway.

VI.F.2.d. In terms of Rule VI.D. a fifth piercing can occur in the side wall.

VI.F.2.d.1. This will always take the form of an external window.

VI.G. The piercings of the first geometric entity of an extended form (Bedroom)

VI.G.1. If this room is the last adjoining entity of an extended form, then it must have two walls pierced.

VI.G.1.a. It may have a third or fourth wall pierced.

VI.G.2. This room may have no external door.

VI.G.2.a. The internal wall shared with the voorkamer will always be pierced by a door (Rule VI.F.2.b.)

VI.G.3. One or both of the side walls may each be pierced once by a window.

VI.G.4. The end wall may only be pierced if it represents the end of the extended form, and then only by a window.

VI.G.5. Should this room be followed by another adjoining entity of an extended form, the wall furthest from the chimney will be pierced by a doorway.

VI.G.6. Should this room be formed by Rule I.A.1.a. there will be an internal doorway (Rule VI.G.5.) to only one of the two laterally adjacent geometric entities.

VII.B.1. They may covered by shutters, glass or both.

RULE SET VIII

THE CHIMNEY ...

VIII.A. The chimney is always located at only one end of the structure.

VIII.B. It is located on walls at right angles to the front of a house, except where Rule Set X applies.

VIII.C. The chimney does not pierce the wall on which it is located.

VIII.D. A single house may possess more than one chimney (see Rule Set X)

RULE SET IX

ROOFING

IX.A. The roof will cover the whole structure.

IX.B. Only a house formed by a base structure may have both ends of the roof fully hipped.

IX.B.1. Such a house may also have one or both ends gabled.

IX.B.2. Extended forms must always have one end of the roof gabled.

IX.B.2.a. the opposite end may be :-

IX.B.2.a.1. Gabled

IX.B.2.a.2. Hipped

IX.B.2.a.3. Half-hipped

IX.C. A loft may be created by the addition of a ceiling to all or part of the base form.

RULE SET X

APPENDAGES

X.A. Appendages may be added at right angles to the base structure.

X.A.1. They may be added to any side of the basic form.

X.B. Appendages must be analysed as separate structural conceptualisations, distinct from the forms to which they are appended.

Such appendages may abutt a basic form without altering its form in any way, but should adjustments to the basic house form be necessary they will occur in the following ways :-

X.C. A door can be made between them should no piercing exist.

X.C.1. A window may be enlarged to form a door.

X.D. A linking structure may be constructed once either Rule 1 or 2 has been utilized.

X.E. Appendages may occasion an internal re-arrangement of the basic house form through the construction of partitions within a geometric entity (see Rule V.A.3. and V.A.3.a.)

X.E.1. This will result in the creation of an internal passageway.

X.F. A flight of steps may be appended to the end of a house to provide access to the loft (see Rule IX.C.).

A GRAMMATICAL COMPARISON

The attempt to equate or parallel grammars of competence forces a particularly close examination of their function, both in real terms and in more abstract considerations of how this function is academically construed. This approach allowed a 'deconstruction' of the grammar in which it became possible to define the fundamental mechanisms of how competence is articulated. Practically, the grammatical details of the rule sets were separated into 'primary' and 'secondary' rules. Secondary rules were delineated as those which may be common (or not) to any grammar, without seriously compromising its ability to explain architectural form. These included the rules for massing, the covering of piercings and the manner of roofing as well as optional rules such as subtypification and

upward expansion. Walls will be common to any form, piercings must be covered and roofing may be subsumed within a category of functional utility or 'style'.

Indeed, Glassie (1975:26) argues that "it does not matter of what substance the house is made - of brick or wood or stacked bottle caps". In so doing, he dismisses the detail of secondary rules and by extension the the local constraints and choices which must have mediated the realization of form. The Bo-Kaap and Verlorenvlei rules for roofing make this point explicit. In Bo-Kaap roofs are flat or hipped, in the Verlorenvlei they may be gabled, hipped or half-hipped. The rules are correct, but superficial, they do not account for reason. In Bo-Kaap, for example, the older houses are, without exception, flat roofed. Such uniformity was not, however, the articulation of an unconscious rule, it was the observance of colonial law which forbade thatched and gabled roofs in an attempt to counter the hazards of urban fire. In the rural Sandveld, where housing was scattered and supplies limited, such laws were inappropriate and full use was made of locally available thatching materials. Such an example illustrates a general point: the secondary rules laid out in the grammars of architectural competence are insufficient, even as an explanation of form, far less as a starting point in an understanding of material culture. Such descriptive rules are potentially available for universal design - as an explanation of specific form they are, therefore, inadequate. Essentially these rules 'buzz' around deeper determinants - the primary rules.

The primary rules lay the foundation of house form, they determine admission and exclusion of subsequent rules and thus provide the point of departure for an analysis of grammatical correspondence. Three primary rules have therefore been delineated:

- 1.) the selection of the basic geometric entity
- 2.) the selection and relation of transformed entities
- 3.) the piercing of the massed structure

The selection and relation of entities sets the physical, ground level boundaries of the house and the manner of piercing defines the passage through which this physical space is negotiated; of all possible rules they are the least visual but the most important. It is these rules, moreover, which sanction a comparison of Bo-Kaap and Verlorenvlei architectural competence.

In both areas it is suggested that the geometric entity selected as the starting point in the creation of a base structure is a rectangle. This mentally conceived rectangle is 'transformed' through addition and subtraction of units of measure to yield a range of tangibly variable shapes which are related to create an extended form or a number of rooms (in both cases the geometric entity may not be internally sub-divided). Addition or growth is initially linear and symmetrical and later lateral, although width-wise expansion is not obligatory. The piercing of the massed structure also suggests formal comparability: a single wall may not be pierced more than twice (Gribble includes cupboards as a full, rather than a differential piercing, but if only doorways and windows are considered the parallel is valid). Each geometric entity is pierced at least twice, by a doorway and a window and neither is necessarily central to the wall on which it is located. A single grammatical difference is created by the movement between rooms. In the Verlorenvlei area the common wall between geometric entities is pierced, in the Bo-Kaap movement is facilitated by the creation of a passage.

The 'sameness' that may be assumed between different houses by a consideration of the primary rules of the grammars is suggestive of the further inadequacies in structuralist explanation. The rule sets make it possible to draw comparisons which in real terms are not legitimate. The apparent 'hardness', or rigour, of the rules is illusory for despite their surface specificity they remain interpretive and consequently open to question. A central problem lies in the inability of a grammar to consider context, or the physical orientation of the house. The rules for fenestration illustrate the point. In both cases the general rule

is simple: each geometric entity must be pierced by at least one window; a central location is unimportant. The grammar is 'correct' but it fails to make explicit the visual impact of window placement in Bo-Kaap, why the facades of the houses form such a strong element in the architectural landscape. Moreover it is only by a consideration of context that the difference of movement between geometric entities becomes explicable. In the Verlorenvlei each house controls its own domain and access to the dwelling may be variable. In the Bo-Kaap however, the close proximity of houses to one another makes access along the length of the building inefficient. Thus the front door is always located along the narrow width of the house and a degree of internal privacy is provided by the creation of a passage : the reason is conscious economics, not an uncontrolled rule in the mind.

The 'grammatical similarity' between houses raises a further difficulty for structuralist interpretations of vernacular architecture. Archaeologically the stronghold of the approach has always been its potential to reconstruct 'mind' or patterns of thought from material culture. However by challenging the autonomy of the rule set to explain form, it has become possible to question the secondary interpretation of what form means. Essentially, it has become necessary to ask *whose* mind a structuralist explanation 'reclaims' and how valid this really is.

Gribble (1989) asserted an understanding of the folk of the Verlorenvlei and Langevlei areas. However parallels between their 'mentally determined' material culture and material culture in the Bo-Kaap has effectively challenged this claim. A rule set does not account for the different forms of architecture which may occur in a single cognitive system. It cannot consider why particular selections may have occurred nor according to what criteria these may have varied. It is unlikely that considerations of the unconscious will ever achieve this for they ignore the articulate nature of architecture: the production of a plan which satisfied both builder and client - how unconscious rules were discussed

and a compromise on what was 'correct' or 'desirable' was reached is not demonstrated. Essentially the structuralist interpretation has relied on the traditional notion that vernacular architecture involved a builder-occupant relationship, simply because it was important to attach 'person' and by extension 'mind' to the discrete objects of study. By moving beyond an overriding concern with generation, the simplicity of this notion can be dismissed. It becomes less important to fix a house in time and the contribution of a number of different elements within society becomes applicable. Thus the potential to 'read' material culture fulfils greater potential - it is no longer necessary to simply understand vernacular architecture as "people making their own histories in the face of authorities trying to make it for them" (Upton and Vlach 1986:xxiii) - the ability of material culture to appropriate power in both directions can be recognized.

CHAPTER FIVE

The structuralist approach to vernacular architecture has been broadly criticized, both at a theoretical and at a more practical level. The central problem concerns the neglect of the relationship between form and structure, and the social context in which it is generated. Temporal and social division is collapsed into uniform unconsciousness and the movement towards change, often explicated simply through style, remains largely unaccounted for. Pettit (1977:113) has suggested that the structuralist framework has provided a new way of looking at things - "something much more interesting than our everyday concepts allow us to see ... it constructs a reality that looks as if it can bear systematic enquiry". Archaeology must now find a way through which this potential may be reached. In broad terms it is suggested that the reintroduction of history as a primary consideration, principally on the two general levels of context and people, will facilitate a return to the notion of action, and the material culture which results, as meaningfully constituted. A consideration of Bo-Kaap architecture explores and tests the possibilities.

Upton and Vlach (1986:xvii) have argued that "one cannot proceed to interpretation without specifying how the artefact at hand came to exist". In simple terms this concerns the mechanics of building; at a broader level it raises questions such as who built the houses, for whom were the houses built and under what influences or constraints was construction actualized? Answers to these questions provide the point of departure in a search for meaning.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The architectural landscape of the eighteenth century Cape colonial settlement was one of remarkable consistency with "strict classicist fenestration beneath undulating baroque gables and parapets" (Townsend and Townsend 1977:16). The coherency of form was to

some extent a result of technological and functional constraints dictated by the restricted range and quality of locally available materials. Timber for example was particularly scarce and narrow tree girths restricted maximum roof spans. Local bricks were also of poor quality necessitating the use of plaster which had to be limewashed annually (Rennie et al 1978:8-9). The sense of regularity and order was further enhanced by the gridded landscape which paralleled contemporary town planning concepts in Europe, validated an alien environment and simultaneously imposed silent barriers between 'colonial' and 'indigenous'.

Until about 1780 Cape Town expanded within this strict grid iron pattern bounded by Buitensingel, Buitengracht and Buitenkant Streets with the majority of the colonial population confined to this area. The few houses which did exist outside the confines of the grid, were the large, spacious, market-garden residences of high officials and wealthy farmers. The 'Schotsekloof' farmstead (now 79 Dorp Street), which stands on land between Leewen and Wale Streets granted to Alexander Coel in 1707, provides an example. This was the first grant of land in Bo-Kaap and together the blocks became known as 'Walendorp' (Townsend and Townsend 1977:3). In 1760 Jan de Waal, a sexton of the Oude Kerk, purchased the land between Dorp and Wale Streets from Coel and in 1761 was granted the second block between Dorp and Leewen Streets by the Burgher Council. Between 1763 and 1768 de Waal built several small 'huurhuisjes' (houses for rent) on this land : Bo-Kaap had been born.

The development of Cape Town accelerated rapidly in the decades after 1780. Fearing a British attack on the Cape, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) engaged several regiments to supplement defences and the city became filled with French, Swiss and Germans, "the civilian population swelled as immigrants and plattelanders arrived to cater for the town's new needs" (Townsend and Townsend 1977:5). Chief among these requirements was housing and the old Cape Town burst its boundaries, flowing east of

Buitenkant, west of Buitengracht and south of the Buitensingel (Kent 1965). The development of Bo-Kaap, however, appears to have occurred largely in the decades after the British occupation of the Cape (initially in 1795 and permanently in 1806, after three years of renewed Dutch control). In keeping with the established grid iron pattern, streets were laid out around regular blocks of land, often developing against the natural contours to consolidate the plan (e.g. Rose and Chiappini Streets). Land speculation played an important part in the growth of Cape Town during this period (Vokaty 1985:55) and Bo-Kaap was no exception. By 1820, most estates in Table Valley had been mortgaged and those nearest the town subdivided, permitting urban development and higher density residential settlement (Vokaty 1985:55).

The development of Bo-Kaap was thus closely tied to economic and demographic considerations. An influx of European settlers created a demand for modest housing close to the city centre and the restricted economic base of nineteenth century Cape Town provided aspirant landlords with a welcome source of additional income. Deeds of ownership (Appendix 1) suggest concentrated propriety, particularly in the early decades of the century when large areas of land were granted by the Burgher Senate to leading citizens, usually for quite nominal sums of money (see for example deed 92, 18 April 1834 when 320 square roods (SR), 122 square feet (SF) was granted to Hendrik Andreas Truter for three pounds sterling). The insolvencies endorse this trend for a single bankruptcy seldom affected a single property (figure 1). The pattern created was thus one of absentee landlord and tenant, a precedent which the street directories confirm was consolidated throughout the century (Appendix 2). It was a precedent, moreover, which significantly moderated the interpretation of the landscape and the architectural forms which flourished.

Bo-Kaap expansion, which occurred largely between 1790 and 1840 (Townsend and Townsend 1977:14), was marked in wider society by a series of economic oscillations.

The rate of expansion was uneven and the financial position of the colony unsound for there was no firmly established foundation of trade in either agriculture or industry. The economy remained subject to sudden fluctuations (Vokaty 1985:51) which were negatively compounded by the British concern that colonies should remain economically autonomous. In 1823, William Bird, a controller of customs at the Cape wrote: "The state of credit at the Cape is so desperate, that confidence in individuals is gone. There is a host of borrowers and no lenders" (Bird 1823:36). This climate of economic uncertainty was further exacerbated by social and political upheaval:

- \ "Ordinance 50, talk of emancipation, new legal, administrative, fiscal and tax structures, sharpening race relations, growing anglicization and the new establishment of institutions which were the marks of the new urban civilization emerging in Britain" (Philips 1980:14).

In the building industry costs remained high throughout the nineteenth century, indeed, during the 1850's Bishop Grey estimated that the cost of building churches was probably double that of England (quoted in Radford 1979:157). For the vast majority of people, insufficient capital, or the security to borrow, made ownership of accommodation impracticable - a system of rent monopolies amongst capitalist entrepreneurs provided the solution. The utilitarian strand in domestic architecture was consequently well developed. In Bo-Kaap this became particularly pronounced. Houses were built in contiguous rows of extended depth with narrow frontages, roughly half the width of houses in the older part of town (Fransen and Cook 1980:63). Simplification and standardisation appears to have been achieved by focusing on the total context of the building process: that is a row of houses rather than the design of individual dwellings, thus units such as doors and windows were standardized in overall measurements facilitating interchangeability and economies in fixing and placing (see Oakley 1970:91-109 for a discussion of architectural design economy). Decorative detail was minimal; potential building space was maximized and an optimum return of rent was secured.

TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

The importance of economy was clearly significant, as a complete explanation of architectural form it is however inadequate - as Rapoport (1969:48) points out:

"physical and technological needs and constraints lose sight of the fact that even these forces, constraints and capabilities are themselves the result of the cultural climate which preceded the material or visible changes. A house is a human fact ..."

The articulation of society and the architectural forms it produced was greater than any economic utility - it was a reflection of social flux and stabilization.

Townsend and Townsend (1977:14) have suggested that "colonial architecture generally represents a fusion of influences" and in Bo-Kaap, the blending of the locally articulated 'Cape-Dutch' with the influence of Georgian classicism and later the 'style' of the Victorian era underlines this point. The earliest houses, built in the 'Walendorp' area in the latter decades of the eighteenth century are representative of earlier pre-British styles: the windows, for example, have a fixed, multi-paned top sash, flush with the outside wall and a sliding lower sash; the front doors were of the two-panel 'bo-en-onder' type and the gently waving parapets (of which two examples are still extant) were distinctively baroque (Kent 1965, Townsend and Townsend 1977). However, by the turn of the century, the British occupation of the Cape had made its mark. In 1799 Samuel Hudson, a chief customs clerk, wrote:

"The houses improve every year ... Cape Town is not the place it was three years since. We have our shops in the English style. Our houses which so lately were crowded with the heavy Dutch furniture now have the light, elegant appearance of a London residence, everything seem new modelled English fashion" (Hudson 1799:49).

In Bo-Kaap, the changing elements of style were rapidly (albeit not uniformly) assimilated. The proportioning of the windows became fashionably slender and

Georgian panelled double doors, often with delicate fanlights, were widely adopted in the construction of new dwellings.

It is arguable that the movement towards more precise expressions of English style was mainly "due to the use of imported materials and building elements" (Rennie et al 1978:13) and, indeed, such a notion slips neatly into a model of economic determinism. It fails however to consider the potency of material culture as a silent language of symbol and the percipient manner in which the British attempted to acquire social hegemony (Ross 1989:41). More importantly such a model fails to account for continued resistance to economic accommodation. Hall (1988) has pointed out that in parallel to the neoclassical forms of architecture adopted in the early years of the nineteenth century "there arose an architectural form which emphasized still more acutely the baroque elements of the eighteenth century that were anathema to British taste. In many areas of the countryside the gables were built in increasingly ornate styles ... [signifying rural Dutch] resistance to subservience to the new order".

In urban Cape Town, however, there appears to have been a mutual desire to foster cordiality. English patronage of horse races at Greenpoint and black-backed jackal 'fox' hunting from Wynberg onto the Cape flats and in the Tygerberg (Ross 1989:41) provided active, but impermanent, channels through which this was achieved. Material culture provided silent, but more permanent ratifications of this process. In central Cape Town the spacious homes of the upper strata of society were rebuilt "in keeping with regency style" (Philips 1980:9) and in Bo-Kaap, the enterprises of the wealthy reflected their new political and social allegiances, cementing the overtures of the new administration. The large grants of land which had triggered the growth of Bo-Kaap had, for the most part, been acquired by established colonists. Frans Helligers, for example, a German silversmith who immigrated to the Cape in 1763, had been granted land during the administration of the VOC (Townsend and Townsend 1977) and in May 1810 was

granted an additional area of 107 SR, 96 SF for 603 Cape guilders (Appendix 1); Petrus Johannes Pentz, the son of Michiel Pentz, a servant of the VOC (de Villiers 1894:7) provides another example - he was granted 5 Morgan, 411 SR, 65 SF in September 1822 for 350 cape guilders (approximately 9 pounds) (Appendix 1). The "twitches of stylish trim" of which Glassie (1986:31) is so dismissive clearly played a significant role in urban Cape Town for they attested a choice which contrasted significantly with conservative agrarianism.

This suggestion finds additional support in a consideration of Bo-Kaap house plans. Early examples, dating from the 1760's and 1770's are infrequent, or vastly altered. The buildings between Buitengracht and Rose Streets, for example, which were constructed before 1800, have been largely replaced by commercial or light industrial premises (Townsend and Townsend 1977:92). The houses with the curvilinear parapets (71 Wale Street and 146 Buitengracht Street), however, provide two extant examples and display suggestive variance with the houses built after c1795. The central difference concerns the area of entrance, which in both houses was considerably wider than the narrow passages of later dwellings. Access to the interior of the house was consequently more direct, essentially more resemblant of a Dutch 'voorhuis' than the English concern with ritualized entrance and "smaller rooms through which visitors of importance could be conducted in the ... social activities of the house party" (Hall 1988: 5). Thus in both 'form' and 'style', the Bo-Kaap houses of the first half of the nineteenth century suggest a concern with 'anglicization'. Indeed it is interesting to note that the entrance hall to 71 Wale Street (BK90/5) had "at an early stage in the building's life been made narrower" (Townsend and Townsend 1977:64) assuming its present width of 6.93 Rhymland feet (6.71 English feet), still somewhat wider than the passage entrances which average 5.12 Rhymland feet (4.96 English feet), but certainly more in keeping with the new demands of urban social etiquette.

THE POLITICS OF EXCLUSION

The broad contrasts which may be drawn between the town and countryside of nineteenth century Cape society and the manner in which differences were reflected architecturally must not however drift into assumptions of 'metropolitan mind'. The parallels between Bo-Kaap and the general town houses are valid, but so too are the real and fundamental distinctions. The houses of Bo-Kaap certainly reflected the new social aspirations of their owners, but the extent was curtailed; amplification was reserved for personal dwellings - "porticoes, light, latticed verandahs, curving zinc roofs and enclosed stoeps" (Philips 1980:9). The highly visible and permanent nature of architectural form could not remain unaddressed in a society so intimately concerned with expressions of status, neither could the potential to discriminate economically and socially. An article in the Cape Argus of November 1831 characterized the trend:

"if it is not successful institutions and successful individuals who are to aid in ornamenting the city, who are to improve the buildings already in it, and when they build, to sink a little selfishness and a little of their abundance to make Cape Town more attractive, who is expected to do it?" (quoted in Radford 1979:35-36).

Throughout the course of the century, the merchant owners articulated a clear response: large sums of money were lavished on the city centre and a pattern of neglect in inner-city residential areas became firmly established (Bickford-Smith 1984:203-204).

In the final analysis, therefore, an understanding of Bo-Kaap architecture must be rooted in a consideration of person for whatever diverse factors underlie the location and generation of buildings, "the subsequent development of any human settlement is the product of interacting influences which include economy, environment and cultural pressures" (Rennie et al 1978:6), all of which ultimately relate to the construction and definition of physical and social space by human agency. Essentially, an understanding of Bo-Kaap architecture requires an understanding of the human presence and absence which

gave meaning to the built environment, it requires an understanding of the movement of people through the area and the manner in which history has 'named' them.

Oakley (1970:161) has suggested:

"design thinking centres around problem stating and problem solving. Seen from this standpoint design work consists of a problem to be solved, a problem context to be established, an idea or principle around which the design solution will be organized, a method of work, a method of realization and criteria for assessing the success of the design".

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the problem confronting urban Cape Town was the need for cost efficient housing. Between 1756 and 1806 the population had quadrupled from 13,000 to more than 55,000 (Townsend and Townsend 1977:5) mainly through the influx of European artisans and British settlers. The development of housing in Bo-Kaap, sufficiently close to areas of employment, but sufficiently distant from the grander houses of the merchant gentry, provided an immediate answer. By the 1840's this solution was no longer adequate. Natural population increase in urban areas was massively expanded by the emancipation of slaves, legally in 1834 and physically in 1838, and housing pressures became acute.

In the rural areas most freed men and women had no particular skills: "for the majority ... the only alternative to staying on the farms was to migrate into Cape Town and to hope to eke out a living there" (Worden 1989:36). Opportunities, however, were limited. Seasonal work was available on farmsteads, but payment frequently took the form of wine, food, clothing and sometimes livestock ... The means of accumulating capital was limited" (Worden 1989:37). The implication of this in terms of rented accommodation was certainly significant and probably contributed to the general overcrowding and poverty, a situation further exacerbated by the large scale desertion of urban slaves: "By

the 1850's living in servants were virtually unobtainable, since this carried too much of the stigma of slavery" (Ross 1989:45).

Bo-Kaap continued to grow during this period, frequently through the speculative enterprises of financially compensated slave owners (Judges 1977). Gaps in existing street vistas were filled in: 83, 85, 87, 89, 91 and 93 Chiappini Street (BK90/13-18) were constructed during this period. Often the properties were heavily mortgaged to provide the necessary capital - Cornelius Brink, for example, borrowed 1475 pounds in 1836 (Appendix 1) to facilitate the construction of four houses (BK90/13-16). Despite the generally increased economies exhibited in the standardisation of construction and features and the smallness of the plots (the opposite end of the block built during the late 1820's embraces only three houses) (see Map B) his speculation rebounded: in 1867 his estate was declared insolvent (Appendix 1). The example proved the general trend with insolvencies between 1830 and 1870 concentrating an overwhelming 60.42% of the total calculated from 1792-1913 (figure 1). The problem was intensified by the relocation of occupants. Concomitant with urban influx, new residential areas opened in the southern suburbs of Salt River and Papendorp (now Woodstock) and the more prosperous white artisans moved away from inner-city congestion and the growing shabbiness of dwellings which were beginning to demand major structural repairs (Irvine 1990:15) - a requirement most absentee owners appeared unable or unwilling to meet.

The growing degeneration of the area is related to more, however, than simple economics. From the 1830's, the accelerated abandonment of Bo-Kaap by 'white' residents led to their replacement by people of 'colour', and marginalisation which had previously operated primarily on an economic level, was detrimentally expanded. The rigid symmetry of the street pattern deteriorated as a 'laissez faire' attitude towards housing became widely adopted (Radford 1979:52). District Six, a densely built up area, developed in the post-emancipation decades largely as sub-economic 'coloured' housing

was to prove an extreme example of this. Indeed, in contrast the houses of Bo-Kaap (initially developed for white artisans) were structurally quite sound. The shift of people through the area was, however, to ensure a continuous, unhindered demise. The street directories (Appendix 2) confirm that Bo-Kaap continued to be occupied chiefly by people at the lower end of the socio-economic scale (see Judges 1977 for a more comprehensive analysis of occupation and colour). In nineteenth century Cape Town where class and colour were steadily conflated, poverty became rationalised to racial inadequacy (Bickford-Smith 1981). The appalling neglect of the landlords was justified: "We're dealing with coloured people who know no laws of cleanliness, who like to 'herd together' ... The people were not poor, but 'wasteful', 'indifferent', and worst of all filthy (Cape Times 1898, quoted in Bickford-Smith 1981:44-45).

Increasingly, therefore, a distinction was drawn between the "respectable, deserving poor" - white and the "degenerate residuum" - other than white (which in Bo-Kaap had been demarcated 'Malay') - the problem of poverty had become ethnicised (Bickford-Smith 1989:50). Throughout the nineteenth century, and indeed up until 1934, when the area was officially declared a slum, there was thus little concern among merchant owners for improvement - "many of the slum landlords were commissioners who owned land in the town and were naturally opposed to radical plans for demolition of insanitary premises" (Vokaty 1985:97). Genuine liberal concern may well have been articulated at local state levels (Jeppie 1988:23), but as Bickford-Smith (1981) has shown the class attitudes and coincident racial prejudices of the dominant white middle class were expressions of a genuine fear of "dangerous Cape Town". Fortuitously they coincided with the possibility for economic gain. In 1949 David Lewis summarised the situation:

"The Malay Quarter presents a sad sight of decay and disintegration. The responsibility for these conditions cannot be ascribed to the Cape Malay ... The number of Malay owned properties is negligible. In fact, it is safe to say that the whole area is privately owned by speculators, who collect the rents and are not concerned with the condition of the houses on their properties (quoted in Jeppie 1988:23).

THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE

"... the fundamental relational attribute of power [is] that it cannot be possessed, ... the successful exercise of power is dependent upon the relative importance of conflicting values *in the mind of the recipient* in the power relationship (Bachrach and Baratz 1970:19) (original emphasis).

Ross (1989:46) has suggested that the inhabitants of pre-industrial Cape Town "classified themselves and each other in terms of gender, colour, class, occupation, legal status, religion and ethnicity". Considered against an open ended interpretation of power, the potential of material culture to refute and deny is suggested. In Bo-Kaap, the suggestion is validated. Thus interpretation moves beyond the general truth of unhindered demise to consider inconsistencies. In so doing it avoids the simplistic interpretations of determinism.

Trollope, visiting Cape Town in the late 1870's wrote that the city "was not inhabited by white men" - as late as 1891, however, the Cape Argus commented: "It is too late to separate the white from the coloured population, as should have been done from the first" (Bickford-Smith 1989:50). In inner-city areas, despite the growing demands for residential segregation, a tradition of 'multi-racialism' persisted. The material culture articulated the ambiguities of the calls for closed classification and the unconscious misapprehensions of integration. In the last decades of the nineteenth century transfers of properties soared - there were 36 sales between 1890 and 1903 (figure 2). The mineral revolution of the 1890's and the wealth it generated, was reflected in flux, a whole sale movement away from an increasingly degenerate area. The number of Muslim owners increased (see Appendix 1) and the value of the area depreciated (Figure 3). The established pattern of neglect appeared to be consolidating in agreement with the demands from above. The architecture, however, suggests a situation of greater complexity.

By 1885 Bo-Kaap had reached its present size. The area, however, was far from stagnant and a number of new houses were built during the last decade of the century: 77 Dorp Street (BK90/10); 106 Chiappini Street (BK90/20); 134 Church street (BK90/22); 212 Longmarket Street (BK90/26); 12 Dawes Street (BK90/29) and 29, 31 and 31A Pentz Street (BK90/30-32). In both 'form' and 'style' they exhibited parallels with the dwellings erected during the first half of the century: 134 Church Street provides a good example where the central passage plan and flat roof was retained; similarly the Pentz Street and Dawes Street plans maintained the narrow frontage and extended depth of earlier houses. More striking than continuity, however, were the changes in decorative detail: flat roofs became pitched, verandahs and balconies with delicate iron trellis work were built, bay windows overlooked front gardens and the contiguous rows of houses predominant in the lower streets of Bo-Kaap became terraced in a sensitive movement towards Victorian design.

Japha and Japha (1989) in a discussion of the discourse of architectural detail, have proposed 'modernity' as a category of interpretation and posited analogies with the notion of 'progress', a deeply-rooted nineteenth century concern. For the later architectural innovations of Bo-Kaap, such a baseline of analysis is particularly suggestive. The houses represented a departure from the rigid symmetry of earlier designs, a celebration of privacy and public function, of decorative inventiveness (Japha and Japha 1989:14) in an increasingly marginalised area. This observation is compounded by the number of older houses altered during this period: flat roofs became pitched above parapets and decorative detail was added, often in the form of ornamental mouldings around doors and windows (see the Buildings of Cape Town Volume III which cites numerous examples). To some extent these alterations were a reflection of changing owner-occupant ratios (Appendix 2). Although the majority of houses continued to be leased, an increased proportion were owned by residents of Bo-Kaap. Interestingly a

number of them were 'white': Richard Morris, for example, an English builder, owned 134 Church Street (BK90/22) and 12 Dawes Street (BK90/29). His total holdings in 1896 were 15 (Radford 1979:59) and in 1898 he built *Chastleton*, a large house in Dawes Street as a personal residence (Radford 1979:151). Changing ratios are also suggested in examples of structural alterations effected when ownership and occupancy coincided: a new kitchen was built at 56 Dorp Street (BK90/9), probably in the period between 1913 and 1930 (Irvine 1990:47); plans were passed for the addition of a side room to 77 Dorp street (BK90/10) shortly after the turn of the century and internal alterations were undertaken at 4 Stadzicht Street (BK90/28). Such spatial modifications were probably related to the continued overcrowding of the area, they are significant simply because they suggest a new 'internal' wealth (however limited) providing solutions previously out of reach.

The widespread decay of Bo-Kaap was clearly more complex than contemporary accounts of squalor suggest. Nineteenth century Cape Town, in promoting both 'whiteness' and 'respectability' as criteria for ordering society (Bickford-Smith 1989:62) produced ambivalence in areas that remained racially mixed. Social mobility was offered to some (white) and denied to others (non-white), although the latter were still "urged to aspire to dominant class values to gain social respectability" (Bickford-Smith 1989:62). The architecture of Bo-Kaap concretely articulated the growing complexity of social structures: being 'like, but not like' became a concept in the architectural system (Japha and Japha 1989:16). In the physical landscape dwellings of extreme neglect and dilapidation were juxtaposed with houses (both constructed and modified) which reflected the social ambitions of an integrated community. How strong such a claim really was is a moot point, although the standard of architecture suggests a level of contradiction: by 1970 for example 212 Longmarket Street (BK90/26), a later 'Victorian' house, was in particularly poor condition and was eventually demolished by the owners. In the twentieth century, the triumph of segregation sealed a fate which for decades had been ardently contended.

The politics of resistance were not, however, limited to structural detail and stylistic alteration - a channel which was ultimately to prove unsuccessful. As Borchet (1986) has pointed out, such a focus overlooks the power of a group to transform and transcend an environment in behavioural and symbolic arenas¹.

Considered from this point of view the thread of defiance which has run through Bo-Kaap becomes clear. It was suggested as early as the 1830's in the concentrated influx of emancipated slaves repudiating servant status. In the massively overcrowded conditions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the stand was consolidated. Occupants constructed a series of interrelated and integrated social worlds. Extended kinship networks pooled the limited resources of economic income and physical space, while the community acted as a second level of organization where intensive face to face contact and interaction in the streets, alleys and courtyards promoted stability (c/f Borchett 1986). The built environment was physically appropriated and dominated by a group marginalised on social, economic, religious and finally political levels. The point is well illustrated by the contrasting use of space in the architecturally similar area north of Strand Street where 'camouflage and misdirection' (Borchett 1986) has been used by a closed 'white' community to promote distance and 'respectability'. For the non-resident, Bo-Kaap became a dark underworld of poverty, disease and crime, for the inhabitants, it provided the opportunity to annex power. The construction of informal shacks and lean-to sheds was common²: materially, a reaction to overcrowding, symbolically they represented the appropriation of the power of material culture amongst the lower orders of an artificially constructed society.

1 Borchet (1986) in a discussion of alley landscapes in Washington has shown how the movement of people through an area can fundamentally alter the social interpretation and use of space. In Washington the change was between working class minimalism and white collar affluence. The parallels with Bo-Kaap are striking.

2 The practice of informal housing continues today - the central area of the block defined by Helliger Lane, Chiappini, Wale and Pentz Streets provides an example of sustained inner-city poverty.

STRUCTURALISM REASSESSED

Glassie (1986:394) has suggested that house types are not merely plans for building, but "plans for production". Critical study can, therefore, reveal the wishes of a community and it becomes possible to "reveal the design process from the moment that a house is an idea in the mind to the moment when it is a building on the ground" (Glassie 1986:394). Such interpretations have been developed within a structuralist framework of analysis and have been fundamental in the widespread recognition of a cultural understanding of the built environment. A consideration of Bo-Kaap architecture has, however, more rigorously debated the premises and claims of such a methodology and interpretation has suggested the inadequacies and limitations of a structuralist approach.

Essentially analysis has demanded the firm lodging of architectural form against historical detail. In so doing it has moved understanding of architecture beyond the moment of conceptualization to a consideration of its sustained role in society. Thus it is no longer necessary to fix interpretation and the rich texture of social mobility and conflict can be considered. Understanding has not been tied to a particular mind (which in Bo-Kaap would have been demarcated as the designer merchant landlords) and the appropriation of architectural form and space by Muslim tenants and owners, as a cultural expression, in a society concerned with the marginalization and exclusion of non-white power has been recognized. The analysis has reintroduced active society as a primary consideration in vernacular architectural studies.

GRAPH EXPLANATIONS

Figure 1

The number of insolvent estates were determined from deeds research (Appendix 1). These are represented by the first bar in each year. Individual insolvencies were then compared with the number of properties (and by extension tenants) affected by bankruptcy - this is represented by the second bar in each year. Periods of increased economic stress and the concentrated ownership of properties is thus suggested.

Figure 2

The number of sales transacted during ten year periods provide an indication of property movement and stability within Bo-Kaap.

Figure 3

In order to obtain a general index of property values, a unit price, calculated by dividing the purchase price by the size of the property, was determined. An average unit price for each year was then calculated to provide a year mean. This figure was statistically smoothed by computing a five term (five year) moving average in order to dampen fluctuations and obtain a smooth component that reflected the systematic movement of the time series¹. Thus the variable size of properties and the degree of construction were registered without obscuring the underlying movement or general trend of the series.

¹ A moving average of a time series is obtained by replacing each successive overlapping sequence of k observations in the series by the mean of that sequence. The first sequence contains observations $Y_1, Y_2 \dots Y_k$; the second sequence contains observations $Y_2, Y_3 \dots Y_{k+1}$ and so on. Here k denotes the *term* of the moving average (Neter et al 1988:814).

Insolvencies

Data sample = 32 houses

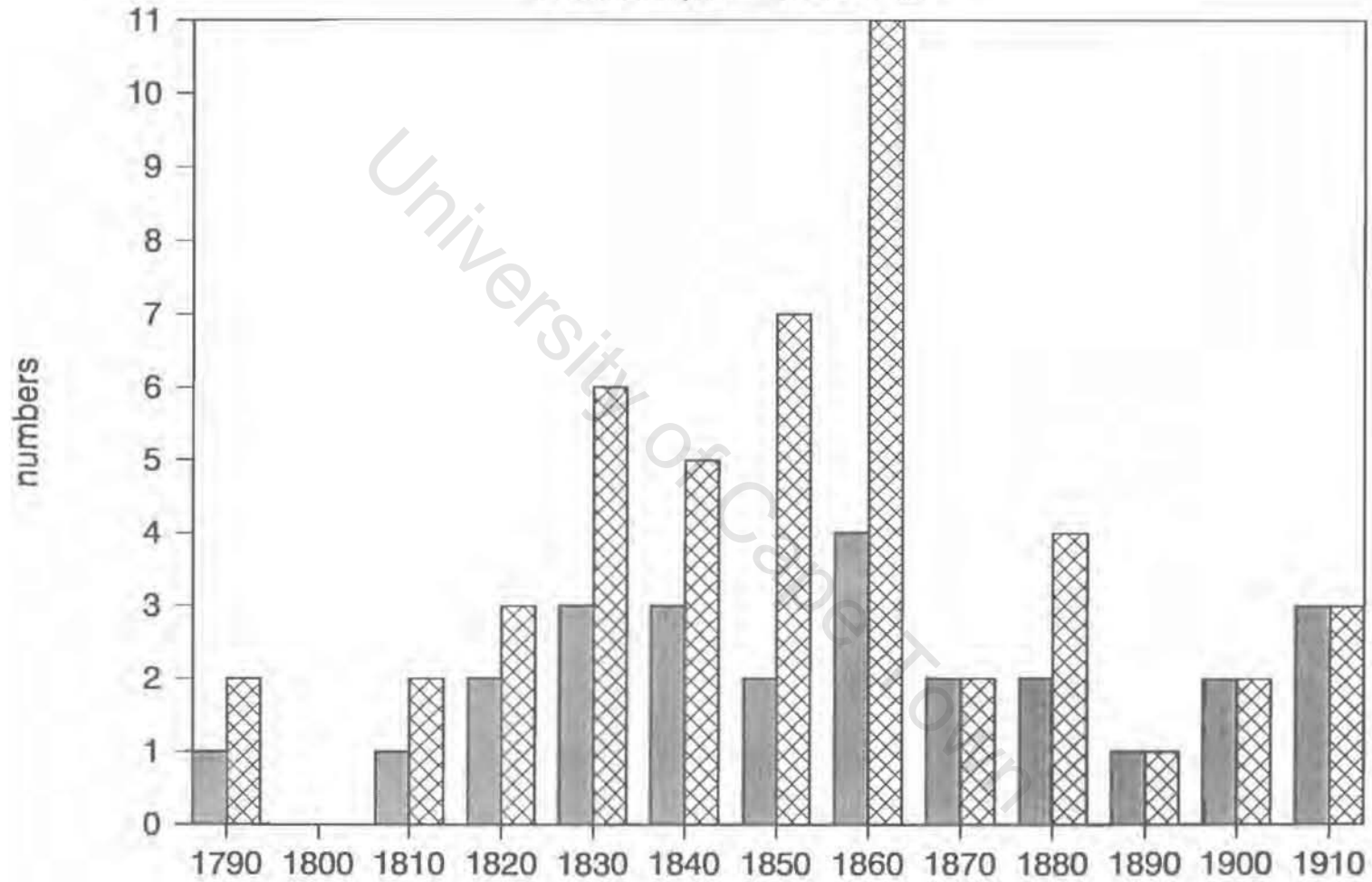


FIGURE 1

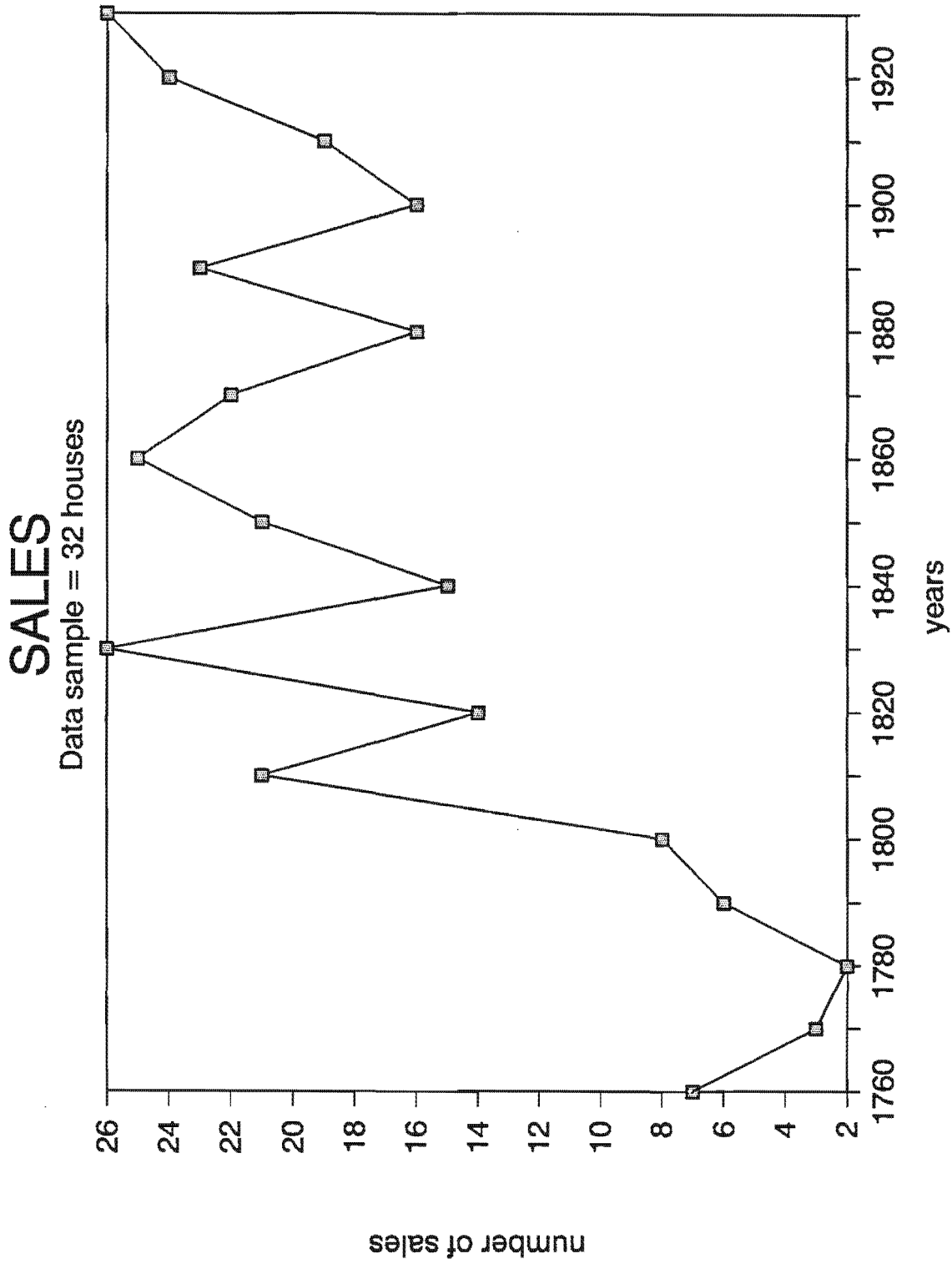


FIGURE 2

Sale Prices

Data sample = 32 houses

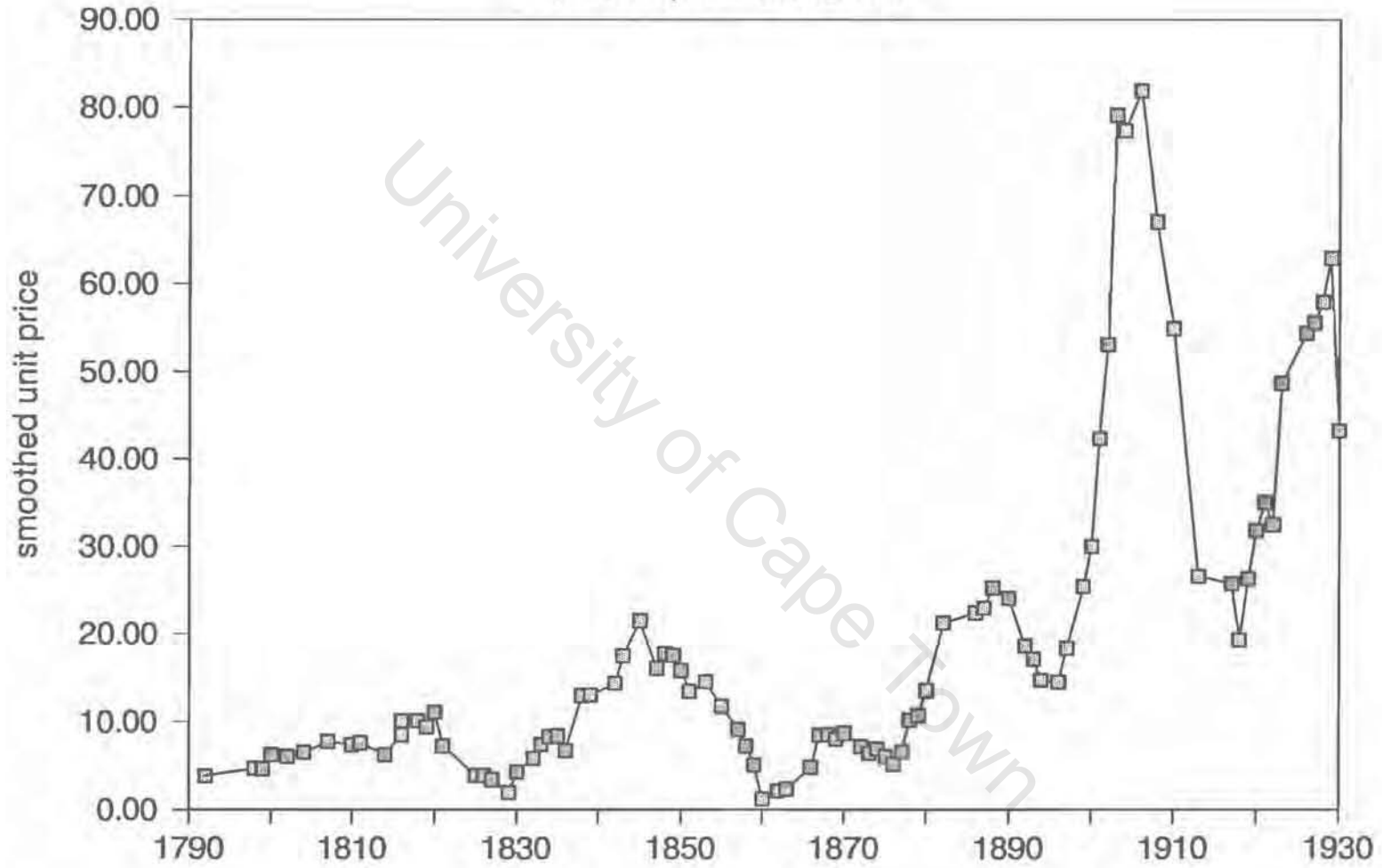


FIGURE 3

CHAPTER SIX

"The architect designer must always look to his source for living architecture - to people, time, place, activity and technological situation" (Oakley 1970:187). For a scholar removed in time the same principles hold true. An interpretation lodged against an awareness of potential technical, social, economic and political constraints allows a consideration of how these may have been mediated: in suggesting an answer, one finds meaning in the abstraction of 'architecture'. Essentially one may move beyond the simplistic notion that 'form' follows function.

The initiative for a 'cultural' understanding of architecture has been led by structuralist projects. Concentrating primarily on vernacular forms, four general questions have been posed: How is it made? How does it work? How does it change? How is it thought? (Upton and Vlach 1986:xv). Within the structuralist framework the final query has been the most important and interpretations of 'mind' have provided the foundation of explanation with additional determinants added in an irregular and unsatisfactory manner. An attempt to move beyond this has reintroduced history as a preeminent consideration. The possibility of reaching an archaeology of the mind is not dismissed, it is simply argued that 'mind', or patterns of thought, both conscious and unconscious, are developed and changed by the reality of the social environment. In demonstrating coherent links it is no longer necessary to argue for 'deep', universal structures ordering action at unconscious levels and the problems inherent in such an approach become negotiable.

The reintroduction of history has been effected in two general areas: context and individuals. The former deals with social milieu, the latter with the action of people. Hill and Green (1977, quoted in Harrison 1980:165) have pointed out that this is not a question of individual individuals (although in Bo-Kaap this degree of resolution was

sometimes possible), but of introducing the individual into social theory. In real terms it is the reintroduction of social division, the importance of which has been amply demonstrated in Bo-Kaap. The recognition of 'levels' of mentality or differences of interpretation within a single cognitive system has made it imperative to question *whose* mind the structuralist project reclaims. Bo-Kaap has made the necessity explicit: essentially it has disclaimed the builder-occupant myth inherent in vernacular studies. The wealthy owners of Bo-Kaap dwellings were seldom the occupants, still more rarely could they be directly associated with the mechanics of construction. It would be unwise however to conclude that their role in design was unimportant: the conclusion has forced a recognition of the articulate nature of architecture. In so doing it has challenged the structuralist claims for an unconscious 'grammar' of design.

The collapse of grammatical competence has also permitted the reintroduction of temporal division. The rule set generated as an explanation of form suggested it was possible to ignore time: houses between the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could be reduced to a single abstracted 'form', a single explanation. Reanalysis has illustrated how wholly unsatisfactory such an approach is. It ignores the eloquence of 'style' and the meaning that presence and absence of detail may suggest. Wobst (1977) has demonstrated the function of stylistic behaviour, the manner in which it articulates with other variables in the cultural and ecosystem. In Bo-Kaap this has been ratified: 'style' has become an *explanandum* (Wobst 1977:319).

The reintroduction of time has been important in another more fundamental area of interpretation. It has permitted understanding to move beyond an overriding concern with the generation of architectural form, to consider layers of meaning accumulated through time. It allows for an ever-shifting understanding of architecture: in the eighteenth century the houses of Bo-Kaap were a response to urban influx and a statement of new social allegiances, in the twentieth century the same houses have been

appropriated by different power groups, for different reasons and with varying degrees of success: the inhabitants of Bo-Kaap have demarcated social and physical space in a marginalised system of apartheid while slum renewal schemes peddle pretty rows of houses as quaint and 'eastern', as eminently suited to a 'Malay' way of life, as a reflection of the desire to foster separation (Du Plessis 1944) - a claim which contrasts markedly with the dissatisfaction of some residents who find the houses "too small and too dark". The architectural presence has illuminated silence and ambiguity, it has permitted a reading of the landscape as a product of conflict among competing concepts of land use and social order. The houses have become ideological statements - interpretations of the world and the way it ought to be (Rubin 1986:482).

Pettit (1977:113) has suggested that the disappointing thing about the structuralist framework is that "the answers to its questions do not seem capable of being assumed in a theory in any area outside language itself". Certainly its potential within architectural studies has been rigorously questioned. The inadequacies explored recommend the need for new directions of study and open the possibility for a reinterpretation of Verlorenvlei and Middle Virginian architecture based against a consideration of historical detail and the recognition that people are not sticks moving under the impact of unconscious stimuli or rules, rather that they "construe and exploit their surrounds in terms of their interests and motives, and act in terms of their definition of situations" (Wapner et al 1980:237). In making sense of the built environment and one's place in it, there is a process of interpretation and adaptation. The ability of archaeology to read meaning in inanimate objects has permitted an understanding of this process.

GLOSSARY

Architrave: the ornamental mouldings around the faces of the jambs and lintel of a doorway or other opening (Harris 1975:24).

Bay: a vertical division of the exterior or interior of a building marked not by walls, but by fenestration, an order, buttresses, units of vaulting, roof compartment etc. (Pevsner et al 1966).

Bead Moulding: a small, convex moulding of semicircular or greater profile (Harris 1975:46).

Bolection Moulding: a moulding which projects beyond the surface of the work it decorates; often used to conceal a joint where the joining surfaces are at a different level (Harris 1975:60).

Casement Windows: a window which swings open along its entire length; usually on hinges fixed to the side of the opening into which it is fitted (Harris 1975:88).

Chamfer Mould: the surface made when the sharp edge or arris of a stone block or piece of wood is cut away, usually at an angle of 45 degrees to the other two surfaces (Pevsner et al 1967:92).

Consoles: a decorative bracket in the form of a vertical scroll, projecting from a wall to support a cornice, a door or window head, a piece of sculpture etc. (Harris 1975:123).

Cornice: exterior trim of a structure at the meeting of the roof and wall (Harris 1975:131).

Hipped Roof: a roof which slopes upward from all four sides of a building requiring a hip rafter at each corner (Harris 1975:251).

Hoods: the projecting moulding of the arch over a door or window, whether inside or outside (Harris 1975:253).

Ovolo Frame: a convex moulding (Harris 1975:344).

Parapet: in an exterior wall, fire wall or party wall, the part entirely above the roof (Harris 1975:349).

Quoins: the dressed stones at the corner of buildings usually laid so their faces are alternately large and small (Pevsner et al 1966).

Raised Panel/Fielded Panel: a panel with the central portion thicker than the edges or projecting above the surrounding frame or wall surface; when exposed on both sides (as on both sides of a door) it is called a double raised panel (Harris 1975:344).

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APPENDIX ONE

TRANSFERS OF OWNERSHIP

BK90/1 (1 Lion Lane) and BK90/2 (2 Lion Lane)
Erf 2786

Formerly marked Lot D, these two houses and the land on which they are erected appear to have been sold together throughout their transfer history (the size of the combined properties measuring 12 SR, 50 SF and 44 SI remains consistent throughout all transactions). It is uncertain when the houses were built as deeds of sale could only be traced back to 1820 when the sale of "twee huizen en erven" was executed. However the properties form part of the area 'Walendorp' much of which was developed by Jan de Waal between 1763 and 1768 and it is probable the houses were built as 'huur-huisjies' (houses for rent).

Deed 244 15 December 1820

Johanna Christina Heegers to Absalon of the Cape (a free black)

Size: whole (i.e. 12 SR, 50 SF, 44 SI)

Price: 13 000 Cape guilders

- the situation of the properties is referred to as No.4 Walendorp

- Absalon takes out a mortgage from Heegers for 9000 guilders

- Absalon signs with a cross

Deed 210 10 December 1830

Absalon of the Cape to Batjoe Cambang

Size: whole

Price: 6000 Cape guilders or 150 pound sterling

- sale is subject to the conditions that the wall to the NE of the property as well as the proposed wall to the SW will be common and that the passage of 6 feet will remain open and will not be obstructed in any way

- together with the deed of sale is a memorial from Cambang applying for a deed of Burghership (Cambang is from Batavia) and a request that the properties may be transferred duty free

- a deed of burghership is furnished free of charge (20 October 1830) but the transfer duty of 6 pounds is paid

- Cambang takes out a mortgage bond from one Joachim Wilhelm Stoll Esquire for 75 pounds or 6000 guilders at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 41 8 February 1833

Batjoe Cambang to Pieter de Geest

Size: whole

Price: 4000 Cape guilders or 100 pounds sterling

- de Geest takes over the bond repayments from Cambang

There is a gap in the transaction record from 1833 to 1913 when a Sheriff's Sale to Slamon Jonas is recorded. A conveyancer's report states that there is no record of the property ever having been transferred away by Pieter de Geest, "but that the same is still registered in his name"

Deed 2200 2 April 1913

Sheriff of the Supreme Court to Slamon Jonas

Size: whole

Price: 43 pounds sterling

The sale has been initiated by an enquiry of the Cape Town City Council with regard to the Derelict Lands Act. This together with the low purchase price suggests the properties had fallen into disrepair. It is possible the houses had remained in the de Geest family or had been privately sold, but never officially transferred (perhaps because of transfer duties)

The deed summaries list the sale of the properties by Jonas to the Cape Town City Council in August 1939 - although the actual deed of sale could not be located transfer would have been executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934.

BK90/3 (67 Wale Street) and BK90/4 (69 Wale Street)
Erf 2785

Formerly registered as erf No.2 of Schotsekloof, these houses stand on land purchased by Jan de Waal in 1760 and were probably built as 'huur-huisies', eventually being sold when de Waal died in 1768. Like BK90/1 and BK90/2 the houses are located on the same erf number and separate transaction histories could not be traced, although they appear to have been sold together as the size of the holding remains consistent.

Deed 92 22 June 1768
Estate of the late Jan de Waal to Cornelius de Leeuw
Size: 16 SR, 109 SF, 45 SI
Price: 1100 Cape guilders

Deed 150 3 October 1774
Estate of Hector Cornelius de Leeuw to Frans Helligers
Size: whole
Price: 1466 Cape guilders

Deed 31 19 July 1786
Frans Helligers to Daniel Roodt
Size: whole
Price: 6000 Cape guilders

Deed 90 19 June 1792
Insolvent Estate of Daniel Roodt to Andreas Jantzen
Size: whole
Price: 4150 Cape guilders

Deed 170 12 July 1811
Andreas Jantzen to Johan Jurgen Jacobse
Size: 14 SR, 142 SF, 51 SI
Price: 13 000 Cape guilders
- Jantzen kept a small piece of land measuring 1 SR, 110 SF, 138 SI

Deed 56 26 July 1816
Johan Jurgen Jacobse to Johan Hendrik Lange
Size: 14 SR, 142 SF, 51 SI
Price: 13 000 Cape guilders
- Lange makes an initial payment of 3000 guilders and mortgages the rest of the purchase amount to Jacobse at an interest rate of 6% p.a. (Andries Jantzen stands surety)

Deed 132 10 September 1819
Estate of the late Andries Jantzen to Jan Hendrik Lange

Size: 1 SR, 110 SF, 138 SI

Price: 2932 Cape guilders

- the purchase amount is paid in two equal sums
- the transaction registers the sale of a house and erf referred to as Dorp St No.1

Deed 73 13 October 1845

Insolvent Estate of August Christoffel Kock to Thomas Frederick Bolton

Size: whole

Price: 390 pounds sterling

- widow of Jan Hendrik Lange (previous transferee) was married to Kock in community of property
- Bolton takes out a mortgage bond from Philippus Albertus Brand and George Louis Steytler (joint trustees in the Insolvent Estate of Kock) for 260 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 168 19 March 1849

Insolvent Estate of Thomas Frederick Bolton to Ariend van der Hoeven

Size: whole

Price: 325 pounds sterling

- van der Hoeven takes out a mortgage bond from the Board of Executors to the value of 216 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pence at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 271 22 August 1888

Estate of the late Ariend van der Hoeven to Nicolisia van der Hoeven

Size: whole

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- executor of the estate was Anna Elizabeth van der Hoeven, widow of Ariend, Nicolisia may have been related

Deed 3582 15 May 1899

Nicolisia van der Hoeven to Slamon Jonas

Size: whole

Price: 707 pounds sterling

- council evaluation of the two properties : 300 pounds

The deed summaries list the sale of these properties by Jonas to the Cape Town City Council on 11 August 1939 (no. 8401). Unfortunately the actual deed could not be located (deed 8401 does not relate to these properties) - the sale would however have been executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934.

BK90/5 (71 Wale Street)

Formerly registered as part of Lot No.1 of Schotsekloof this house stands on land granted to Jan de Waal in 1763.

Deed 74 9 June 1768

Estate of the late Jan de Waal to Johannes Vermeulen

Size: 16 SR, 82 SF, 135 SI

Price: 700 Cape guilders - to be paid in two equal sums

- an accompanying diagram showing the dimensions and situation of the plot indicates that a piece of the land measuring 1 SR, 119 SF, 108 SI is to be deducted "for public use" (although this use is not specified it is presumably to facilitate the creation of a common passage) - officially however the size of the holding remains consistent until 1832

Deed 56 27 February 1807

Sybrand Vermeulen to Andries Jantzen

Size: whole

Price: 6600 Cape guilders

- Sybrand Vermeulen received transfer of the house in terms of Johannes Vermeulen's will dated 14 August 1780
- Jantzen pays 2200 guilders of the purchase price immediately and takes out a mortgage bond for the balance (4400 guilders) from the executors of Vermeulen's Estate to be paid in two equal sums on 1 November 1807 and 1 November 1808

Deed 158 10 September 1819

Estate of the late Andries Jantzen and widow Johanna Christina Heegers to Maria Mathilda Francina Jantzen

Size: whole

Price: 6000 Cape guilders

Deed 18 12 October 1832

Insolvent Estate of Bartholomeu Hendrik Eyberg to Gerrit Hendrik Meyer Nicolaas son

Size: 14 SR, 107 SF, 72 SI (note official deduction of the strip of land mentioned above)

Price: 152 pounds, 10 shillings sterling or 6100 Cape guilders

- Eyberg was married in community of property to the previous transferee M.M.F.Jantzen

Deed 145 14 January 1848

Estate of the late Gerrit Hendrik Meyer and surviving spouse Catharina Susanna Louw to Bartholomeu Hendrik Eyberg

Size: 24 SR, 5 SF, 135 SI

Price: 250 pounds sterling or 10 000 Cape guilders

- Lot 1 is sold together with a plot of ground adjoining it in the rear measuring 9 SR, 42 SF, 108 SI

- Eyberg takes out a mortgage bond from the Board of Executors for 125 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

- Eyberg is presumably the same Eyberg of deed 18, October 1832 (now solvent)

Deed 206 12 March 1853

Bartholomeu Hendrik Eyberg to Abdol Cariem Christiaan

Size: whole (i.e. 24 SR, 5 SF, 135 SI)

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- sale is of lot 1 and ground adjoining it in the rear
- Christiaan takes out two mortgage bonds, the first from the Cape of Good Hope Savings Bank Society for 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. and the second from William Smith for 100 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid on the 31 March every year

Deed 89 6 August 1873

Abdol Cariem Christiaan to Awaldien

Size: whole

Price: 200 pounds sterling

- sale is of lot 1 and ground adjoining it in the rear
- Awaldien secures a mortgage bond from the Cape of Good Hope Savings Bank Society for 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 342 18 June 1877

Awaldien to Hadje Magmoet Abardir

Size: whole

Price: 315 pounds sterling

- Abardir takes over the bond repayments from Awaldien amounting to 183 pounds, 11 shillings, 8 pence sterling

Deed 2670 3 December 1894

Insolvent Estate of Magmoet Abader to Hadje Magmoet

Size: whole

Price: 460 pounds sterling

- lot 1 sold with adjoining ground as above

Deed 7734 26 September 1917

Estate of the late Hadje Magmoet to Mohammed Dervies

Size: 14 SR, 107 SF, 27 SI

- in terms of Magmoet's will dated 6 August 1913 the property is to be divided equally among his three children. Dervies, Hadje Marldea and Magjoub Abdmahman, but a mutual decision to divide the estate (Magmoet also owned properties in Castle Street) resulted in the transfer of the plot whole

Deed 4529 7 May 1938

Mohammed Dervies to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 1314 pounds, 15 shillings, 2 pence sterling

- a sum of 64 pounds, 15 shillings, 2 pence sterling is deducted from the purchase price for rates, interest and water supply charges due
- sale is executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

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BK90/6 (79 Wale Street) and BK90/7 (81 Wale Street)
Erf 2776 and Erf 2771 respectively

Formerly No.38 Walendorp (BK90/6), measuring 8 SR, 54 SF, 47 SI and No. 39 Walendorp (BK90/7), measuring 8 SR, 143 SF, 41 SI. These two properties have been sold collectively throughout most of their transaction histories and have therefore been referenced together. Initial deeds of sale were individual and have been indicated separately.

Deed 71 4 February 1799
Abram Bosman to Lucas Gertenbach
Size: 8 SR, 54 SF, 47 SI (BK90/6)
Price: 1000 Cape guilders

Deed 70 4 February 1799
Abram Bosman to Johan Michiel Matthysen
Size: 8 SR, 143 SF, 41 SI (BK90/7)
Price: 3000 Cape guilders
- the 1799 deeds record the sale of land with houses - unfortunately transfers of the properties to Bosman could not be located, but the properties form part of the area 'Walendorp' transferred to Jan de Wall in 1760 and 1761 and it is likely the houses were built during this period.

Deed 386 22 October 1802
Johanna Reineila Klynsmat, wife of Johan Lucas Gertenbach, to Jacob Brunn
Size: 8 SR, 105 SF, 40 SI (BK90/6)
Price: 3100 Cape guilders
- property is referred to as No.21 Walendorp
- deed lists the transfer of the property from Brunn to one Frans Thuynsman on 6 July 1803 (no. 64) - this deed could not however be located and a 17 year gap in the record follows (it has also not been possible to trace sales back through time) - the property must however have been transferred to Andries Jantzen at some stage between 1802 and 1819 when it was sold, together with BK90/7, by J.C.Heegers, widow of Jantzen

Deed 120 7 June 1811
Insolvent Estate of Johan Michiel Matthys to Andries Jantzen
Size: 8 SR, 143 SF (BK90/7)
Price: 3575 Cape guilders
- purchase amount to be paid in three installments on 26 January 1810, 1811 and 1812

Deed 131 10 September 1819
Johanna Christina Heegers to Jan Hendrik Lange
Size: 17 SR, 53 SF, 88 SI (BK90/6 and BK90/7)
Price: 2932 Cape guilders

- purchase sum is to be paid in two equal installments on 13 May 1820 and 13 May 1821

Deed 42 8 July 1836

August Christoffel Kock to Bartholomeu Siebriets Junior

Size: whole (i.e. 17 SR, 53 SF, 88 SI)

Price: 200 pounds sterling

- Kock was married in community of property to Maria Jantzen, widow of previous transferee Jan Hendrik Lange

Deed 213 27 March 1838

Bartholomeu Siebrets Junior to Maria Catharina Reeder, widow of the late Petrus Jacobus Joubert

Size: whole

Price: 725 pounds sterling

Deed 411 31 December 1867

Estate of the late Frederick Schwek to Ariend van der Hoeven

Size: whole

Price: 572 pounds sterling

- Schwek married in community of property to previous transferee M.C.Reeder

- van der Hoeven takes out a mortgage bond from the Board of Executors for 261 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pence at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 66 7 June 1887

Estate of the late Ariend van der Hoeven to Kenne Nicolaas de Kock

Size: whole

Price: 400 pounds sterling

Deed 229 19 January 1895

Estate of the late Kenne Nicolaas de Kock to Kenne Nicolaas de Kock Junior

Size: whole

- properties transferred in terms of de Kock's last will and testament dated 20 February 1894

- transfer also includes four other properties in Walendorp and Schotsekloof viz: 68, 51 and 49 Wale Street and 12 van der Meulen Street

- all six properties are valued at 1090 pounds sterling

- de Kock's death notice gives his occupation as 'householder'

- de Kock signs with a cross

Deed 6676 7 July 1902

Kenne Nicolaas de Kock to Hesham Neamatollah Effendi

Size: whole

Price: 1225 pounds sterling

- Effendi mortgages the properties the same day for 825 pounds
- no details provided

Deed 12425 26 August 1903

Hesham Neamatollah Effendi to Frank don Lamb

Size: whole

Price: 1575 pounds sterling

- don Lamb mortgages the property for 1000 pounds

Deed 2006 13 March 1918

Frank don Lamb to Kariem Edwards

Size: whole

Price: 515 pounds sterling

- the properties are still referred to as No. 38 and No.39 Walendorp

Deed 1138 18 February 1936

Estate of the late Karriem Edwards to Gamat Ganief Edwards

Size: whole

- properties are transferred in terms of K.Edwards' will dated 18 August 1934 (G.G.Edwards is his father)
- properties are now referred to as 79 and 81 Wale Street
- municipal valuation of the houses - 700 pounds sterling

The deed summaries list the sale of these properties by Gamat Ganief Edwards to the City Council of Cape Town in 1939. A deed of transfer could not be located but would have been executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934.

BK90/8 (106 Wale Street)
Erf 1954

Formerly registered as a portion of Lot No.1 of 'Schotsekloof', this house stands on land, measuring 57 SR, 136 SF, granted to Andries Jantzen on the 4 May 1810 (deed 170) for 1050 Cape guilders. In 1818 the land was divided into smaller units which were sold individually viz: erf 1946 (BK90/25), erf 1947 (BK90/24), erf 1948 (BK90/23) and erf 1954 (BK90/8).

Deed 145 10 September 1819
Estate of the late Andries Jantzen to Hendrik Heckroodt senior
Size: 11 SR, 11 SF
Price: 825 Cape guilders
- transaction concerns the sale of a house and erf - it is safe to assume therefore that the house was built during the ownership of Jantzen
- sale is subject to the condition that the passage to the NE of the plot will be common
- Heckroodt pays 175 pounds of the purchase price immediately and mortgages the balance to J.C.Heegers (widow of Jantzen) to be paid in two equal sums on 13 May 1820 and 13 May 1821

Deed 111 11 November 1825
Hendrik Heckroodt senior to Benjamin Heckroodt
Size: whole (i.e. 11 SR, 11 SF)
Price: 1200 Cape guilders
- Heckroodt secures a mortgage bond from Jan Hoets for 6000 guilders at an interest rate of 6% p.a. (H.Heckroodt and Jan Willem Jacobson stand surety)

Deed 139 20 December 1842
Insolvent Estate of Benjamin Heckroodt to Johan Coenraad Wicht
Size: whole
Price: 293 pounds, 2 shillings, 6 pence sterling or 11 725 guilders

Deed 5055 21 June 1897
Estate of the late Johan Coenraad Wicht to Hyman Lieberman and Abraham Buirshi
Size: whole
Price: 1310 pounds sterling
- property is sold with another house and erf in Wale Street measuring 8 SR, 89 SF, 75 SI
sale is subject to the condition that the walls of adjoining properties will be common

Deed 691 1 February 1926
Estate of the late Abraham Buirshi and Estate of the late Hyman Lieberman to Mohamed Hassan

Size: whole

Price: 825 pounds sterling

- transferors are owners of the trading company 'Lieberman and Buirski'

Deed 7128 24 August 1935

Assigned Estate of Mohamed Hassan to Hadje Samsodien Parker and Shaik Abdulla Parker in equal shares

Size: whole

Price: 515 pounds sterling

Deed 2121 8 March 1937

Hadje Samsodien Parker and Shaik Abdula Parker to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 782 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- property sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

BK90/9 (56 Dorp Street) (c/f Irvine 1990:72-80)
Erf 2809

Formerly a portion of land marked Lot 3, a sub-division of a larger piece of ground, measuring 327 SR, granted to Alexander Coel, by the Burgher Senate, on 8 December 1755 (Old Cape Freehold Volume 3/73). In 1760 the land between Wale and Dorp Streets was purchased by Jan de Waal (Townsend and Townsend 1977:3) and it is possible that the house was built during this period.

Deed 72 9 June 1768

Estate of the late Jan de Waal to Jurgen Stadler

Size: 327 SR, 71 SF 72 SI

Price: 3000 Cape guilders

- purchase amount to be paid in two installments of 1000 and 2000 guilders respectively
- deed records the sale of a house (situation unspecified) and erf

Deed 174 17 July 1777

Jurgen Stadler to Frans Hendrik Stapelberg

Size: 327 SR, 71 SF, 72 SI

Price: 12 000 Cape guilders

- deed registers the sale of a house, erf and 'stuk tuijnland'
- Stapelberg secures a mortgage from Joannes Petrus Terrurier Bedienaar for 10 000 guilders at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

There is a gap in the transaction record at this stage (there is no transfer number away from Stapelberg and deed 230, 22 August 1798, makes no mention of when the property was transferred to Hoeven).

Deed 230 22 August 1798

Herman Ter Hoeven to Carel Otto Valentein

Size: 11 SR, 106 SF, 105 SI

Price: 2334 Cape guilders

- sale is subject to the conditions that water from the property will be channeled to an adjoining erf in the NE and that the common passage to the NE of the plot will remain open
- purchase amount to be paid in two equal installments on 26 July 1799 and 26 July 1800

Deed 323 15 October 1800

Carel Otto Valentein to Andreas Jantzen

Size: 28 SR, 117 SF, 50 SI

Price: 10 000 Cape guilders

- deed registers the sale of two houses and erfs marked No. 1 and 2 Walendorp
- plot was divided into three smaller areas in 1819

Deed 130 10 September 1819

Estate of the late Andreas Jantzen to Jan Hendrik Lange

Size: 12 SR, 82 SF, 126 SI

Price: 41 Ryksdaaldens, 5 Schellingem, 2 Stuywers

- BK90/9 (now marked Lot 1) is sold together with an adjoining strip of land measuring 69 SF

Deed 192 8 February 1842

August Christoffel Kock to Johan Michiel Liebrandt

Size: whole (i.e. 12 SR, 82 SF, 126 SI)

Price: 187 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- Kock was married in community of property to Johanna Maria Jantzen, widow of previous transferee Jan Hendrik Lange

- Kock had taken out two loans of 50 pounds each on 8 July 1836 and 20 February 1837 from J.C.Schickerling; at the time of transfer only 25 pounds had been repaid - Liebrandt takes transfer of the mortgage bond and settles the interest due on the loan

Deed 52 6 August 1849

Johan Michiel Liebrandt to Bartholomeu Hendricus Eyberg

Size: whole

Price: 155 pounds, 12 shillings, 6 pence sterling

- Eyberg secures a mortgage bond from the Board of Executors for 103 pounds, 15 shillings at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be repaid in two equal installments

Deed 181 12 October 1855

Bartholomeu Hendrik Eyberg to Johannes Jacobus Jantzen

Size: whole

Price: 162 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- the Board of Executors agree to the purchase on condition that Jantzen borrows a further 100 pounds on Eyberg's existing loan

Deed 248 9 May 1879

Johannes Jacobus Jantzen to Jenodien

Size: whole

Price: 150 pounds sterling

- Jenodien secures a mortgage from the Board of Executors for 100 pounds

- Jenodien signs with a cross

Deed 110 10 January 1913

Insolvent Estate of Jenodien to Ebrahim Abdool Sied

Size: whole

Price: 350 pounds

BK90/10 (77 Dorp Street)
Erf 1878

Formerly registered as lots 8 and 11, sub-divisions of a larger piece of ground marked Lot 2, which formed a section of the land transferred to Petrus Johannes Pentz on 15 December 1820 and 13 September 1822. A diagram accompanying the 1822 deed indicates the land was surveyed in January 1789 by Jan Willem Wernich and a deed registering this has been located (deed 11, 23 January 1789). Unfortunately the document is in poor condition and difficult to read, but the land appears to have been divided into gross lots at this stage (Lots 1, 2, 3 etc) which were later sold as individual units.

Deed 262 15 December 1820

Executors of the Estate of Gideon Louw to Petrus Johannes Pentz

Size: 17 Morgens, 521 SR, 64 SF

Price: 67 000 guilders

- deed registers the sale of a house, erf and adjoining land in Schotsekloof (presumably the Schotsekloof homestead, now 79 Dorp Street)

- Pentz secures five mortgage loans, three from the Executors of Louw's Estate for 9000 guilders, 5000 guilders and 5550 guilders all at an interest rate of 6% p.a., one from Johan Jurgen Kotze for 7000 guilders at an interest rate of 6% p.a. and the fifth from Cornelius van der Poel for 29 150 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

- transfer to Louw could not be located

Deed 42 13 September 1822

Burgher Senate to Petrus Johannes Pentz

Size: 5 Morgan, 411 SR, 65 SF

Price: 350 Cape guilders

- note the nominal purchase price

Deed 28 5 March 1839

Petrus Johannes Pentz to Pieter Hendrik Ley

Size: 240 SR (lot 2)

Price: 475 pounds sterling

- No.2 is divided into 18 lots marked lots 1-18

- deed registers the sale of land with buildings thereon, but a more specific location is not provided

- sale is subject to the conditions that walls separating buildings on No.2 from the remaining property will be common and that the lot will receive water from the premises of P.J.Grove situated to the SE and from the property of P.J.Pentz, situated to the NW

Deed 37 5 April 1842

Pieter Hendrik Ley to Abraham van der Meulen

Size: 240 SR (lot 2)

Price: 512 pounds, 10 shillings sterling or 20 300 Cape guilders

- van der Meulen secures two mortgage bonds, one from the Guardian's Fund (under the administration of the Supreme Court) for 400 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. and the second from Alida Malet, widow of the late Johannes Leeuwen, for 100 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 87 17 September 1847

Estate of the late Abraham van der Meulen to Michiel Christiaan Vos

Size: 130 SR, 16 SF

Price: 730 pounds, 12 shillings, 6 pence sterling

- sale is of lots 8-18

Deed 51 4 February 1863

Estate of the late Michiel Christiaan Vos to Johan Adam Christiaan Rorich and Pieter Troost

Size: 30 SR, 69 SF, 12 SI

Price: 50 pounds sterling

- sale is of lots 8-11

- Rorich and Troost secure a mortgage bond from the Board of Executors for 33 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pence to be paid in two equal installments on 2 June 1863 and 2 June 1864

Deed 376 28 April 1865

Johan Adam Christiaan Rorich to Pieter Troost

Size: half share in land measuring 30 SR, 69 SF, 12 SI

Price: 15 pounds sterling

Deed 196 20 April 1872

Estate of the late Pieter Troost to Jacob Brink, Andries son

Size: 30 SR, 69 SF, 12 SI

Price: 10 pounds sterling

- low purchase price suggests there are no buildings erected on the land

Deed 73 7 March 1890

Estate of the late Jacob Brink to Anna Maria Brink, widow

Size: 30 SR, 69 SF, 12 SI

- lots 8-11 are transferred with lot 12 measuring 8 SR, 8 SF, 36 SI

Deed 254 17 June 1890

Anna Maria Brink to Benjamin Johan Solomon

Size: 38 SR, 77 SF, 48 SI

Price: 363 pounds sterling

- deed specifies the sale of lots 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 (with a house erected on 12) - this suggests there are no buildings on lots 8-11

Deed 9461 1 September 1939

Estate of the late Benjamin Johan Solomon to Meyer Friedman

Size: 83 SR, 34 SF, 10 SI

Price: 1410 pounds sterling

- sale of lots 8-13 and lots 15-18

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BK90/11 (70 Rose Street)
Erf 1970

Formerly registered as a portion of lots 1 and 2, this house stands on land surveyed on 11 November 1808 - it was around this period that the streets Wale, Church, Shortmarket, Longmarket, Hout and Castle were extended across Buitengracht, while parallel to Buitengracht Rose and Chiappini developed together with smaller lanes such as Helliger and Berg (Townsend and Townsend 1977:5-6). A portion of this land (107 SR, 96 SF) was transferred to Frans Helligers on 4 May 1810 (deed 172) for the nominal sum of 603 Cape guilders. The boundaries of the transferred area are demarcated NW to the quarry, SW to Helliger Steeg and SE and NE to an unnamed area at the end of the prolonged Church Street, a plot which corresponds to the present block bounded by Helliger Lane, Chiappini, Church and Rose Streets and including the properties BK90/11, BK90/12, BK90/13, BK90/14, BK90/15 and BK90/16. Initial deeds of transfer (May 1804 to October 1836) included the sale of the whole block and are therefore referenced only once (under the transactions for BK90/11). Between December 1866 and March 1867 the block was sold by order of the Supreme Court from the Insolvent Estate of Cornelius Petrus Brink - transactions postdating this were of smaller lots and individual properties are picked up at this point.

Deed 105 24 June 1814
Estate of the late Frans Helligers to Maarten Johannes Smit
Size: whole (i.e. 107 SR, 96 SF)
Price: 5300 guilders
- deed does not mention the sale of houses

Deed 179 31 March 1829
Insolvent Estate of Maarten Johannes Smit to Johannes Christoffel Fleck
Size: whole
Price: 286 pounds, 5 shillings sterling or 11 450 guilders
- transaction is of land with buildings now erected thereon
- Fleck secures a mortgage bond from Gerhard Ewoud Overbeek for the sum of 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 74 23 January 1835
Insolvent Estate of Johannes Christoffel Fleck to George Wolfgang Spengler
Size: whole
Price: 387 pounds, 10 shillings sterling or 15 500 guilders
- the receipt for the transfer duty indicates the plot has been divided into 9 lots of ground (marked lots 1-9) with buildings erected thereon
Spengler takes over the bond repayments from Fleck - Overbeek specifies the amount is to be paid in two equal installments on 18 August 1835 and 18 August 1836

Deed 59 14 October 1836

George Wolfgang Spengler to Cornelius Petrus Brink

Size: whole

Price: 900 pounds sterling

- Brink takes out four mortgage bonds "for land with eleven houses erected thereon and four more still to be erected ... between the prolonged Church Street and Helliger Steeg at the quarry" (presumably BK90/13, 14, 15 and 16)

a.) from Johannes Jacobus Kotze Senior for 750 pounds at an interest rate of 5% p.a.

b.) from Siegfried Fraenkel for 500 pounds at an interest rate of 5% p.a.

c.) from Andries Brink, Cornelius son (executor of the Estate of the late Christina Heymeriks) for 500 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

d.) from Andries Brink for 625 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

i.e. Brink borrows 1475 pounds in excess of the purchase price, presumably to facilitate the construction of the proposed 4 houses

Deed 101 14 January 1867

Insolvent Estate of Cornelius Petrus Brink to Johan Godlieb Staal

Size: 17 SR, 83 SF, 91 SI (this is the first transaction referring specifically to BK90/11) (sale of lots 1 and 2 - also includes 68 Rose Street)

Price: 400 pounds sterling

- Staal secures a mortgage bond from Edward John Maynard Syfret (trustee in the Insolvent Estate of Brink) for 262 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pence at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in two equal installments on 23 July 1867 and 23 July 1868

Deed 16401 2 November 1903

Johan Godlieb Staal to Sarah Cosay

Size: whole (i.e. 17 SR, 83 SF, 91 SI)

Price: 2500 pounds sterling

Deed 16402 2 November 1903

Sarah Cosay to Frederick James Dennler

Size: whole

Price: 3500 pounds sterling

- Cosay sells the same day she takes transfer for a profit of 1000 pounds

Deed 9583 22 October 1906

Insolvent Estate of Frederick James Dennler to Johan Godlieb Staal

Size: whole

Price: 1000 pounds sterling

- Staal is presumably the same as deed 101, January 1867
- property is sold by public auction

Deed 14485 8 December 1919

Johanna Elizabeth Albertyn to Mohamed Ebrahim

Size: whole

Price: 856 pounds sterling

- Albertyn was the widow of previous transferee Staal

Deed 1557 22 February 1937

Mohamed Ebrahim to the Cape Town City Council

Size: 10 SR, 133 SF, 91 SI

Price: 730 pounds sterling

- sale is subject to the conditions that the walls between properties will be common and that the existing water pipes will remain unaltered without written consent from the owner and successors

BK90/12 (72 Rose Street)
Erf 1971

Formerly registered as Lot No.3, this house stands on land surveyed on 11 November 1808, a portion of which (107 SR, 96 SF) was granted to Frans Helligers on 4 May 1810 for 603 Cape guilders. Transactions between May 1810 and October 1836, when the land was transferred whole to Cornelius Petrus Brink, correspond to those referenced under BK90/11. Sales subsequent to this involved smaller units and transfers relating specifically to BK90/12 may be traced.

Deed 135 9 March 1867
Insolvent Estate of Cornelius Petrus Brink to Pieter Johannes Welff
Size: 9 SR, 98 SF, 141 SI
Price: 190 pounds sterling
- Welff secures a mortgage from Johan F. Wicht at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 8324 5 December 1896
Estate of the late Petrus Johannes Welff to Sophia Dorothea Welff
Size: whole
Price: 125 pounds sterling
- S.D.Welff was the widow of P.J.Welff which may explain the low purchase price

Deed 187 12 January 1901
Sophia Dorothea Welff to Alfred Thomas Rutter
Size: whole
Price: 825 pounds sterling

Deed 2217 12 March 1902
Alfred Thomas Rutter to Alfred George Martin and Edwin Baragwanath Martin
Size: whole
Price: 1200 pounds sterling

Deed 12364 25 August 1903
Alfred George Martin and Edwin Baragwanath Martin to Sarah Cosay
Size: whole
Price: 1500 pounds sterling
- Martin and Martin ran a business called "Martin Brothers"
- property is referred to as 78 Rose Street

Deed 12365 25 August 1903
Sarah Cosay to William Shinn
Size: whole

Price: 2000 pounds sterling

- Cosay sells the same day she takes transfer for a profit of 500 pounds

Deed 3619 15 June 1909

Louis Arthur Myburgh, appointed agent of William Shinn to George Lawrence

Size: whole

Price: 225 pounds sterling

- property is now referred to as 72 Rose Street
- granting of power of attorney to Myburgh is drawn up at Durban suggesting Shinn did not reside in Cape Town
- Shinn sells for a loss of 1775 pounds sterling

Deed 7983 5 October 1917

Estate of the late George Lawrence to Jacob Booley

Size: one-third share in land measuring 9 SR, 98 SF, 141 SI

Deed 7984 5 October 1917

Estate of the late George Lawrence to Esham Shaboodin

Size: one-third share in land measuring 9 SR, 98 SF, 141 SI

Deed 7985 5 October 1917

Estate of the late George Lawrence to Mohidin Vinoos

Size: one-third share in land measuring 9 SR, 98 SF, 141 SI

i.e. Booley, Shaboodin and Vinoos invest in the property together

Price: 401 pounds sterling

Deed 6085 23 June 1927

Esham Shaboodin to Mohidin Vinoos

Size: half share in land measuring 9 SR, 98 SF, 141 SI

Price: 200 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- Shaboodin cancels 200 pound bond taken out on 28 November 1917
- Vinoos cancels 150 pound bond taken out on 11 April 1924
- on the same day Shaboodin buys a half share in land situated at the corner of Loop and Buiten Streets

Deed 3591 15 April 1937

Esham Shaboodin and Mohidin Vinoos to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 650 pounds sterling

- property is sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

BK90/13 (83 Chiappini Street)
BK90/14 (85 Chiappini Street)
BK90/15 (87 Chiappini Street)

All three properties are registered under erf 1964. Formerly demarcated as lots 11, 10 and 9 respectively these properties have been sold collectively throughout their transfer histories and are therefore referenced together. They form part of the land surveyed on 11 November 1808, a portion of which (107 SR, 96 SF) was granted to Frans Helligers on 4 May 1810 for 603 Cape guilders. Subsequent deeds of transfer, from May 1810 to October 1836, when the land was transferred whole to Cornelius Petrus Brink, correspond to those for BK90/11. Transactions post-dating this were of smaller units and specific references to lots 9, 10 and 11 can be traced.

Deed 87 11 December 1866

Insolvent Estate of Cornelius Petrus Brink to Mary Anne Cecilia Ogilvie Meyer

Size: 20 SR, 48 SF, 93 SI

Price: 270 pounds sterling

- sale is of lots 9, 10 and 11

- Meyer secures a mortgage bond from E.J.Syfret for 150 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in two installments: 60 pounds on 23 July 1867 and 90 pounds on 23 July 1868

Deed 15556 5 November 1920

Estate of the late Mary Anne Cecilia Ogilvie Meyer to Esham Shaboodin and Wajoodin Ismail

Size: whole

Price: 910 pounds sterling

- property sold by public auction

Deed 7142 24 November 1932

Wajoodin Ismail to Esham Shaboodin

Size: half share in property measuring 20 SR, 48 SF, 93 SI

Price: 152 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- bond passed by Shaboodin and Ismail in favour of M.Vinoos and M.Tayer for 305 pounds on 24 April 1924 cancelled

Deed 3613 15 April 1937

Esham Shaboodin to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 975 pounds sterling

- property sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

BK90/16 (89 Chiappini Street)
Erf 1963

Formerly registered as Lot 8. This property forms part of the land surveyed on 11 November 1808, a portion of which (107 SR, 96 SF) was granted to Frans Helligers on 4 May 1810 for 603 Cape guilders. Lot 8 appears to have been sold as an individual subdivision of this area, although the deeds referenced above suggest the land was sold whole until 1836. Deed 106, 6 February 1878, indicates the lot was transferred to one Jan Brink on 7 March 1819 - unfortunately a deed referencing this could not be traced, its location may clarify how the land granted to Helligers (Deed 105, 24 June 1814) was demarcated and sold.

Deed 106 6 February 1878

Jan Brink to Frans Moos Helligers

Size: 12 SR, 68 SF, 5 SI

Price: 500 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of the remainder of lot 8 - two houses situated at the corner of Chiappini Street and Helliger Lane

- Hendriks secures a mortgage from Brink for 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 4350 17 July 1896

Frans Moos Hendriks to Gajiera Davids

Size: 5 SR, 98 SF

Price: 300 pounds sterling

Deed 3475 11 May 1923

Estate of the late Gajiera Davids to Samsodien Parker and Sheik Ahmed in equal shares

Size: 5 SR, 98 SF

Price: 600 pounds sterling

- property sold with land marked lot 12 (22 Helliger Lane) measuring 6 SR, 65 SF

- certificate of death indicates Davids died at Mecca, Arabia on 29 May 1922

- both properties released from bonds secured by Davids on 25 June 1902 from George Charles Kempthorne Bennett for 1000 pounds

Deed 10518 21 October 1929

Shaik Ahmed to Samsodien Parker

Size: half share in land measuring 5 SR, 98 SF

Price: 350 pounds

- property sold with half share in land marked lot 12 measuring 6 SR, 65 SF

- Shaik Ahmed also known as Ahmed Harsan, a general dealer and partner in "Ahmed and Sallie Brothers" of Landsdowne Road

Deed 832 3 February 1937

Samsodien Parker to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 753 pounds sterling

- deed registers sale of lots 8 and 12

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BK90/17 (91 Chiappini St) and BK90/18 (93 Chiappini St)
Erf 1945 and Erf 1944 respectively

Previously registered as Lot No.2. These properties formed part of the land measuring 57 SR, 136 SF granted to Andreas Jantzen, by the Burgher Senate, on 4 May 1810 for 1050 Cape guilders (deed 170). The boundaries of the property are demarcated NW of Lion's Rump to the garden of J.G.Brand, SW to the quarry and Wale Street, NE to the prolonged Helligers Steeg and SE to the property of Frans Helligers. In 1819 the Estate was divided into smaller units which were sold individually. BK90/17, measuring 5 SR, 103 SF and BK90/18, measuring 8 SR, 121 SF, 72 SI have been sold collectively throughout most of their transfer histories and are therefore referenced together.

Deed 149 10 September 1819

Estate of the late Andries Jantzen to Hendrik Heckroodt Junior
Size: 14 SR, 80 SF, 72 SI (BK90/17 and BK90/18)

Price: 1500 Cape guilders

- sale is subject to the condition that the purchaser of the deducted portion erects a wall of 7 feet between the purchased property and the adjoining land within three months of transfer (to be built at the transferees expense)

- Heckroodt secures a mortgage from J.C.Heegers, widow of Jantzen, for 1000 guilders to be paid in two equal installments on 13 May 1820 and 13 May 1821

Deed 182 2 September 1834

Insolvent Estate of the late Hendrik Heckroodt Junior to Jacob de Smidt

Size: whole (i.e. 14 SR, 80 SF, 72 SI)

Price: 168 pounds, 10 shillings sterling or 6750 Cape guilders

- sale is of "a certain piece of ground marked no.2 with a small outbuilding erected thereon" - suggests there were no houses erected at this stage

Deed 183 2 September 1834

Jacob de Smidt to Johan Andreas Heyfse Wicht

Size: whole

Price: 150 pounds sterling or 600 Cape guilders

- de Smidt sells the same day he takes transfer for a loss of 18 pounds

Deed 222 21 March 1866

Johan Andreas Heyfse Wicht to Gafielden alias James Highland

Size: whole

Price: 200 pounds sterling

- property is still referred to as ground with a small outbuilding

- Highland mortgages the property to Wicht for 150 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

- Highland signs with a cross

Deed 365 29 October 1872

Estate of the late Gafiieldien alias James Highland to Nicolaas Closter

Size: whole

Price: 171 pounds sterling

- property is now referred to as "ground ... with two cottages erected thereon"

Deed 276 20 October 1873

Nicolaas Closter to Marthina Jacoba van Dyk

Size: whole

Price: 190 pounds sterling

Deed 108 5 August 1878

Marthina Jacoba van Dyk to Harry Noordien

Size: whole

Price: 370 pounds sterling

- Noordien secures a mortgage bond from the Cape of Good Hope Savings Bank Society for 300 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 105 6 April 1882

Estate of the late Harry Noordien to Attiena, widow of Harry Noordien (since deceased)

Size: whole

- property is transferred with land in Shortmarket Street and a house and erf referred to as 44 Dorp Street

At this point the properties were transferred individually from the Estate of Attiena Noordien to C.P.Paulsen and R.H.L.Bird, both of whom resold on the same day to Alfred Nicholson.

Deed 106 6 April 1882

Estate of the late Attiena Noordien to Christiaan Philip Paulsen

Size: 5 SR, 103 SF (BK90/17)

Price: 275 pounds sterling

Deed 107 6 April 1882

Christiaan Philip Paulsen to Alfred Nickalson

Size: 5 SR, 103 SF

Price: 275 pounds sterling

- purchase price remains the same

Deed 109 6 April 1882

Estate of the late Attiena Noordien to Rachel Helen Louisa Bird

Size: 8 SR, 121 SF, 72 SI (BK90/18)

Price: 250 pounds sterling

Deed 110 6 April 1882

Rachel Helen Louisa Bird to Alfred Nicholson

Size: 8 SR, 121 SF, 72 SI

Price: 266 pounds sterling

- Bird sells for a profit of 16 pounds

Deed 67 7 December 1886

Insolvent Estate of Alfred Nicholson alias Alfred Nickelson to Fisher Tyfield

Size: whole (i.e. 14 SR, 80 SF, 72 SI)

Price: 240 pounds sterling

Deed 11637 17 August 1920

Estate of the late Fisher Tyfield to Samsodien Parker

Size: whole

Price: 800 pounds sterling

Deed 73 7 January 1928

Samsodien Parker to Gadija Hassan

Size: whole

Price: 1000 pounds sterling

At this point the properties were again sold individually.

Deed 8843 18 November 1931

Gadija Hassan to Mohamed Bapoo

Size: 5 SR, 103 SF (BK90/17)

Price: 625 pounds sterling

- two mortgage bonds held by Hassan in favour of Thomas William Morse for 150 pounds (24 March 1922) and 500 pounds (7 January 1928) are cancelled

- Mohamed Hassan, husband of Gadija, swears an affidavit that he has always lived and carried on business at 93 Chiappini Street

Deed 6923 5 July 1937

Mohamed Bapoo to the Cape Town City Council

Size: 5 SR, 103 SF

Price: 480 pounds sterling

- property sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

Deed 6453 2 August 1935
Assigned Estate of Gadija Hassan to Nefesa Safiedien
Size: 8 SR, 121 SF, 72 SI (BK90/18)
Price: 400 pounds sterling

Deed 13115 24 December 1936
Nefesa Safiedien to the Cape Town City Council
Size: 8 SR, 121 SF, 72 SI
Price: 425 pounds sterling
- property sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of
1934

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BK90/19 (95 Chiappini Street)
Erf 1943

This house stands on land transferred to Petrus Johannes Pentz on 20 December 1820 and 13 September 1822 (see BK90/10 for details of these two transfers).

Deed 34 6 August 1839

Petrus Johannes Pentz to Elizabeth Johanna Pentz, widow of Johan Samuel Fredrick Botha

Size: 20 SR, 48 SF

Price: 600 pounds sterling or 24 000 Cape guilders

- an attached diagram registering the boundaries of the purchased land indicates that the BK90/19 plot is included in the purchase (corresponds with boundaries in the 1870 diagram demarcating a plot of 4 SR, 28 SF, 28 SI)

- deed records the sale of "land with a dwelling house and store erected thereon"

- sale is subject to the condition that walls between adjoining plots will be common

Deed 212 21 September 1870

Insolvent Estate of the late Elizabeth Johanna de Kock, born Pentz, to Abow Beker Effendi

Size: 4 SR, 28 SF, 28 SI

Price: 40 pounds sterling

- de Kock was the widow of Kenne Nicolaas de Kock and Johan Samuel Fredrick Botha

Deed 9 1 April 1873

Abon Beker Effendi to John Toutendyk

Size: whole (i.e. 4 SR, 28 SF, 28 SI)

Price: 75 pounds sterling

Deed 8 1 June 1880

John Toutendyk to Pieter Theodor Hansen

Size: whole

Price: 125 pounds sterling

- Hansen secures a mortgage from Toutendyk for 85 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in three equal annual installments, the first falling on 15 June 1880

Deed 3747 23 April 1927

Pieter Theodor Hansan to Mohamed Abdol

Size: whole

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- bond of 300 pounds passed by Thora Elisa Chatrina Alexander, born Hansan in favour of Johanna Petronella Mostert cancelled

Deed 4717 8 June 1934 (Sheriff's Sale)

Mohamed Abdol to Executors of the Estate of the late Jacob Isaac de Villiers

Size: whole

Price: 280 pounds sterling

- property sold by public auction

- sale is transacted on condition that the purchase amount is paid in three equal cash installments

Deed 2681 20 March 1937

Estate of the late Jacob Isaac de Villiers to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 300 pounds sterling

BK90/20 (106 Chiappini Street)
Erf 951

Formerly registered as a portion of Lots B and C of the subdivided estate 'Schmidtsburg' - a large area of land transferred to Carel Christiaan Schmidt by the Burgher Senate between 1807 and 1820. The deed registering the original grant of land on 28 November 1807 could not be traced, but Schmidt added to this core with two subsequent purchases: a.) 42 SR, 56 SF on 28 October 1814 for 3730 guilders (deed 120) and b.) 319 SR on 1 December 1820 for 300 guilders (deed 205) (note nominal purchase price).

Deed 321 24 June 1836
Estate of the late Anna Elizabeth Mack, widow of Carel Christiaan Schmidt to Adam Fredrick Carstens
Size: 1 Morgen, 469 SR, 129 SF
Price: 1825 pounds sterling
- sale is of land, with buildings, situated SE of Lion's Rump, called 'Schmidtsburg' and two adjoining pieces of land

Deed 65 7 September 1850
Estate of the late Adam Frederik Carstens to Cornelius Petrus Brink
Size: 1 Morgen, 336 SR, 36 SF, 60 SI
Price: 2122 pounds, 10 shillings sterling
- sale is of land, with buildings, called 'Schmidtsburg' and two adjoining pieces of land marked lots 1-4, 11-18 and 36-39

Deed 332 29 January 1863
Cornelius Petrus Brink to Frederick Dirk Hassan
Size: 1 Morgen, 181 SR, 181 SF
Price: 900 pounds sterling
- sale is of 8 lots of ground, with buildings, marked 32-39
- Hassan secures a mortgage bond from Hassan for 700 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 222 20 March 1868
Insolvent Estate of Fredrick Dirk Hassan to William Hendrik Kohler
Size: 50 SR, 143 SF
Price: 105 pounds sterling
- sale is of two lots of ground (B and C) with buildings erected thereon
- a diagram of the deducted area (corresponding to the present location of erf 951) indicates there was no house erected at this stage

Deed 434 25 February 1879

Willem Hendrik Kohler to Carel David Christiaan Preyser

Size: 50 SR, 143 SF

Price: 50 pounds sterling

- sale is of half-share in two lots of ground with buildings thereon marked B and D (lots 35 and 36 of the Estate 'Schmidtsburg')

- Preyser secures a mortgage bond from Anna Fredrika Wilhelmina Brand, widow of Phillipus Albertus Brand, for 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 9977 22 November 1897

Carel David Christiaan Preyser to Alfred George Bettington

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 75 pounds sterling

- sale is of a portion of two lots of ground, now marked B and C, being lots 35 and 36 of the divided Estate 'Schmidtsburg'

- Preysers 200 pound bond in favour of Brand cancelled

Deed 7395 3 November 1900

Alfred George Bettington to Abdoola Hoosen

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 725 pounds sterling

- increased sale price of 650 pounds suggests house was built during ownership of Bettington

Deed 6481 7 September 1910

Insolvent Estate of Abdoola Hoosen to Estate of the late Johan Frederick Wicht

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 260 pounds sterling

Deed 473 26 January 1918

Estate of the late Johan Fredrick Wicht to Guseppina Ciarravino

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 450 pounds sterling

Deed 11438 15 November 1927

Guseppina Ciarravino to Samsodien Abrahams

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 800 pounds sterling

Deed 5324 28 August 1933

Estate of the late Samsodien Abrahams to Martin John Clarke

Size: 21 SR, 26 SF

Price: 450 pounds sterling

- property by sold at public auction

- 750 pound bond, passed by Abrahams in favour of M.J.Clarke on 15 November 1927 and ceded to Jacob Helinreich Hoablutzel on 19 July 1930, cancelled

BK90/21 (126 Church Street)
Erf 1371

Formerly registered as a portion of lot A situated at the corner of Church Street and Church Lane which formed part of an original grant of land measuring 53 SR, 63 SF transferred from the Burgher Senate to Jacobus Vos on 15 August 1799 for the nominal sum of 240 guilders (deed 357).

Deed 163 15 April 1802

Gabriel Jacobus Vos to Jan Michiel Kromhout

Size: 53 SR, 63 SF

Price: 16 000 Cape guilders

- deed registers the sale of land, with buildings, situated NW of the Boeren Plein (now Riebeeck Square)

Deed 122 3 May 1804

Jan Michiel Kromhout to Christoffel Conraad Predigers

Size: 53 SR, 63 SF

Price: 18 000 Cape guilders

- Prediger's occupation is given as "medical doctor"

Deed 10 8 January 1819

Christoffel Conraad Predigers to Hendrik Brand

Size: 53 SR, 63 SF

Price: 20 000 Cape guilders

- Brand secures a mortgage bond from Predigers for the whole purchase amount to be paid in installments on 1 June every year

Deed 78 13 July 1819

Hendrik Brand to Maria Margaretha Helligers, widow of Johan Adolf Wagener

Size: 53 SR, 63 SF

Price: 15 000 Cape guilders

- Brand sells 6 months after purchasing for a loss of 5000 guilders

Deed 65 8 June 1827 (deed filed in Volume 1, 5 January - 9 February)

Insolvent Estate of Maria Margaritha Helligers to Jacoba Maria Heydenreich, widow of the late Franciscus Xaviers Lind

Size: 53 SR, 53 SF (10 SF subtracted from the sale above)

Price: 400 pounds sterling or 16 000 Cape guilders

- deed registers the sale of Lot 2 - "a piece of perpetual quitrent land with a house and premises and four small houses erected thereon"

- on 29 January 1930 the land was converted to freehold and all previous deeds cancelled

- J.M.Heydenreich secures a bond from Maria Meever for 140 pounds sterling or 5600 guilders at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 3 1 February 1849

Estate of the late Jacoba Maria Heydenreich to Isaac da Costa

Size: 53 SR, 53 SF

Price: 481 pounds, 5 shillings sterling

- deed registers the sale of "land with a house and four small houses erected thereon now converted to a dwelling house, outbuilding, garden and yard at the top of Church Street"
- da Costa mortgages the property to the Board of Executors for 320 pounds, 16 shillings, 8 pence sterling at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in half yearly installments on 30 June and 31 December

Deed 74 10 July 1851

Estate of the late Isaac da Costa to Hendrica Johanna Godlieppina Langeveld

Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- Langeveld secures two mortgages, the first from the South African Association for the Administration and Settlement of Estates for 200 pounds sterling at an interest rate of 6% p.a. and the second from Goris Johannes Leewen for 100 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in 20 quarterly installments
- sale is subject to the conditions:
 - a.) that the walls between lots 1, 2 and 3 will be common
 - b.) that the water from the roof of the house on lot 1 will be allowed to run off over the roof of the house on lot 2
 - c.) that the water from lots 1 and 2 will run off over that part of lot 3 reserved as a common thoroughfare

Deed 141 11 June 1869

Hendrica Johanna Godlieppina Langeveld to Catharina Johanna Leewner

Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI

Price: 130 pounds sterling

Deed 148 12 June 1869

Catharina Johanna Leewner to Jonathan

Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- Leewner sells the day after she takes transfer for a profit of 170 pounds
- Jonathan secures two mortgage bonds, the first from Francis Porter and Louis Peter Cauwin (trustees of the Colonial Orphan Chamber) for 150 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. and the second from Petrus Emanuel de Roubaix (Leewner's attorney) for 175 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.
- Jonathan signs with a cross

Deed 50 2 March 1877
Insolvent Estate of Jonathan to James Holbery
Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI
Price: 230 pounds sterling

Deed 2398 8 May 1893
Estate of the late James Holbery to Dorothea Florentina
Susanna Hinsbeeck
Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI
Price: 505 pounds sterling

Deed 572 24 January 1905
Estate of the late Francois Jan Hinsbeeck to Henrietta Sarah
Hinsbeeck, Wilhelmina Johanna Keytel (born Hinsbeeck) and
Johan Carel Hinsbeeck
Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI
- F.J.Hinsbeeck married to previous transferee D.F.S.Hinsbeeck
(since deceased)
- death notice of F.J.Hinsbeeck indicates he resided at Rose
Villa, Burnside Road

Deed 6945 27 September 1910
Henrietta Sarah Hinsbeeck and Wilhelmina Johanna Keytel to
Johan Carel Hinsbeeck
Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI
Price: 466 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pence sterling

Deed 6230 29 July 1913
Johan Carel Hinsbeeck to Johan William Allen
Size: 44 SR, 53 SF, 132 SI
Price: 900 pounds sterling
- property is sold with ground and buildings in Church Street
measuring 9 SR, 9 SF, 12 SI and a property marked 41 Chiappini
Street measuring 6 SR, 12 SF

Deed 11019 14 November 1918
John William Allen to Jassan Mohamed Saadien
Size: 20 SR, 77.02 SF
Price: 600 pounds sterling
- plot sold (referred to as lot A) consists of two properties
measuring 8 SR, 110.86 SF (BK90/21) and 11 SR, 110.16 SF
- sale is subject to the condition that the walls between
adjoining properties will be common

Deed 11190 9 August 1920
Jassan Mohamed Saadien to Mohamed Abbass
Size: 8 SR, 131.32 SF
Price: 400 pounds sterling

Deed 5224 28 May 1929
Mohamed Abbass to Slamon Jonas
Size: 8 SR, 131.32 SF
Price: 540 pounds sterling

Deed 8527 3 September 1936
Slamon Jonas to the Cape Town City Council
Size: 8 SR, 131.32 SF
Price: 425 pounds sterling

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BK90/22 (134 Church Street)
Erf 1019

Formerly registered as a portion of lots 17 and 23 of Groenewald's Tuin which formed part of the land granted to Johan Godrief Kurter on 15 June 1808. This transfer is referenced in the 1811 transaction away from Kurter's Estate as a "erfgrand" and presumably was transferred to Kurter by the Burgher Senate - verification of this could not however be obtained as the deed of sale could not be located.

Deed 139 21 June 1811
Estate of the late Johan Godrief Kurter to Severt Wied
Size: 323 SR, 108 SF
Price: 625 guilders

Deed 50 26 June 1818
Estate of the late Severt Wied to Cornelius Mostert Jacob's son
Size: 323 SR, 128 SF
Price: 3500 guilders

Deed 156 16 November 1821
Cornelius Mostert to Magdalena Rofsouw, widow of Jacobus Groenewald
Size: 344 SR, 40 SF, 18 SI
Price: 3400 guilders
- deed registers the sale of a house and erf marked No.6, part of Block 11

Deed 91 17 August 1827
Magdalena Rofsouw to Hendricus Andreas Truter
Size: 323 SR, 128 SF
Price: 53 pounds, 15 shillings or 2150 guilders
- Truter secures a mortgage from Rofsouw for 17 pounds, 18 shillings, 6 pence, or 717 guilders, at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 68 7 April 1857
Insolvent Estate of Hendricus Andreas Truter to George Parkins
Size: 19 SR, 8 SF (lots 17 and 23)
Price: 16 pounds sterling

Deed 54 2 July 1858
George Parkins to Johan Andries Heyse Wicht Senior
Size: whole (i.e. 19 SR, 8 SF)
Price: 18 pounds sterling

Deed 334 16 June 1882
Estate of the late Johan Andreas Heyse Wicht to Christiaan Lodewyk Wicht and Johan Andries Heyse Wicht Junior (now deceased)
Size: whole
- in family transfer of some 315 properties located principally in the central Cape Town area

Deed 336 18 November 1882
Estate of the late Johan Andries Heyse Wicht to Christiaan Lodewyk Wicht
Size: one-half share in land measuring 19 SR, 8 SF
- house is transferred with approximately 314 other properties (houses, stores and stables) located principally in the central Cape Town area and valued together at 76 595 pounds

Deed 8667 17 December 1896
Estate of the late Christiaan Lodewyk Wicht to Richard Henry Morris
Size: whole
Price: 10 pounds sterling

Deed 2079 19 April 1900
Richard Henry Morris to Helen Ann Morris
Size: whole
- property transferred in terms of an in-nuptial contract dated 20 May 1855

Deed 3134 2 June 1900
Helen Ann Morris to Edith Jane Morris, her minor child
Size: whole
- transferred on condition that should E.J.Morris die before attaining the age of 21 years the property shall revert to the estate of H.A.Morris

Deed 835 11 February 1919
Estate of the late Edith Jane Morris to Helen Ann Morris
Size: whole
Price: 1550 pounds sterling
- sold together with ground in Sea Point measuring 7 SR, 75.5 SF
- H.A.Morris takes over the remaining debt on the bond passed by E.J.Morris in favour of Syfret and Co. on 20 August 1913 for 800 pounds sterling

Deed 5422 9 June 1921
Helen Ann Morris to Gesina Hester Susanna Johnston
Size: whole
Price: 650 pounds sterling
- property sold together with a portion of lots 18-22 and lots 24-28 of Groenewald's Tuin measuring 13 SR, 92 SF

BK90/23 (17 Helliger Lane)
Erf 1948

Formerly registered as portion 2 of Lot No.1 'Schotsekloof', this house stands on land, measuring 57 SR, 136 SF, granted to Andries Jantzen on 4 May 1810 for 1050 guilders (deed 170). In 1818 the land was divided into smaller units which were sold individually (c/f BK90/8).

Deed 147 10 September 1819

Estate of the late Andries Jantzen and widow Johanna Christina Heegers to Absalon of the Cape (a free black)

Size: 7 SR, 67 SF, 18 SI

Price: 4000 Cape guilders

- sale is subject to the conditions that the passage to the NW of the plot will be open and that the water from the adjoining erven 1 and 3 will be permitted to flow over the lot

Deed 248 15 December 1820

Absalon of the Cape to Johanna Christina Heegers married out of community of property to Andreas Bruyns

Size: 7 SR, 67 SF, 18 SI

Price: 4000 guilders

- deed registers the sale of a house and erf referred to as No.4 Helliger Steeg

Deed 78 14 June 1847

Estate of the late Andreas Albertus Bruyns to Abraham Gafielden

Size: whole

Price: 175 pounds sterling

- Bruyns married to previous transferee J.C.Heegers

Deed 283 19 February 1874

Estate of the late Abraham Gafielden to Fredrick Christiaan Lehmeusich

Size: whole

Price: 80 pounds sterling

- property is referred to as No.2 Helliger Steeg
- purchase amount includes another property in Walendorp marked No.3 measuring 14 SR, 76 SF (BK90/24)

Deed 125 11 December 1886

Insolvent Estate of Fredrick Andreas Christian Lehmeusich to Fredrick Andreas Christian Lehmeusich

Size: whole

Price: 1040 pounds sterling

- purchase price also includes seven other properties viz house and premises marked 58 Dorp Street measuring 6 SR, 14 SF, 70 SI

2 houses in Keerom Street measuring 5 SR, 82 SF, 125 SI and 6 SR, 44 SF and 45 SI
ground between Caledon and Hanover Street measuring 3 SR, 143 SF
land adjoining 'Schotsekloof' marked No.3 measuring 14 SR, 76 SF (BK90/24)
land at the eastern end of Cape town between Zonnebloem and the sea 47 SF, 72 SI
store, now converted into a house, in Buitengracht Street measuring 3 SR, 93 SF, 54 SI
- properties are transferred in terms of a resolution passed by the trustees of the insolvent estate of Lehmeusich sanctioning sale for sums equivalent to the existing mortgage of each property on condition that two further mortgage bonds are passed, the first to the Estate of P.A.Brand for 840 pounds and the second to the Mutual Life Association for 200 pounds

Deed 4025 11 August 1892
Fredrick Andries Lehmeusich to Jacob de Smidt
Size: whole
Price: 70 pounds sterling

Deed 4025 7 October 1932
Estate of the late Jacob de Smidt to Charles Bliacher
Size: whole
Price: 150 pounds sterling
- sold by public auction

The deed summaries list the transfer of the house from Bliacher to the Cape Town City Council on 5 February 1957 - the deed of sale could not be located but would have been executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934.

BK90/24 (19 Helliger Lane)
Erf 1947

Formerly registered as portion 3 of Lot No.1 'Schotsekloof', this house stands on land, measuring 57 SR, 136 SF, granted to Andries Jantzen on 4 May 1810 for 1050 Cape guilders (deed 170). In 1818 the land was divided into smaller units which were sold individually (c/f BK90/8).

Deed 130 10 November 1820
Estate of the late Andries Jantzen to Johanna Christina Heegers, widow of Jantzen
Size: 14 SR, 76 SF
- property is transferred duty free by request of Heegers

Deed 79 14 June 1847
Estate of the late Johanna Christina Heegers to Abraham Gafilodien
Size: 14 SR, 76 SF
Price: 155 pounds sterling
- Gafilodien secures a mortgage from the Estate of Heegers for 186 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pence at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be repaid in two equal sums on 4 September 1847 and 4 September 1848

Deed 283 19 February 1874
Estate of the late Abraham alias Abraham Gafilodien to Frederich Andries Christiaan Lehmensich
Size: whole
Price: 80 pounds sterling
- purchase price included a house and premises in Helliger Steeg measuring 7 SR, 67 SF, 18 SI (BK90/23)

Deed 125 11 December 1886
Insolvent Estate of Fredrich Andreas Christiaan Lehmensich to Fredrich Andreas Christiaan Lehmensich
Size: whole
Price: 1040 pounds sterling
- purchase price included seven other properties (c/f BK90/23) together measuring 32 SR, 58 SF, 92 SI
- properties are transferred in terms of a resolution passed by trustees of the insolvent estate of Lehmensich sanctioning sale for sums equivalent to the existing mortgages of each property on condition that two further mortgage bonds are passed, the first to the Estate of P.A.Brand for 840 pounds and the second to the Mutual Life Association for 200 pounds

Deed 3462 13 July 1892
Fredrich Andries Christiaan Lehmeusich to Fatima, widow of
Abdol Basir
Size: whole
Price: 200 pounds sterling

Deed 1532 2 April 1894
Fatima to Pieter Michiel Brink
Size: whole
Price: 226 pounds sterling

Deed 5997 17 July 1897
Pieter Michiel Brink to Louis Lyons
Size: whole
Price: 400 pounds sterling

Deed 5998 17 July 1897
Louis Lyons to Gadiega Jacobs
Size: whole
Price: 460 pounds sterling
- Lyons sells the same day he takes transfer for a profit of
60 pounds

Deed 206 13 January 1902
Gadiega Jacobs to Charles Dowsett
Size: whole
Price: 755 pounds sterling

Deed 3418 27 May 1910
Charles Dowsett to John Cran
Size: whole
Price: 100 pounds sterling

Deed 12074 22 December 1921
Estate of the late John Cran to Hadje Rahim and Emam Hoosen in
equal shares
Size: whole
Price: 475 pounds sterling

Deed 12730 24 December 1929
Hadje Rahim to Emam Hoosen
Size: half share in property measuring 14 SR, 76 SF
Price: 237 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

Deed 895 4 February 1937
Emam Hoosen to the Cape Town city Council
Size: whole
Price: 875 pounds sterling

- sale is executed in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934
- it is interesting to note that minutes from the Slums Clearance Committee meeting record a claim by Hoosen for 1000 pounds

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BK90/25 (21 Helliger Lane)
Erf 1946

Formerly registered as a portion of Lot No.1 of 'Schotsekloof' this house stands on land, measuring 57 SR, 136 SF, granted to Andries Jantzen on 4 May 1810 for 1050 Cape guilders (deed 170). In 1818 the land was divided into smaller portions which were sold individually (c/f BK90/8).

Deed 149 10 September 1819

Estate of the late Andries Jantzen and widow Johanna Christina Heegers to Hendrik Heckroodt

Size: 30 SR

Price: 1500 Cape guilders

- property is mortgaged by Heckroodt to Heegers for 1000 guilders to be paid in two equal sums on 13 May 1820 and 13 May 1821

Deed 241 19 September 1834

Insolvent Estate of the late Hendrik Heckroodt Junior to Nicolaas Wollefsen Meyer

Size: 30 SR

Price: 282 pounds, 10 shillings or 11 300 guilders

- property sold is demarcated as two separate lots viz:

No.1 (BK90/25) measuring 15 SR, 63 SF, 72 SI with a dwelling house and store

No.2 measuring 14 SR, 80 SF, 72 SI with a small out-building - sale is subject to the condition that should the lots be separately disposed of a partition wall of 7 feet high would be raised by the purchaser of lot 2 at his own expense and within three months of purchase

- Meyer secures a mortgage bond from Johannes Tobias Jurgens (trustee of the insolvent estate of Heckroodt) for 94 pounds, 3 shillings, 4 pence or 3776 guilders, 10 2/3 stivers at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be settled in full on 30 September 1835

Deed 197 31 August 1843

Nicolaas Wollefsen Meyer to Hendrik Samuel Theodorus Richter

Size: whole (i.e. 15 SR, 63 SF, 72 SI)

Price: 300 pounds sterling

- Richter secures two mortgages from Meyer, the first for 200 pounds and a second for 100 pounds, both at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 75 8 November 1847

Hendrik Samuel Theodor Richter to Andries Hendrik Poezyn Senior

Size: whole

Price: 300 pounds or 12 000 guilders

- Poezyn purchases the property in trust for his six minor children

- Poezyn secures three mortgage bonds:
- a.) from Rolof Abraham Zeederberg for 200 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.
 - b.) from Rolof Abraham Zeederberg for 50 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.
 - c.) from Samuel Theodore Richter for 37 pounds, 10 shillings at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in three equal instalments on 1 September 1848, 1 December 1848 and 1 March 1849

Deed 144 28 January 1850
Andreas Hendrik Coezyn to Roeloff Abraham Zeederberg
Size: whole
Price: 200 pounds, 12 shillings, 6 pence sterling

Deed 142 17 September 1850
Roelof Abraham Zeederberg to Charles Barnes
Size: whole
Price: 250 pounds sterling
- Barnes secures a mortgage from R.A. Leedenberg for 250 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 22 2 December 1851
Estate of the late Charles Barnes to Jan Wagenaar
Size: whole
Price: 250 pounds sterling

Deed 614 31 May 1862
Insolvent Estate of Jan Wagenaar to Carel Fredrick Reinhardt
Size: whole
Price: 228 pounds sterling
- property sold by public auction

Deed 615 31 May 1862
Carel Fredrick Reinhardt to Sebastiaan Reinhardt
Size: whole
Price: 228 pounds sterling
- C.F. Reinhardt sells the same day he purchases - transfer appears to be "in-family" and no profit is made
- S. Reinhardt mortgages the property to C.F. Reinhardt for 245 pounds, 15 shillings, 3 pence

Deed 12712 15 November 1904
Estate of the late Sebastian Reinhardt to Ahmed Hossain
Size: whole
Price: 590 pounds sterling

Deed 8353 24 September 1913

Insolvent Estate of Ahmed Hossain to Estate of the late Jacob de Smidt

Size: whole

Price: 260 pounds sterling

Deed 5536 14 June 1918

Estate of the late Jacob de Smidt to Gadiga Bayet

Size: whole

Price: 290 pounds sterling

Deed 12888 21 December 1936

Gadiga Bayet to the Cape Town City Council

Size: whole

Price: 775 pounds sterling

- property sold in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

BK90/26 (212 Longmarket Street)
Erf 940

Formerly registered as Lot C of the Estate 'Schmidtsberg' - a large portion of land transferred to Carel Christiaan Schmidt by the Burgher Senate between 1807 and 1820. The deed registering the original grant of land on 28 November 1807 could not be traced, but Schmidt added to this core with two subsequent purchases (c/f BK90/20) :

- a.) 42 SR, 56 SF on 28 October 1814 for 3730 guilders (deed 126) and
- b.) 319 SR on 1 December 1820 for 300 guilders (deed 205) (note nominal purchase price).

Deed 321 24 June 1836

Estate of the late Elizabeth Mack, widow of Carel Christiaan Schmidt to Adam Fredrick Carstens

Size: 1 Morgen, 469 SR, 129 SF

Price: 1825 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of land "situated SE of Lion's Rump called 'Schmidtsberg', with two ... adjoining pieces of land"

Deed 65 7 September 1850

Estate of the late Adam Fredrick Carstens to Cornelius Petrus Brink

Size: 1 Morgen, 336 SR, 36 SF, 60 SI

Price: 2122 pounds, 10 shillings sterling

- deed registers the sale of land, with buildings, situated SE of Lion's Rump called 'Schmidtsberg' and two adjoining pieces of land marked lots 1-4, 11-18 and 36-39

Deed 332 29 January 1863

Cornelius Petrus Brink to Fredrick Dirk Hassan

Size: 1 Morgen, 181 SR, 181 SF

Price: 900 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of 8 lots of ground, with buildings, marked 32-39

- Hassan secures a mortgage bond from Brink for 700 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 278 27 February 1868

Insolvent Estate of Fredrick Dirk Hassan to Godlieb Andries Willer Lotz

Size: 1 Morgen, 27 SR, 117.63 SF

Price: 235 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of lot 32 and part of lot 39, now marked lots A and E

- sale is subject to the conditions that :

- a.) water from the houses on the adjoining lots B, E, D, F and G will be allowed to run off over lot A (lot C is included as a portion of lot A)

b.) the waterpipe leading to the water cask on lot D will remain undisturbed and the purchaser of lot A will allow the purchaser of lot D access for repairs

Deed 83 10 January 1870

Godlieb Andries Willer Lotz to Abou Beker Effendi

Size: 1 Morgen, 27 SR, 117.63 SF

Price: 350 pounds sterling

- purchase price includes the sale of lots F and G (no. 37 and 38) of 'Schmidtsberg' measuring 8 SR, 107 SF
- Effendi secures a mortgage from Lotz for 210 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid in two equal installments on 20 September 1870 and 20 September 1871

Deed 714 29 June 1875

Abou Beker Effendi to Thomas Cobern

Size: 1 Morgen, 35 SR, 90.13 SF

Price: 600 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of land, with buildings, being part of lots 32 and 39 (marked lots A and E) and lots 37 and 38 (lots F and G)

Deed 437 26 January 1897

Thomas Cobern to Charles Joseph Mason

Size: 172 SR, 80 SF

Price: 380 pounds sterling

- deed register the sale of lot C (no mention of buildings)

- Mason takes out a series of mortgages :

a.) 26 January 1897 for 130 pounds

b.) 13 March 1897 for 500 pounds

c.) 27 September for 800 pounds

d.) 8 September 1899 for 100 pounds

i.e. mortgages eclipse the purchase price by 1150 pounds, suggesting the house may have been built during the ownership of Mason

Deed 847 31 January 1902

Charles Joseph Mason to Moses Fletcher

Size: whole (i.e. 172 SR, 80 SF - lot C)

Price: 2600 pounds sterling

Deed 960 20 February 1908

Insolvent Estate of Moses Fletcher to Estate of the late Johan Fredrick Wicht

Size: whole

Price: 1910 pounds sterling

- purchase price includes five other properties :

a.) ground at Salt River measuring 27 SR, 23 SF

b.) lots 11 and 14 of the Estate 'Everstedt' measuring 36 SR, 66 SF

- c.) lots 7 and 11 of the Estate 'Schmidtsberg' measuring 36 SR, 66 SF
- d.) ground on the corner of Caledon and Brown Streets measuring 7 SR, 112 SF 40 SI
- e.) ground in Zonnebloem measuring 25 SR, 80 SF

Deed 10398 23 September 1919
Estate of the late Johan Fredrick Wicht to James Lewis
Size: whole
Price: 1285 pounds sterling

Deed 2996 23 April 1934
Mary Jane Lewis to Robert Leslie Lewis
Size: whole
Price: 1 pound sterling
- 'in-family' transfer
M.J.Lewis widow of previous transferee J.Lewis

Deed 13092 24 December 1936
Estate of the late Robert Leslie Lewis to Edith Mary Lewis,
widow
Size: whole
- municipal evaluation : 1600 pounds sterling

BK90/27 (2 Stadzicht St) and BK90/28 (4 Stadzicht St)
Erf 964

Formerly registered as lots 1-4, of Block B, 'Stadzicht Estate'. BK90/27 is the original homestead dwelling and had already been built by 1821 when a "huis en tuin" (measuring 5 Morgen, 268 SR) was transferred to Egbertus Bergh from Geysje Ernestina Johanna van Reede for 32 000 guilders (deed 1, 1 June 1821) (a deed of transfer to van Reede, which may clarify the period of construction, could unfortunately not be located). BK90/28 was probably originally an out-building and is therefore difficult to trace directly in the records as transfers were initially subsumed under sales of a house and garden called 'Stadzicht'. On 23 June 1826 this property, together with land measuring 1 Morgen, 406 SR, was transferred from Bergh to Hendrik Andreas Truter for 36 000 guilders or 900 pounds (deed 143). This area was added to on 18 April 1834 when the Burgher Senate granted land, measuring 320 SR, 122 SF, situated on the south side of Lion's Rump, to Truter for the nominal sum of 3 pounds (deed 92)

Deed 196 13 February 1857
Insolvent Estate of Hendrik Andreas Truter to Adriaan Johannes Louw Senior
Size: 6 Morgen, 762 SR, 38 SF
Price: 625 pounds sterling
- deed registers the sale of a house and garden called 'Stadzicht' measuring 5 Morgen, 268 SR and lots 16-26 measuring 1 Morgen, 473 SR, 102 SF
- deed 197 also registers the sale of land from the insolvent estate of Truter to Louw, marked lots B and D, measuring 221 SR, 80 SF, for 30 pounds

Deed 434 21 July 1862
Adriaan Johannes Louw Senior to Daniel Fredrick Berrange Nelson
Size: 509 SR, 74 SF, 7 SI
Price: 265 pounds sterling
- deed registers the sale of a house and garden called 'Stadzicht' and two lots B and D marked lot 1 on the general plan of the divided property of Louw
- Nelson secures a mortgage from the executors of Louw's Estate for 325 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a. to be paid half yearly on 30 June and 31 December (property is insured for 700 pounds)

Deed 309 16 June 1876
Estate of the late Daniel Fredrick Berrange Nelson to William Freeman
Size: 5 Morgen, 1024 SR, 201 SF, 96 SI
Price: 551 pounds sterling
- deed registers the sale of a house and garden called 'Stadzicht' and two lots B and D measuring 509 SR, 74 SF, 7 SI

; lots 3, 4, and 5 measuring 4 Morgen, 163 SR, 44 SF, 84 SI
and lots 17-26 measuring 1 Morgen, 352 SR, 83 SF, 5 SI
- Freeman takes out two mortgages : for 800 pounds (no details
given) and for 425 pounds from E.M.Harmsen at an interest rate
of 6% p.a.

Deed 2 1 March 1887

William Freeman to Siebert Fredrick Dormehl

Size: 5 Morgen, 1024 SR, 201 SF, 96 SI

Price: 1200 pounds sterling

- deed registers sale of properties detailed above
- Dormehl secures a mortgage of 600 pounds (no details given)

Deed 3833 25 June 1896

Siebert Fredrick Dormehl to Gert Daniel Jacobus Scholtz

Size: 4 Morgen, 1324 SR, 96 SI

Price: 2775 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of the remaining extent of a house
and garden called 'Stadzicht' measuring 422 SR, 32 SF, 104 SI
; the remaining extent of lots B and D measuring 133 SR, 9 SF,
47 SI ; remaining extent of lots 3, 4, and 5 measuring 3
Morgen, 415 SR, 68 SF, 84 SI ; remaining extent of lots 17-26
marked lot 6 on the general plan, measuring 1 Morgen, 352 SR,
83 SF, 5 SI

Deed 4928 24 June 1899

Gert Daniel Jacobus Scholtz to Charles Mathurin Villet

Size: 11 SR, 40 SF

Price: 1082 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of land, with buildings, marked lots
1-4, Block B comprising :
 - a.) a portion (lot O) of the remaining extent of lots B and D
measuring 3 SR, 63 SF
 - b.) a portion (lot N) of the remaining extent of a house and
garden called 'Stadzicht' measuring 177 SR, 121 SF

Deed 4259 30 March 1920

Estate of the late Charles Mathurin Villet to Mohamed Ismail
Dala

Size: 181 SR, 40 SF

Price: 970 pounds sterling

- deed registers sale of lots O and N detailed above
- properties sold by public auction

Deed 2658 31 March 1930

Mohamed Ismail Dala to Justus Fredrich Koestlich

Size: whole (i.e. 181 SR, 40 SF)

Price: 1350 pounds sterling

- mortgage bond of 1000 pounds, secured by Dala in favour of
P.A.Steinnet, cancelled

BK90/29 (12 Dawes Street)
Erf 968

Formerly registered as lot 1a of lots 1-5, Block A of the Estate 'Stadzicht' which formed part of the land transferred to Hendrik Andreas Truter by the Burgher Senate on 18 April 1834 for the nominal sum of 3 pounds.

Deed 197 13 February 1857
Insolvent Estate of Hendrik Andreas Truter to Adriaan Johannes Louw Senior
Size: 221 SR, 80 SF
Price: 30 pounds sterling

Deed 434 21 July 1862
Estate of Adriaan Johannes Louw to Daniel Fredrick Berrange Nelson
Size: 509 SR, 74 SF, 7 SI
Price: 265 pounds sterling
- Nelson secures a mortgage from the executors of Louw's estate for 325 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 309 16 June 1876
Estate of the late Daniel Fredrick Berrange Nelson to William Freeman
Size: 5 morgen, 1024 SR, 201 SF, 96 SI (c/f BK90/28 for details)
Price: 515 pounds sterling
- Nelson secures two mortgages : for 800 pounds (no details provided) and from E.M.Harmsen for 425 pounds at an interest rate of 6% p.a.

Deed 2 1 March 1887
William Freeman to Siebert Fredrick Dormehl
Size: 5 Morgen, 1024 SR, 201 SF, 96 SI
Price: 1200 pounds sterling
- Dormehl mortgages the properties for 600 pounds (no details provided)

Deed 3833 25 June 1896
Siebert Fredrick Dormehl to Gert Daniel Jacobus Scholtz
Size: 4 Morgen, 1324 SR, 96 SI
Price: 2775 pounds sterling
- c/f BK90/28 for details of transaction

Deed 4639 16 June 1899
Gert Daniel Jacobus Scholtz to Helen Ann Morris
Size: 179 SR, 96 SF
Price: 498 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of lots 1-5 of Block A comprising:
a.) a portion (lot M), a section of the remaining extent of
lots B and D measuring 23 SR, 7 SF
b.) a portion (lot N), a section of the remaining extent of
lots B and D measuring 40 SR, 68 SF
c.) a portion (lot M), a section of the remaining extent of
the house and garden called 'Stadzicht' measuring 115 SR, 112
SF

Deed 10522 30 November 1922

Helen Ann Morris to Maud Richens

Size: 34 SR, 2 SF

Price: 700 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of lot 1a of lots 1-5, Block A of
'Stadzicht Estate'

Deed 12310 30 November 1928

Maud Richens to Odoardo Nardini

Size: 34 SR, 2 SF (lot 1a)

Price: 725 pounds sterling

- sale is subject to the condition that the drainage and water
leads will remain unaltered without permission from the owner
and successors

BK90/30 (29 Pentz Street)
Erf 1862

Formerly registered as part A of lots 26 and 27, subdivisions of Lot 3 of the Estate 'Schotsekloof', which formed part of the land granted to Petrus Johannes Pentz on 13 September 1822 (c/f BK90/10 for details of this transfer).

Deed 29 5 March 1839

Petrus Johannes Pentz to Pieter Engelbertus Hammes

Size: 512 SR (lot 3)

Price: 500 pounds sterling

- sale is subject to the condition that rain water from the lot will be channeled immediately into the street

Deed 30 5 March 1839

Pieter Engelbertus Hammes to Hendrik Daniel Vos

Size: 512 SR

Price: 575 pounds sterling

- Hammes sells the same day he takes transfer for a profit of 75 pounds

- Vos secures a mortgage from the Guardian's Fund for 425 pounds at an interest rate of 4% p.a.

Deed 263 22 May 1855

Estate of the late Anna Elizabeth Jurgens Vos to Hendrik Daniel Langeveld

Size: 78 SR, 49 SF, 22 SI

Price: 20 pounds sterling

- A.E.Vos, widow of previous transferee

- deed registers sale of lots 26-30 of the subdivided lot 3

- low purchase price suggests there are no buildings erected at this stage

Deed 223 16 August 1855

Insolvent Estate of Hendrik Daniel Langeveld to Johannes Casparus Jurgens Vos

Size: 28 SR, 136 SF, 108 SI

Price: 10 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of lots 26 and 27

Deed 3 1 October 1867

Insolvent Estate of Johannes Casparus Jurgens Vos to Henry Holme Ley Pentz

Size: 74 SR, 38 SF

Price: 26 pounds, 5 shillings sterling

- deed registers the sale of lots 25-29

Deed 90 5 April 1880
Henry Holme Ley Pentz to Petrus Johannes Pentz Michiel son
Size: 74 SR, 38 SF
Price: 29 pounds sterling

Deed 6150 22 July 1897
Petrus Johannes Pentz Michiel son to Jasiem Mostafar
Size: 20 SR, 87.3 SF
Price: 230 pounds sterling
- deed registers sale of lots 26 and 27
- purchase price includes the sale of lots 28 and 29
transacted under deed 6149 (32 SR, 11 SF)
- Mostafar takes out a series of mortgages :
22 July 1897 - 100 pounds
23 October 1900 - 600 pounds
23 October 1900 - 200 pounds
18 July 1904 - 75 pounds
15 March 1905 - 225 pounds
14 February 1910 - 100 pounds
i.e. houses were constructed during the ownership of Mostafar

Deed 7523 20 September 1917
Jasiem Mostafar to Arthur van der Lingen de Villiers
Size: 20 SR, 87.3 SF
Price: 900 pounds sterling
- purchase price includes the sale of lots 28 and 29 measuring
32 SR, 11 SF
- Mostafar signs with a cross

Deed 7014 18 August 1922
Arthur van der Lingen de Villiers to Gertruida Wilhelmina
Widel Heinen, born Pentz
Size: 52 SR, 98.3 SF
Price: 1150 pounds sterling

BK90/31 (31 Pentz Street)
Erf 1861

Formerly registered as lots 28 and 29 of Lot 3 of the subdivided Estate 'Schotsekloof', an area of land granted to Petrus Johannes Pentz on 13 September 1822 (c/f BK90/10 for details of this transfer). Initial deeds of sale, from 1822 to 1855, when the Lot was transferred whole (512 SR) to Hendrik Daniel Langeveld, correspond to those recorded under BK90/30 - transactions post dating this were of smaller plots and individual properties can be traced.

Deed 213 15 November 1855
Insolvent Estate of Hendrik Daniel Langeveld to Fredrick of the Cape
Size: 32 SR, 11 SF (lots 28 and 29)
Price: 10 pounds sterling

Deed 216 12 March 1860
Fredrick of the Cape to Johannes Casparus Jurgens Vos
Size: 32 SR, 11 SF
Price: 25 pounds sterling

Deed 3 1 October 1867
Insolvent Estate of Johannes Casparus Jurgens Vos to Henry Home Ley Pentz
Size: 74 SR, 38 SF
Price: 26 pounds, 5 shillings sterling
- deed registers the sale of lots 25-29

Deed 90 5 April 1880
Henry Home Ley Pentz to Petrus Johannes Pentz Michiel son
Size: 74 SR, 38 SF
Price: 29 pounds sterling

Deed 6149 22 July 1897
Petrus Johannes Pentz Michiel son to Jasiem Mostafar
Size: 32 SR, 11 SF
Price: 230 pounds sterling
- purchase price includes the sale of lots 26 and 27 transacted under deed 6150 (20 SR, 87.3 SF)
- Mostafar secures a series of mortgages :
22 July 1897 - 100 pounds
23 October 1900 - 600 pounds
23 October 1900 - 200 pounds
18 July 1904 - 75 pounds
15 March 1905 - 225 pounds
14 February 1910 - 100 pounds
i.e. house built during the ownership of Mostafar

Deed 7523 20 September 1917

Jassem Mostafar to Arthur van der Lingen de Villiers

Size: 52 SR, 98.3 SF

Price: 900 pounds sterling

- deed registers the sale of lots 26-29
- Mostafar signs with a cross

Deed 7014 18 August 1922

Arthur van der Lingen de Villiers to Gertruida Wilhelmina
Widel Heinen, born Pentz

Size: 52 SR, 98.3 SF

Price: 1150 pounds sterling

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BK90/32 (31A Pentz Street)
Erf 1861

Formerly registered as lot 30, a portion of Lot 3 of the Estate 'Schotsekloof' - an area of land granted to Petrus Johannes Pentz Senior on 13 September 1822 (c/f BK90/10 for details of this transfer). Initial deeds of transfer from 1822 to 1855, when the land was sold whole to Hendrik Daniel Lange, correspond to those recorded under BK90/30 - transactions postdating this were of smaller plots and individual properties can be traced.

Deed 17 2 July 1855
Insolvent Estate of Hendrik Daniel Landgeveld to Jan Edmond William Aspeling
Size: 17 SR, 45 SF, 108 SI
Price: 6 pounds sterling
- deed registers the sale of lot 30

Deed 154 7 May 1859
Jan Edmond William Aspeling to Stephanus Hendrik Baard
Size: whole (i.e 17 SR, 45 SF, 108 SI)
Price: 14 pounds sterling

Deed 155 7 May 1859
Stephanus Hendrik Baard to Abdol Ragiem van Moestana
Size: whole
Price: 10 pounds sterling

Deed 7654 3 August 1940
Estate of the Late Abdol Ragiem van Moestana to the Cape Town City Council
Size: whole
Price: 1900 pounds sterling
- property is sold with lots 31-34
- purchased in pursuance of section 27 of the Slums Act of 1934

APPENDIX TWO

OWNERSHIP AND OCCUPANCY

The Street Directories, which began to appear in the African Court Calendars (later the South African Almanacs and Cape of Good Hope Almanacs and Annual Registers) during the first decade of the nineteenth century have been extensively consulted in an attempt to determine occupancy of the houses included in analysis. The problems, however, are numerous. No information is available prior to 1810 and even in the period subsequent to this the street directory lists are generally arranged alphabetically which makes tracing individual properties almost impossible. Indeed, it is often possible to state only whether or not the owner resided at his or her property. Occasionally the information is arranged alphabetically *and* by street - in these cases better resolution of occupancy is facilitated¹. Even in these cases, however, information is at best incomplete and frequently misleading. The street numbering system was constantly altered and with rare exceptions a single individual is listed as the occupant. The densely overcrowded living conditions which were prevalent in inner city residential areas are not made explicit. An article from the 1840 South African Commercial Advertiser (p113) underlines the point:

"The charitable persons who visit the poor at their houses, could soon furnish the board with information respecting *filth, crowding and suffering* that would startle most of its members ... What do you think of ten, twenty or even thirty human beings sleeping night after night in an apartment 12 or 14 feet square - the floor damp clay - and many of the inmates in the last stages of confluent smallpox" (original emphasis).

In Bo-Kaap these general biases are still further complicated: in a number of cases the alphabetical directories are divided into various sections e.g. a general Cape Town directory, inhabitants of Greenpoint etc. In these instances 'Malays and other free

¹ A project is currently underway in which alphabetical lists are to be regrouped by street - the directories for 1810 and 1815 have been completed.

inhabitants residing in Cape Town' comprise a separate section and the list is always short, 'sanitized' to favour overseas readers and potential immigrants at whom the Court Calendars and Almanacs were primarily aimed. In Bo-Kaap, an area with a long tradition of multi-racialism, the bias is particularly pronounced. This point is underlined still further in an examination of street listings where smaller streets and alleys such as Dorp steeg and Lion Lane are generally not mentioned. Frequently the lists extend no further than Chiappini and Pentz Streets - Dawes and Stadzicht streets, situated towards the upper fringes of Bo-Kaap, for example are never mentioned; often the numbering of Chiappini Street begins from the corner of Longmarket Street and moves in the direction of Strand Street while Longmarket Street is referenced only as high as Rose or Chiappini Streets - a system which effectively excludes a significant section of Bo-Kaap.

Despite these inherent complications, however, the street directories, critically read and evaluated, can provide a unique and valuable source of information which supplements the details of ownership provided by deeds of sale (Appendix 1).

BK90/1 and BK90/2 (1 and 2 Lion Lane)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>? - 1820</u>	J.C.Heegers	?

- the 1820 street directory (sd) lists a Christina Heegers, sempstress, residing in St John's street - the house was presumably rented during this period

<u>1820 - 1830</u>	Absalon	?
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- the 1827 sd lists an Absalon van de Kaap, hatter, residing at 2 Bloem Street and the 1829 sd lists another Absalon, a shoemaker of Loop Street

<u>1830 - 1833</u>	Batjoe Cambang	?
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- the 1830 sd make no reference to a Batjoe Cambang, but two Batjoe's van Batavia appear in the 1820 directory: a carpenter of 3 Pyl steeg and the other a retailer at 29 Wale Street

<u>1833 - ?</u>	Pieter de Geest	?
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- the 1833 sd lists a P de Geest residing at 1 Buiten Street - the houses were presumably rented out during this period

<u>1913 - 1939</u>	Slamon Jonas	?
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- the 1912 sd lists a S.Jonas residing at 6 Carter's Cotts off Bryant Street - the houses may have been rented out during this period

BK90/3 and BK90/4 (67 and 69 Wale Street, earlier referred to as 32 and 33 Wale Street)

OWNERSHIP

OWNER

OCCUPANT

1792 - 1811

Andries Jantzen

32 - Cornelia van

Laar

(retail shop)

33 - A.S. du Toit

- 1811 sd lists an Andries Jantzen, mason, residing at 1 Dorp Steeg

1811 -1816

Johan Jacobse

32 - Cornelia van

Laar

33 - A.S. du Toit

- 1811 sd lists a Johan Jurgen Jacobse, blacksmith, 25 Wale Street

1816 - 1845

Jan H Lange

32 - Cornelia van

Laar

33 - A.S. du Toit

- 1816 sd lists Lange residing at 2 Bree Street (retail shop)

1845 - 1849

Thomas Bolton

?

- 1845 sd lists Bolton, grocer, residing at 33 Roze Street

1849 - 1888

Ariend vd Hoeven

67 -Felix Adams 1865

(gardner)

H.Stoetenkemp

1883

69 -Rachael Klasse

1865

(laundress)

Miss Smidt 1883

- 1849 sd lists van der Hoeven as a general dealer residing at 65 Wale Street

1888 - 1899

N.vd Hoeven

67-Richard Dickner

1890

(tinsmith)

69 ?

1899 - 1939 Slamon Jonas 67-R.Dekenah 1902-3
69-Mrs Theron 1902-3

- 1912 sd lists Jonas residing at 6 Carter's Cotts off Bryant Street

BK90/5 (71 Wale Street, earlier referred to as 34 Wale Street)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1807 -1819</u> 1810	Andries Jantzen	34-Reinhard Velden (cabinet maker)
- 1811 sd lists Jantzen residing at 1 Dorp steeg		
<u>1819 -1832</u>	M.M.Jantzen	?
<u>1832 - 1848</u>	Gerrit Meyer	?
- 1832 sd lists Meyer residing at 20 Strand Street		
<u>1848 -1853</u>	Bartholomeu Eyberg	?
<u>1853 - 1873</u>	Abdol Christiaan	71-Gabriel Luyt 1867
- 1853 sd lists Christiaan as a messenger in the Customs Department residing at 63 Wale Street		
<u>1873 - 1877</u>	Awaldien	?
<u>1877 - 1894</u>	Hadje Abadir	71-H.L.Pentz 1883 (retail dealer)
<u>1894 - 1917</u>	Hadje Magmoet	71-S.Abdol 1902-3

1917 -1938 Mohamed Dervies ?

BK90/6 and BK90/7 (79 and 81 Wale Street, earlier referred to as 38 and 39 Wale Street)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1811 - 1819</u>	Andries Jantzen	38-A de Waal 1815 39 ?

- 1811 sd lists Jantzen residing at 1 Dorp Steeg

<u>1819 -1836</u>	Jan Lange	?
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- 1819 sd lists Lange residing at 28 Wale Street as a retailer

<u>1836 - 1838</u>	Bartholomeu Siebrets	?
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- 1837 sd lists Siebrets residing at 40 Wale Street

<u>1838 -1867</u>	Maria Reeder	79-H.Henken 1865 79-Henry Pentz 1867 81-G.Heydenreich 81-G.Wannenberg 1867 (turner)
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1865

<u>1867 - 1887</u>	Ariend vd Hoeven	38-J.Frieslich 1868 39-Samadien 1868 (shoemaker) 79-K.Belala 1885 81 ?
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<u>1887 - 1895</u>	K.N.de Kock	79-M.Pentz 1890
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BK90/9 (56 Dorp Street)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
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<u>1819 -1842</u>	Jan Lange	?
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- 1819 sd lists Lange as a retailer residing at 28 Wale Street

<u>1842 - 1849</u>	Johan Liebrandt	?
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<u>1849 -1855</u>	Bartholomeu Eyberg	?
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<u>1855 - 1879</u>	J.J.Jantzen	56-Abdol Bazur 1865 56-Abader 1868
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- 1856 sd lists Jantzen as a retail dealer residing at 37 Leeuwestraat

<u>1879 -1913</u>	Jenodien	56-A.Daniels 1902-3
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BK90/10 (77 Dorp Street)

77 Dorp Street was erected in 1890 - the land was owned by Benjamin Solomon who appears to have rented out the house

1890 occupant - M.Schroder, carpenter

1902-3 occupant - D.Brink

BK90/11 (70 Rose Street, also 76 Rose Street)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
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<u>1829 - 1835</u>	Maarten Smit	?
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- 1902 sd lists Rutter as a saddler, 28 Wale Street

1901 - 1902 Martin Brothers 78:Mrs Welff 1902-3

BK90/13/14 and 15 83, 85 and 87 Chiappini Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
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<u>1836 - 1866</u>	C.P.Brink	?
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- 1837 sd lists Brink, haberdasher, residing at 17 Loop Street

<u>1866 - 1920</u>	M.A.C.Meyer	?
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- 1866 sd lists several Meyers, none, however, residing in Chiappini Street

BK90/16 89 Chiappini Street

- no additional information is available for either owners or occupants

BK90/17 and BK90/18 91 and 93 Chiappini Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
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<u>1810 - 1819</u>	Andries Jantzen	?
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- 1811 sd lists Jantzen, mason, 1 Dorp Steeg

1819 - 1834 H.Heckroodt Jun. ?

- 1819 sd lists Heckroodt residing ar 22 Buitengracht Street

1834 - 1866 J.A.H.Wicht ?

1866 - 1872 Gafielden/Highland ?

1872 - 1873 Nicolaas Closter ?

1873 - 1878 M.J. van Dyk ?

1878 - 1882 Harry Noordien ?

- 1878 sd lists a Hadje Nordien, basketmaker, 21 Leewen Street

1882 - 1886 Alfred Nicholson ?

1886 - 1920 Fisher Tyfield ?

- 1886 sd lists Tyfield as a pawnbroker, 57 Bree Street

BK90/19 95 Chiappini Street

OWNERSHIP OWNER OCCUPANT

1820 - 1839 P.J.Pentz ?

- 1822 sd lists Pentz as a wine merchant, Schotsche Kloof

1839 - 1870 E.J.Pentz (later de Kock) ?

1870 - 1873 A.B.Effendi ?

1873 - 1880 John Toutendyk ?

1880 - 1927 P.T.Hansen ?

BK90/20 106 Chiappini Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1897 - 1900</u>	A.G.Bettington	?
<u>1900 - 1910</u>	Abdoola Hoosen	C.J.Kensley 1902-3 (general dealer)

BK90/21 126 Church Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1804 - 1819</u>	C.C.Predigers	?
<u>1819 - 1827</u>	M.M.Helligers	?
<u>1827 - 1849</u>	J.M.Heydenreich	?

- 1827 sd lists a number of Heydenreichs - none, however, resident in Church Street

1849 -1851 I.da Costa ?

- 1849 sd lists da Costa residing at 21 Church Street - it is possible this was BK90/21

1851 - 1869 H.J.G.Langeveld ?

1869 - 1877 Jonathan ?

1877 - 1893 James Holbery ?

- 1877 sd lists Holbery as a resident of Seapoint

1893 - 1905 D.F.S.Hinsbeeck ?

BK90/22 134 Church Street

- sd could not provide any additional information concerning ownership or occupancy

BK90/23 17 Helliger Lane (also 4 Helliger Lane)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1810 - 1819</u>	Andries Jantzen	4:P.Paus 1815 (sempstress)
- 1811 sd lists Jantzen, mason, 1 Dorp Steeg		
<u>1819 - 1820</u>	Absalon	?
<u>1820 - 1847</u>	J.C.Heegers	?
- 1820 sd lists a Christina Hegers, sempstress, St Johns Street		
<u>1847 - 1874</u> 1867	A.Gafielden	17:Simoen Torien (printer) 17:W.Breuis 1868 (shoemaker)

- 1847 sd lists Gafielden, butcher, Helligersteeg

1874 - 1892 F.A.C.Lehmensich ?

- 1886 sd lists Lehmensich, carpenter, 46 Vandeleur Street

1892 - 1932 J. de Smidt ?

- 1892 sd lists de Smidt, La Bella, Alliance House, Kloof street

BK90/24 19 Helliger Lane (also 5 Helliger Lane)

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1810 - 1820</u>	Andries Jantzen	5:widow Voogt 1815
<u>1820 - 1847</u>	J.C.Heegers	?
- 1820 sd lists a Christina Hegers, sempstress, St Johns Street		
<u>1847 - 1874</u> 1867	A.Gafiloden	19:Jeanet August (laundress)

- 1847 sd lists Gafiloden, butcher, Helligersteeg

1874 - 1886 F.A.C.lehmensich ?

- 1886 sd lists Lehmensich, carpenter, 46 Vandeleur Street

1886 - 1892 Fatima Basir ?

- 1892 sd lists a Fatima - no address

1894 - 1897 Pieter Brink ?

- 1894 sd lists a P.M.Brink, attorney, 17 Shortmarket Street and a Peter Brink, attorney, Conefir Place, Sea Point

1897 - 1902 Gadiega Davids ?

1902 - 1910 Charles Dowsett ?

BK90/25 21 Helliger Lane

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
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<u>1810 - 1819</u>	Andries Jantzen	?
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- 1811 sd lists Jantzen, mason, 1 Dorp Steeg

<u>1819 - 1834</u>	H.Heckroodt Jun	?
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- 1819 sd lists Heckroodt residing at 22 Buitengracht Street

<u>1834 - 1843</u>	Nicolaas Meyer	?
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- 1834 sd lists Meyer, retailer, 53 Longmarket Street

<u>1843 - 1847</u>	Hendrik Richter	?
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- 1843 sd lists Richter, a grocer and general dealer, 26 Bree Street

<u>1847 - 1850</u>	Andries Coezyn	?
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- 1847 sd lists an Andries Poezyn, 43 Church Street

Jan 1850-Sept 1850	R.Zeederberg	?
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- 1850 sd lists two Zeederbergs (Senior and Junior) residing at 7 Georges Street and 25 and 26 Loop Street (Merchant Co.) respectively

<u>1850 - 1851</u>	Charles Barnes	?
<u>1851 - 1862</u>	Jan Wagenaar	?
<u>1862 - 1904</u>	Sebastian Reinhardt	21:Kamils 1865 (wagonmaker) 21:W.Leitjer 1867 (carpenter) 21:B.Jacobs 1902-3

BK90/26 21 Longmarket Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1897 - 1902</u>	Charles C Mason	C.Mason

- 1902-3 sd lists C.Mason residing at 'Masondale'

<u>1902 - 1908</u>	Moses Fletcher	?
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- 1902-3 sd lists a M.Fletcher, general dealer, 7 Cowley Street

BK90/27 and BK90/28 2 and 4 Stadzicht Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1821 - 1826</u>	Egbertus Bergh	?

- 1821 sd lists Bergh residing at 29 Heeregracht

1826 - 1857 H.A.Truter ?

- 1826 sd lists Truter, a clerk in the Customs House, residing at Garden Stadzicht

1857 - 1862 A.J.Louw Senior ?

- 1857 sd lists Louw residing at 48 Keerom Street, livery stables

1862 - 1876 Daniel Nelson ?

- 1862 sd lists Nelson as a trader, 12 St Georges Street

1876 - 1887 William Nelson ?

- 1877 sd lists Freeman as a broker, 13 Hout Street, residing at Hofstreet

1887 - 1896 Siebert Dormehl ?

1896 - 1899 Gert Scholtz ?

1899 - 1920 Charles Villet ?

- 1896-7 sd lists Villet as a general dealer, 9 Long Street

BK90/29 12 Dawes Street

OWNERSHIP OWNER OCCUPANT

1876 - 1887 William Freeman ?

- 1877 sd lists Freeman as a broker 13 Hout Street, residing at Hofstreet

<u>1887 - 1896</u>	Siebert Dormehl	?
<u>1896 - 1899</u>	Gert Scholtz	?
<u>1899 - 1922</u>	Helen Morris	?

- Helen Morris was the wife of builder Richard Morris who appears in the 1902-3 sd occupying business premises 51-57 Rose Street and residing at 'Chastleton'

BK90/30 29 Pentz Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1880 - 1897</u>	P.J.Pentz	?

- 1880 sd lists Pentz as a general dealer, 70 Dorp Street
- 1884 sd lists Pentz as an occupant of 22 Pentz Street

<u>1897 - 1917</u>	Jasjem Mostafar	?
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BK90/31 31 Pentz Street

<u>OWNERSHIP</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>OCCUPANT</u>
<u>1880 - 1897</u>	P.J.Pentz	?

- c/f BK90/30

<u>1897 - 1917</u>	Jasjem Mostafar	?
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BK90/32 31A Pentz Street

OWNERSHIP

OWNER

OCCUPANT

1859 - 1940

Abdol Ragiem van Mostafar

?