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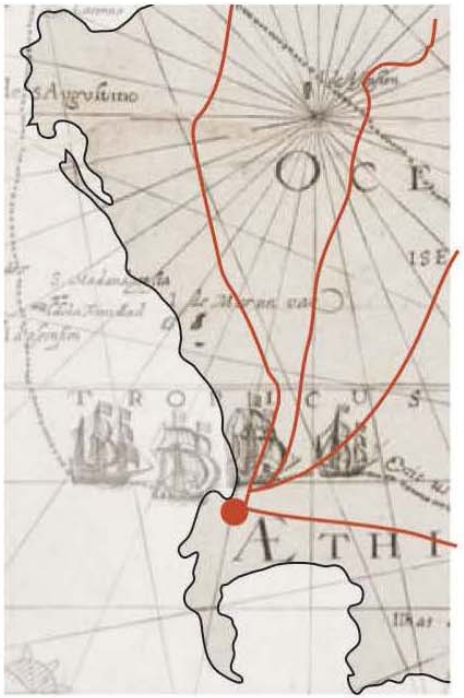
The shaping and picturing of the `Cape' and the `other(s)' : representation of the colony, its indigenous inhabitants and Islam during the Dutch and British colonial periods at the Cape (17th-19th centuries).

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THE SHAPING AND PICTURING OF THE 'CAPE' AND THE 'OTHER(S)'

Representation of the colony, its indigenous inhabitants and Islam during the Dutch and British colonial periods at the Cape (17th - 19th centuries)

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THE SHAPING AND PICTURING OF THE 'CAPE' AND THE 'OTHER(S)'

Representation of the colony, its indigenous inhabitants and Islam during the Dutch and British colonial periods at the Cape (17th - 19th centuries)

TARIQ TOFFAH

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfi lment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture (Research)

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Shukr Alhamdulillah.
Wasalatu wasalamu alayka Ya RasulAllah.

ABSTRACT

The Dutch (VOC) trading empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought with it to South Africa not only the world of powerful merchant capitalism, but it would also construct a new imaginative geography and order of the land to that which had been known by its ancient inhabitants, wherein the very idea of the land would be rewritten. Many aspects of this new geography would be reflected in representation during VOC rule in the Cape colony, in its maps, pictures and drawings. Within this picturing of the land, the rival indigenous presence as well as the colony's non-settlers inhabitants—both of whom formed colonial 'others'—would also be depicted; although typically this visibility would be carefully measured and managed in complex ways in both official and popular artistic representation.

While official colonial and apartheid archives in South Africa lack sufficient, meaningful representation of marginalised groups such as blacks, slaves, Muslims, and indigenous people, the visual sources wherein such groups are depicted constitute another source of archive which has still only begun to be explored comparatively and as a body of images.

Through visual sources, the study analyses firstly the discursive, imaginative, and physical appropriation of landscape as represented in Dutch and British colonial-period maps and pictures in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Secondly it explores the representation of colonial 'others' who are depicted therein, and to what extent it may be possible to recover some aspects of marginalised narratives and spatial practices. Islam at the Cape, whose history dates back to the very beginning of European settlement but which was officially proscribed for the most of the colonial period, also forms an important component of the study, as a case study of such 'liminal' narratives and landscapes.

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INTRODUCTION

ARCHIVE – IMAGE – LANDSCAPE

ARCHIVE – IMAGE – LANDSCAPE

(Un) writings upon the land

Characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that European colonisation was led by large companies rather than by direct government involvement. Like the Companies of the British and French in the East Indies, the Dutch established two large monopolistic multinationals, the VOC and the WIC (Rafudeen 2001, 42).[1] While the WIC was above all a war organisation, set up for privateering in Spanish waters in the West, the VOC, although it too fought many wars, was primarily a trading organisation set up to combine Dutch trading ventures in the East to break the Portuguese monopoly on oceanic trade with Asia (Van Oers 2000, 152). The Cape colony was therefore founded in 1652 by the VOC initially as a halfway refreshment station for its ships on the long journey between Europe and the East.

The Dutch trading empire brought with it not only the world of merchant capitalism, and powerful political and economic forces, but it would also construct a new imaginative geography and order of the land to that which had been known by its ancient inhabitants, wherein the very idea of the land would be rewritten. This would be reflected in representation during the VOC period, in its maps, pictures and drawings, which likewise itself crucially advanced the shaping of a new idea of the landscape. A second act of constructing a new landscape, was in its depictions of the settler and non-settlers inhabitants within and without of the colony. Slaves, Khoi, free blacks (mostly manumitted slaves), as well as Muslims were colonial 'others', whose visibility in representation was sharply controlled. Such representation could not only reflect the reality, but would also help to constitute the reality it represented.

Through these theoretical and interpretive analyses, or 'readings', of the South African landscape, the study explores powerful ways in which the land was imagined, represented and transformed during the Dutch and British colonial periods.[2] Following from this wider analysis, it seeks particularly—and ultimately—to analyse its 'liminality'; in the ways in which the 'other(s)' was depicted in colonial representation, not only the local populations who were marginalised from the colony, but the liminal peoples enslaved or 'othered' within it. The study also analyses to what extent it may be possible within such representations to recover liminal narratives and spatial practices.

The concept of 'liminality' was developed by anthropologists Arnold van Gennep (1909) and, later, Victor Turner (1966). According to Turner, the liminal condition is related to the formation of community, as an intervening period that exists between two relatively stable states. It is thus a state of becoming, an *in-between* transitory state that eludes fixed and stable classification. Liminal space typically exists at the margins (or *limen*, meaning "threshold" in Latin). It is also in such spaces that, according to Turner, "socially subversive and inverse acts" may flourish. Turner's analysis, although originally a study of "the ritual subject" in rites of passage in tribal sub-Saharan cultures, ""such as neophytes in initiation or puberty rites," has come to refer more broadly to any in-between or transitory state or space at the margins (Berger 2006, 29-30; Turner 1969, 95).

In the context of the Dutch colony at the Cape where the majority of inhabitants were brought in some form against their will and whose activities could be severely curtailed by official regulations, such as those of slaves or exiles, Turner's rubric of liminal states and spaces holds much relevance. A key case study in this regard, which forms a component of this study, is Islam at the Cape; which was an integral part of this liminality in the colony and dates from the early years of the settlement. Most Muslims were slaves, and at the close of VOC

1 These were the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Campagnie or, Dutch East India Company) and the WIC (Geoctroyeerde Westindische Compagnie or, Chartered West India Company).

2 Dutch colonisation lasted from 1652 until 1795. Thereafter, except for a brief period between 1803 and 1806 when the colony belonged to the Batavian Republic, the Cape Colony remained under British rule until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

rule in Cape Town numbered under a 1000 (Worden 1998, 124). This small but significant number would grow greatly during the nineteenth century by the close of which it had increased to 15,000 (Shell 1997, 276), probably the vast majority of whom were descendants of slaves (Bickford-Smith 1995, 445). Today, reflecting the early history at the Cape, and then later in Kwazulu-Natal during the British period, the vast majority of South African Muslims remain coloured and Indian[3] respectively, and almost half reside in the Western Cape (Vahed 2005, 253). Thus, the inter-related physical, economic and imaginative geographies would not only powerfully underlie and shape Dutch interest, enrichment, settlement and conquest in South Africa, but they are legacies which in many ways are still present today, not only in areas such as land ownership[4] or socio-economic realities but also in the spatial organisation of the landscape, in commonly held concepts and perceptions of it and of belonging within it.

In the South African context, in studying the ways in which the land has been imagined, represented and transformed, together with the picturing of marginalised and liminal peoples within it, the study participates in the project of redressing underwritten colonial histories, such as slavery or Islam (both of which have seen a revival of scholarly interest in recent decades), and overwritten pre-colonial histories, such as the Khoisan (which was virtually destroyed during early colonial settlement and is now almost impossible to recover),[5] which are part of the current intellectual project in the 'new' democratic South Africa.

More broadly, the focus on the role of landscape also follows what some have called 'the spatial turn', wherein space in all its diversity has become a commonplace topic in a variety of analytical fields. In a recent book, *The Spatial Turn*, Barney Warf and Santa Arias (2009) have argued that new spatial thinking is related to globalization's accentuation of the significance of location, and has slowly since the 1920s, and rapidly since the 1990s, changed the lens through which space is viewed. For Warf and Arias, space matters because "no social or cultural phenomenon can be torn from its spatial context" (i, 1-7).

3 Racial difference runs deeply and uneasily in South African history and in its psyche. Historically, although racial stereotyping with regards to the non-European slave class certainly existed during the Dutch colonial period, as argued by Worden in his seminal text 'Slavery in Dutch South Africa' (1985), historians now trace its entrenchment to a more recent history in the first half of the nineteenth century during the British colonial period.

While the VOC's legal categories of free-unfree and burgher-free, were established hierarchical distinctions during the Dutch colonial period (and which paralleled racial distinctions even though this was not its emphasis), with the erosion of slavery in the 1820s and 1830s new categorisations were established to maintain such hierarchical relationships. Thus immediately upon the official cessation of slavery, the census records would associate class with race, and start using classifications of 'white' and 'coloured', and by the mid-nineteenth century a concept of rigidly defined races had emerged. The Khoi would also merge with ex-slaves into the relatively fluid category of 'coloured'. However, 'white / European' and 'coloured' were carefully distinguished from 'aboriginal' or 'native' African tribal groups such as 'Kaffir' (Xhosa), Bechuana and Zulu.

These processes, however, were complex, as self-perception and memory could also shape this labelling. Moreover, such 'racial' categorisation was not without contestation, as there are several examples of a "shared experience of oppression" (Weeder 2006, 45-46) or of "Black collectivity" (Baderoon 2004b) during the late nineteenth century, as there would also be later during the apartheid period which inherited many of these earlier categories. Yet, somewhat paradoxically, in the post-apartheid era the politics of the new dispensation of democracy also strikingly resulted in the dissolving of the need for unity against apartheid, resulting in an increased awareness of distinct historical identities such as Coloured, Koisan or Malay. Today, therefore, many of these terms may be in use as self-identifying terms as well as contested by those so termed (Worden et al 2004, 61, 69, 112, 242; Elphick and Shell 1986, 35; Baderoon 2009, 98; Bickford-Smith 1995, 453; Worden 2009, 27-29).

In this study, as in any South African history research, racial and ethnic terms are unavoidable. In this study they have been used as far as possible as they may be self-identifying terms, such as 'Khoi', 'African', 'Indian', 'Muslim', 'black' or 'coloured'. In other cases terms that are not used as such, such as 'slave' or 'indigenous', are used to emphasise colonial or pre-colonial social realities and landscapes. Moreover, capitals may also be used, such as 'Malay' or 'Coloured', to refer to historical identities.

4 At the close of apartheid in 1994, only 13% of the country's surface area was owned by blacks. Excluding state-owned land and private land sales, the current official figure is about 18% (Groenewald 2009).

5 Refer also to the discussion on the deterioration of Khoi society in Chapter One, and also to Footnote 2 in the same Chapter.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Although official colonial and apartheid archives in South Africa—as a body—contain extensive information about marginalised groups such as blacks, slaves, Muslims, and indigenous people, such groups feature mostly as 'objects' rather than as the 'subjects' of such material, and have been used to construct narratives of a past that sharply delimits their presence (Baderoon 2007). The ending of apartheid, however, provided new impetus for remembering many of these histories (Worden 2009, 23-5).

On the subject of slavery, for example, although approximately 63,000 slaves were imported to South Africa between 1653 and 1808 (Shell 1997, 268); in terms of public awareness the slave past was well buried for most of the twentieth century, and virtually since the last generation that had experienced slavery had died out. Beginning around the early 1980s, however, and corresponding to a growing interest in commemorations and memorialisations of the slave past within heritage representations of countries that participated in the slave trade from Africa across the Atlantic, the subject of slavery similarly attracted the interest of revisionist historians in South Africa (Worden 2009, 23-4; Bank 1991, 99). Key influential pioneering revisionist works in this regard were '*Cape of Torments*' by Ross (1983), '*Slavery in Dutch South Africa*' by Worden (1985), '*The Decline of Urban Slavery, 1806 to 1843*' by Bank (1991) and others. In the course of the early 2000s, a popular rather than an academic market also appeared, such as in books, in a newspaper column, in movies, as well as in other types of initiatives.[6] In contrast to its earlier neglect and suppression, Cape slave heritage is now one which both the local and national state and the tourist industry are anxious to promote (Worden 2009, 33-4, 39). Yet, despite these degrees of academic and popular interest, due to the limited kinds of primary sources which exist or which have not been fully explored there still remains much scholarship to be done. Thus even after decades of scholarship, in a recent work Worden (2005, xiv) states that "the social and cultural world created by slaves is still little understood," for "(t)he kinds of questions that can be answered relate to the kinds of primary sources available."

The problem of the archive and the authorship of history has, moreover, been further entrenched by its formal architectural image which 'naturalises' these erasures. The Dutch period and later the British colonial period have left indelible marks, or 'writings', on the image and physical character of the city. As the town during the VOC period had been dominated by Dutch buildings and imitation Dutch urban canals, so the British colonial period consciously connected the landscape to the British Empire: through nineteenth century art (such as British landscape painting, discussed in detail in Chapter Four), architecture (which after the 1850s began to transform the physical character of the 'old Dutch city' of Cape Town into an 'English' one), as well as literature and science (Worden 2004, 156, 168-169). As a consequence of dominating the cultural landscape, despite its intractable role in the imposition of colonial order, the literature on architectural and cultural history has most typically been concerned with European stylistic derivation, reflecting the tastes of its colonial heritage of elitism (Hall 1993, 182). Even Davids (1994), the profoundly influential Cape Muslim historian who sought to reclaim Cape Muslim history, in writing for the Architecture SA journal on the influence of local Muslims on Cape Architecture, remained within the parameters of an appraisal of style. If the architectural / stylistic and representational image of the colonial landscape formerly functioned in service of colonial narratives, it could be said that later narratives have functioned in the service of the image, what sociologists have termed the 'circularity of power' (Hall 1997, 262). This 'archive-image' discourse has played an important part in validating and constituting dominant forms of power, and poses one of the most immediate and apparent obstacles to an analysis of visual sources this study.

6 Paradoxically however, due to the nature of the slave experience, amongst descendants of slaves on a private individual or communal level the situation could be more complex than simply 'claiming' or 'asserting' a forgotten history, as a growing popular market may lead one to believe. Some of these complexities for example were illustrated in one prominent case involving Ebrahim Manuel, a seaman from Simonstown, who claimed that his ancestry traced back to exiles transported to the Cape from Sumbawa in the 1760s rather than to slaves, and that he was descended not from slaves but from a high-ranking imam who was related to a princely ruler. Here remembering also entails radical contestation of conventional history and historiography, in its desire to associate with an elite heritage of princes and sultans rather than the more 'shameful' realities of slavery (Worden 2009, 35-6). Also refer to Footnote 2 in Chapter Four for further discussion on the complexities of this subject.

In addition to the problem of the archive and the image in a study of liminality, are the very realities of liminality itself. Places of worship of the Islamic faith, for example, would emerge into public space as recognisable forms only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. But long before the mosque emerged as a recognisable form, Cape Islam took many different forms, developing in the liminal spaces of the town and the surrounding landscape. It shared both the lived realities of marginalisation (poverty, slavery, etc.) and the physical spaces which often corresponded to it. While historians of Islam at the Cape have typically laid emphasis on the former, despite the slow recent expansion of this area of study the latter remains a neglected site of study.

In an effort to remedy some of the major obstacles of archive and image, and to potentially provide new 'texts' appropriate to the nature of liminality, the study has looked both earlier and broader, at the possibility of an (earlier) 'unbuilt' heritage rather than a (later) built one. It explores the liminal spaces and networks, and the 'Imaginative geographies' of the landscape during the Dutch colonial period. There already exists some precedent for this in South African scholarship. The more imaginative appropriations of landscape that underpinned imperial and colonial territorialisation have only recently started to receive attention by archaeologists, cultural historians, architects and literary theorists (Foster 2008, 1-2). Amongst literary theorists, in articles such as 'Idleness in South Africa' and especially his book *White Writing* (1988), J. M. Coetzee has provided probably the most influential of new political histories of the South African landscape. Recently, architect Jennifer Beningfield (2006) has explored mechanisms used to promote hegemonic forms of imaginative entitlement, and literature and media scholar Gabeba Baderoon (2004a) has also provided the first major analysis of the positioning of Islam in the rendering of the colonial landscape. These works focus largely on later periods, rather than the earlier Company period which forms the main component of this study, but in various ways all constitute landmarks in their respective fields, and point to an increasing concern with the nature and construction of landscape in South Africa.

In a critique of the implicit inherited relationships between delimiting colonial narratives and the architectural image, this study argues that an 'archive-image' discourse, or the conventional recourse to style in architectural discourse, is insufficient to represent liminal narratives and spatialities in colonial histories. Taking cognisance of the nature of liminality, exploring its visibility would require a shift in "the grounds of visibility" (Baderoon 2007). The study proposes that 'landscape'—how it has been imagined and transformed—offers a possibility of accessing some aspects of 'interior' liminal narratives and spatial practices, such as the spaces and lived realities of Islam in the town, the surrounding landscape, and the relations between them; which the study explores in the visual archive (maps, paintings, drawings, etc.).

An analysis of visual sources (maps, paintings, drawings, etc.) of the Cape, to be sure, is certainly not an original subject. The importance attributed to visual images of the Cape is already something of a tradition, even going back to the colonial period itself; but, perhaps partly because of this continuity, it is one which—the study argues—has been too narrow and stylistic in its focus. The purpose of utilising visual images in this study in terms of broader scholarship on the colonial period is to further explore the existing primary sources, to ensure that these are studied with a sufficient degree of rigor and complexity, and not hastily regarded as 'concluded' and left for more novel avenues to be taken up. The study is therefore limited primarily to visual sources, and a detailed study of liminality utilising other sources and methods falls beyond its scope, though it may form a valuable basis for such future research.

MAIN PROBLEM STATEMENT

The study critiques the implicit and often deep-rooted relationships between archive and image; which are inappropriate to represent colonial liminalities, while at the same time entrenching its lack of representation and historical narrative within discourses based on a valuation of the architectural image. Due to the unfixed and in-between nature of liminality, particularly during the early colonial period, the study therefore considers culture and space more broadly, and explores 'landscape'—in its spatial organisational and imaginative appropriations—as a possible alternative site in analysing liminality.

Indirectly, the study also addresses the "overwhelming textual bias in the analysis of space in Cape Town" (Bank and Minkley 1998/99, 16) and in the writing of Cape (and liminal Cape) histories by comparatively exploring representations of space in a variety of visual sources (in maps and landscape painting, from the Cape as well as other parts Dutch and British Empires), and through a series of different approaches / methods to analysing them.

SETTING OUT OF THE STUDY

The chapters of the study deal progressively with colonial contact, relations with the indigenous presence, the organisation of the colony itself, and finally the liminality within it.

Chapter One deals with early colonial contact with the land. Against political, social, and economic forces it deals with the more imaginative appropriation of landscape, and it attempts to integrate the existing knowledge base with this and with recent perspectives from studies on maritime histories and littoral societies.

Chapter Two analyses changes and continuities in the representation of the local populations across the span of VOC rule; and the functions to which landscape would be deployed in the shaping of these relationships.

Chapter Three connects the analysis of representation in the earlier chapters with an analysis of the physical organisation and networks of movement in the colony. Here it considers not only movement over land within the colony, but also the different kinds of migration (free and forced) to the Cape across the ocean, revealing powerful implications of the latter upon the shaping of the Cape landscape and colonial society.

Chapter Four, the last chapter in the study, explores the liminal landscapes of Cape Islam in greater detail as a particular case study of liminality in the colony. Against the paucity of available references to Islam for most of the VOC period, it combines a reading of landscape representation of Islam and liminal peoples in both Dutch and British colonial periods, with the physical traces which that liminality has left in the form of the kramats (tombs of Muslim saints). This intersection of sources from different registers and from different periods of time begins to open up rare opportunities to study different aspects of liminal spaces from the VOC period.

METHODOLOGY

Landscape theory

The broader approach to culture and space / landscape taken in the study led to engagement with scholarly literature on the role of landscape in construing and constructing worlds, namely in the foundational work of William J.T. Mitchell (1994), which provided important theoretical perspectives. Following the theorisation of landscape by Mitchell and others, landscape in the South African context is explored in the study in two ways. Firstly, the dominant 'imaging' of the Cape landscape during VOC rule is studied in its related maps, drawings, and paintings. This drawing together of different visual categories allows this body of images to be interpreted 'in historical context' but also as a body of cultural and economic practices that *make* history in both the real and represented environment, participating in shaping the realities they represent (Mitchell 1994, 2).

Secondly, the contemporary critique of traditional notions of landscape is, for Mitchell, ultimately about power; the power to construe, construct and survey the *scape* of the land. This critique seeks to unsettle of the position of its once taken for granted notional spectator (Harrison 1994, 206). It has also meant that conceptually the landscape field itself has moved from singular or dominant (colonial / imperial) narratives toward heterogeneity, and a concern for that which it marginalises and excludes. The suffix 'scape', which once posited the positioning of a particular view of the territory, now provokes in landscape representation inquiries regarding other positions and views—whether represented or not—rendering landscape a site of potential radical contradiction.

Interrogating the narrative of the landscape as a critique of a set of power relations, which excludes 'other' views and narratives, also allows spaces for voices within their silences and grounds for new questions to be opened, even from within the dominant representations. In the study therefore, representations of the colonial landscape are considered from different positions of power. They are analysed "along the grain" in terms of their intended purposes, maps often being created for official VOC purposes or based on maps from the VOC archives; as well as "against the grain" from 'other' perspectives, in the indigenous populations, ruling and elite classes, and liminal peoples. Related to analysing maps and landscape paintings from different positions of power, they are also analysed from different physical positioning within the territory (such as from the interior, the sea, or the mountains).

Layers and intersections

In investigating marginalised and liminal narratives which lack representation in the colonial archive, it is hoped that in the fertile field at the intersections, of the historical context of economic and political shifts; of shifting landscape dispensations or paradigmatic ideas about the landscape; and of quantitative spatial analysis (roads, buildings, spaces etc.) as well as qualitative analysis (interpretive / comparative), that new 'hidden' narratives may emerge, or where implicit entrenched narratives may become surfaced.

Through this notion of an intersection as a productive field of encounter between different registers, to various degrees the study draws from social history, from visual representation in the form of colonial period art and maps, and from territorial-scale spatial analysis thereof.

Delineation of the research process

An approach that is multi-disciplinary and which intersects multiple layers necessitates approaching culture more broadly, and involves engaging—often times simultaneously—different modes and methods of analysis. Readings in social history, with a close attentiveness to political and economic forces shaping the spatial environment, formed an important interactive background and context to the study. Against this backdrop, reading of visual sources in maps and pictures were approached in four ways. Firstly, throughout the study images are interrogated in their intentional forms of picturing and exclusions. Secondly, maps are analysed in terms of physical space, particularly in Chapter Three where maps are redrawn in order to highlight the different components used to construct map and landscape. Third, maps and pictures are measured against prevailing and shifting

landscape painting 'genres', between the earlier (Dutch) and later (British) colonial periods, namely in Chapter Four. Here, and in the study in general, the various kinds of visual and spatial categories (maps, paintings, etc.) are considered not as separate scientific and artistic fields, but as sharing in common conceptual terrain with regard to the land and its inhabitants, and each may therefore provide new perspectives of the other. Fourth, in general the study employs both chronologic as well as diachronic analyses and comparisons of images. This cognisance of the element of time is important for the three centuries of representation covered in the study is not a static concept, but they reveal both significant change and significant continuity over time.

Since the study is ultimately grounded in the discipline of architecture, and therefore in the practice of making, representing and reading space, its broad and complex analytical task is possible since, effectively, it is a multiple reading of a unifying, mediating theme – space - through a diversity of disciplines and modes of analysis. Nonetheless, as a socio-spatial history both the social and the spatial feature strongly in the study. By this the study intends to generate a complimentary relationship, where each may augment the other with regards to insights not readily available within one area of research alone. However, a key benefit of the spatial disciplines, such as architecture or urban design, is that they can offer the potential of synthesising and interpreting large amounts of complex information from a diverse range of disciplines in a spatial way, which often may not be possible in analyses within fields without design backgrounds and where 'space' does not exercise the same level of integrality and prominence.

LITERATURE

Primary sources (maps, pictures, text)

In the study, providing its own kinds of opportunities and constraints in comparison to texts, visual sources constitute the primary source material. Most important to the study in this regard was a survey of the database of the *Atlas of Mutual Heritage* (AMH) (www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/). First begun in 1996, this is an expanding digital academic catalogue of illustrations and data about settlements of the Dutch East and West Indian Company (VOC and WIC), and is an invaluable online resource. The value of the AMH project for this study is plainly stated on its website as one of its founding purposes, that it,

> "… not only functions as an aid to research on VOC/WIC-related topics but also as an aid to interdisciplinary scholarship for example in socio-cultural history, history of architecture, restoration of overseas monuments, colonial history and art history. Until now the strict separation maintained between written and textual sources on the one hand and visual material on the other has proved a stumbling block to accessing the full range of information pertaining to our mutual heritage. The project participants believe that AMH bridges the gap between the various disciplines and stimulate research into a combination of visual and textual material."

The digital archive was established through cooperation between several bodies in the Netherlands - the 'Nationaal Archief', the 'National Service for Archaeology, Cultural Landscape and Built Heritage' (the current Cultural Heritage Agency), the 'National Library of the Netherlands' and the 'Rijksmuseum' - and draws together a wealth of information from museums and libraries all over the Netherlands, from other parts of Europe, and also from other countries which formed a part of the VOC or WIC world.

Another visual resource is *Africa Media Online* (www.africamediaonline.com), a professional marketplace based in South Africa also with a large collection of African pictures available online. Due to their extensive database and ease of access both this and the AMH websites were made use of extensively.

The key primary text consulted is Francois Valentyn's (1971) voluminous *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and New East-Indies). First published in 1726, the work was popular in its time, and the fifth section of the work which deals with the Cape has been widely used by historians of the Cape and is valuable as a primary source of both text and images.

Social history

The seminal and latest works from authoritative historians of the Cape were surveyed. Most useful of these to the study were texts which deal with space, although typically this is indirect. For its authoritative, wide-ranging, and multi-faceted overview of the social history of Cape Town, a landmark text by Worden et al (2004), '*Cape Town: The Making of a city*', remains indispensable. Another social history written at approximately the same time, which also deals indirectly with space, is Worden's (1998/99) exploration of the socio-spatial divisions in VOC Cape Town. Measured against a wider survey of the literature, the essay still remains fairly unique in this regard.

The work of Kerry Ward also proved valuable in her synthesis of broader oceanic and local regional analysis, and in her original research dealing with marginal groups in the colony.

A classic and authoritative text of social history with contributions by various scholars, and referenced by many others, is '*The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820*' (1979), which has been used extensively in the study.

Theory

Apart from the work of W.J.T. Mitchell, which has already been mentioned, contemporary political and theoretical perspectives on local South African landscape, in the work of Beningfield (2006) and Baderoon, offer invaluable analysis and insights for they deal with many related approaches and types of sources to the study.

In parallel with the critiques of landscape by these scholars, historical archaeologist Martin Hall offers a similar critique with regard to South African colonial-period architecture and its legacies. Hall begins to unsettle what in this study has been termed an 'archive-image' discourse, which has played an important part in validating and constituting dominant forms of power. While scholarly attention within the field of architecture has concentrated more on the deliberate manipulation of the built environment and organization of urban space as coercive instruments for social control (Jackson 2005, 39), Hall critiques the operations of power and style of the Dutch period relating to architecture (Shepherd and Murray 2007, 3), interrogating the conventional readings of the architectural image.

The critiques of South African architecture and landscape by Hall, Beningfield and Baderoon, and the foundational work by Mitchell, all provide an important critical and theoretical base to the study's engagement with similar or related visual sources.

'Spatial' sources

Thorough and original spatial studies on the Cape landscape in the survey of the literature generally proved to be extremely limited, and in general there remains much scope for future research. Amongst the notable exceptions within the architectural and planning disciplines is '*A guide to the old buildings of the Cape*' by Fransen et al (2004), which provides general histories of urban environments at the Cape, while Tomer (2006) and Van Oers' (2000) qualitative studies on Cape Town are original and useful resources, although focusing in only on the Cape Town city centre.

In the steadily growing scholarship on Cape Islam, there is still a paucity of material that deals with space. Probably the most valuable spatial insights of Islam in the Cape landscape have actually come from the historian Bradlow (1989), who was probably the first to both assert the unequivocal importance of *Sufism*[7] in the shaping of Cape Islam and to explore the spatial mechanisms by which this may have taken place, in the relationship between Muslims in the town and the *sufi shaykhs* of the surrounding mountains and forests. Apart from Bradlow, an extensive survey of the literature revealed that the only study that directly addresses the landscape of Islam in a spatial manner is Da Costa's (1989) unpublished PhD dissertation in the geography of Cape Islam. On the whole, however, the study is more a quantitative analysis and evaluation of data than a critical concern with space or landscape.

Scholars who have broadly dealt with Cape Islam as a landscape have tended to limit their discussion to descriptions of regional comparisons. Elphick and Shell (1986) were some of the earliest historians to distinguish between the different regions of the South Western Cape as a whole, between the nature of the port city of Cape Town, with the settled, arable, slave-owning area beyond it, and the pastoral *trekboer* region beyond that. Shell (1997) developed this regional comparison in relation to Islam, but there appears to be little that has been done since to develop the initial analysis any further; although Chidester's (2000) essay 'Mapping the Sacred in the Mother City' begins to develop the discussion beyond the regional to consider multiple political and religious meanings formed by groups of various religious affiliations within the city.

On an architectural scale, the only major study that deals with the architecture of Muslims in the Cape is Le Roux's (1992) unpublished PhD dissertation on the subject. Although the study appears to have had little to no impact on subsequent writing on Cape Islam, it is a major contribution providing original research and insights. In terms of this study, however, its benefit is limited as it deals essentially with the emergent urban mosque architectural tradition of the nineteenth century and does not cover in any significant detail the spaces and landscapes of the earlier Dutch colonial period.

Of the more recent work on Cape Islam, Hendricks (2005) and Rafudeen (2001) proved to be the most useful in their thorough synthesis of the available material as well as providing new research and perspectives.

On the whole, original scholarship on the Cape landscape, whether generally or with regards to its liminalities such as Islam, and whether in terms of physical spatial mapping or in terms of more cultural studies approaches, remains under-researched.

Interviews and site visits

'Texts' were also generated by interviews, site visits and photos. Useful input came from interviews with Religious Studies scholar Abdulkader Tayob and especially from historian Nigel Worden, both based at the University of Cape Town.

Supplemented by site visits to the historic *kramat* sites and graveyards of the Cape, an interview with Mahmood Limbada, a representative of the Cape Mazaar Society, the body which builds and maintains the sites, also provided information and interpretation thereof.

Many other interviews with other academics, elderly Muslim community leaders and members, as well as caretakers of mosques and cemeteries, provided information which did not find an outlet in the study, but which could still be useful for future research.

7 Sufism, or Tasawwuf, is an over-arching term for Islamic Spirituality. By the eighth century, or within the first century of Islam, the term 'sufi' had already appeared to designate representatives of this group, reportedly used by Hasan al-Basri (Hendricks 2005, 30, 398). By the ninth century it came to be known as Tasawwuf (literally 'being a sufi') or 'sufism' (ur-Rahman 2008), by which it also came to be widely known and studied across the Islamic world.

SUMMARY

The study engages the redress of overwritten and underwritten colonial histories, underpinned by a close attention to the making and shaping of space / landscape**.** Following a critique of an 'archive-image' discourse which entrenches and naturalises these erasures and, moreover, is insufficient to represent them, the study proposes that an analysis of 'landscape'—its discursive formations, transformation and representation--offers a possibility of accessing liminal narratives and landscapes. Alternatively, at least, it may open up a greater scope for visibility thereof within the existing archive, and point to other directions for future research which may produce different kinds of results.

CHAPTER ONE

BETWEEN LAND AND SEA: THE MAKING OF THE 'CAPE'

This chapter explores powerful ways in which the land was imagined, represented and transformed by the local populations and the colonial settlement, and the ways in which the conflicts that ensued were aided by these different imaginative geographies or 'landscapes'. William Mitchell (1994, 15, 19) distinguishes between land and landscape as 'real' versus 'ideal'. In this schema the former constitutes the material land and its limited quantities of minerals, vegetation, water, and dwelling space; while the latter is the poetic function in whose service it is put and represented, as 'the naturalistic representation of nature'. Underlying such analysis of the making of meanings of the land as well as its concomitant pictorial representation, a concern both spatial and cultural, geographer Denis Cosgrove has suggested that this "'spatial turn' across arts and sciences corresponds to post-structuralist agnosticism about both naturalistic and universal explanations and about single-voiced historical narratives" (Cosgrove quoted in Warf and Arias 2009, 1). Central, then, in the renewed interest in landscape, as argued by art historian Charles Harrison (1994, 217), is "the relationship of the notional spectator to that which the picture shows" and from whose position the order of the picture works and unfolds. The contemporary critique of the traditional genre of landscape therefore "is nothing if it is not an attempt to unseat the person of vision from a position as arbiter of the primordial conventions of art" Harrison (1994, 206). Thus, landscape has come to be viewed as 'a medium of cultural expression', and therefore as a field that goes well beyond the history of landscape as popularised in painting during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to include poetry, fiction, travel literature, and landscape gardening (Mitchell 1994, 6, 14).

Mitchell (1994, 1) has argued that this revolutionary change in the understanding of landscape that occurred in the last century has consisted of two major shifts:

> (T)he first (associated with modernism) attempted to read the history of landscape primarily on the basis of landscape painting, and to narrativize that history as a progressive movement toward purification of the visual field; the second (associated with postmodernism) tended to decenter the role of painting and pure formal visuality in favor of a semiotic and hermeneutic approach that treated landscape as an allegory of psychological or ideological themes.

In addition to these Mitchell also posits a third reading of landscape which incorporates these two approaches, while also examining its mode of operation as social practice; whereby it not only reflects power relations but is an instrument and medium of cultural power. Essentially and ultimately then, for Mitchell, landscape is an act of power.

Following the theorisation of landscape by Mitchell and others, the dominant imaging of the Cape landscape during the Dutch colonial period is explored in this chapter through maps, drawings, and paintings. The drawing together of different visual categories allows this body of images to be interpreted "in historical context" but also as a body of cultural and economic practices that *make* history in both the real and represented environment (Mitchell 1994, 2). The chapter is organised into three sections—'land', 'sea', and 'strand'—representing indigenous inhabitation, colonial contact, and the unfolding of a new order of landscape that ensued.

THE LAND

The Khoisan[1] once lived everywhere across southern Africa (Le Roux and White 2004, 16, 20-1). When Europeans first began to settle in South Africa, the Khoisan people largely occupied the southwest territory of the country, a region with heavy rainfall and good pastures (Kiernan 1995, 16), and the region from where the Dutch colony would be established. The Cape Khoi, or 'Hottentots' (sometimes referred to as Khoikhoi), were a nomadic pastoralist society by the time Jan van Riebeeck, the first commander at the Cape for the VOC, arrived in the Cape. These Khoi used the shores of Table Bay as part of an annual transhumance pattern, and it was they whom Europeans would encounter (Worden 2004, 16-7).

As argued by Prozesky (1995, 3), it appears that the religion of the Khoi was closely connected to its geographical setting and nomadic pastoralist society.[2] The explanatory principle of the Khoi asserted the existence of a duality of spirit: Tsui//Goab, the giver of rain and plenty; and another male figure, //Guanab, who was associated with evil. This dualism dispensed with good and bad fortune on a communal scale. Reflecting the dependence of Khoi existence upon rainfall, the moon was viewed as the physical manifestation of a supreme being who was associated especially with rain. On a different order the individual was governed by a heroic figure called Heitsi Eibib, generally corresponding to a national original ancestor of the Khoi, who was approached and invoked for success in other matters such as hunting (Kiernan 1995, 18-9). Cattle, too, formed part of a worldview in which they had great ritual and social significance, far beyond a product to be bought and sold (Neville, 'The Khoikhoi').

Pre-colonial names of the areas in the region where Cape Town would to be established, such as *'The mountain that rises from the sea'* (Baderoon 2009, 91), *'The sweet water'* (Graaff 2008, 1), *'Where the rainclouds gather,'* or *'Where the sun goes down'* (Le Roux and White 2004, 28), all reflected the importance of the local geographical reality as well. These names—the identification of Cape Town with Table Mountain, its rainclouds and fresh mountain streams, and as the place where the sun sets—all speak of the ways in which local populations used and imaged the land. They point not only to a close relationship with the land but, moreover, to a perspective and imaging *from* the land (see fig. 1a), that would contrast sharply with that of colonial settlement, whose ships representing the Dutch trading empire would arrive and image the land from the very different perspective of the sea.



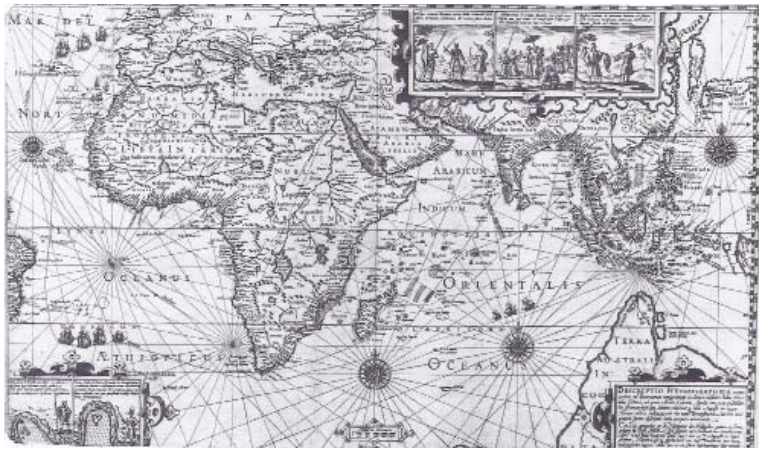
1a.
A rare image of Table Mountain and Devil's Peak from the interior (1786), recalls the pre-colonial name of Cape Town, "Where the rainclouds gather."

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

Unlike the Dutch, as a pastoralist society the Khoi did not navigate transoceanic voyages and were not integrated into a global economy. Their livestock economy and the constant transhumance and periodic dispersal that this entailed, was in fact largely responsible for their

1 According to Jim Kiernan (1995, 16), the Khoisan had evolved into two distinct cultural strands. The San maintained a hunter-gatherer way of life while the Khoi, nomadic pastoralists, are discussed in the chapter in greater detail.

2 What we know of the indigenous religions of Southern Africa before white penetration is derived almost entirely from the accounts of early white observers and interlocutors, and should be taken with due caution (Kiernan 1995, 18).



1b.
VOC / WIC Map of a large part of Africa (1610).
Also showing sea routes departing from and returning to Europe

(Sources: Gaastra 2003, 22)

vulnerability. [3] The Company's goals in relation to this local reality were predominantly commercial and its trade for livestock would become increasingly coercive. This, together with its demand for land and labour (as well as the devastation caused by imported diseases such as smallpox), would result in the transformation on the landscape and in the traditional order disintegrating to the extent that by the end of the first century of Dutch settlement there would be hardly any Khoi at all in the once relatively populous southwestern Cape. Eventually, the Khoi would merge with slaves into a labouring class, which South Africans of the nineteenth century would call the Cape Coloured people (Kiernan 1995, 72; Ward 2007, footnote 40; Elphick 1986, 7, 26-7).

3 Although in relation to the Dutch, the Khoi and San may have appeared 'nomadic', this should not be understood as having no attachment to any particular piece of land or equated with a type of 'landlessness'; for although both practiced a type of nomadism they also moved within very circumscribed areas. The Dutch were evidently familiar with many of these areas, as would emerge later in maps of the eighteenth century where Khoi tribes were associated with respective regions (see the discussion of fig. 2e in Chapter Two for more on this subject). San groups further north, such as those along the Riet and Orange Rivers, even lived in semi-permanent villages. Nomadism in an absolute sense is described as a "myth" by Le Roux and White, and as a discourse which has sanctioned land dispossession (Le Roux and White 2004, 12, 15-8; Elphick 1986, 4, 7; Worden 2004, 16).

THE SEA

In contrast to the land-based trade of the indigenous populations of southern Africa, travel in the Dutch trading empire produced a world at sea - a 'seascape'. By the eighteenth century great lengths of time were spent at sea, as sending ships out from the Netherlands to Asia had become commonplace, occurring virtually the whole year round (Gaastra 2003, 111). VOC vessels leaving Europe would head for the Canary Islands off the west coast of Africa. Thereafter they would not sight land again until they had reached the Cape, from where they would continue into the Indian Ocean (Worden 2000, 14). The Cape Colony was therefore founded in 1652 by the VOC initially as a halfway refreshment station for its ships on the long journey between Europe and the East, a journey that lasted for eight or nine months.

This 'seascape' was already reflected in the very first maps of these voyages. Between 1595 and 1602, the year in which the VOC was established, several one-off enterprises were set up for single voyages for trade with Asia. These are known as Early Companies (*Voor-Compagnieen*) to distinguish them from the VOC. The first of these voyages consisted of a small fleet of three heavily armed merchant ships and a small yacht, which departed the Netherlands in 1595 (Gaastra 2003, 16-7). The mapmaker Plancius' 1598 map of this First Voyage depicts this tiny fleet with their route shown as a dotted line (see fig. 1b) (Gaastra 2003, 22). The map is indicative of the extent of the available geographical knowledge of the period, as well as suggestive of geographical imaginaries. On the left for example, part of Brazil is depicted in the incorrect geographical position and, on the right, a part of the then still unknown Australia is depicted south of Indonesia as an overly large continent. But more tellingly, like other European world maps of the period whose coastlines are often assiduously notated, the interior of continents are by comparison largely blank, unknown entities. This is an indication that the ways in which the new overseas territories were imagined, represented and transformed were firstly 'seascapes', which would underlie the imaging and making of forts and settlements on land.

The theme of 'seascapes' in scholarly literature is open-ended, diverse, rich and textured, and like 'landscape' can be regarded as a medium of cultural expression that extends beyond a history of paintings of the sea (although here the theme communicates most explicitly). Karen Wigen, a scholar of historical geography, and a diverse collection of other scholars have recently examined the diversity of this theme in the book 'Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges' (2007), wherein 'seascapes' was used as a vehicle to understand and engage larger issues such as critical oceanic constructs, empires and power, sociologies on ship or at port, and the worlds of smugglers and pirates. These varied studies of seascapes show the importance of both regional and imaginative spatialities in maritime histories, as Wigen (2007, 12, 16) explains:

> (T)hese papers make it clear that maritime social-cultural history as an analytical project requires an expansive spatial vision, extending not only from the ships to the docks but bridging multiple regions of the ocean and including littorals and their hinterlands as well. (...) The second agenda for an intellectual history of maritime worlds ... is the role of oceans not only as highways or conduits for the movement of ideas, but equally as spaces of imaginative projection.

'Seascapes', or approaching human society from the water, therefore entails both physical and imaginative space. Plotting a way forward, Wigen (2007, 17) concludes that the existing knowledge base still requires integration with this more recent analytical project:

> Most current categories of social analysis were initially developed to understand land-based societies. How those categories need to be transformed by perspectives from the sea — and how far they can be stretched, bent, and reworked to accommodate ocean-centered realities— is perhaps the most important unresolved agenda hanging over this collection.

Across the VOC empire, many depictions of Company forts and settlements would be depicted by artists. Like the seascape of Plancius' 1598 map, which merges VOC sailing routes and sea space with coastal regions into a seamless interconnected maritime world, a survey of artists' representations of the Dutch trading posts across this map also reveals great similarities. Most notably, there is an overwhelming abundance of landscapes of these trading posts viewed from the sea (see fig. 1c). This perspective from the sea is particularly marked since most seascape paintings are indeed painted as if from the land rather than the sea itself, which indicates for the Dutch a certain primacy of the relation with the sea, and its mastery and control thereof. Indeed the emergence of the genre of seascape in painting in the Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century may be linked to the promotion of national interests and identities; for the Dutch, like the British later where seascape painting would also enjoy immense and long-lasting popularity, relied for their wealth and power on their command of the seas (Mainz 2000, 178).

The carefully constructed yet very similarly depicted scenes of Dutch trading posts, with sea foregrounded and (an oftentimes dramatised) land in the background, reflects the European habit of mind of the period which understood landscape in terms of manufactured views, as "discrete pictures or dramas readily apprehendable by the eye" (Bunn 1994, 168-9, note 8). David Bunn, a scholar in cultural studies, notes how this form of landscape convention also lends itself to commoditized and easily reproducible views, as is evident in these pictures produced either from aboard ships or drawn by artists in Europe based on other sketches, memory, or purely from imagination (Bunn 1994, 169, note 9; Raven-Hart 1971, 54). A close, comparative reading of these scenes, however, also reveals their discursive functions, whereby the alien environments while maintaining their difference are absorbed into the greater familiarity of the seascape. The landscape convention here thus enables the joining of the 'Company's' seas with the alien landscapes. Another key instrument used to this effect are the VOC ships.

The ships also serve a discursive function as 'lead-in figures', inserted in the important threshold of the painting at the transition between observer and observed. Despite—or because of—the distant, foreign, 'exotic' or potentially dangerous nature of these destinations for the Dutch, the ships reassure the European observer that all is well (Mitchell 1994, 23-4). Even when drawn from the land the scene could simply be produced in reverse (i.e. orientated toward the sea with the land foregrounded, and ships and sea in the background and on the horizon), as seen for example in J. Nieuhof's drawing of St. Helena in 1658 or J.W. Heydt panorama of Cape Town in 1742 (see fig. 1d). Such continuities in representations, despite the differences in location and vantage point, highlights the careful construction of these scenes, and again marks a sharp contrast with the land-orientated imagery of the indigenous populations of southern Africa.

The joining of the VOC seascape to the land was, moreover, also implicated in the workings of power. Even from the Chambers of the VOC administration in the Netherlands, decision-making and imperial space was closely connected. Framed maps hung on the walls of the boardrooms of the administration, and mapbooks, atlases and drawings were on hand (Zandvliet, 'VOC Maps'). At the Dutch trading posts, one of the earliest ways in which power was reflected was in the act of naming, particularly where they ignored and replaced existing names. Much of the earliest of these namings occurred from the sea. By the early seventeenth century mostly Portuguese, but also some Dutch coastal names, appeared on European maps of southern Africa. A well-known 1635 map of southern Africa published in Amsterdam before the Dutch settlement at the Cape was established (which appeared in the Novus atlas of W. and J. Blaeu) shows four bays marked in Dutch - Tafel (Table), Vleys (Flesh), Vis (Fish) and Mossel (SESA, 'Cartography'). Names given to landmarks in the interior of the Cape only occurred later as the interior was explored and settled (Schoeman 1998, 6).

The Cape Peninsula was named "Cape of Storms" (*Cabo das Tormentas*) in 1488 by Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias, and later revised to the "Cape of Good Hope" (*Cabo da Boa Esperanca*) by the King of Portugal, Jacob II, to signify the hope of a sea route to the East, achieved ten years later. The Dutch retained this name when they finally took possession of the Cape in 1652 (BLRAM). Unlike more prominent eastern and western possessions of the VOC and WIC which were named or renamed after regions and peoples from the Dutch homeland such as "Batavia", "New Amsterdam" and "New Netherland", the VOC settlement that developed on the Cape Peninsula simply came to be called *Cabo* ('the Cape') or *de Kaapsche Vlek* (the 'Cape settlement').



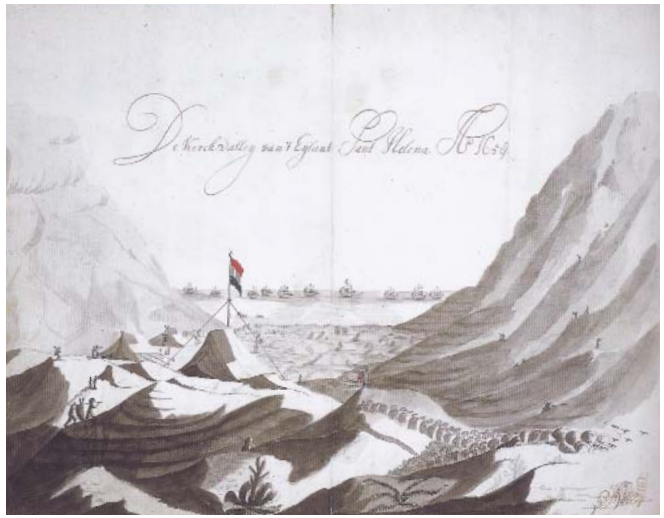
1c.
Images and/of locations related to the VOC or WIC in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Clockwise from top left: *Batavia, Taperica, Ambon, Macassar, Ternate, Nagasaki, Samboepo, Malacca, Olinda. Center: Gamron.*

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

While on the one hand, the town's adoption of this casual description for its name reflected its lesser status as a simple midway port within a much more profitable empire whose centres were in Amsterdam and Batavia, on the other hand, the naming of the 'Cape' town is indicative of an image of it as place apart from the African continent proper; as an ocean 'caravanserai' (Elphick and Shell 1986, 161) within European seascapes that was just as much a part of the sea as the land.

Another no less significant act of writing the land from the sea was the (re)naming of Table Mountain, once known locally as *Hoerikwaggo*. Francois Valentyn, writing in the early eighteenth century, explains that "(i)t has its name because the top is as flat as a table, and sometimes it is as if covered" (Serton et al 1971, 55). The naming of Table Mountain is attributed to António de Saldanha, a captain in a small Portuguese fleet sent from Lisbon in 1503 to capture and prey on Arab shipping at the mouth of the Red Sea. On route, poor piloting forced Saldanha to anchor in the hitherto unknown Table Bay to check if the Cape had been surpassed, from where he climbed the flat-topped mountain and identified the tip of the Cape (Cape Point) further to the south. He named the peak Table Mountain and also carved a cross in the rock nearby on what is today known as Lion's Head. [4] Like the 'Cape', this act of naming was one uniquely from or over Table Bay, since this particular flat-topped appearance of the mountain is almost impossible from any other vantage point. By contrast, its ancient Khoi name, *Hoerikwaggo*, or the "mountain that rises from the sea," knows and names the mountain by its appearance from the perspective of the land and hence the exact opposite of its appropriated colonial identity within a seascape imaginary. Since it is on land where human habitation actually occurs, its ancient name could be regarded as a more 'natural' one.

4 Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ant%C3%B3nio_de_Saldanha . Accessed November 2012.





1d.
J. Nieuhof's *drawing of St. Helena* (1658) and *A view of Table Bay from Table Mountain* by J. W. Heydt (1741).

(Sources: Gaastra 2003, 42; Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)



1f.
The Official Inauguration of Table Mountain as one of the "New 7 Wonders of Nature" took place on 2 December 2012, at a ceremony in Cape Town at the foot of the iconic mountain.

(Source: http://news.n7w.com/2012/12/03/table-mountain-makes-headlines-following-new7wonders-of-nature-inauguration/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=table-mountain-makes-headlines-following-new7wonders-of-nature-inauguration).

Today the image of Table Mountain from the sea flanked by Devil's Peak to the east and Lion's Head to the west is a global icon of the Cape, and the almost instantaneously recalled image for both locals and visitors. This particular vista, of the level plateau and cliff face of the northern end of Table Mountain, is often popularly taken to represent the whole of the much larger mountain, which includes the rear, lower part of the mountain known as the Back Table. [5] A packed Grand Parade in Cape Town city centre recently also celebrated the inauguration of the Mountain as "one of the Official New 7 Wonders of Nature as voted by the people of the world" [6] (see fig. 1f). However, and without detracting from its beauty, this 'natural' imagery has its roots in its entrenchment in the seascapes of colonial iconography, made possible through countless reproductions in early travel journals and likewise in more recent tourist postcards (which frequently seek to add further emphasise through aerial views), making it the most recurrent icon in South African history (Vergunst 2001) (see fig. 1e). The vista of the mountain towering over the small Dutch settlement was a landmark for both sailors and artists. [7] From on board a ship approaching the Cape, Valentyn for example describes its importance to sailors:

> (I)n my last journey thither, had I not kept a better watch than he and known the shore of the Cape better, would have caused us to sail past the Cape; and this would have turned out ill for us and might well have caused the loss of the ship, since we had not 20 fit men aboard. That morning, standing beside the Chief Mate, I very clearly saw the hills of the Cape and distinguished exactly the Table Mountain, the Wind Hill [Devil's Peak] and the Lion Hill, as indeed I told him… (Serton et al 1971, 39).

5 Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Table_Mountain_National_Park. Accessed November 2012.

6 Source: http://nature.n7w.com/ . Accessed December 2012.

7 Its importance in the colonial imagination also prompted French astronomer Nicolas Louis de Lacaille in the mid-eighteenth century to name a dim Southern Hemisphere constellation of stars '*Mensa*' (Latin for table) in honour of the mountain. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mensa_(constellation). Accessed November 2012.).

In other examples of (over)writings of the seascape upon the land, the bay before Table Mountain (Table Bay) says Valentyn, "was thus named for the mountain of that name by Admiral *Joris van Spilbergen* in the year 1601" and the hills of the Blaauwenberg (literally 'Blue Mountains') to the north of Cape Town "is so called because it looks very blue, especially when one looks towards the land when first arriving" (Serton et al 1971, 43, 77).

The importance of the Table Bay vista to sailors and artists, and as the one first encountered by visitors, also became an important concern to the Company for its self-image and for underscoring its authority. The vista of the Cape from the sea thus came to be associated with VOC authority and the shoreline would be dominated most notably by the Castle, outside of which was situated a very visible execution ground, as well as other by Company buildings (Worden 1998/99, 76).

While the workings of power implicated in seascapes would be reflected in the shaping and naming of the land from the sea, and in the physical domination of the shoreline, European imperial seascapes implicitly also carried with them concepts of time and civilisation, whereby "distance from Europe became equated with increasingly more primitive stages of development," where "beyond Europe was *before* Europe". This would become especially pronounced in the British Empire in the nineteenth century, particularly with the onset in Britain of the industrial revolution and Social Darwinism (Warf and Arias 2009, 2-3). Yet, although the VOC was an earlier commercial enterprise, there are clear indications of comparable conceptual terrain already evident in early Dutch maps. In Johan Nieuhoff's 1659 map of the Cape, for example (see fig. 1g), the seas appear even more inhabited than the land, the former by Company ships and the latter only by wild animals. This phenomenon, the contrast between inhabited seas and uninhabited lands, is probably the most salient feature of the map. In a reference to the Biblical account of Noah the animals on the land are also all grouped in pairs, which imply an ancient virgin land. Even a route of one of the early exploring expeditions into the interior, shown as a loop on the map extending out from Table Bay, makes no impact whatsoever to a landscape devoid of any human inhabitation. In this seascape therefore, the arrival of ships on the map also signals the arrival of civilisation on the edges of an ancient, wild unknown. However this narrative, or 'genre'[8], ignores the ancient local presence which was known to the Dutch, for the Portuguese already in the sixteenth century and later the English and Dutch all had contacts with the Cape Khoi (Worden 2004, 14-6, 24). The contradiction between these relations and the narrative of the map, which indicates precisely the opposite, has given rise to certain baffling peculiarities, such as the cartouches which appear to reveal the very local presence which the map denies. Moreover, the map shows the proposal for a canal made at the time, which was intended specifically to separate the Dutch-occupied territory from the hinterlands and to guard against any challenge posed by the local populations.

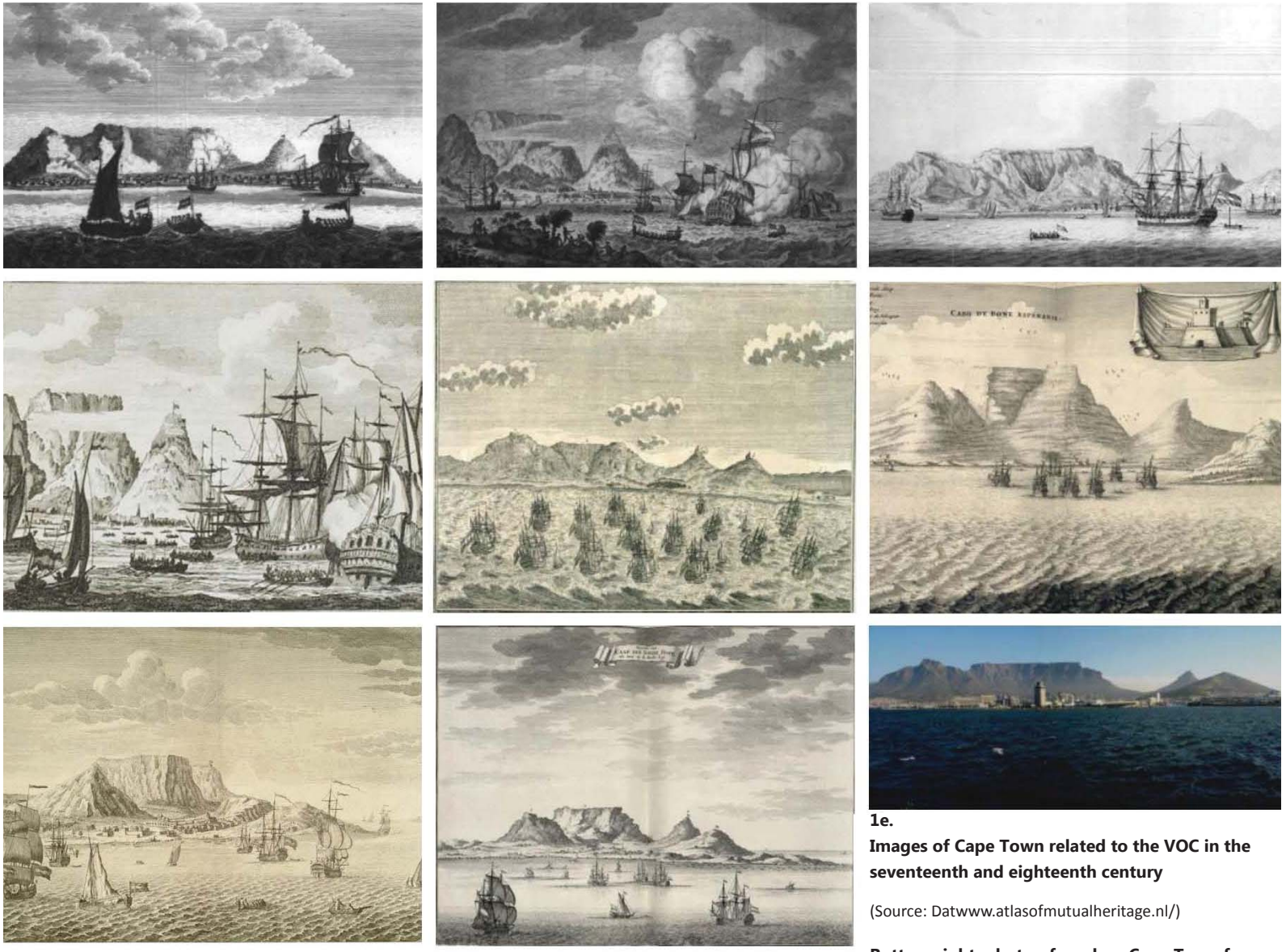
The proposed canal was the result of a recommendation made in 1657 by the visiting Governor General of Batavia, Commissioner Ryklof Van Goens, to dig a channel between Table Bay and False Bay, cutting all the way across the Peninsula. The design was intended to literally transform the 'Dutch' Peninsula into what Van Riebeeck called an "artificial island" (Pearce 1956, 27), wholly belonging to the imperial seas.

The unrealised canal scheme also illustrates some of the ways in which attempts were made to manage the new territory and the rival presence, through the use of familiar forms from the Dutch homeland such as canals. However, as evident in the proposed scheme, these could take on new social functions in the colonies to negotiate the new realities. Nieuhoff's map thus displays many of the unresolved contradictions between an overarching narrative from the sea, which pictures the land as ancient, empty and possessable, and the actual physical inhabitation of the land, which is forced to acknowledge and contend with a rival indigenous presence.[9]

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8 The representations of empty landscapes in colonial period imagery, both in South Africa and elsewhere, as well the enduring predilection for such images in popular South African landscape art today, has prompted art historian Michael Godby (1997, 39) to describe these forms as a "genre".

9 This contradiction would begin to be resolved more in later maps. See for example the discussion on the '*Nova et accurata tabula*' and other maps in Chapter Two.



1e.
Images of Cape Town related to the VOC in the seventeenth and eighteenth century

(Source: Datwww.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

Bottom right, photo of modern Cape Town from Table Bay (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

THE STRAND

The representational processes and the workings of power they contain as described in this chapter cannot be separated from the broader political and economic processes, for the Dutch imperial seascape would bring with it the world of merchant capitalism. These imaginative and economic geographies would powerfully underlie and shape Dutch interest, enrichment, settlement and conquest in South Africa (Prozesky 1995, 6). As a large multinational company which sought to dominate trade under monopoly conditions, the Company's priorities were primarily economic gain, and its establishment of a station at the Cape sought to facilitate this economic enterprise (Rafudeen 2001, 43). These processes—political, economic and imaginative—together helped to shape a powerful relation to the land which would have far-reaching implications, and which would extend well beyond the limits of the fort settlement at the Cape.

The society and landscape that these processes shaped could appropriately be described through historian Michael Pearson's (1985) concept of 'littoral societies', "as communities extending inland from the coast that are influenced by their relationship with the port, an influence that weakens with geographic distance", and which reflect a complex mixture of maritime and terrestrial influences (Ward 2007, 146; Pearson 2003). However, due to the wide scope and variation within this area of study [10], the term 'strand' has been preferred in this chapter. Etymologically suggestive of expansion—from the Indo-European root *ster*, 'to stretch out'[11]—and therefore space and power, the term is used here specifically to highlight a relation to the land from the sea and the workings of power inherent within littorals produced by colonial settlement. [12]

10 Pearson (2003), for example, has used location, occupation as well culture as categories through which to understand littoral societies, while Ward (2007) has highlighted the 'transoceanic' aspects of port cities such as Cape Town.

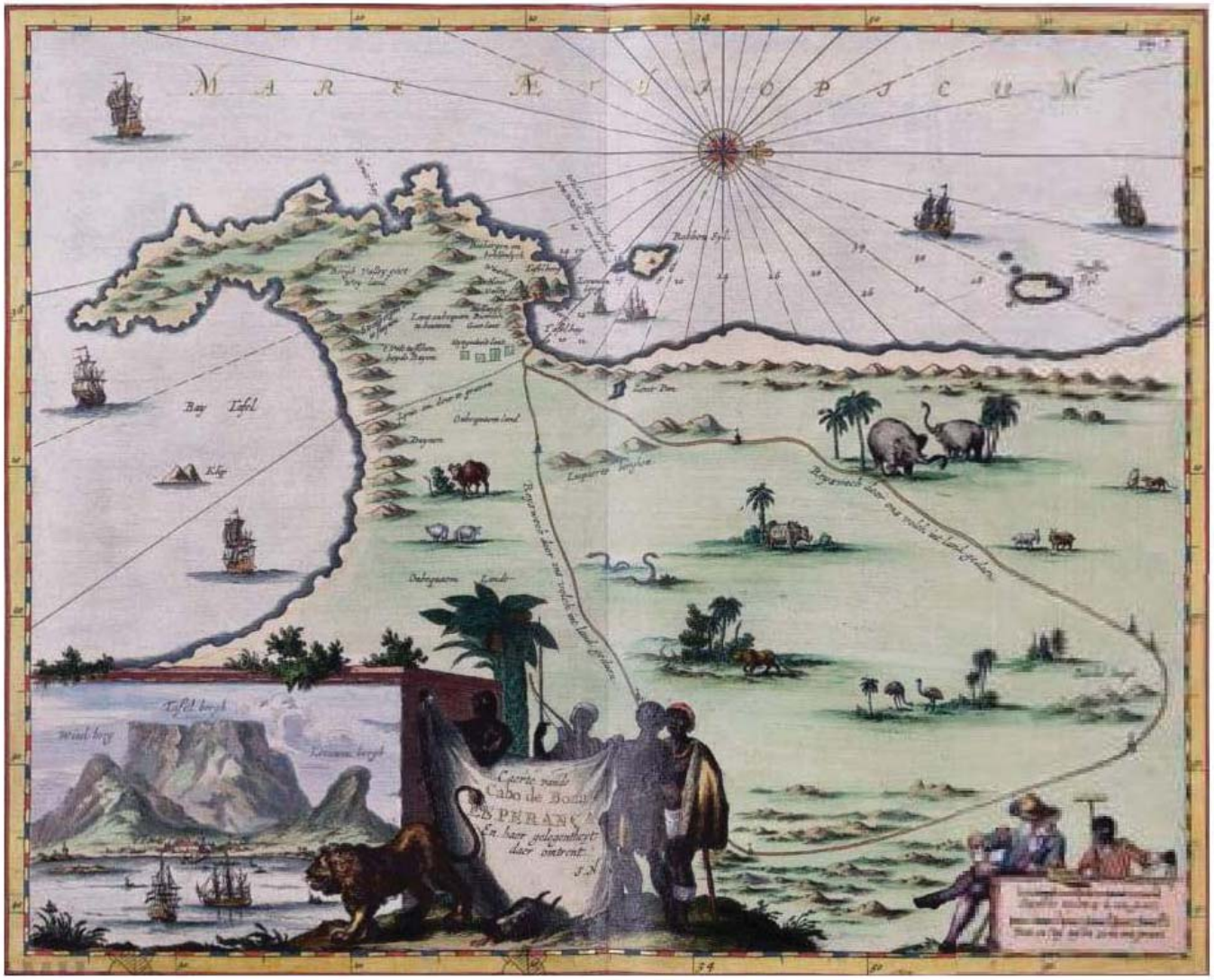
11 Source: http://etymonline.com/?term=strand . Accessed: November 2011.

12 David Sopher introduced the subject of plants and people who live on the littoral, which he called the 'strand' (Pearson 2003). However, this study has used the term in a different context.

The stretching out of this strand from the initial fort settlement would follow the nature of the terrain. In the southwestern Cape colonial expansion followed the direction of cultivatable land, while in the *trekboer* (migrant farmer) regions of the interior expansion followed the availability of permanent surface water and the quality of pasture (Guelke 1986, 59). At the same time, however, economic interests were always an important factor in the new order written over the landscape. As a supply outpost, during the first decades of the settlement a number of alternatives had been attempted to establish agriculture at the Cape; and while each subsequent alternative required lesser capital and labour to the convenience of the Company and settlers, it required ever vaster tracts of land to be exploited, to the detriment of the societies and transhumance patterns of the Khoisan (Guelke 1986, 47-59). Thus, Leonard Guelke (1986, 51) has argued:

> In economic terms, land, a factor in abundant supply,
> was substituted for capital and labour.

Already the purposes of a supply outpost for which the territory at the Cape would serve were clearly marked on Nieuhoff's map of 1659. Both farms and even potential farmland are shown, and the proposed canal is shown dividing these "very good grounds" and "good pasture ground" from the "barren grounds." As colonists moved beyond these regions further into the interior in the eighteenth century, even though these stock farmers would have much less physical contact with the port town than the farmers of its nearer arable regions, the earlier seascape imagings of the economic functions of landscape would yet only deepen with time and the further the colony expanded. Thus the most extreme cases of the use and occupation of extensive spaces were found in the *trekboer* regions in the interior, where the expansion of stock farming enlarged the areas of activity rather than using the area already occupied in a more intensive manner. This extensive exploitation of



1g.
VOC map, *"The Map of the Cape of Good Hope with its true Situation"*, prepared in 1659. From the travel journal of Johan Nieuhoff.

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

resources compensated the farmers for not being an integral part of an exchange economy. Unlike the Khoi whose society was based not on the possession of land but on often loosely organised kin groups and seasonal migrations, a system of land granting entitled each landholder to at least 2,420 ha. In arid regions of the interior population densities in the colony could even reach as low as one free person per 26km^2 (Elphick 1986, 5-6; Guelke 1986, 59, 65-7). Thus, although *trekboers*, or '*boere*' (farmers) as they popularly came to be denoted, came to be known for a certain closeness to land—for indeed African-born colonists and also European immigrants became inured to the hardships and isolation of life in the African veld—the new order generally entailed over-use rather than improvement of the resources that were available, leading to the deterioration of the veld and its resources, and to the loss of lands of the indigenous occupants (Guelke 1986, 64-7).

Facilitating the trekboer expansion was that relatively few Khoi were settled in the interior regions they occupied as rainfall levels were less favourable there than in the southwestern Cape. Rather, opposition to this eighteenth-century expansion would come less from the Khoi as in the seventeenth century, than from 'Bushmen'. Indeed, the century-long expansion of Europeans would finally be checked by the 'Bushman' wars of hunter-gatherer Khoisan in the Sneeuwberg after 1770 (Elphick 1986, 23, 26). The Dutch general Robert Gordon, for example, wrote in the 1770s of a famous "bullet-escaper", the "Bushmen chief" Koerikei, which captures the plight of the local populations in the face of trekboer expansion:

> Standing on a cliff out of range, he shouted to [*veldwagmeester* Van der Merwe]: "*What are you doing on my land? You have taken all the places where the eland and other game live. Why do you not stay where the sun goes down, where you first came from?*" (Le Roux and White 2004, 28).

CONCLUSION

This chapter studied the more imaginative appropriation of landscape that underpinned colonial territorialization, in relation to political, social, and economic forces in the country which has often been the focus of earlier scholarship. It therefore also attempts to integrate the existing knowledge base with a more recent project of developing perspectives from the sea.

The chapter has argued that Dutch imperial seascapes brought with it not only the world of merchant capitalism, and powerful political and economic forces associated therewith, as well as discourses on civilisation, but that these relations of power and imaginaries would be reflected in representational processes, which likewise themselves critically advanced the shaping of a new order of landscape. These inter-related physical, economic and imaginative geographies would powerfully underlie and shape Dutch interest, enrichment, settlement and conquest in South Africa, the legacies of which are still present today, not only in areas such as socio-economic realities but also in commonly held concepts and perceptions of the landscape.

While this chapter has looked at seascapes and early colonial contacts with the land, the following chapter builds upon this to study in greater detail the picturing of the land and the indigenous presence therein.

CHAPTER TWO

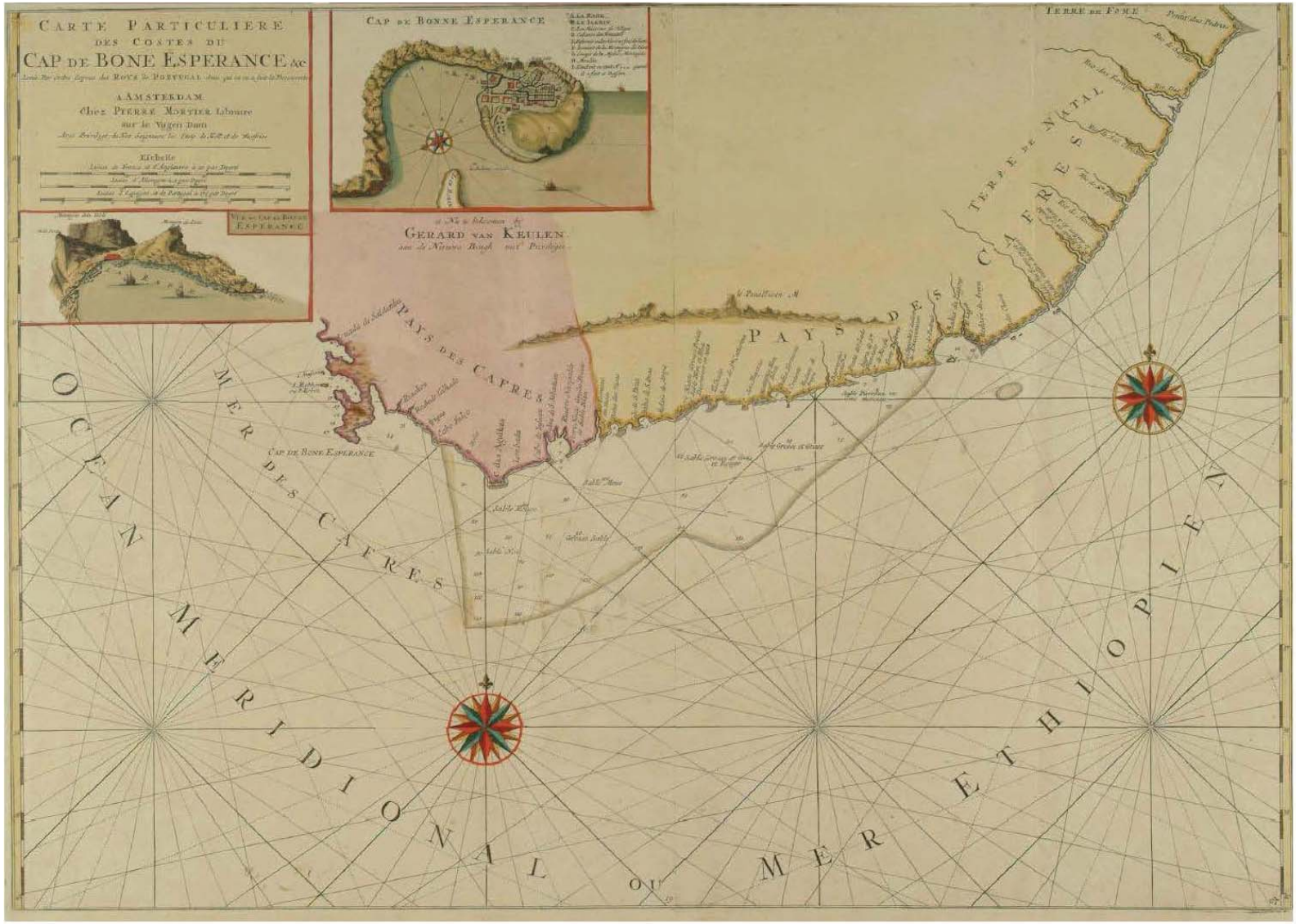
PICTURING THE LAND AND THE ‘OTHER’

By 1700 only very limited parts of the earth had been mapped with the aid of accurate readings. In the European colonies maps were often based on various types of information harmonised by the cartographer to the best of his abilities (Serton et al 1971, 9). Maps of the Cape for most of the VOC period likewise contained many geographical inaccuracies. Only in the second half of the eighteenth century had sufficient Cape cartographical data been collected for better general maps (Serton et al 1971, 13). Thus, with limited data available, other factors would also come into play in order to map and produce the imagery of the Cape landscape; but, as the chapter will argue, would therefore also be evident in much later maps despite the greater cartographical data available. This chapter therefore studies VOC maps both along and against the grain; in terms of their explicitly intended purposes, as well as representations and the forces shaping them and through which they are filtered.

Building on the study of seascapes in the previous chapter, this chapter studies the intertwining of the picturing of the land with the representation of the 'other(s)'. For several reasons landscape representation in the Netherlands differed from that in the Dutch colonies overseas, and one factor which greatly affected the imagery produced at the Cape was the absence of local national sensitivities in the colonies, which allowed far greater opportunities for corporate imaging (Adams 1994, 57-58). However, another important factor which distinguished representation in the colonies was the confrontation with a rival, indigenous 'other' over the seas, which also affected a different order of representation. This chapter explores the representation of this indigenous 'external other' as well as the liminal 'internal other' within the colony itself.

More broadly, the modes of 'othering' and making of boundaries forms part of the critical interest with which the traditional genre of European landscape representation has recently come to be viewed. This broader interest lies not only in the intentional forms of picturing, but perhaps more significantly in 'that which is contingently excluded from the possibility of being seen and represented' (Harrison 1994, 234). Different aspects of both are explored in this chapter, as well as throughout the study.

The picturing of the 'other' in the land over the span of the VOC period, the chapter argues, was marked by both change and continuity. Key maps are studied within the historical context in which they were produced. A diachronic approach is taken in the last section of the chapter, when dealing with maps produced at the end of the VOC period. This two-fold approach allows a superimposition of the different layers of information, highlighting relationships amongst parts and continuities in the imaging and representation of the VOC-imaged world at the Cape. In particular, this approach highlights the mapping strategies employed to assert authority, stability and control of the landscape, as well as the problems and contradictions they attempt to resolve with regard to foreign and indigenous presences within it. The chapter follows a general chronological order, organized according to key maps produced over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



2a.

Sea chart of the area around the Cape of Good Hope (ca. 1720). Republished from Pierre Mortier 1705.

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

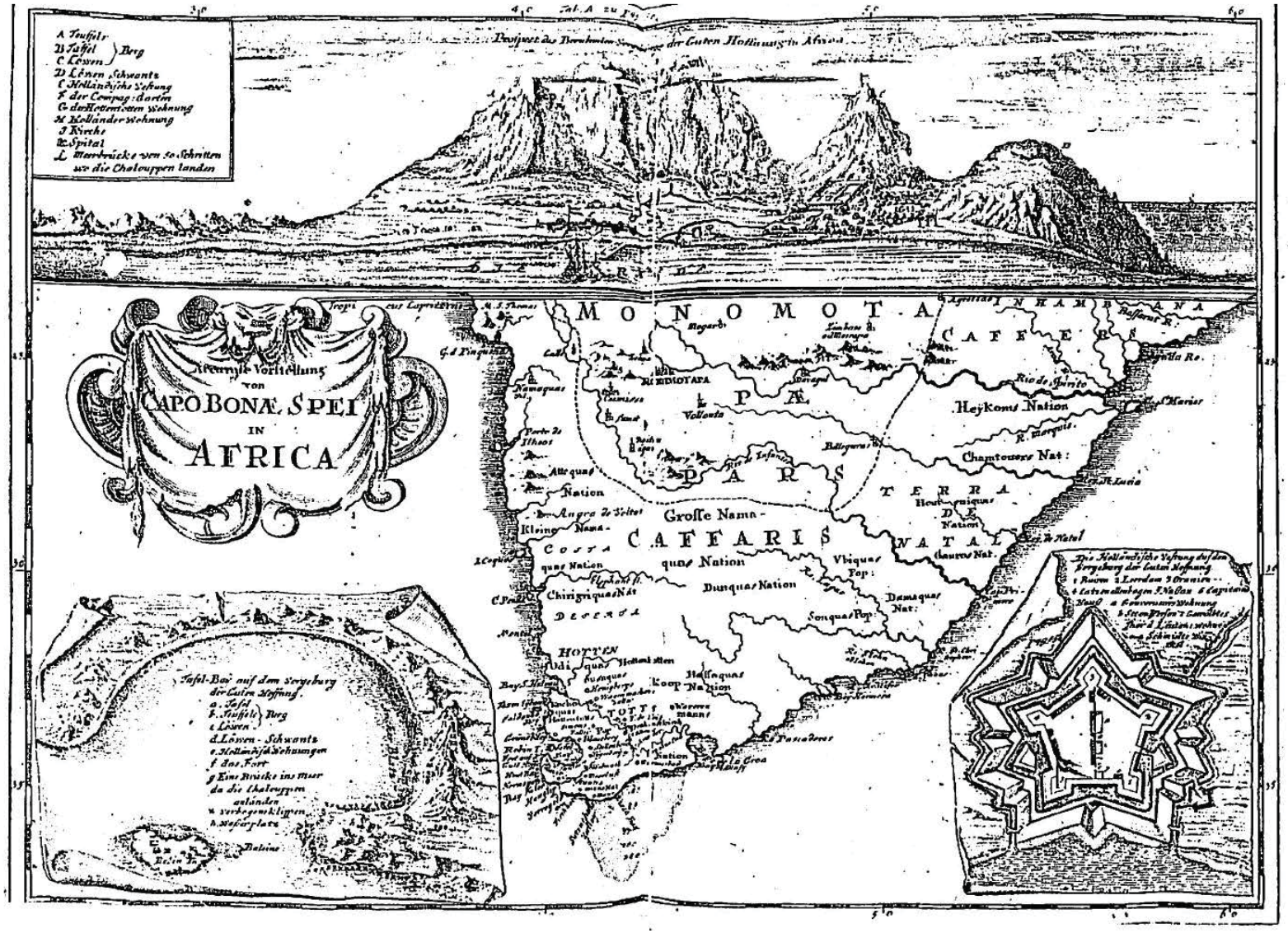
FIG. 2A: Sea chart of the area around the Cape of Good Hope (1705 and ca. 1720)

Building on the study of seascapes in the previous chapter, this chapter begins with early VOC sea charts of the Cape and some of the desired Company requirements they sought to fulfil through their transformation the landscape. The VOC directors in Amsterdam envisaged a dual role for the Cape settlement, as a supply outpost for passing vessels and as a defensive post against its potential local or rival European enemies (Worden 2004, 17). Both the Dutch and the English were in the process of wresting European dominance in Indian Ocean trading networks from the Portuguese, and the 1652 occupation of the Cape by the VOC was a pre-emptive move to exclude the English with whom the Dutch were at open war (Worden 2004, 14-5). Although not in itself a centre in the VOC trading empire, the exclusive control of the Cape nonetheless also needed to be defended from rival European merchant companies as an Atlantic and Indian oceanic crossroads. The imperial seascape imaginaries described in Chapter Two were therefore shaped not only by seaborne travel and migrancy and the prospect of dominating oceanic trading networks, but also by the need for the protection of the control of those networks.

The perceived need for defense from rival seafaring empires would be a source of inspiration in the imagery produced of the Cape. A VOC sea chart of the area around the Cape of Good Hope (see fig. 2a) for example, republished in 1720 from a 1705 copper engraving by Amsterdam-based publisher Pierre Mortier, presents three images on the Cape from different perspectives and scales. The inset on the left depicts the outpost most accurately—although not without distortion—as encircled on three sides by mountains; the inset on the right depicts its protective womb-like embrace by fictitious coastal mountain chains; and the main map shows Table Bay penetrating too deeply inland, a tendency also typical of other charts of the period (Serton et al 1971, 13). The three images are actually somewhat contradictory, but each entrenches the impression of the settlement as a *natural* defensive stronghold. The naturalness of this image would similarly be reflected by Peter Kolbe, who worked as an astronomer at the Cape between 1705 and 1713, would also produce almost identical imagery in his 1719 publication *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (see fig. 2b).

The imagery would be reflected in contemporaneous textual descriptions as well. The minister Francois Valentyn, who spent short periods at the Cape between 1685 and 1714, described the impressions that the mountains made on the ships arriving in Table Bay; and the association made between these natural land formations with defensive metaphors:

> The first thing that appears worthy of admiration by those who come from abroad is the exceptionally high Table Mountain, which looks much the higher because one is so close below it, it being only ¾ of an hour, or at most 1 mile from the shore, so that it seems to hang over one when one looks up at it. (…) This hill looks from the sea like the walls of a strong and towering castle, since its sides, especially near the crest, are perpendicular for the most part, so that it is greatly to be wondered at… (Serton et al 1971, 55, 57).



2b.

Views of Cape Town. From Kolbe's *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (1719).

(Source: Wolfschmidt 1978, 11)



2c.
***View of the Fort of Good Hope at Table Bay* (1657 - 1658), by A. Beeckman.**
From the Blaeu-Van der Hem Atlas (1670).

(Source: w Database of ww.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

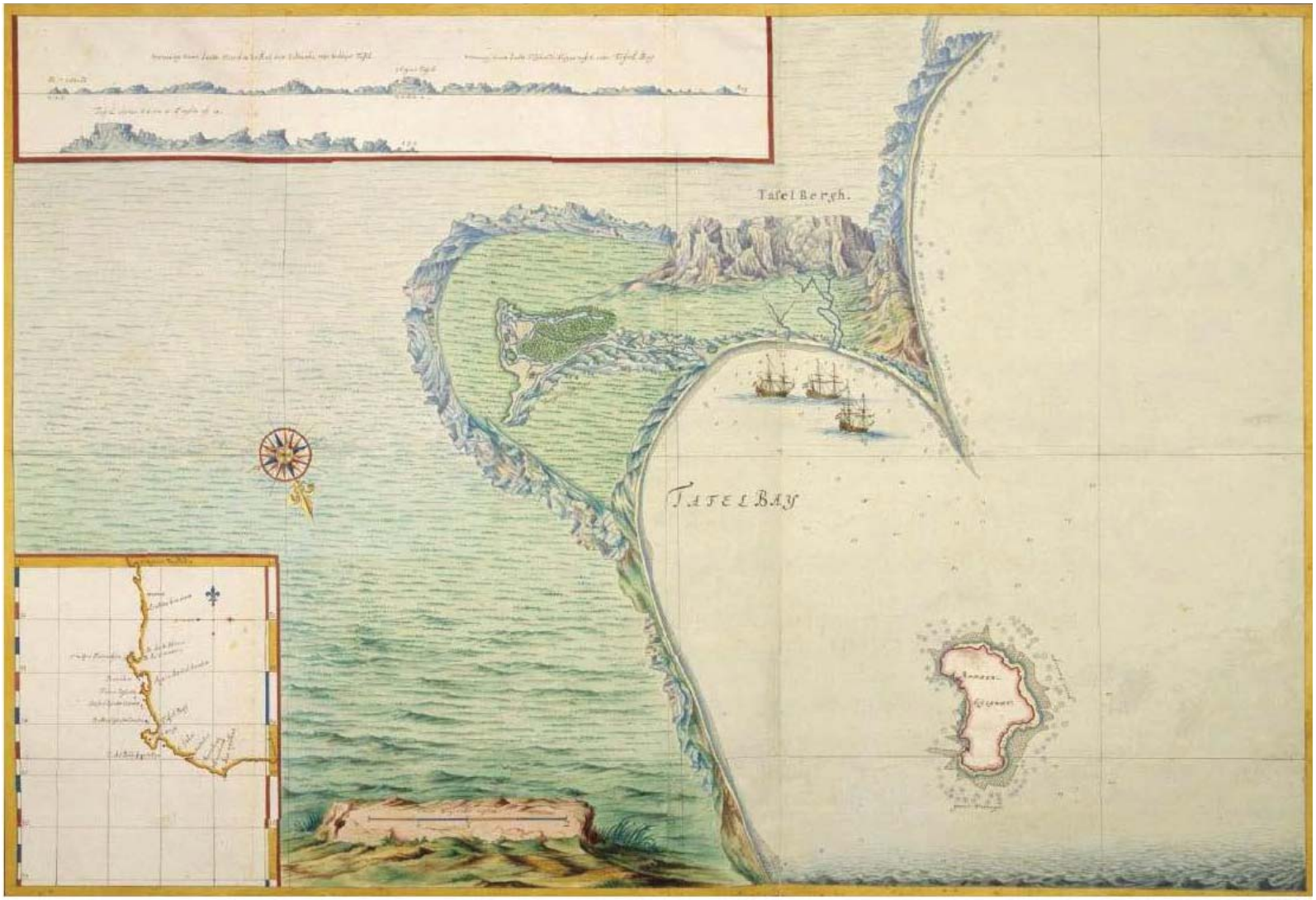
FIG. 2C: View of the Fort of Good Hope at Table Bay (1657 - 1658)

An early watercolour drawing by A. Beeckman of the original earthen fort (later to be rebuilt as a much larger stone structure), dated 1657-8, plays upon these optical illusions of Table Mountain viewed from the bay as described by Valentyn (see fig. 2c), where building and land conjunctively dominate the landscape and create a powerful defensive image than that which had in fact existed. The height and steepness of the mountain has been exaggerated and turned at an angle so that its slopes appear steeper and more uniform, and the fort has been moved eastward to rest at its foot. The scale of the fort has also been greatly exaggerated, so that the mountain appears to nearly extend from its walls. The faces of the mountain have been made to mimic the angles of the walls of the fort, as well as the shapes of the roofs and chimneys of the other buildings. Thus, in both Mortier's 1705 sea chart and Beeckman's 1657 watercolour the representation of the land plays a crucial role, wherein the land *naturally* conforms to—and confirms—the purposes of the Dutch appropriation of it.

FIG. 2D: Bird's eye view of Table Bay (1665 - 1668)

Not unlike the sea, defense was also deemed to be necessary from the land. The instructions given by the VOC directors to Van Riebeeck in 1651 were unambiguous about their requirements for the settlement: to build 'a defensive fort' and a 'properly enclosed garden'. As historians have shown, in the first decades of the settlement these were an 'alien presence in a landscape which the Dutch did *not* dominate' and the settlement remained vulnerable despite its assertions to the contrary (Worden 2004, 17). In comparison to Dutch settlements in Asia and the Americas, however, the threat posed by the indigenous population at the Cape was negligible, which in part explains why the kind of heavy perimeter fortifications that existed around cities in many other parts of the empire were never fully developed around Cape Town (Fransen 2006, 42). Nevertheless, when a reality of dominating the landscape was still unrealizable in the fledgling fort-settlement, and where proper fortifications were never built, this could still be imagined and pre-empted through distortion in the representations of the land to fit the steady supply requirements and defensive concerns of the VOC.

Like Beeckman's 1657 watercolour or Mortier's 1705 map would stage the VOC presence from the sea, a 'Bird's eye view' map of the colony drawn between 1665 and 1668 begins to show, in ways far more explicit than would be observable in later maps, the confluence of imperial seascapes and imaginaries upon the landscape of the Cape mainland (see fig. 2d). Thus, despite its lack of geographical accuracy which renders the map useless for any practical purpose, it forms a key map for its conceptual clarity.



2d.
Bird's eye view of Table Bay **(1665 - 1668).**
From the Blaeu-Van der Hem Atlas **(1670).**

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

The drawing is intended to be a reflection of a natural setting, and no human presence is visible except the ships in the bay. The land has been documented in scientific detail: the bottom left inset is a coastal map of the southwestern region of the country; the top left inset contains elevations of the mountains of this region as viewed from the sea; and the main map is a more detailed view of these elements in the Table Bay vicinity. In the main map these land formations documented have all, however, been modeled into what David Bunn (1994, 142) has referred to as 'a foreign process of ordering'. The variation in the mountains and hills of the inland topographies and the distances between them (although these variations probably were not sufficiently legible when viewed at a distance from the sea) have been collapsed upon one another and linked together to form a perfect, unbroken defensive ring around the claimed and colonised lands. The chain of mountains forms a protective wall enclosing an inside green, garden landscape of rivers, pastures and cultivatable lands (labeled as "weylandt" on the map), safe from any potential enemies from the land and sea around it.

From the sea, Valentyn often describes the experience of an 'inside' garden landscape and an 'outside' mountainous landscape, as a relationship not imposed but one that appeared natural for arriving Europeans. For example:

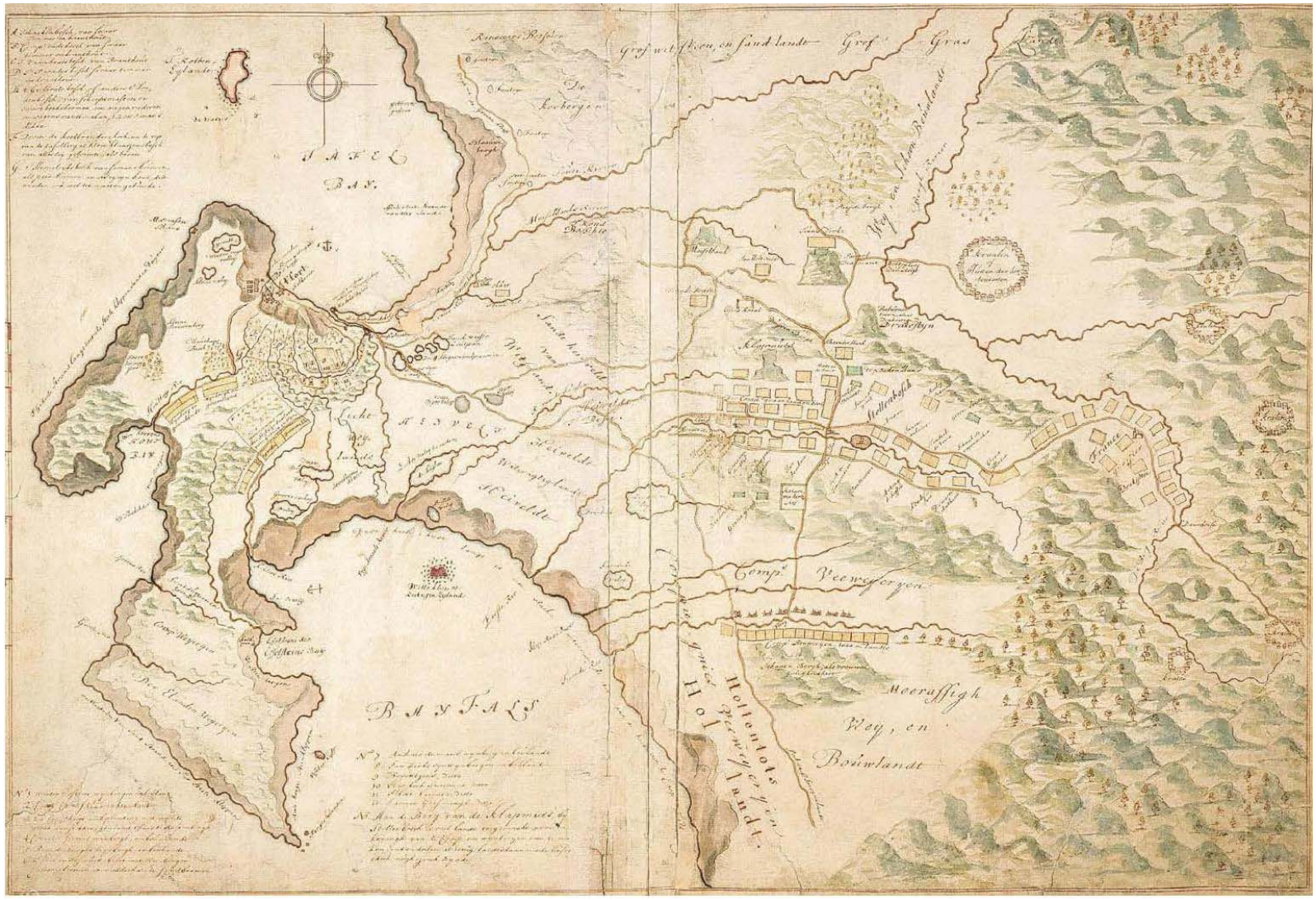
> It is also a Garden of exceptionally great usefulness for the refreshing of our own and other fleets, and … all is found in a region which from without seems to the stranger at first sight so utterly dry, barren and stony. At the end of it, turning towards the shore, one sees the loveliest garden… (Serton et al 1971, 105).

These kinds of perceptions from the sea arguably provided a grounds for the powerfully distorted representations of the land as a natural defensive stronghold for the VOC settlement. The unbroken mountain chain on the map decreases in size, allowing possible access to the enclosed space, only where the ships in the bay are located (and where the fort and garden were built); pointing to the settlement's umbilical cord with Europe and the East and the larger seaborne trading empire in which it was situated. This early VOC map makes it clear that, unlike the colonial landscape of Australia for example, where the English coloniser was ambivalent in its own sense of what it wanted to see there—a prison for transported convicts, or a pastoral prospect for colonial settlers (Mitchell 1994, 18-9)—the Cape proved much easier in which to codify the proper forms of representation of the landscape due to the unambiguousness of the 'fort and garden' supply outpost which the Dutch wanted to see and establish there. (This map, for example, is already the third known version of it produced between 1660 and 1668[1]).

For those that would inhabit this new space, this landscape perceived and produced at the Cape also created the grounds whereby the colonial subject could be situated in a 'naturally' prepared and controlled space that appeared willing to admit colonial appropriations of it. Moreover, this empty space appeared without need of removing any competing indigenous presence, even though this is precisely what occurred.

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1 Earlier versions of this map are available on the database of the website: http://www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/.



2e.
Map of the Cape (ca. 1690).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

FIG. 2E: Map of the Cape (ca. 1690)

In a significant advancement in accuracy to the 'Bird's eye view' maps of the 1660s and one of the earliest maps to show the interior in any detail, is a manuscript map of the colony which can approximately be dated to 1690 (see fig. 2e) (Serton et al 1971, 11).[2] According to Scholte and van der Krogt, the map was completed in or shortly before 1694 but also contains data from the end of 1687. The name of the mapmaker is unknown, but it was made by the VOC settlement at the Cape to inform the board of directors in Holland of the state of affairs of live-stock grazing, agriculture, viticulture and forestry, and shows a number of names of farmers (vrijburgers) and officials of the VOC (Scholte and van der Krogt). These features all form key elements on the map. The map is also extremely useful in that it presents a network map of the colony that shows places, linkages and patterns of movement, which give an idea of the contemporary knowledge of the area. Scholte and van der Krogt have referred to the map as a 'mother map' since many maps in subsequent years were, directly or indirectly, based on it and therefore reflected information of a similar nature.[3]

Although a clear improvement on earlier maps in information and detail, in its underlying modes of perceiving and representing the landscape the map could also be understood as remaining in continuity with these earlier representations, where these aspects were often more plainly communicated. One element in continuity with earlier representations, and despite greater topographic detail, is the mountain chains which like the 'Bird's eye view' maps continue to perform multiple defensive and ideological functions. They are still shown lining all of the coastlines to the west, and to the east an arc-shaped mass of mountainous terrain still forms the interior boundaries of the colony. Thus topography continues to play a boundary-making role, not only defending and protecting the young colony, but 'othering' in its relationship to the Khoi 'kraals' which are shown to exist along or outside these boundaries to the far right of the picture.

Although the narrative offered by the image is one of continuous mountainous boundaries, the notes on the map in fact indicate significant variation in the coastal topography. Thus contrary to the image, more accurate knowledge did exist of the terrain. What the image presents as continuous mountains, the text in fact describes as mountains ('Bergen'), steep cliffs ('Steile klippen'), sand dunes ('Sand en Duynen') and sandy beaches ('Sandtstrandt'). The incongruence between the variation in the textual descriptions on the one hand, and the erasure of variation in its representation on the other hand, indicates the critical importance of landscape, and of tools of representation such as the image and the map with which it could be shaped.

Unlike the key role played in marking boundaries, within the colony proper the topography appears more incidental. The only exceptions are a few iconic topographic elements which appear to provide identity as landmarks, such as 'Parrel Diamant' and 'klapmuts'. The topography is otherwise only a filler between more important elements in the landscape, such as the farms and their connecting tissue of roads. Thus, although not official information of the kind sent to inform the board of directors in Holland of the state of affairs at the Cape, topography—whether protecting, 'othering', ordering as landmarks, or merely as a filler—is nonetheless an important landscape element on the maps, represented in a variety of ways with a variety of apparent functions.

As already suggested, the picturing of the colony as a bounded landscape, wherein human presences are admitted only in a controlled and coded way, would have profound implications for the indigenous inhabitants of the land. The 1690 map, for example, shows one of the earliest portrayals of Khoi settlements on a map, each shown as a circle of huts (labelled "Kraalen of Hutts"). Unlike the richness of

2 The map is catalogued as VEL 809 in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) in The Hague, and a second copy is catalogued as manuscript map No. 42 in the Cape archives in Cape Town.

3 Serton et al (1971) and Scholte (1987), for example, discuss maps which later maps may have been based on in more detail.

the networks of settled areas across the colony, Khoi settlements are represented only as an abstraction. Represented without a history or networks which inscribe an ancient indigenous occupation of the land, they form only an 'other' presence. In an ordered ring of five 'kraals' in the Drakenstein and Hottentots-Holland mountain ranges this presence is delimited to beyond the boundaries of the colony to the right of the picture, where its highly ordered, semi-circular arrangement in relation to the colony presents a landscape of clear, stable and recognised boundaries that imply an ideological consensus. At the end of the seventeenth century such clear 'inside-outside' representations were still possible as the limits of European habitation were then only 80 km from Cape Town (Giliomee 1986, 291). However, the powerfully convincing picturing of certain hierarchical and spatial relations is, of course, by no means a guarantee that what was being pictured was securely established (Harrison 1994, 214). On the contrary the gradually extending colony, extending "little by little" as Valenyn decribed it, had no fixed boundaries; and the Khoi were only gradually excluded from the pastures of new settler districts, making it easy for them to temporise with the new frontier until it was too late (Serton et al 1971, 11, 75; Kiernan 1995, 72).

The inaccuracy of the spatial arrangement of the map is attested to, for example, by Commander of the Cape Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition from Cape Town to Namaqualand in 1685/6, in which numerous Khoi and kraals are mentioned, which do not appear on the map.[4] The journal also attests that the explorers made extensive use of the geographical knowledge of the indigenous people they met along the journey and, unlike the sea, even naming some places in the local language. A map of this journey[5] was sent to the VOC headquarters in the Netherlands together with a copy of the journal, while other copies or versions of both the journal and the illustrated documentation likely also circulated within VOC networks (Glatigny & Mare 2006, 105, 108, 111). At approximately the same time as well, one view of Cape Town in 1690 even shows Khoi dwellings inside the Table valley near the town;[6] and later in 1726 Valentyn would vastly improve upon the representation of Khoi tribes,[7] probably incorporating other kinds of sources that were already available (Serton et al 1971, 13). This all indicates that greater knowledge of the indigenous occupation of the land certainly did exist, although not reflected on the map; and that the overly formalised arrangement of the Khoi on the map may only in part be attributed to any inadequacies in Dutch techniques of representing the transhumance of the local populations.[8] For apart from the official practical VOC purposes for which the map was produced, to provide information to VOC headquarters about the progress of its refreshment station, the map also seeks to provide information about the type of relationship the VOC settlement wished to see existing with the local populations, and to convey that image of stability, security and order to the VOC directors overseas. In its highly formal and contrived relationship it expresses a consensual hierarchy of power and possession, and the desire for an unencumbered colonial presence.

The appearance of the Khoi on the map, one of the earliest picturing of Khoi society on a map during the VOC period, corresponds to their military defeat and rapid decline. After the 1660s the Khoi had already ceased to be a serious threat to the colony. When Europeans settled further into the interior in Stellenbosch and Drakenstein from the 1680s, the Khoi leadership had already been discredited by its failure to cope with the trading frontier. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the demographic, economic and political base of Khoi society in the south-western Cape had largely disintegrated beyond recall

4 The diary of Van der Stel's Namaqualand expedition is included in Valentyn's work.

5 A French copy of the Dutch map also exists, drawn by a VOC cartographer (Glatigny & Mare 2006, 104).

6 This image is reproduced in Worden 2004, pp. 66.

7 The nature of this representation is complex and is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

8 Valentyn would later accommodate this through a simple combination of kraals and labelling.

(Elphick 1986, 21, 34). Most had come to work on European farms and a few also made a meagre living in Cape Town (Elphick 1986, 17). Valentyn commented on this increased disregard for the Khoi as a threat:

> The colony [of Stellenbosch] is reached over a hill called the Stellenboschkop, where in early days there used to be a flagstaff with a flag, which was hoisted in times of danger and a gun fired, to warn the freemen dwelling around there of this danger, whether from foreign ships, the Hottentots, or whatever else it might be. When then for such a reason a known flag was hoisted on the Lion's Head, and a gun fired, the same was done here also, to call all the freemen to the Castle for mutual aid, and thus all the armed freemen could be assembled within 24 hours. So also the freemen fired a gun after hoisting their flag if they were attacked by roving Hottentots, to ask help from the Fort; but since the inhabitants are now numerous enough and there is nothing more to fear, this cannon has been removed and the flagstaff has fallen down (Serton et al 1971, 137) (emphasis added).

Thus, there appears to be an inverse relationship between the magnitude of the rival threat and its representation, with a greater scope for representation as the actual threat diminished (of which more later in this chapter).

FIG. 2F: New and accurate table of the coast of Good Hope (ca. 1699 – ca. 1702/1703)

Soon after the 1690 map, an influential map produced approximately between 1699 and 1702/1703[9] shows further the ways in which the land was described and transformed through seascape imaginaries, and expands on notions of the 'other(s)' contained within these representations. This printed map is titled in Latin and Spanish '*Nova et accurata tabula promontorii Bonae Spei, vulgo Cabo de Bona Esperanca*' (New and accurate table of the coast of Good Hope, commonly Cape of Good Hope) (see fig. 2f).[10] The map enlarges the mapped region in the 1690 map northwards to include Saldanha Bay, while the southern part of the map remains an almost identical copy of the 1690 map, though colour-coded and somewhat simplified. The name of the mapmaker is unknown[11], but it must have been the work of a cartographer working in Holland who was allowed access to the Company's archives. Although the map was related to the VOC, and despite its geographical inaccuracies which mean that it could have served little practical use, the *Nova et accurata tabula* apparently enjoyed wide distribution and also became influential with some later maps based on it (Serton et al 1971, 13; Scholte and van der Krogt).

The primacy of the seascape in the *Nova et accurata tabula* means that, as the title of the map indicates, the most important aspect of the map is clearly its coastline. Despite the coastal variation described in the notes, like the 1690 map the entire coastline of the map including the new northern extension has again been represented in a consistent and

9 Scholte and van der Krogt.

10 The map is catalogued as VEL 93 in the Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) in The Hague, and as map No. 146-J in the Cape Archives in Cape Town.

11 De Wit, the Ottens brothers, and Johannes Loots have been suggested as the possible mapmakers (Serton et al 1971, 13; BLRAM).



2f.
'Nova et accurata tabula promontorii Bonae Spei, vulgo Cabo de Bona Esperanca'
(New and accurate table of the coast of Good Hope, commonly Cape of Good Hope)
(ca. 1699 – ca. 1702/1703).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

homogenous way. The coast has been drawn boldly and highlighted in green and brown, while the inland of the northern extension is comparatively of little importance and shows no topographical details, the blank areas of the interior even allowing for the large cartouche in the north-eastern corner.[12] On the one hand this is not unexpected, as maps of coastlines at the time were usually better than those of the interior, seamen being more adept at estimating distances and directions (Serton et al 1971, 9). On the other hand, the prominence of the coastline also points to the importance of the seascape to maritime empires such as the VOC and, like the multitude of seascape images of VOC settlements (as discussed in Chapter One), highlights an important aspect of a relation to the land.

As argued in Chapter One, European imperial seascapes also carried with them discourses on civilisation and its arrival on the edges of a wild and ancient unknown. This would be reflected in representational processes and could also correspond with the qualities of the types of landscapes represented, in the *Nova et accurata tabula* as well as in the earlier 'Bird's eye view' maps of the 1660's and the 1690 map for example (see fig. 2d and 2e). Thus, at the crucial space of civilizational contact is an emboldened and thickened border-like coast; while in the blank, unknown, yet 'wild' interior is the space 'beyond' and 'before' Europe; and in the spaces between is the steady encroachment of civilisation from the sea.

The significance of the seascape is also reflected in the progression of the territory mapped, whereby coastline mappings precede their inland extensions. For example, sea maps like the map of 1610 (fig. 1b) precede the inland mappings of the 'Bird's eye view' maps and the 1690 map later in the century. The *Nova et accurata tabula* reflects a similar pattern in which the mapping of the coastal territory north of Cape Town preceded the more detailed inland accounts of later maps. The significance of seascapes in mappings was also reflected in the general technique used for copying maps. This process entailed a repeatedly used template with needle-pricked holes along the coastline being thrown over with some soot to form specks of soot on the new parchment charts that were placed underneath the template. The coastline could then simply be drawn on the parchment by joining the specks of soot (Zandvliet). This technique, wherein the seascape becomes a type of standardisation, could also occur at the expense of accuracy. Although the journal of Van der Stel's 1685/6 expedition into the interior, for example, made extensive use of coordinates, the map that would be produced of the expedition would simply be drawn according to some pre-existing coastal map pattern, resulting in serious scale discrepancies in relation to the coordinates (Glatigny & Mare 2006, 108). The seascape thus constituted a kind of 'valency', that is, a powerful influence variously manifested in multiple registers; whether in the discursive or the representational, the administrative or the imaginative, and also in the physical process of mapmaking itself.

Like the 1690 map, interwoven into the seascape-landscape imaginaries of the *Nova et accurata tabula* has also been the picturing of the 'other'. Following the earlier map, Khoi 'kraals' have likewise been pushed to the interior on the far right of the picture. In both these and other maps studied, generally the 'inside' landscape of the colony appears as a homogenous entity, protected from land and sea and distinct from the 'other' which each represents and the potential threat which each may entail. But apart from negotiating the external threats, in all the maps studied there is virtually no indication of any 'other' internal presences, and the large slave workforce within the colony itself for example is unrepresented and invisible. The internal threat of slave insurrection, moreover, which was of considerable concern to colonists, is consequently deactivated.

12 Other maps would also make use of this device to fill the blank areas of the interior on the map. Valentyn (1726), for example, would use an inset map, while Sculp (1745) placed the map's title there (see fig. 2g and 2h).



2g.
Two maps of the Cape of Good Hope, by Valentyn (1726).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

However, in the *Nova et accurata tabula* a rare mention of another presence within the colony is found in a note near Robben Island, which states that slaves were kept on the island in chains gangs.[13] But this unusual detail is not without some irony. Since the mention is done only in isolation, whereby the liminal slave presence occurs on the map in relation to Robben Island alone rather than the mainland and colony proper—where the slaves actually lived—it only confirms the general order of non-representation and deactivation. A comparative case can be also illustrated in Valentyn's references to exiles to the Cape on Robben Island and the mainland. Although high-ranking political exiles were scattered throughout the colony, including Robben Island (Ward 2012), it is Robben Island that Valentyn identifies as "an island of exiles" while declaring his "surprise" and "wonder" when encountering Muslim exiles at European farms (the Raja of Tambora at Vergelegen and the tomb of Shaykh Yusuf at Zandvliet) (Serton et al 1971, 43, 45, 151, 201).

In these tropes of representation, liminality—or the 'internal other'—is absent (as opposed to the 'external other' which in often present and against which notions of 'inside' and 'outside' gains credence). By physically isolating liminal peoples to the margins of the colony, liminality as a social reality inside a space, becomes marginality, a spatial reality outside of it. Like the Khoi pictured to the margins in the mountains in the east, the slave presence on the map is pushed to the margins in the west, contained on an island in the ocean. In the removal of any contradictions, ambiguities or threats posed by 'other' presences—whether internal or external—the colony is maintained as a homogenous and unobstructed environment.

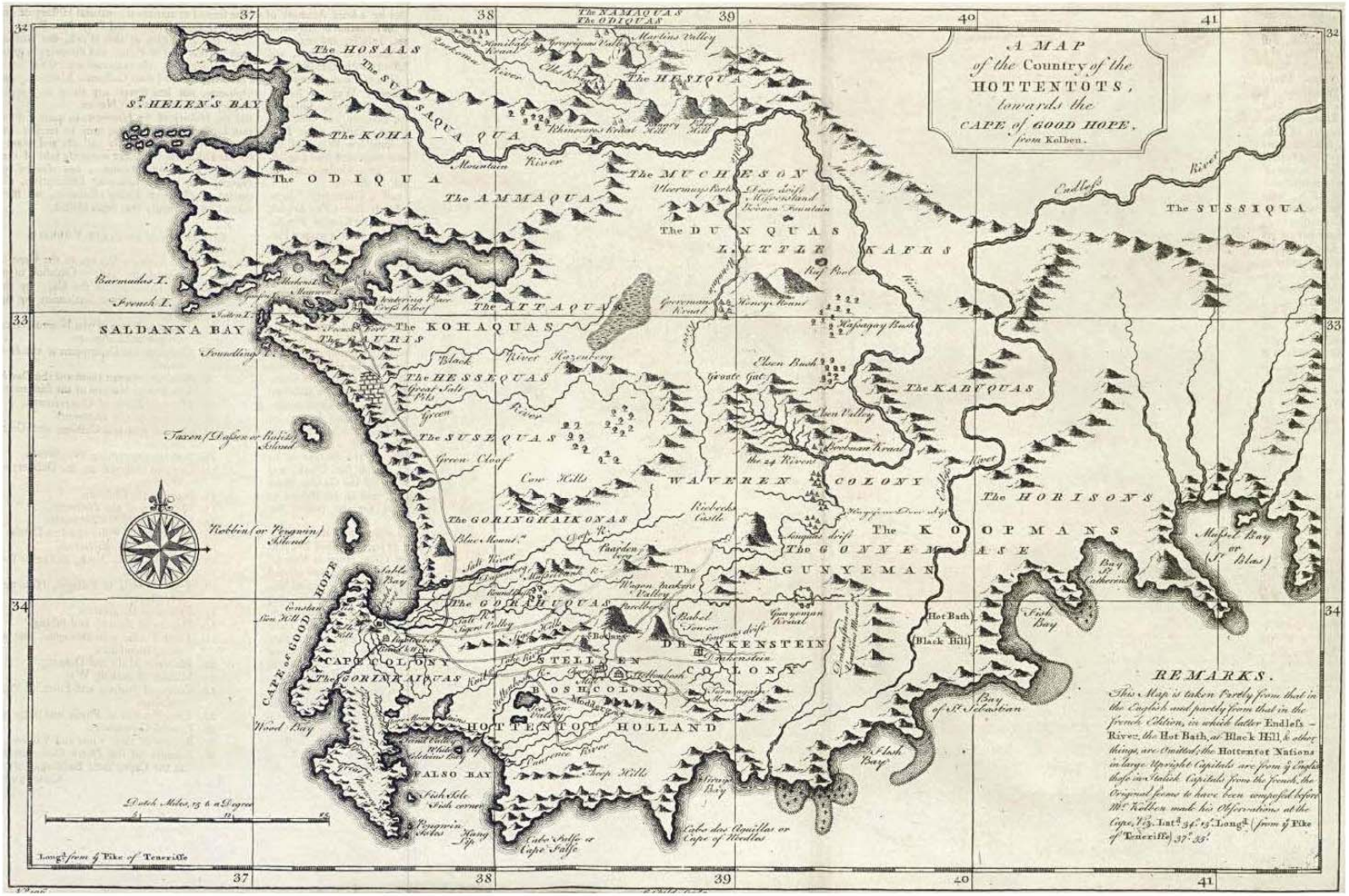
Thus one important component in representations of the 'other' in the maps studied has been a self-other binary, between the colony and the Khoi as the iconic other, or 'Other', on its margins. The maps correlate this phenomenological field of self and other with a physical, spatial reality; in which self and other are correlated with inside and outside. The distinction between inside and outside may have also been reflected in contemporary terminology. Valentyn for example uses the term 'colonie' (colony)—which is associated with a place—interchangeably with the now archaic term 'volkplanting' (literally 'nation-planting', or settlement)—associated more closely with the settlers themselves, suggesting a greater identification with the land beyond purely functional terms. Valentyn's use of the term 'bevolkt' (populated / settled) rather than a more impersonal term such as 'koloniseer' (colonised) may be another indication of this. Representation of the 'internal other' occurs in a similar act of disavowal, as observed in the *Nova et accurata tabula*, where even the 'other(s)' within the colony is likewise segregated to its margins, despite the actual impossibility of this.

FIG. 2G, 2H, 2I, 2J: The 'other' in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries

While this chapter has argued that there have been certain controlled and coded ways through which the 'other' has been included on maps, which have been studied chronologically, in the final section of this chapter variations within this theme are explored diachronically, for across the breadth of the VOC period subtle differences and changes also existed within the representation of the 'other(s)'.

As the visibility of the 'other' increased as its threat to the colony diminished, as argued earlier in the chapter and observed in the 1690 map, greater visibility is observable in later maps. For example,

13 The Dutch text reads: "*Robben-Eylandt, daer de slaven inde ketting loopen.*"



2h.

***"A Map of the Country of the Hottentots, towards the Cape of Good Hope. From Kolben"* by G. Child Sculp (1745).**

(Map of the South African coast, from the bay of St. Helena to Mossel Bay).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

in the *Nova et accurata tabula* (ca. 1700) an indigenous presence is increasingly omnipresent: inscribed in the 'kraals' in the southeast, in the notes across the northern regions, and also especially in the large cartouche in the top right of the picture. However, not unlike the geographical inaccuracies these representations of the 'other' also presuppose a certain kind of viewer, one unable (or unwilling) to acknowledge misrepresentations, not only with regard to the terrain but also with regard to the indigenous occupation of the land. The cartouche, for example, shows an African man seated between a lion and a leopard. The grouping of the 'wild' human figure with wild animals is given added weight through a label on the map, found near the feet of the figure, as "Wilde Kaffers of Hottentotten" (Wild Kaffirs or Hottentots). Whereas Nieuhof's total emptying of the land created an untouched wilderness (fig. 1g), in the *Nova et accurata tabula* an indigenous presence has become incorporated into the wild. Baderoon (2004c) has shown that during the colonial period settler society used the modifier of 'kaffir' "to name indigenous fruit, birds, trees, paths, food, tools, what they perceived to be the behaviour, mentality and sense of time of indigenous people – everything anterior to them." The use of the word 'kaffir', whether applied to name South African flora and fauna or to human beings, denoted 'indigenous' and 'wild' and became synonymous with the indigenous 'other'. It would also increasingly be tied to derogatory meanings. In a similar vein, the term occurs across the *Nova et accurata tabula* in a variety of forms, describing both the land and its inhabitants. Thus, through incorporating human presences into the wild, land not settled by Europeans could be both inhabited by 'wild natives', *and* empty, seemingly without contradiction.[14] Baderoon (2004c) has argued that this operated as a discursive mechanism, declaring the settler's right to belong in a land wherein nothing had existed before.

These 'ironic' forms of visibility would be further expanded in Valentyn's map of 1726 (see fig. 2g), its large sweeping labels such as "De Cafferse Kust of De Kust der Hottentotten" (The Kaffir Coast or the Hottentot Coast) much reminiscent of the *Nova et accurata tabula*, one of Valentyn's source maps. The map contains the names of Khoi tribes associated (sometimes incorrectly[15]) with respective regions, written large in bold capital letters and shown all over the subcontinent, even within the settled region of the southwestern Cape. Such acknowledgment and visibility of an indigenous presence is almost inconceivable in the pure, empty landscape of the mid-seventeenth century. This visible identification of an indigenous presence with the land is later made still more marked in an almost identical map to Valentyn's dated 1745, which bears its pre-colonial inhabitants even in its title: 'A Map of the Country of the Hottentots, towards the Cape of Good Hope' (see fig. 2h).
From complete absence in the mid-seventeenth century to wide prominence by the mid-eighteenth century, the representation of the other would transform again within and at the frontiers of the colony by the end of the eighteenth century that would represent both continuity and change from that of earlier maps. Two general maps of the colony based on John Barrow's travels through the colony in 1797 and 1798 explicate on some of these transformations. Both maps were produced in the years following the end of VOC rule in 1795, the first during the first British occupation (1795 - 1803) and the second during the Batavian administration (1803 – 06).

In both maps boundaries make up an important element of the map, as indicated by their special emphasis in colour. The first Barrow map (ca. 1800) (see fig. 2i) shows the four districts of the colony as they existed at the time[16] with their borders highlighted in orange and green, and the boundaries of the colony (labelled "Grenzen der Colonie")

14 Jennifer Beningfield (2006, 185) has argued similarly that even modern Afrikaner narratives also embraced such a mythology with regard to the Voortrekker pastoralists who established themselves on the Witwatersrand (present-day Johannesburg), wherein hostile native tribes coexist seamlessly with a quiet empty wilderness.

15 Serton et al 1971, 13.

16 These were from west to east: The Cape District, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet. The districts of Tulbagh and Uitenhage were declared later in 1804 during the Batavian administration; and after the English permanently occupied the Cape for the second time in 1806 three new districts (George, Clanwilliam and Caledon) were declared in 1814 under the governorship of the Earl of Caledon. (See fig. 5b for district maps of the Cape colony in the Appendix section).



2i.

'General map of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Designed according to the accurate calculation of the distances of places and frequent sightings of width, done on a journey through this Tract, in the years on 1797 and 1798 by John Barrow' **(ca. 1800).**

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

highlighted in orange and red along its entire length. Not unlike the marginalised representations of the Khoi in the seventeenth century when the colony was still relatively small, by the end of the eighteenth century new marginal 'others' on the frontiers of the now expansive colony are neatly pictured outside of the colony's proclaimed—though disputed—boundaries. Pictured outside the eastern boundary of the colony on the Fish River, in what is labelled on the map as "Kaffer Land", are Xhosa chiefdoms; and outside the north and northeastern boundary of colony is labelled the "Land der Bosjesmans" (Land of Bushmen) and the "Land der Bosjesmans of Wilde Hottentotten" (Land of Bushmen or Wild Hottentots[17]) respectively.

Such an assertion of boundaries, however, obscures the disputed and often open nature of boundaries on the frontier region. The Eastern Frontier especially was the most dramatic of all South African frontiers (Giliomee1986, 291). While European cattle farmers were pushing eastward in the interior, the limits of Xhosa settlement were slowly moving westward, and in about 1770 the vanguards of the two peoples met. While the Company regarded the lands west of the Fish River from 1780 as colonial territory[18], some Khoi and Xhosa disputed this and Europeans, Khoi, and Africans still settled down close to one another (Giliomee1986, 297). In other cases it was simply ignored by Xhosa as well as by some colonists, who both crossed the Fish to hunt or barter and graze cattle. Moreover, no boundary settlement at this time was concluded with the Gqunukhwebe chiefdom of the Zuurveld[19] Xhosa, who in 1789 was claiming that it had bought the land between the Fish River and the Kowie River to its west; and by 1799, as the westernmost chiefdom in the Zuurveld, was claiming the Sundays River still further west as its western boundary (Giliomee1986, 304-6, 309) (See fig. 5c in the appendix section for the location of rivers). The Fish River as a boundary was thus far from a certainty, and its representation as a closed boundary, moreover, obscures that for much of the period 1770 – 1812 the frontier remained open to the Xhosa. Neither the attempts by the Dutch, nor later attempts by the Batavians and the British to dislodge them from the Zuurveld and establish a firm border were successful (Giliomee1986, 311, 316). The British, who were not willing to commit the necessary military resources to expel them, even came to accept the presence of the Zuurveld Xhosa as an 'injury' that could be tolerated (Giliomee1986, 311). It was not until years after Barrow's map was produced in 1811, culminating a two-decade long period of strife and warfare, where under the new British governor Sir John Cradock roughly 8,000 Xhosa—including women, children and those working as servants on farms—were driven over the Great Fish River, 'the acknowledged boundary of … His Majesty's Settlement'. Thereafter umerous military posts would be established along the Fish to prevent

17 Disruptions to European expansion by cattleless marauders were widespread and effective. The Dutch and their Khoi allies sometimes referred to these attackers as 'Hottentots' but more often as 'Bushmen'. The confusion in terminology reflected confusion in reality, for they consisted of aborigines with non-Khoi languages, or Khoi without cattle, or both (Elphick 1986, 24-5).

18 During the course of the First Frontier War (1779-81) several defeated Xhosa chiefdoms were induced to recognize the Fish River as the boundary between themselves and the colonists, and in 1780 the colony's Council of Policy proclaimed the Fish River along its entire length as the eastern boundary of the colony (Giliomee 1986, 297, 304).

19 The Zuurveld was the disputed region between the Sundays River to the west and the Fish River to the east, within what would become the official eastern boundary of the colony (Giliomee 1986, 293, 307).



2j.
'General map of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope' (ca. 1804).

(Source: www.gutenberg-e.org)

their return (Giliomee1986, 307, 315, 318). Thus, similar to the obscuring of the disputed or open nature of boundaries, the map also gives little indication of the nature of conflict in the region. Architect and writer Jennifer Beningfield (2006, 53) observes:

> Historians have established that the appearance of rational and scientific objectivity associated with British map-making was a veneer behind which failures, slippages and conventions which carry their own internal contradictions and concealed values are hidden. These ambiguities are exaggerated when the information that is provided on a map is speculative and uncertain.

Still, despite all these measures, whether physical or representational, being deprived of extensive grazing fields caused so much hunger among the Xhosa that the colony was compelled to allow some to return to the Zuurveld to reap the harvest. Thus neither the proclamation of boundaries nor even expulsion, as subsequent administrators would also learn, would rid the colony of its Xhosa 'problem' (Giliomee1986, 326).

While on the one hand Barrow's map excludes where there had been an 'other' presence, on the other hand and to a certain extent it also includes where absences had existed, as colonists themselves had in fact evacuated the Zuurveld on several occasions.[20] One exception to this representation of the 'other' on the outside of a firmly bounded colonial territory and colonists on its inside does appear in the northwestern-most corner of the colony, where "Land der kleine Namaqua" (Land of the little Nama) is labelled just inside the boundary of the colony. The Little Nama, who lived mainly in this region, were by the middle of the eighteenth century one of the few Khoi groups in the colony still members of tribes, much less of large tribes (Elphick 1986, 26-7). However, the Khoi were generally unlike the Zuurveld Xhosa on the eastern frontier, where traditional culture and various chiefdoms remained intact, providing them with strength and self-assurance in their resistance to the colonists (Giliomee 1986, 307). Rather, the Khoi, although theoretically free persons, were drawn progressively closer to the colony's slaves in culture, status and economic function (Elphick 1986, 27, 30). The Little Nama too had long since been a threat to the colony, and by the 1760s were impoverished, harassed and reduced to only about 400 people by 1779 (Elphick 1986, 25-7). It appears that their presence—albeit peripheral—on the map inside the colonial boundary, unlike the Xhosa outside of it, reflects the general absorption of the Khoi into the colony as a lower status group.

The second Barrow map (ca. 1804) (see fig. 2j) is a modified district map that shows the new frontier districts of Tulbagh in the north and Uitenhage in the east, which were declared in 1804. The first Barrow map has been used as the base for this map but, apart from the shifting boundaries of districts, the two maps are identical. The shifting—yet no less confidently drawn—boundaries, and their simple rearrangement as coloured lines on a map, points to the high level proclamation of territorial boundaries more than to any significant transformation of facts on the ground. The confident depictions of boundaries and borders, ironically, itself become an indication of the disorder and complexity of the situation on the frontier (as Beningfield, as mentioned earlier, also observed in an evaluation of accounts of British mapmaking generally). The establishment of the Graaff-Reinet district in 1786, for example, which only nominally

20 During the Second Frontier War (1793) almost all colonists evacuated the Zuurveld, the Third Frontier War (1799-1802) resulted in a quarter to a third of the European population of the southeastern sector of the colony fleeing their farms, many having to be induced through persuasion and compulsion to return, and in 1810 and 1811 large parts of the eastern sector of the colony (in the districts of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage) were again evacuated (Giliomee1986, 309, 311, 314).

increased the Company's control over the frontier, had stemmed from the Company's desire to assert greater administrative control as well as to prevent more clashes between the colonists and the Xhosa (Giliomee 1986, 298, 304). Similarly, the district of Uitenhage in the Zuurveld was founded and a landdrost appointed to maintain the colonial government's claims to the frontier zone and to restore the European-dominated social order (Giliomee1986, 311).

CONCLUSION

The study of maps diachronically shows that representation of the 'other' went through significant variation across the VOC period. Indigenous peoples could be entirely absent in the earliest maps, while at the end of the VOC period the Xhosa would be marginalized in the same ways as the Khoi had been represented at certain times in the early period. Between these two ends the Khoi, unlike the Xhosa whose culture and chiefdoms remained intact, would acquire greater ironic modes of visibility, whether incorporated into the 'wild and empty' landscape or into the colony as a lower status group. Unlike the indigenous 'external other' which is a consistent theme, the liminal peoples within the colony are almost consistently non-existent in these representations.

The variance in representations of the other—erased, marginalised, absorbed, and marginalised again—over the course of VOC rule all highlight the problem of managing rival human presences in the colonial landscape. The changes and continuities in the representation of the other indicate that this was never impartial, but filtered through controlled and coded forms. They also reveal the ways in which landscape was frequently made complicit in the picturing of these relationships, most plainly in the earlier maps, though consistently carried through into later maps as well.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COUNTRYSIDE INSIDE: LITTORAL, LIMINAL, AND MARGINAL NETWORKS AT THE CAPE

THE INTERSECTION OF SPATIAL AND CULTURAL MAPS

This chapter of the study builds on the qualitative spatial and cultural analysis of the earlier chapters, combining this with more quantitative subject matter of analysis, such as the documentation of landmark buildings, rivers and road infrastructures on the maps. Quantitative information drawn from maps is, like previous chapters, studied in a general chronological order. The intersection of these multiple registers—both quantitative and qualitative—connects the analysis of representation in the earlier chapters with the physical organization of settlement discussed in this chapter. These intersections allow possibilities for new or extended readings, and for developing a sufficiently complex understanding of the internal logic of the colony as both a functional and cultural map. Building on and measured against previous chapters, this is also further studied in relation to the 'other'.

The study has shown how the inhabitation of the Cape has been powerfully represented in a variety of ways. In Chapter One, the importance of the agency of survey to the process of colonisation was highlighted in Nieuhoff's map; wherein the technique of survey (a typically Western technique of 'power-knowledge'[1]) was used in the identification and claiming of lands for farming, in creating boundaries, and in the exclusion of the rival indigenous presences. But even while survey and mapping was crucial as a colonising agency, the 1690 map (discussed in Chapter Two) indicates that this mode of representation, which lays claim to an 'empty' land, would be insufficient if the land remained unoccupied. The land would also need to be occupied to seriously establish a claim. Correspondingly, although farms appear sparse, farms and roads together fill the map and the landscape appears more populated and occupied than had existed. Whereas in Nieuhoff's map (1659) the land was 'emptied' of a rival presence in order to facilitate possession, in the 1690 map the land has been 'filled', facilitating the exclusion of others from that space, while sill later both—a 'filled' colonised space surrounded by an 'empty' wilderness—are observable in the *Nova et accurata tabula* (ca. 1700).

Whether territory was emptied or filled, such modes of representation serving and establishing a colonial presence, of course, operated not only within a discursive terrain; but the 'empty' land is also closely associated with the 'cleared' land – cleared of obstructions, both natural and human. This points to another coded and symbolic act in representation in which the colony is pictured as a space that has been cleared from the 'wild'. In the 1690 map, for example, the colony appears as such: as open clearings in a rugged landscape. As a clearing in a wood or rugged terrain has by definition an inseparable relation to that terrain, so the clearing in the map too has a relational value; it is a cleared surface distinct from the surrounding mountainous terrain, as well as from the 'other' who has been situated there. Evidence of this notion can be found in Valentyn's text, who describes the founding of Stellenbosch (literally 'Stel's bush') as an act of clearing and (re)naming out of the wild:

> The old Heer *van der Stel* founded the colony of Stellenbosch in 1680 ... At the outset, before everything was cleared here, it was a wild forest, so that it has preserved the right name in accordance with its previous nature, and … thus by calling it Stellenbosch to keep remembered the name of his family, so that it might live for long after his death (Serton et al 1971, 55, 105).

1 Corner 1999, 219.

As already observed and argued with regard to the *Nova et accurata tabula*, the idea of the 'wild' included not only nature and animals, but also the indigenous human presence. The clearing of the land would therefore also entail the clearing of this human presence, and Worden et al (2004, 24) have shown that the VOC explicitly laid claims by right of conquest.[2] Valentyn captures this broader idea of the wild and its clearing and conquest, as well as, with some bravado, the symbolic capital that this conveyed to him for the Company and for the Dutch people:

> At that time the Hottentots were in great numbers in that part [Stellenbosch], as also very many wild beasts, but in a short time the courage and industry of the Dutch forced both to leave there, since they could do nothing against our firearms: after which we cleared that country of its bush, scrub and useless trees, and further prepared it for our purpose (Serton et al 1971, 135).

Many contradictions also emerge within this discourse on the land and its inhabitation; which yet coexist seamlessly where they serve common purposes. As mentioned earlier, the discourse on the wild meant that the land could be both empty and inhabited by 'wild' peoples without contradiction. Such contradictions were possible and coexisted since both entrenched the claims to the land and the rootedness of the colonial presence. Similarly, contradictions such as a land both empty and cleared also coexisted and served common purposes: the first entrenched the claims to the land through the inhabitation of an empty land, and the second through the taming and cultivation of a wild land. Moreover, the land could be cleared, even while the violence that this entails is obscured. The obscuring of the violence done to both competing indigenous presence and meaning in the image (unlike the text, such as that quoted by Van Riebeeck or Valentyn, which speaks overtly of conquest) also allows the possibility of the existential rootedness of the colonial subject.

These discourses and their representations can be linked directly to the built environment. The emptying and clearing (natural and human) of the land would be followed by an overwriting since, as also evident in other colonial situations, the clearing of a site creates a new, unencumbered surface which allows for the introduction of a new type of environment that enables the establishment of a new order[3]. This new order, in many cases where urban settlements were created, took the form of a grid layout. Wherever they could use it the Dutch, whether in the east in the form of the VOC or in the west in the WIC, preferred an ordered grid layout of settlement; which was similarly the case in most western colonies in the New World (Oers 2000, 155-156; Fransen 2006, 17). In Cape Town, the ordered grid distinct from its natural setting is much in evidence, also reflected in the internal logic of grid, waterways and pathways in the formalised design of the Company garden.[4] This ordered urban settlement could be read as an important statement of an imposed colonial order on an alien environment from which it was distinct (Worden 1998/99, 79).

2 Van Riebeeck's Journal records that 'they (the Khoi) had to be told that... their land had fallen to us in a defensive war, won by the sword, as it were, and we intended to keep it' (Worden et al 2004, 24).

3 Colonial Congo is another example of this. Professor Bruno de Meulder has argued that similar symbolic processes of clearing or 'disaffecting' the land were undertaken on a large scale by Belgian colonists. (Lecture delivered at KU Leuven on 23 March 2012).

4 Fansen (2006, 41), for example, has described the sharp distinction between the morphology of Cape Town and its natural setting as "the almost unadulterated checkerboard grid ... squeezed into and without much regard to one of the finest mountain-and-bay settings any world city could hope to find."

Apart from its symbolic value, clearing the land is also associated with visibility for the purposes of surveillance, whereby rendering things visible is a necessary prerequisite to administrative control (Bunn 1994, 128). This also has a corollary in spatial organisation. Standing beside the ordered grid layout of the town, the new ordered landscape would also be marked by the Castle and the wastelands of the 'Roying' (the building line around the fort) around it, which was another key structuring device in the formation of the Cape Town and which would form an important public space in almost all Dutch-founded settlements (van Oers 2000, 117, 119). Within this space the importance of visibility and surveillance was plainly apparent, wherein it was forbidden to erect structures because they would block the view in the direct vicinity of the fort and obstruct the field of fire of the cannon.

Thus there are clear indications of a fertile ground in the relationship between spatial and cultural analysis, in the interweaving of the symbolic and coded order of representations with the built order. In both the representation of the broader colony on maps and in the spatial order of the town, in the clearings and overwritings distinct from their surrounding environment, similar coded and symbolic devices can be identified. This relationship, and the picturing of both the town and the broader colony in representations, points to a gap in the literature for spatial analysis to look beyond the landscape as urban environments alone, to also viewing as a subject of analysis the broader colony as a landscape.[5]

5 *Old Towns and Villages of the Cape* (2006) is an important work by Hans Fransen that attempts to understand the settlements 'as an environment' (Fransen 2006, 1), although the focus is the historic development of the built urban environments.

THE COUNTRYSIDE INSIDE

The gap in the literature which studies the landscape of the broader colony is accentuated by the fact that urban development within it, as many scholars have observed, was not the intention of such development. Although under the VOC the colony had reached the size of the modern United Kingdom, like the Khoi the settlers occupied the land in very low densities.[6] The thinly populated and spread out colony was accentuated by the Dutch never embarking on a systematic town-founding policy, which only really accelerated in the British colonial era during the nineteenth century (Fransen 2006, 25, 41). Even after 150 years of VOC rule, Fransen (2006, 25) has shown only ten towns in existence by the time of the final British take-over in 1806, while during the British colonial period in the following century well over a hundred new towns were established. Thus before the nineteenth century the colony had long remained almost entirely agrarian, and the very name 'boer' (farmer) that came into use to denote this new African people reflected this. The creation of towns remained a very secondary concern, acting basically as service centres for widely dispersed farming communities (Guelke 1986, 64; Fransen 2006, 17). Moreover, even the towns were mostly cut up available pieces of farmland that were sold to people wanting to live or work there, and within the town there were often strong agrarian elements as well (Fransen 2006, 1, 17).

6 While the Khoi numbered only about 50,000 in the whole southwestern Cape, the population of the colony itself was also very small and spread out (only 394 Europeans and slaves in 1662, and 3,878 in 1714) (Elphick 1986, 3-4). Even at the end of the VOC period the colony still averaged a population density of only 0,3 people per square kilometre (Fransen 2006, 41).

The largely agrarian nature of the colony, the scarcity of towns and sparsely spaced farms produced a landscape that more resembled a modern countryside than any collection of urban settlements. This is already observable on the 1690 map. In accordance with a landscape so geared towards and shaped by agricultural production, wherein farms made up the majority of the settled territory, very little built fabric apart from the small burgher settlement emerging beside the fort is shown on the map. Moreover, even in this embryonic burgher town there were no clear boundaries between it and the countryside, the countryside merging into the town with farms on the slopes of mountains surrounding the earliest buildings (Worden 2004, 29).[7] The kind of heavy perimeter fortifications that existed around cities in many other parts of the Dutch empire in Asia and the Americas, which demarcated urban and rural, were never fully developed around Cape Town due partly to the largely agrarian logic of the settlement as well as to the threat posed by the indigenous population at the Cape being comparatively negligible (Fransen 2006, 42). In a late VOC period map of 1780, which shows the settled regions of the southwestern Cape with far greater accuracy, this 'countryside' landscape condition is still more clearly visible than on early maps (see fig. 3a).

Thus, although buildings and urban settlements form the focus of most architectural and spatial studies, it was farms and roads which formed the overarching infrastructure of the landscape. And apart from the economic logic of this agro-pastoralist landscape, as discussed in Chapter One, the ways in which this 'cleared', 'prepared', 'filled', 'inside' garden landscape has been pictured in the maps and images as argued in this study necessitates that it should also be considered beyond purely functional terms. Whereas modern readings may tend toward viewing countryside in relation to city, as areas of land outside the city not urbanised, for much of the VOC period such frames of reference are not really applicable. Apart from Cape Town, which even as late as the 1760s was still largely a thatch-roof village, Stellenbosch was the only other town of any significance with a population of only four hundred (Fransen 2006, 27, 43). Rather than a region outside the city, this study has argued that the countryside itself has been pictured as 'inside' space, already visible as such in maps from the early years of the VOC settlement. This reading does not render the town or city superfluous in the colonial landscape, indeed the sheer number of town maps alone indicate that this was not quite the case. Rather the study argues that the colony as a landscape, as a spread-out 'inside' space, is set in relation to and defined, not against the city, but against the wilderness and land not colonised by Europeans, and against the 'Other' it contained.

7 Although the outer edges of the burgher town would become formally marked by the naming of streets at its edges as 'Buiten' (Buitengracht, Buitenkant, Buitensingel), meaning 'outside', from around the mid-eighteenth century onward, for much of the VOC period the distinction between urban, peri-urban and rural was never absolute (Worden 1998/99, 73; Truluck 1988, 13, map 2).



3a.
Map of a portion of the southwestern Cape showing the positions of farms (1780) (CA: M1/875).

(Source: Tomer 2006)

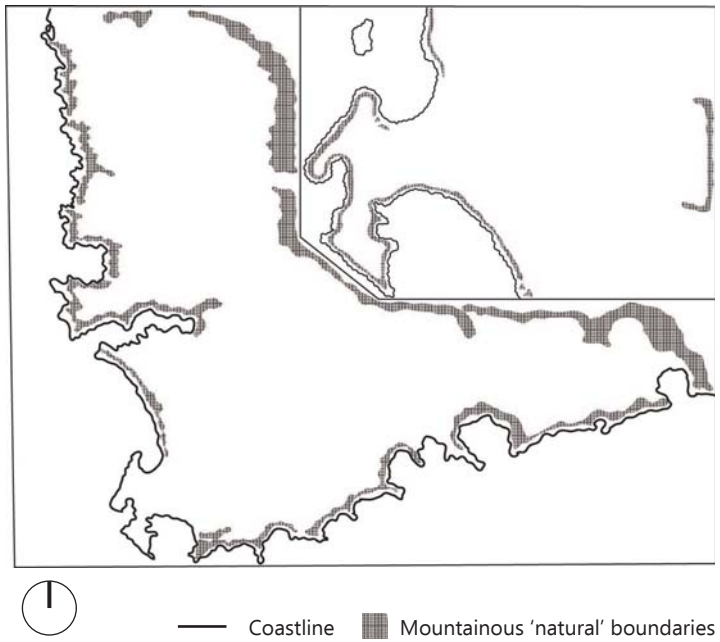
REPRESENTATION INSIDE THE COLONY: An analysis of Valentyn's map of 1726

While Chapter Two and Three focused on broader themes such as the valency of seascapes in Cape imagery, and the picturing of the 'other' in the land, the remainder of this chapter, as mentioned earlier, will focus more closely on those quantitative elements which are prioritised and given to representation inside the colony and relate these to the broader themes. As argued earlier, what acquired to representation within the colonial space was controlled and measured. A key map to analyse this spread-out, inside 'countryside' is Valentyn's landmark 1726 map of the Cape, which has already been mentioned (see fig. 2g). The map appears in the fifth and last part of François Valentyn's comprehensive and voluminous *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (Old and New East-Indies). Valentyn made extensive use of the work of other writers and his work enjoyed popularity. The fifth section of the work which deals with the Cape has long been known to South African historians and linguists and has been used extensively as source material (Serton et al 1971, xi). An analysis of Valentyn's map therefore allows the opportunity for the map to be read against detailed contemporary descriptions of the landscape in Valentyn's text, allowing each to be measured against the other.

Valentyn's map extends the mapped region of the *Nova et accurata tabula* to the north (up to Groote Doornbosch River) and to the east (up to Algoa Bay). The map consists of a main map and an inset map. The main map shows the greater colony, also indicating windmills and churches, while the inset map shows the more settled southwest portion of the colony, showing farms and identifying their owners. Valentyn's map was the work of an experienced cartographer, and was probably based on older maps and new information supplied by Valentyn (Serton et al 1971, 13). This inset map is not original and is probably based on the 1690 map and/or the *Nova et Accurata Tabula* (Serton et al 1971, 11).

The map could be said to comprise of four main elements: (1) the land [coast and topography], (2) landmark buildings, (3) farms and rivers, and (4) the roads. (A fifth important feature is the identification of Khoi tribes across the map, which has been discussed in Chapter Two). Each of these four aspects will be discussed accordingly, first through the imagery on the map, and then through other representations in the text.

With regard to the coast and topography, Valentyn's cartographer improved on the *Nova et Accurata Tabula* in many respects. For those parts of the coastline falling outside of it, Valentyn must have followed sea charts and other sources. However, the map also follows the tradition which did not hesitate to fill in empty map spaces on the grounds of vague rumours, although there are still large blank areas on the map (Serton et al 1971, 13). An important function of topography on the map, as argued earlier, remains that of boundary. Although the colonial boundaries were not fixed, the map appears to go to great lengths to maintain the clarity of this aspect as in earlier representations (see fig. 3b). Although the map shows more topographic detail than the *Nova et Accurata Tabula*, mountains (now drawn more realistically) still incorrectly line all of the coastlines so that hardly a solitary coastline exists without it. In the interior on the main map, new interior boundaries are made up by the Cedarberg Mountains, the Langeberg Mountains, and the Outeniqua Mountains (which graphically perfectly frame the inset map). In the north and the east, these interior mountain boundaries even bend to meet the coastal boundary, sealing in the colonial space once again. As argued with regard to earlier maps where such representations of boundaries were also observable, such representation appears to stage the 'naturalness' of the colony's possessions. In the inset map too, although the colony and the mapped regions have greatly expanded beyond this region (which covers an identical area to the 'Bird's eye view' maps and the 1690 map), there are still indications of boundary from the earlier representations. To be sure, mountains did correspond with limits of the colony at various times, but his would often tend to



3b.
Diagram of the 'natural' boundaries of the broader colony.
Based on Valentyn (1726).

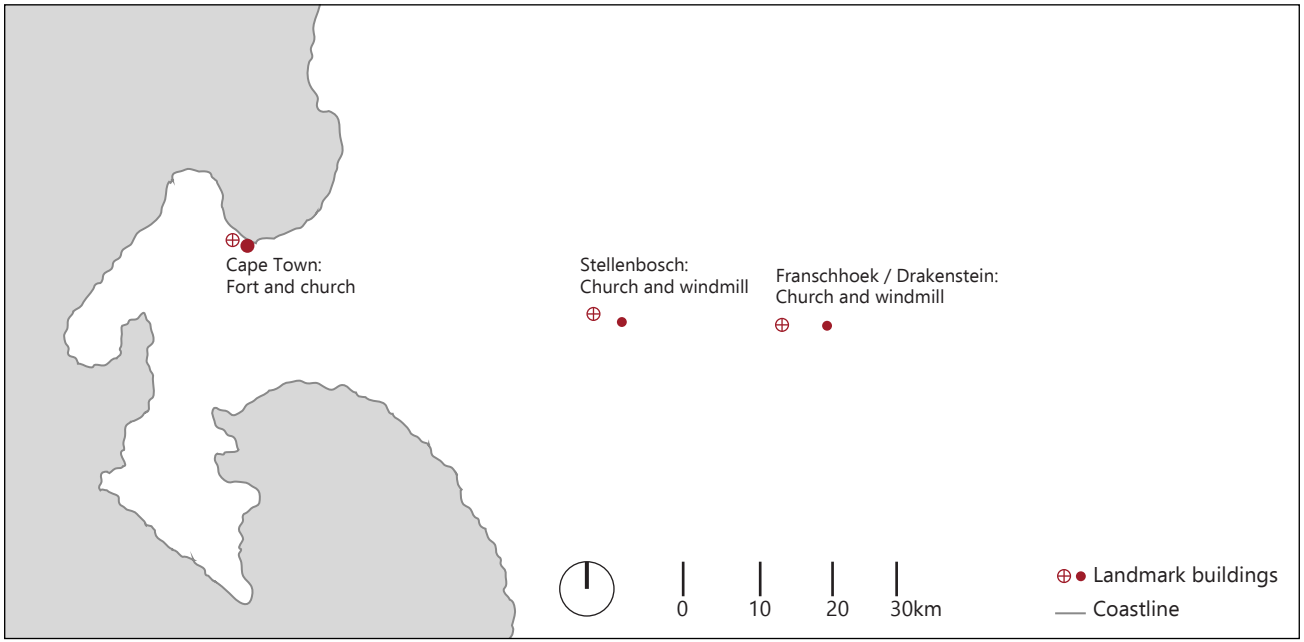
Drawn by author.

a heightened sense of representation, particularly in earlier maps such as the 'Bird's eye view' maps (see fig. 5a in the Appendix section for approximate limits of the colony).

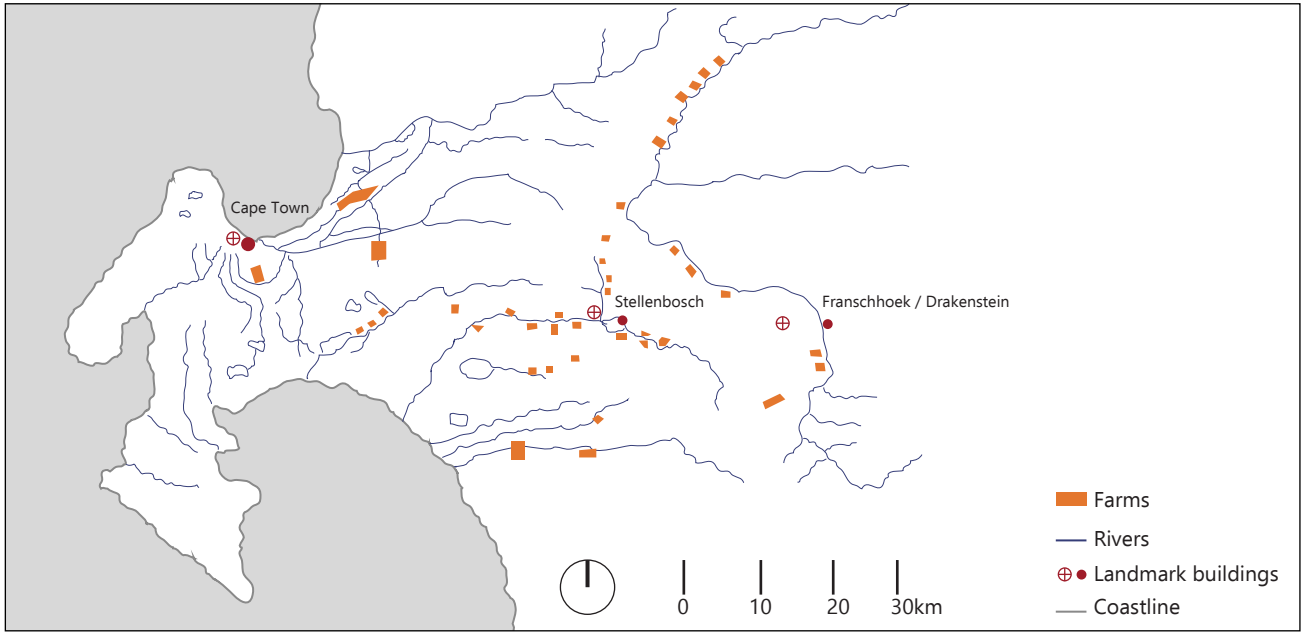
The second aspect of the map—and the only aspect of the built environment shown on the main map—are landmarks, which give an indication of the most prominently regarded buildings and sites in the colony (see fig. 3c). These landmark sites are: the Fort, the church and water mill at Stellenbosch and Franschhoek (the church in Cape Town is shown in the inset map), and the Company's Rustenburg garden at Rondebosch.

The third aspect of the map is the importance of the rivers and farms. Throughout the VOC period, this was consistently one of the most important and entrenched of representations. Valentyn's cartographer followed the *Nova et Accurata Tabula* in the river courses in the south-west (Serton et al 1971, 13); but early indications were already evident in Nieuhof's map, where farms and potential land for farms are clearly marked on the map, serving the requirements of the Company. Following the importance of lands suitable for farming, the coastline and rivers are one of the most prominent and visually the boldest elements on Valentyn's map. This demonstrates their vital importance in patterns of settlement: farms naturally followed the rivers and the most fertile soil, while the proximity of a river was obligatory for a new town as well (Fransen 2006, 25). These settlement patterns are clearly shown on the map, with farms strung out along the Eerste River at Stellenbosch, along the Berg River from south of Franschhoek in the Drakenstein Mountains, and along the Liesbeeck River near Cape Town (see fig. 3d). The boldness of the rivers on the map is reflected in Valentyn's text too, wherein the landscape of the colony is described and evaluated consistently through its productive and settlement potential such as soil quality and fertility, crops, and the water quality and availability. It is criteria such as these through which Valentyn also read the contemporary maps included in his work. For example, after describing the fertility of the land around Table Mountain caused by mountain streams, or the vegetables and fruits of the Company's Garden, introduces the maps in his work through these criteria: "All this [farms and streams] can be seen very clearly in the handsome drawing", or "we think it necessary to show the same [vegetables and fruits of the Company's Garden] in plate" (Serton et al 1971, 57, 131). Valentyn thus saw a natural link between these overarching narratives in the text and the maps included in his work, where each reflects and reinforces the other. In some instances, Valentyn even indicates that the value of country-estates, the most prominent of whose lands and 'fine residences' he does not fail to praise extensively such as Vergelegen and Constantia, are not necessarily reflected in the farm buildings as

3c.
Diagram of the landmark buildings of the colony. Based on Valentijn (1726).



3d.
Diagram of the farms and rivers of the colony. Based on Valentijn (1726).



much as by these nominal criteria of cultivated land. Of the farms at Tygerberg, for example, Valentyn states that "(b)ecause of the good soil this region is already so much cultivated that now … they are more important in value than would appear from the looks of their buildings" (Serton et al 1971, 75, 199). Besides the dominant theme of lands fit for cultivation and settlement, to a much lesser degree Valentyn also makes some mention of minerals to exploit.[8]

While the image and text as described—whether in terms of topography, built landmarks, or rivers and farms—generally reflect and confirm each other, at times they also reveal the misrepresentations of the other. Although the representation of mountains improved upon the *Nova et accurata tabula*, there are discrepancies between Valentyn's map and the description in the text. For example, the text provides a fairly accurate description of the narrow mountainous strip of the Cape Peninsula to the west of False Bay, and of the Hottentots Holland mountains to its east. Says Valentyn: "The Bay of the False Cape, which lies here to the S, has chains of hills to E and W, that on the E being called the Hottentots-Holland Hills, being much higher than the Table Mountain, but those to the W stretching to the Steenbergen (where Constantia lies), of which the outermost, running very far and fully 6 miles into the sea, is called Noorwegen" (Serton et al 1971, 145). However, a quite different image is put forward in the map, which inherits representational techniques from earlier maps in which they often functioned as 'natural' land and sea boundaries. Also in contrast to the sealed and bounded colonial space on the map, Valentyn reveals the still rudimentary and undefined nature of boundary and settlement in several regions of the colony: in the "region of the 24 Rivers … the people … still make do with very poor huts", and in the Land of Waveren "a beginning was made to populate it, although little can be said of this as yet, nor can the boundaries be shown" (Serton et al 1971, 165, 167).

Like the topography, the churches as landmark buildings on the map reflect similar inconsistencies with more accurate descriptions in the text. The church in the town, newly completed in 1704 and described as 'a very fine edifice', corresponds with its prominence on the map; but the two other churches at Franschhoek and Stellenbosch are more problematic (Serton et al 1971, 87-9). The church at Franschhoek, although represented as a major building on the map, is described as "in very bad condition in all respects, inside and out, and looks more like a shed than a church, although there is no lack of money to erect a better one" (Serton et al 1971, 163). The church on the map at Stellenbosch is even more problematic, since it did not exist. A church had existed in Stellenbosch when Valentyn fleetingly visited the village in 1705, but when he visited the Cape again (for the last time) in 1714, a church had not stood in Stellenbosch for already four years since it burned down in 1710 (it was only rebuilt in 1723). Valentyn acknowledges this in the text—"there was still no church"—yet it was prominently presented on the map as a landmark building (Serton et al 1971, 9, 139). Possibly Valentyn's cartographer (who lacked knowledge of the local situation[9]) could simply have copied off the *Nova et accurata tabula*, which shows the church before it had burned down. However, the map revised and updated much of this earlier map that it is very possible that it was a deliberate misrepresentation. Nonetheless, the map shows not only landmarks across the colony where they did exist, but also reflects an idea of what a 'good map' or a 'good colony' should contain, even when

8 For example, a silver-mine is mentioned at the Zorgvliet estate, and the estate of Mayor *Abraham Villiers* is mentioned as the only place where good coal is mined (Serton et al 1971, 161). Simon van der Stel (whose journal is included in Valentyn's work) would also lead a party in 1685 which journeyed for approximately two months from Cape Town to Namaqualand where it spent sixteen days camped in the Koperbergen (literally 'Copper Mountains') region "to see what sort of minerals the mountains might offer" and "finding that they contained copper" (Serton et al 1971, 301, 307). There is also a preliminary sketch of mineshafts at the Cape (ca. 1686) in the Dutch archives.

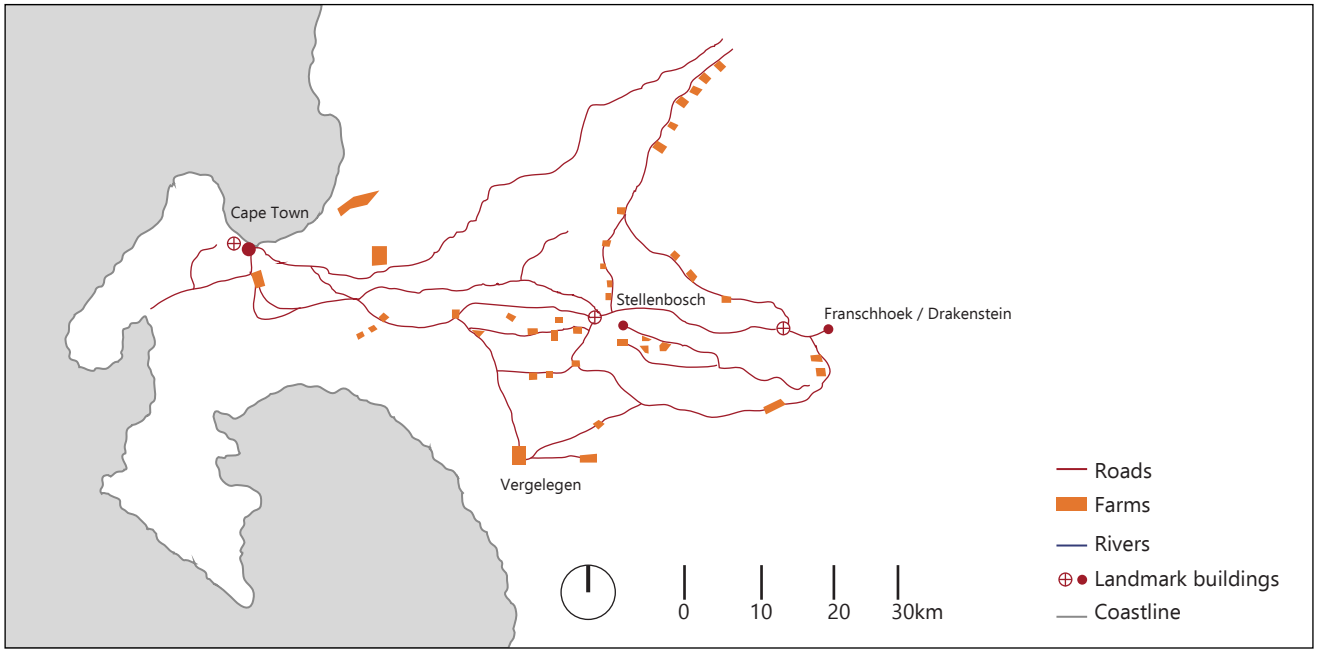
9 Serton et al 1971, 13.

the reality did not always correspond to the convention.
In rivers too, inconsistencies between image and text are also found. One of the most important rivers on the map is Salt River, which outlets closest to the town and which is distinguished by its thickening on the map. Yet despite its prominence, like many other rivers depicted it is not a perennial river, and as Valentyn describes "runs crookedly … but in Summer the Salt River entirely ceases to flow…" Other rivers on the map are similarly described: "The Mosselbank River … is only a confluence of the streamlets caused by the rain in the wet season, and in the Summer becomes salty and dries up so that only pools remain," and "De Kuil counts, so to speak, for nothing, because in Summer it is nearly dry, and brackish." The "very long and tortuous course" of the Mosselbank River, shown as a branch of Salt River, has been revised from the 1690 map and the *Nova et accurata tabula,* which may also be an indication of its unclear path. And again, to the east of the map "(t)he Berg River run(s) … so crookedly, that at last one almost loses track of it" (Serton et al 1971, 77, 79, 137, 165, 197). Thus, like the topography and landmark buildings on the map, even this now established representation of the river courses in the south-western Cape can often be at odds with descriptions in the text. The inconsistencies between a confident image and a somewhat tenuous textual description indicates that as much as Valentyn's two maps may be an attempt to represent an accurate portrayal of the land with the limited data available, it also emboldens those aspects of the landscape which would serve the purposes of VOC settlement, wherein soil fertility and water availability was a mandatory requisite. This does not necessarily mean that the text is more accurate and that the map obfuscates, but rather that both are very particular to the purposes of VOC and colonial settlement.

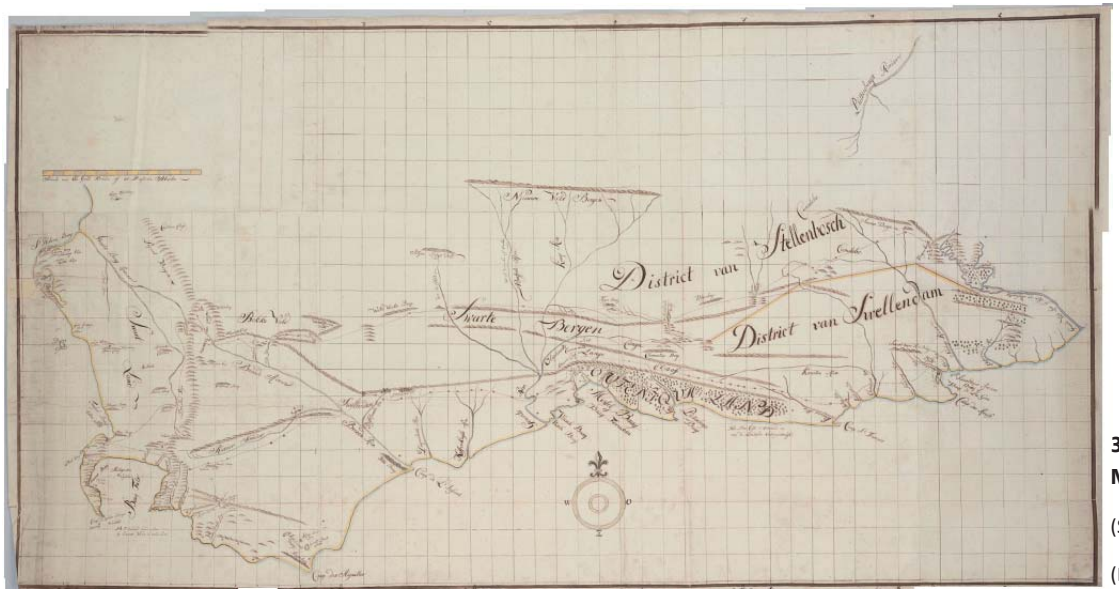
LITTORAL NETWORKS

The fourth and last important aspect of Valentyn's map studied in this chapter is the network of roads, which spreads web-like across the inset map (see fig. 3e). These road networks are already evident in the 1690 map and the *Nova et accurata tabula* where, as this chapter has argued, they formed along with the farms the overarching built infrastructure of the landscape. Although basic wagon roads, these networks were necessary for linking the widely dispersed farming communities with the villages, which acted as basic service centres, and especially with Cape Town, the market town. One aspect of this network discernable on the map is that the roads flow outward from Cape Town into the interior; in the direction of Stellenbosch and Franschhoek, Vergelegen (the private estate of the Governor of the Cape Colony between 1700 and 1706), and also northeast toward Riebeeck's Castle. A later 'Map of the southern part of the Cape' colony, dated 1775-86, shows this road network in the context of the broader colony, which is by now significantly larger, extending to the Great Fish River in the east on the right of the picture (see fig. 3f). Clearly legible are the two major roads out from Cape Town, both of which stretch out across the entire length of the colony, indicating the importance of this network to structuring the broader colonial landscape, as they still do today to a certain extent (the lower road on the map basically corresponds with the modern-day N2 national road). Similar to Valentyn's map and the 'Map of the southern part of the Cape', in a later 'General map of the Colony' (ca.1800) this road network is also evident, with additional roads appearing from Cape Town up to the northern region of the colony and also in the eastern region of the colony (see fig. 3g).

3e.
Diagram of the farms and roads of the colony. Based on Valentijn (1726).



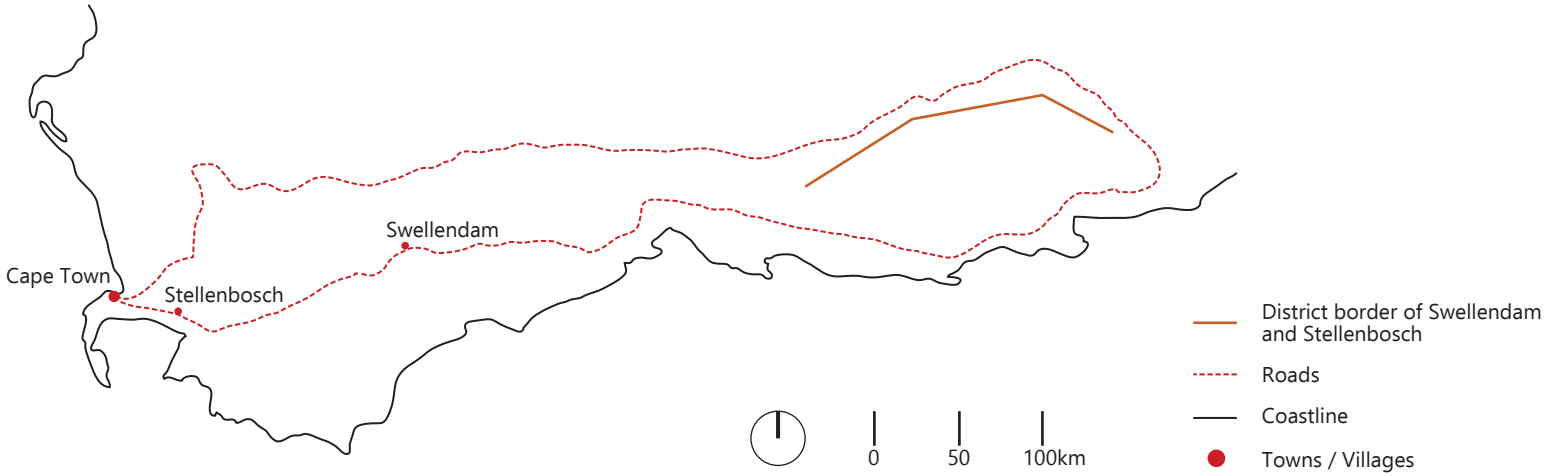
Not only did the extension of these unbeaten tracks over large areas of the country make it possible for the stock farmers' rapid expansion inland (Guelke 1986, 60), but in terms of the political map of the territory, infrastructuring the land through roads also made it possible to draw political and administrative boundaries. In its combination of roads, with the colony and district boundaries, the 'Map of the southern part of the Cape' begins to indicate these links between road infrastructuring, and political and adminsinstrative areas, which is still more evident later in the 'General map of the Colony'. Later this organization of landscape would again be evident in the founding of the two Boer republics (the Transvaal and the Free State) by the Voortrekkers in the deep interior in the 1840s and the 1850s, and in the role of the tracery of wheel and wagon across the land in transforming the conception of this impenetrable and unknown interior. The inland migration and the establishment of the Boer republics literally transformed European maps of the regions, inscribing political lines onto places and peoples to whom they were previously unknown (Beningfield 2006, 53). Moreover, at times even the roads themselves literally formed part of bounding, organizing and mapping the land: when the new eastern frontier district of Uitenhage was declared in 1804, for example, the boundary was declared to be 'from Grenadiers's Cape through the upper end of Kromme River in a straight line through Kougaberg throught to the lower point of Anthoniesberg, thence along the waggon road through Dasjes Poort, … and thence Fish River to the sea' (Theal 1889-1900, Chapter 4).

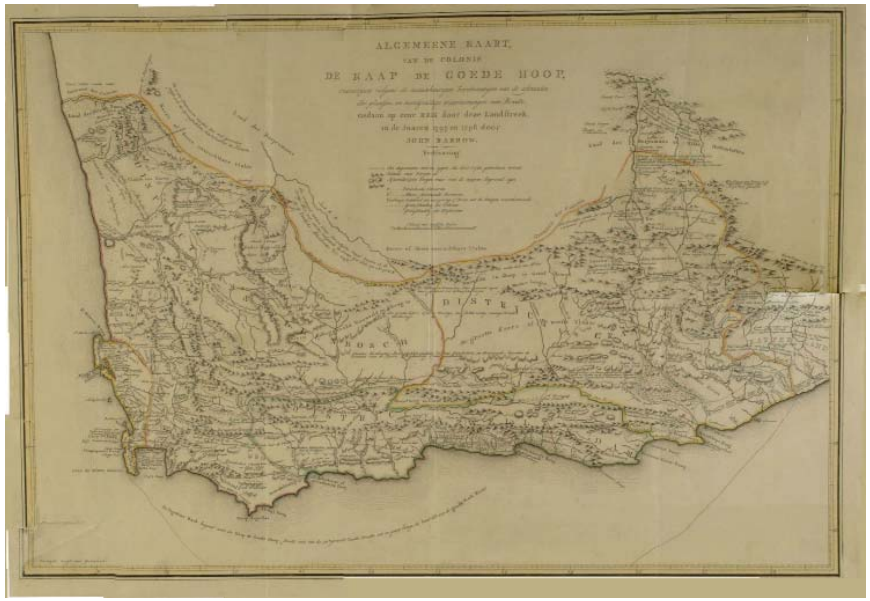


3f.
Map of the southern part of the Cape (1775-86).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

(Diagram below by author)

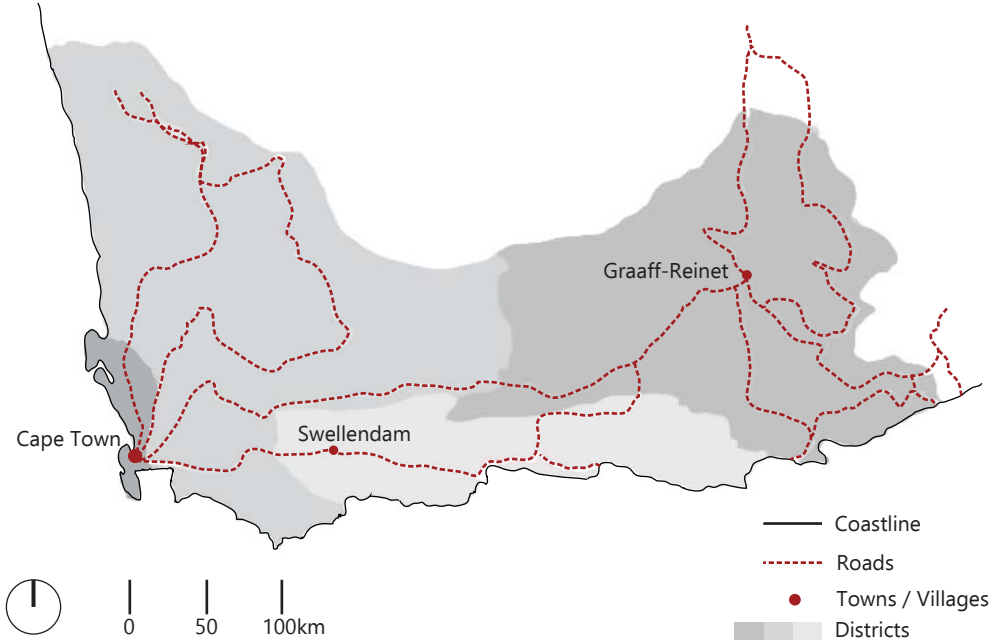




3g.
'General map of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope' (ca. 1800).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

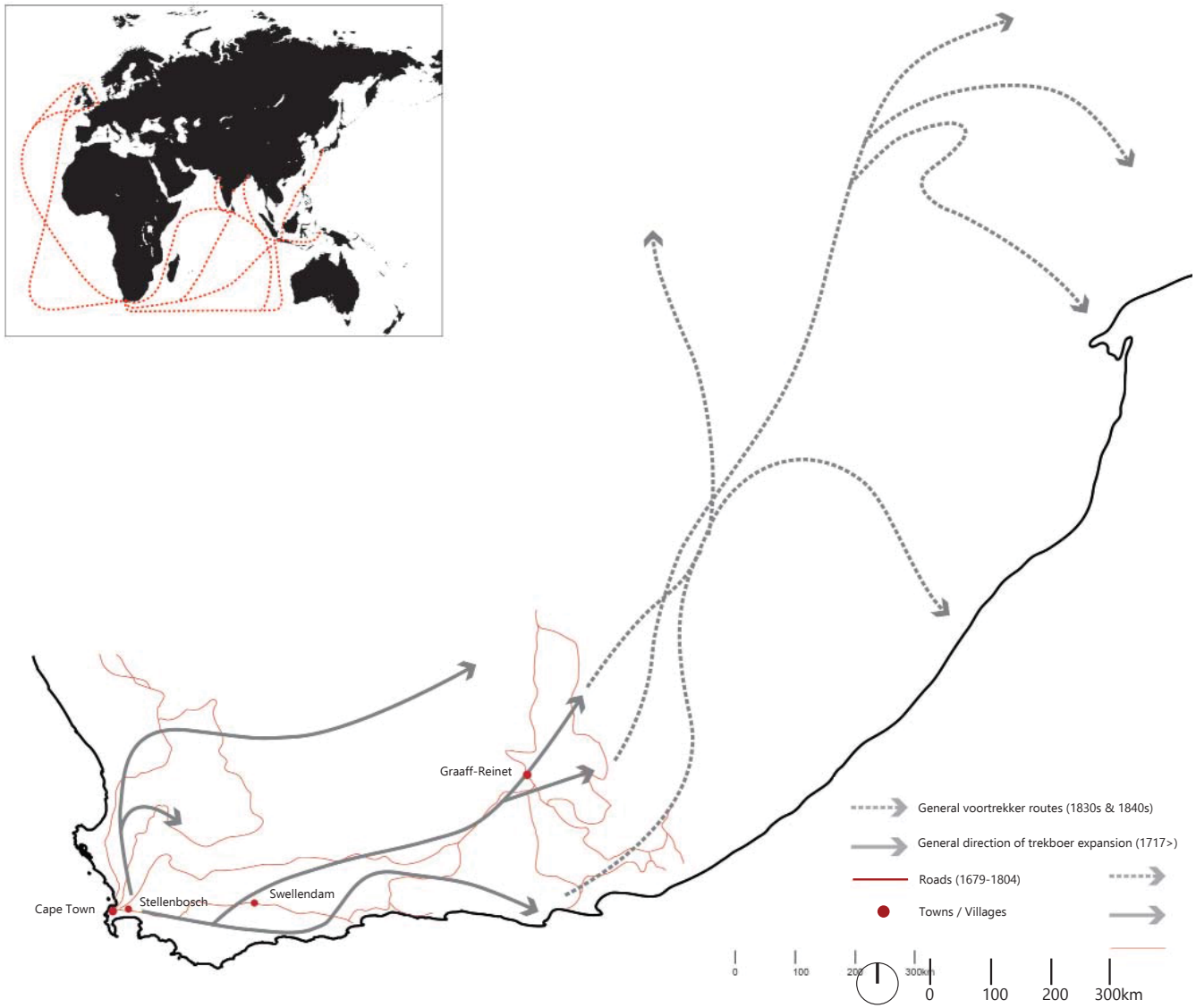
(Diagram below by author)



Geographically, these maps (figs. 3e-g) all show that even though Cape Town was so effectively set apart from the interior, it had nonetheless occupied a pivotal position within the road networks of the colony, producing a somewhat lopsided distribution system (much later to be exploited in the spatial segregation of apartheid). The centrality of Cape Town in this network reflects its position as the founding point of the gradually expanding colony and the headquarters of government. Within the broader colony Cape Town also functioned as a market centre where farm produce was brought from rural areas and into which cattle and sheep were regularly herded (Worden 2004, 45, 88). Although most ships at the port were calling for provisioning only, it was also through the port city that the Cape economy and the agricultural economy of the farms of the interior were partially directed towards an external market (Ross 1985, 109; Worden 1984, 226; Worden 2004, 98).

The importance of the road networks between Cape Town and the interior was also reflected in the structure of the main towns. The "Wagenweg naar de Caab" (Wagon road to the Cape), later formally named Dorp Street, was one of the main structuring elements in the founding of Stellenbosch and formed one of the boundaries of the village ('Stellenbosch – A Short History'). Unlike Stellenbosch which was formally laid out in 1685, Paarl (like Swellendam) originated as a purely agricultural village. Nonetheless, its long, strung-out agricultural settlement similarly was structured and grew along a long pre-existing wagon-road, and it retains this quality despite its subsequent growth (KrugerRoos 1997, 4; Fransen 2006, 25, 41).

More broadly, in terms of large-scale economic and social processes, the relationship between road infrastructures and the port city corresponds with Michael Pearson's concept of 'littoral societies' (discussed in Chapter One). Placing the Cape within this framework Kerry Ward (2007, 146) has argued that "Cape Town emerged within the Company period as a littoral society fundamentally engaged with the intersections of multiple imperial networks of trade, information, and migration across the Atlantic and Indian oceans." The lopsided, hierarchical road network of the Cape that this produced, branching out into the interior from its root at the port could likewise appropriately be termed as a 'littoral network' (see fig. 3h). Pearson's argument, wherein the littoral influence through the port weakens the further the distance inland from the port, is physically represented in the Cape road networks; where the majority of the roads shown on the maps flow out from Cape Town, indicative of relations with the port city, and only in the eastern frontier district of Graaff-Reinet is any significant change in this pattern discernable. After 1717 a growing number of settlers that moved beyond the settled, arable area of the South Western Cape into a dispersed pastoral *trekboer* region in the interior would have far weaker relations with the port. These more remote, isolated and independent, inland farmers were obliged to make only occasional journeys to the Cape on routes little more than rough tracks, to purchase clothing, brandy and coffee for the ensuing year, for selling produce in Cape Town, or for having children baptized (Pearse 1956, 75; Guelke 1986, 59, 60, 63). Still further into the interior, even as actual relations with the port were severed, in the inland Voortrekker migrations of the 1830s and 1840s the influence of the seascape and the littoral in relation to pre-colonial patterns is still marked by an outward migration from its hinterlands and a detachment from the rest of continent. This colonial legacy still resonates in modern Voortrekker narratives. In her analysis of the role of landscape in sanctioning contemporary political claims of Afrikaner leaders, Beningfield (2006, 51-2) describes 'the many advertisements and documents of the late 1930s and early 1940s', which 'repeatedly depicted it as an autonomous geographic area, detached from the African continent' and 'a seamless map of the development of the Afrikaner volk'.



3h.
Shipping routes of the VOC (above), and the littoral networks of the Cape (below).

(Maps by author) (Sources: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/; http://voortrekker-history.co.za/map_great_trek.php; http://voortrekker-history.co.za/;

Despite the importance of the road infrastructuring however, and similar to the other aspects analysed on Valentyn's map (topography, built landmarks, and rivers and farms), the representation of the road networks in text and image at times reveal the misrepresentations of the other. Inconsistencies appear between the roads that confidently mark and structure the land in the image with their more tenuous descriptions in the text. Of the road to Stellenbosch, for example, the spine of the road network on Valentyn's map, he says:

> One reaches there by a stony, steep, hilly and for the most part very inconvenient way, although there are good stretches here and there; but to drive thither one needs fully 5 or 6 yoke of oxen to the waggon if one wishes to arrive, and these may readily drop dead on the way in hot weather. It is a very lonely road, and I remember that in 1705 I went there with D. *Bek*, passing over a large flat where we found only one house but saw some ostriches from afar, and where only a few days previously 5 elephants had played the devil. After passing this we came to the Kuil, Heer *Berg's* estate, which is as good as half-way; and from there on it is a lonely road (Serton et al 1971, 139, 141).

It is similarly the case with regard to the Land of Waveren to the north of Cape Town, where Valentyn states that it "lies very high up and far from the Castle, so that carts can reach it only with great difficulty" (Serton et al 1971, 167).

Not unlike topography, landmark buildings and river courses, the representation of the road infrastructuring also displays the particularity of representation to the purposes of VOC and colonial settlement. Inland regions within the expansive colony, for instance, were only thinly populated and overland travel in general was difficult. Despite being nomadic the Khoi had almost certainly occupied the interior more densely in the seventeenth century than the *trekboers* in the eighteenth century, and transportation between Cape Town and the interior posed serious problems, even more so for the inhabitants of the inland regions than the arable farmers closer to Cape Town (Guelke 1986, 59). For inhabitants of the more remote regions of the colony, such as those in the Sneeuwberg Mountains, Agter Bruintjes Hoogte or the Zuurveld, the journey to Cape Town and back was always demanding and often dangerous and might take three months or more (Guelke 1986, 61).

Thus, these new littoral networks played an important role in the colonial re-infrastructuring of the territory, as well as in structuring the main towns. However, that these were often little more than rough tracks across a thinly populated interior, over which travel was generally long and difficult, reveals the particularity of representation and its importance in shaping the political and administrative map of the territory. It also suggests a staging of the thinly populated colonial presence in the landscape. This staging of a presence, and the legacy of inscribing and organising of a vast and unfamiliar landscape through mapping and movement, is again comparable with the twentieth century maps of the various routes of the Great Trek of the *Voortrekkers* in the nineteenth century. While popular maps such as 'The Story of South

Africa' (1968) from a supplement to *Personality* magazine shows the sweeping routes of the *trekkers*, another academic map by F.A. Steyler, 'Routes of the Great Trek in the Cape Province' (1950), shows a different picture (see fig. 5d in the Appendix section). As Beningfield (2006, 52-3) has argued, it "reveals the 'Great' Trek to be less cohesive and more tentative: routes begin and end unaccountably, joining and splitting in a pattern that discloses indecision and doubt in an unknown land." Linking these contemporary maps with earlier colonial map-making, and the longevity of the image of South Africa as a mapped landscape and its political power, Beningfield (2006, 53) concludes that:

> The maps which drew and redrew the events of the Great Trek were the descendants of a history of map-making and acquisition of the land that is itself bound up with colonialism. The maps act to transform the way in which the land is imagined by conflating the supposedly objective activity of surveying with the representation of the landscape into which political, historical and cultural meanings are embedded.

LIMINAL AND MARGINAL NETWORKS

While this chapter has analysed quantitative information drawn from maps (such as road networks) in relation to earlier chapters and to the broader themes of the study (such as the valency of the seascape), in terms of its intentional forms of picturing; the last section of this chapter looks at what has been contingently excluded in those quantitative representations, namely the littoral networks in the colony in relation to the 'other(s)' within it—both the indigenous 'external other' (namely the Khoi) and the liminal 'internal other' (namely slavery and Cape Islam). Since the early 'Bird's eye view' maps of the 1660s maps have depicted representations of inside and outside, often interwoven with picturings of the 'other' on the outside or on the margins. The remainder of the chapter therefore studies the makings and representations of liminal presences within.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the orientation of indigenous societies in the Cape prior to European settlement was not towards the sea. Trading relations between African societies in the geographical area of modern South Africa took place through ancient overland routes, which did not rely on riverine communications, nor did the indigenous populations there navigate transoceanic voyages. Like Atlantic port cities, Cape Town was not tied into these pre-existing indigenous long-distance trading routes, but rather its trade would unfold from the Company's own priorities with its own rationality (Ward 2007, 143, 145, footnote 40). Throughout the seventeenth century, the Company's goals in relation to Khoi were predominantly commercial. The Company's traders did not integrate the Khoi into the global economy as providers of exportable raw materials; but they did associate them indirectly with

intercontinental commerce by obtaining from them, under monopoly conditions, essential foodstuffs for the sailors and merchants who conducted the trade, and the Cape Town garrison and community which supported it (Kiernan 1995, 72).

One of by-products of these processes, and of colonization in general, was the radical distortion of traditional Khoi society. While the European population was characterised by movement—by migrancy by sea, a fluid temporal population, and a littoral road network across the landscape—the opposite was often demanded of the local populations. Since the Dutch based their presence on occupancy of land and physical boundaries, indigenous populations were now expected to remain fixed in relation to it, thus leading to the breakdown the transhumance cycle.[10] Already from the late sixteenth century local Khoi opposed Europeans if they appeared to be staying too long at Table Bay and refused to barter with them. By the 1650s they would also oppose this presence through ignoring the neatly ordered boundaries of Dutch maps by grazing thousands of cattle in the vicinity of the fort, and also attempted to persuade them to leave by making off with some of the Company's cattle. Instead the Dutch strengthened guards on the herds, and started insisting that the Khoi tribes keep greater distances away from the Company's settlement. Already in 1656 the interpreter for the Dutch, Autshumato, pointed out that this attempt to break down the Khoi transhumance cycle would lead to disaster (Worden 2004, 17, 21-3). Thus, as argued in Chapter One, the relation between landscape (and its local forms of inhabitation) and seascape (and its imperial networks of trade and imaginaries across the oceans) powerfully and profoundly entailed an overwriting of the former with the latter. The successor of the patterns of pre-existing overland trade and transhumance was the colonial littoral, the legacy of which is still evident today even after centuries of development (see fig. 3i).

In terms of representation, these pre-existing patterns are rarely ever shown on Dutch maps. Occasions which provide a feint glimpse of such patterns are on the 1690 map and the *Nova et accurata tabula*, where Khoi kraals are shown on the margins of the colony (see fig. 3j). But unlike the richness of the networks of settled areas across the colony, the Khoi settlements appear fixed in these locations. The only elements that appear to link these kraals to the broader landscape are the roads and rivers shown extending out tentatively from within the colony, to the kraals on its periphery. As argued in Chapter Two, this picturing of the local populations was at least partly deliberate, presenting an image of the kind of security, stability and order that the VOC authorities wished to see. Contrary to the actual distortion and ultimate destruction of traditional society, and their exclusion from the new colonial space, the colony is presented in the maps in a way that seems to suggest a compatibility, even a harmony, with the inherent logics of indigenous settlement. The disintegration of the traditional order, of course, points to precisely the opposite, as it does to the silence of links with the land not represented on the maps. Comparable in this sense was the case with the Xhosa later, similarly neatly pictured outside of the colony on the eastern frontier ('Kafferland'), and finally expelled in 1811 during the British colonial period (see fig. 3j). But the hunger that this created amongst the Xhosa caused by being deprived of extensive grazing fields, underscored links with the land not shown on the neatly drawn boundaries of the maps.

10 Similar processes occurred during Belgian colonisation in the Congo, for example (Lecture delivered by Professor Bruno de Meulder at KU Leuven on 23 March 2012).



3i.
Pre-existing, colonial (ca. 1800), and modern-day territorial movement patterns.

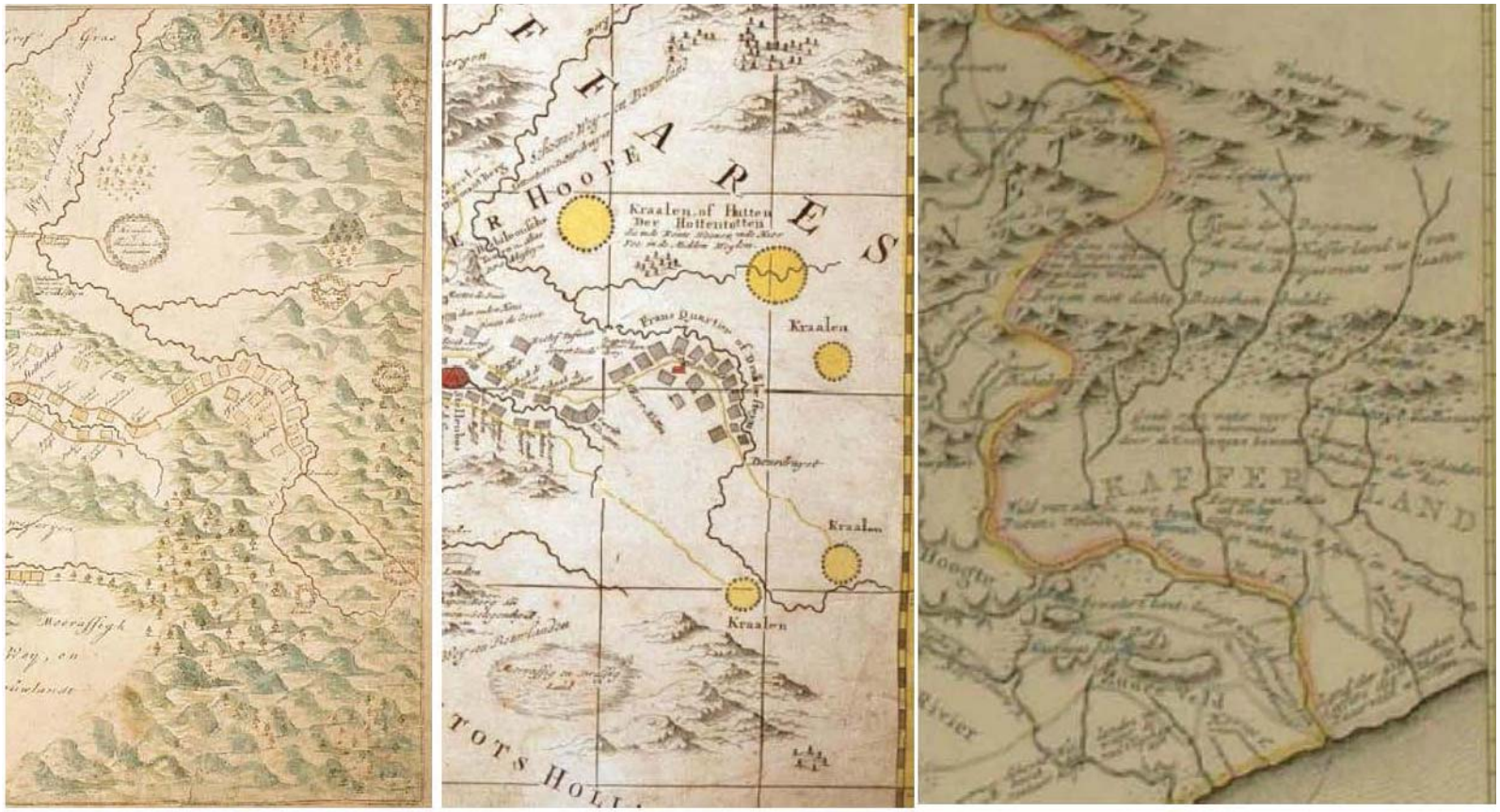
(Maps by author)

(Sources: Worden 2004, 16;

Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/;

http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/C5Ph6PR5a4uf_rP5wxau7g;

http://www.panoramio.com/photo/63323178)



3j.
Local populations on the interior margins of the colony, in the map of the Cape (ca. 1690), the *Nova et accurata tabula* (ca. 1700), and the 'General map of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope' (ca. 1800).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

While the Khoi, especially in earlier maps, not unlike the Xhosa later, constituted an iconic 'Other' to the European settlement, frequently pictured outside or on the margins of the colony; the liminal internal 'other(s)' within the colony are almost always absent on maps, giving little indication of the fact that the Cape was a slave colony almost from the outset, as well as a penal colony for the VOC. These liminal groups in the colony were generally brought from the VOC's Indian Ocean empire, and thus formed a part of the littoral society of the Cape.

Earlier in the chapter the littoral networks of the Cape was studied in terms of its intentional forms of picturing, or 'from the point of view of the colonists'. That the liminal presences at the Cape likewise formed a part of these networks of movements across the ocean and the littoral society of the Cape, brings into focus the fact that both rulers and ruled were engaged in different forms of migration (Ward 2007, 147), and as a result of these relations of power there therefore exist contradictions that are inbuilt within the littoral. At the Cape this would take shape into the form of deeply hierarchical society, which was reflected in representations wherein liminal peoples existed virtually unrepresented on Dutch maps. Nonetheless, a view of the littoral from the point of view of the colonists exclusively is always in danger of being undermined by internal contradictions within it.

Oceanic exchanges for people who endured forced migration to the Cape as exiles, convicts or slaves was a profoundly alienating experience. Death and suicide on the middle passage between Southeast Asia and the Cape was not uncommon, and unlike political exiles to the Cape for whom repatriation to their homeland was a regular event, for manumitted slaves this was unusual (Ward 2012). In time, however, these groups would build lives and communities out of plural demands and influences, both local and international, and develop into a more established part of the littoral society of the Cape. As Bank (1991, 101) has put it:

> As a direct consequence of the demographic and ethnic shift from a heterogeneous foreign-born to a stable and increasingly homogenous Cape-born slave population, the predominantly Eastern-based slave culture of the late eighteenth century Cape Town was transformed into a creolised and more vibrant slave/underclass culture in the early nineteenth century.

One site where the absence of the liminal in representations of the maps of the colony is particularly marked is the port city of Cape Town.[11] There, dependence on slave or freed labor was higher than in the rural areas, and the town and its outskirts were also home to the only officially demarcated places for slaves in the colony, in the form of a separate slave burial ground and the Company's Slave Lodge (Ward 2007, 145; Worden 1998/99, 81). In this urban context, slaves would become "part of an underclass culture that had both secular and religious dimensions from the late eighteenth century, if not before", and which "flourished in a creolised urban form" in the early nineteenth century (Bank 1991, 99, 101).

11 This calls for closer spatial studies, mappings and analysis of maps of the landscape in and around the town, which falls outside the scope of the study.

Islam too, was not only part of the Cape littoral, it was very much part of Indian Ocean trade networks prior to European colonisation, where it had a presence in littoral regions from where slaves would be brought to the Cape. As argued by Islamic scholar and academic historian Seraj Hendricks (2005, 106), the links between Cape Islam and the wider Indian Ocean realm are critical "in order to understand the remarkable cultural integration – irrespective to origins – that characterised the early Muslim community at the Cape, particularly up to the latter half of the nineteenth century." In one of the best analyses of these links, Hendricks (2005, 126) has argued that:

> We need to look as a consequence … at both the causes and broader cultural patterns that influenced Islam not only in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, but also in East Africa and India, particularly along its Malabarian and Coromandel coasts, and to a lesser extent, its Bengalese forms. This is seminal to our analysis of Islam at the Cape and the particular forms of *Tasawwuf* that emerged there.

Hendricks describes three main features that inform the common cultural platform of Islam in all of these littoral societies - *Hadrami*[12], *Shafi'i*[13], and *sufi*[14]; and argues that the Cape forms part of this cultural continuum, with the Indian Ocean acting, as it were, as a huge "Cultural Corridor." From this perspective the centrality of the influence of the Hadramawt in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, India and East Africa becomes apparent. Three major currents out of the Arabian Peninsula carried Hadramis to India in 1200, Hadramis and Yamanis to East Africa after c. 1250, and to Malaysia and Indonesia after approximately 1300. These are the three areas from which the vast majority of political prisoners and slaves came to the Cape, during a time - between the 17th and 19th centuries - when *Hadramite* influences were at their peak. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these Muslims brought a significant part of this *Hadramite* Islamic culture - in its various Indian, African, and Malay-Indonesian forms - to the Cape; which included the *Shafite madhhab* which had become the dominant one in Yemen by the 13th century, and the *Ba 'Alawi sufi* order (Hendricks 2005, 120-1,128-9).

Common practices within this Indian Ocean littoral includes the practice of *Ratiep* - which includes the piercing of the body with sharp instruments, which is practiced on the Eastern coast of Africa and also at the Cape (Hendricks 2005, 113). Like *Ratiep*, another *sufi*-inspired practice at the Cape is the *gadat*, which was most likely held on Thursday nights in the mosques and homes of individuals. The term *gadat* is derived from the *Ratib al-Haddad* litany of Sayyid 'Abd Allah b. 'Alawi al-Haddad, which is an essential part of the '*Alawiyya dhikr* (invocation, remembrance). This clearly indicates the ascendancy of that litany and the dominance of the *Ba 'Alawi sufi* order during the nineteenth century in Cape Muslim practices (Hendricks 2005, 277).

Another aspect of this rich cultural layering regards the transmission or mediation of Islam, whereby Islamic cultural patterns in the Cape were largely mediated through its Malay-Indonesian leadership. Some of the most prominent exiles sent to the Cape from the Indies were Muslim scholars who were part of the Indian Ocean Islamic networks and who also linked the Cape to this wider realm. The transmission of Islam came directly through these slaves and political prisoners who formed the basis of the Muslim community at the Cape. Even today the sense of indebtedness within the Cape Muslim community to these founders of Islam in the Cape remains very much present (Ward 2003; Hendricks 2005, 125-6).

12 Hadrami refers to the people and Islamic culture from the Hadramawt in Yemen.

13 The *Shafi'i* school or *madhab* is one of the four schools of religious jurisprudence in *Sunni* Islam.

14 See footnote 5 in Introduction.

Like slave/underclass culture in general, for Islam too all of these threads would meld together most poignantly in the port city, where already by the late eighteenth century Islam had emerged in a community-based form (Bank 1991, 99).[15] Thus, the Islamic faith also formed an integral part and a tangible indication of the inbuilt contradictions within the littoral. Brought initially with the forced migration of liminal peoples across the oceans, it would be reflected in the faint - yet powerful and enduring in communal memory - liminal landscapes of *kramats* and burial grounds on the margins of the colony in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; before developing into Cape-based community forms and institutions in the town in the nineteenth century.

15 Bank (1991) describes in detail some of the conditions and mechanisms through which a secular and religious slave/underclass culture emerged in the urban context.

CONCLUSION

The chapter builds on the qualitative analysis of the earlier chapters, combining this with more quantitative subject matter of analysis. The intersection of these multiple registers was used to connect the analysis of representation in the earlier chapters with the physical organization of settlement discussed, and also in relation to the 'other'. The chapter has argued that this opens up new and extended readings of not only the built environment, but also points to a gap in the literature for spatial analysis to look at the broader colony as a landscape as a subject of analysis.

The study of quantitative aspects of maps reveals the physical influence of the littoral, in the road networks and even in the inland migrations, but perhaps more importantly it reveals the valency of the seascape and its overwriting and exclusion of pre-colonial conditions and 'otherness', and its currency even in the modern city and modern map-making. However, in taking an oceanic history perspective, this reveals not only contradictions and instabilities inherent within such representations, but it also opens up and allows the tools to begin to understand the cultural integration and layering from multiple sources and demands within the littoral.

Thus the colonial littoral, in defining itself against the 'wilds' of the African landscape, and in suppressing liminal realities within it, is a critical factor in shaping liminal and marginal identities and spaces. Marginalised peoples and space was characterized by overwriting and erasure, and liminality, when it was visible, could reflect its in-between condition in representations or in the physical landscape. Cape Islam would reflect many of these complex realities. It was not only a part of the liminality within the Cape littoral, but it was also very much part of Indian Ocean networks prior to European colonisation. This would facilitate it becoming not only an integral part of slave/underclass culture at the Cape, but it would also reflect remarkable cultural integration of colonial and pre-colonial oceanic cultural continuums.

CHAPTER FOUR

LIMINAL LANDSCAPES OF CAPE ISLAM

The study has argued that Dutch seascapes carried with them powerful political and economic forces and relations of power, that would bear upon physical, economic and imaginative geographies. In such conditions 'landscape' is more than a local, but also a "global phenomenon, intimately bound up with the discourses of imperialism" (Mitchell 1994, 9). In Chapter Three it was argued that the Cape littoral contained inbuilt contradictions within it, since both rulers and ruled were engaged in different forms of oceanic migration; and that these relations of power gave rise to liminal presences within the Cape littoral, of which the Islamic faith would form an integral part. Such inbuilt contradictions may be a feature not only within colonial littorals, but within imperial space more generally. Mitchell (1994, 9-10), for example, has argued that even in the Dutch landscape, "which is often credited with being the European origin of both the discourse and the pictorial practice of landscape, ... the transformation of the Netherlands from a rebellious colony into a maritime empire in the second half of the seventeenth century ... suggests the possibility of hybrid landscape formations that might be characterized simultaneously as imperial and anticolonial." However, even within this broader discussion on global features of imperial landscape, Mitchell (1994, 20-1) confirms the importance of close readings of the workings of power at specific sites:

> More important than any global mapping, however, is the possibility that a close reading of specific colonial landscapes may help us to see, not just the successful domination of a place by imperial representations, but the signs of resistance to empire from both within and without.

As a "hybrid landscape", the final section of the study therefore explores the landscapes of liminality and resistance within the Cape Colony. While Chapter One and Two involved studying representations of the indigenous 'external Other', Chapter Three began to analyse the liminal presence within the colony in terms of forced migration and the Cape's position as a littoral region within Indian Ocean networks. As an integral part of this liminal presence, it also began to look at Islam at the Cape as a part of these littoral and oceanic networks. This final chapter turns away from the seas toward the land to explore these aspects in the landscape in greater detail.

In turning toward the land, in this chapter the study returns to an exploration of landscape paintings, as explored in Chapters One and Two, but extends this survey to the nineteenth century. An approach to analyse 'map' and 'landscape painting' in tandem during the VOC period is one that is consistent with the time period, as such distinctions were not as clear as they would later come to be from the latter half of the eighteenth century (Serton et al 1971, 13). Rather, the intension was to depict the landscape naturalistically. Maps in a scientific sense were not considered as an adequate medium to render landscape features; and map and map descriptions, text, and sketches of landscape features customarily were used to complement each other (Glatigny & Mare 2006, 110).

However, while landscapes (both 'maps' and 'paintings') during VOC rule were closely related to the VOC and also to a corporate imaging, and displayed far less of a concern with the liminal inhabitants of the colony; in Britain at the turn of the eighteenth century—influenced by the fall of monarchies, the rising importance of industry and commerce, and by scientific advances—a new valuation of nature, and hence landscape, had emerged that would affect representation in the colonies abroad. These new kinds of landscapes presented new ways of looking at the land in Britain, as well as the British colonies and its inhabitants—both ruler and ruled—in greater detail (Vaughan 1999, 205-237; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romanticism)

Thus, in studying liminal landscapes in greater detail, landscape representation by European artists again offer glimpses into the lives of liminal peoples and spaces so poorly represented in the archival records. In the second half of the eighteenth century, but especially in the nineteenth century during the British colonial period, landscape representation in pictures and paintings would capture and ultimately codify the 'proper' forms of representing the 'internal others' of the colony. The chapter therefore explores these representations of liminailty in both the late Dutch and British colonial periods. This, together with the faint physical traces the liminality of Islam has left on the land in the form of the *kramats*, allows for rare opportunities to study different aspects of liminal spaces from the VOC period. Thus, the chapter first outlines the legal, social and spatial restrictions in which Cape Islam existed and in which it was shaped, before turning to depictions in landscape representation, and evidence thereof in the physical landscape around Cape Town.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND SPATIAL CONTEXTS

The study has already illustrated many of the contradictions between overarching imperial and colonial narratives and the presence of the indigenous 'Other', such as in Nieuhoff's map of 1659 (Chapter One), in the *Nova et accurata tabula* and in Barrow's 'General map of the Colony' (Chapter Two). However, unlike this iconic 'Other', in terms of representation, liminal internal 'other(s)' within the colony are almost always absent, and in a variety of complex ways Cape Town's slave past remains suppressed even today, by descendents of both slaves and slave owners.[1] In the socially hierarchical society of the VOC Cape, enslaved peoples were socially distinct from the dominant ethos of the Company and free burghers. The spaces in which slave lives played out was shaped by these distinctions, of the outsider as opposed to the resident, of slave as opposed free, of non-Christian as opposed to Christian (Schutte 1998/99, 47-49). For the non-European slave population and its descendents, race too would become an important a factor in the town, but before the nineteenth century this was not yet a fundamental one (Worden 2004, 69-70, 111-2). Historians have described this 'other' space in the settlement—inhabited by slaves, Khoi, and later including free blacks and baptised 'Bastaards'—as "a twilight world" and "a social, political, and cultural netherworld" (Elphick and Shell 1986, 162; Mason 2002, 6). It was in this 'liminal' space, of which the built environment of the settlement has left little traces, from which the history of Islam unfolded in Dutch Cape Town, where it would become "the slave religion" and "the religion of the underclass" (Ross 1985, 108; Bank 1991, 110), making up a large proportion of the colony's slave and underclass population.[2] This was particularly the case in the town

1 Although the ending of apartheid provided new impetus for remembering the slave past, even today among descendants of slaves in South Africa memories of slavery have been comprehensively suppressed by the "shame" that enslavement and sexual exploitation induced in indigenous and enslaved South Africans. Moreover, older conservative colonial accounts that project Cape slavery as a "benevolent" practice, a historic discourse which dominated South Africa over the last half of the twentieth century, also still prevails. As a result, despite decades of historical scholarship, South African relations to slavery are marked by "amnesia" (Worden 2009, 23-5; Baderoon 2009, 94; Mellet 2008).

2 Estimates of the numbers of Muslims in the colony differ amongst historians. The first census of the Muslim population was only taken in 1825. In that year, according to figures submitted by Cape Town Imams, there was a total of 2167 Muslims (Shell, 1974:41). In relation to the total population of the colony which numbered approximately 95000 in that period, Muslims were therefore a small group of less than three percent of the whole colony (Rafudeen 2001, 44). However, as a constituent part of the slave and underclass population, proportions were dramatically different. Mahida estimates that Muslims made up just over a half of the slave population by 1830; while Bickford-Smith estimates about one-third of slaves and free blacks were Muslims (Mathee 2008, 70).

where the majority of Muslims resided.[3] Even though a small number of Muslims were not slaves,[4] by the end of the eighteenth century even ex-slaves (namely the 'free blacks'[5]) would also be excluded from the rights of other free burghers (Elphick and Shell 1986, 125; Worden 1998/99, 81; Worden 2004, 70).

Slavery would also be differentiated spatially across the colony; for Cape slavery came to be divided along urban and rural lines, whereby most manumitted slaves lived in the town, most slaves in the arable areas of the southwestern Cape, and in the comparatively poorer *trekboer* interior Khoi were relied on more for labour than slaves (Elphick and Shell 1986, 161; Ross 1985, 107; Worden 2004, 64). As a feature of this liminality Cape Islam therefore too came to be shaped by regional factors. Muslims predominantly resided in the region of Cape Town, where social structures displayed less of the rigidity which characterised the rest of the colony. Here most manumitted slaves were born and lived, and the urban space and population density of the town offered a greater degree of freedom for maintaining religious contact and to form community (Bank 1991, 113; Mathee 2008, 69). In the arable southwestern zone Islam had a very limited presence, and virtually none in the *trekboer* region (Mathee 2008, 73). However, despite the comparatively greater socio-cultural fluidity of the town, it too presented its own sets of restrictions as well as possibilities; for it was characterised by the immediate juxtaposition of two vastly different orders of landscape: the town itself and the hegemony of its hierarchical and legalistic social order, and the surrounding mountains and its relative freedom. Between these two juxtaposed landscapes of town and topography, the kinds of liminal spaces and the formations that Islam took in each varied accordingly, even if they may have existed in relationship or with linkages between them (of which more later).

The liminal realities of slave/underclass status and the nature of regional distinctions were therefore important factors that shaped Cape Islam. Another important factor was also the question of the state's attitude to religion itself. Although the original intention behind the settlement happened as a commercial enterprise, the Company was at the same time bound by a stipulation of the Second Charter of the Netherlands government of 1622, which required it to promote and protect "public religion" (meaning Reformed orthodoxy) (Vila-Vicencio, 1995, 45). The Company therefore considered the extension of the Reformed faith to be part of its administrative task[6], and Van Riebeeck regarded its establishment and promotion as part of his mandate.[7] Ministers in the Company's service, moreover, had a distinct missionary charge and were considered as belonging to the 'upper layer' of the colonial society. Similarly amongst the general populace, the Dutch identified themselves as 'Christians' in opposition to the 'heathen' slaves and Khoi (Worden 2004, 75), even though many VOC recruits came from a rural Europe and could be described as "nominal" Christians (Schutte 1998/99, 44; Worden 2004, 30), or "Christian by tradition" (De Gruchy 1995, 28),

3 As a largely urban phenomenon, Islam in the town was disproportionate to its presence in the rest of the colony. At the time of Emancipation in 1838, Bradlow (1989, 4) estimates that Muslims constituted as high as an over two-thirds majority of the town's non-settler population; while Bank (1991, 119) estimates that Muslim slaves made up at least one-fifth of the slave population of the city on the eve of emancipation.

4 "The Cape also served as an exile for political leaders defeated by the Company in its Asian wars. Most of these exiles, approximately two hundred, were Muslims, as were some of the approximately 2,000 "convicts" deported by the Company from its Asian possessions" (Shell 1997, 268).

5 The majority of people defined as vrijzwarten ('free blacks') were ex-slaves and their descendents, though the category also included the occasional free immigrant. They numbered over 1000 during the eighteenth century. Others were ex-bandieten who did not return home after the expiration of their sentences. Geographically, similar proportions had been born in South Asia, Indonesia and at the Cape, and a smaller number from Madagascar (Worden 2004, 64).

6 Church Councils, however, had purely local functions, and the Government retained all final authority (De Gruchy 1995, 29; Serton et al 1971, 3).

7 In promoting these ends he had, for example, raised Khoi children in his home (Elphick and Shell 1986, 118).

products as they were of a religious age in which modern secularity was quite unknown (Prozesky, 1995, 7). Thus the standards publicly upheld by law were therefore to reflect the ideal of a Christian way of life, and public trespasses of these standards were punishable (Schutte 1998/99, 39-40).

Within this context official attitudes toward Islam, which did not change until the end of the eighteenth century, severely restricted its practice (Mason 2002, 8-9). General religious practice was regulated by the Statutes of India, which specifically proscribed the practice of Islam, whether practised in private or public throughout Batavia or its provinces. In articles referring specifically to the Muslims' practice of their faith it is noted,

> ... that no public or private meetings of these people should be held ... the Priest being liable to be put in chains until further orders ... (and) that no other religion be exercised, instructed or propogated in public or in private than the Reformed Protestant Church ... and that should any congregation ... be held or kept, Christian, heathen or Moor, all the property of such should be forefited and he should be put in irons and banished out of the country or punished corporally or with death, according to the circumstances of the case (quoted in Bradlow 1989, 16-7).

Shell (1997, 269) also mentions that heavy penalties, including confiscation of the slave and a stiff fine, were imposed on slave owners whose slaves embraced Islam.[8] However, at the Cape as elsewhere in the Company's possessions, the Statutes tolerated the private practice of Islam (Mason 2002, 8). Thus, both officially and popularly, in a variety of ways Islam was 'othered' in Dutch Cape Town.[9] It was neither welcome nor destroyed (Worden 2004, 124), and suffered all the strictures that fell upon its slave and underclass adherents.

The realities that enslavement and religious proscription entailed (social, legal, spatial, psychological and corporal, etc) would all have deep implications and leave a profound influence of the shape of Islam at the Cape. Thus, Moosa (1995, 130) has argued:

> It would be no exaggeration to say that Islam struck root in the Cape under extremely difficult circumstances in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The level of repression produced unique social formations, which in turn shaped the type of religion and religious institutions that emerged within the contexts.

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8 Van Heyningen (2003) has argued that such strictures should be understood in the wider religious context, whereby the Cape was founded during the age of the European wars of religion, namely the breakaway of the Netherlands from Spain and the Catholic Church. The narrow attitude of the VOC toward non-Calvinist Protestantism threfore reflected these bitter wars.

9 Official policy apart, the precise nature of state suppression—in practice—has been a contested issue amongst historians. F. R. Bradlow (1978, 6, 11), Mason and Davids argue that Islam never suffered serious state suppression, while Shell and especially M. A. Bradlow strongly disagree (Mason 2002, 9).

ISLAM OUTSIDE THE TOWN IN REPRESENTATION DURING THE BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD

While the hegemonic order established by the Company onto the shores of Table Bay was invasive in virtually all aspects of life, its control was never absolute (Worden 2004, 29-30). Outside the town, historians of the Cape have described how Table Mountain became an important site in the liminal spaces of the colony's slave and underclass inhabitants.[10] For while disaffected VOC employees regularly took to the sea as stowaways aboard return fleets, escaped slaves (*drosters*), who would be readily detected aboard ships, took to the mountain (Worden 2004, 32). Even at the beginning of the Company settlement when the numbers of slaves was still relatively few, the tension between the slaves in the colony against a surrounding landscape it did not control was already a concern to the authorities. Van Riebeeck recorded in his journal in 1658:

> (T)he number of male and female slaves who are now fugitives ... are becoming a formidable group. Moreover, it is feared they will gather at a certain place known to all slaves ... (Worden 2004, 32).

Both feared and hated, uncaught escapees were a symbol and model of defiance to the existing order, and Table Mountain and other mountains on the Cape Peninsula all offered an immediate and rare 'escape hatch' to those in bondage (Armstrong 1986, 104). As Worden put it: "For the mountain, unlike the sea, was outside the control of Cape Town's authorities and elite inhabitants" (Worden 1998/99, 86). Landscape therefore strongly affected the pattern of slave resistance in the southwestern Cape, to both the escaped slaves as well as in the perception of the authorities; a correlation between 'othering' and 'other' spaces and readings of landscape.

Not unlike its parallels with the contours of slavery, manumission and liminal social structures on a regional scale, at the town the overlap between Islam and liminality was also reflected spatially. The proscriptions on the Islamic faith and suppression of enslaved groups, which included a barrage of regulations to control their activities that was brought together in a major a 'slave code' in 1754 (Worden 2004, 63), has meant that the presence of Islam during the Dutch period has today been best preserved, not in the 'permanence' of the town, but rather in the surrounding landscapes, the liminal 'unconquered zone' of mountains and hills. For throughout the eighteenth century, meetings of slaves, free blacks and *bandieten* in the forests and hills around Cape Town, provided the origins for the number of holy *kramat* tombs that exist today on Robben Island, at Constantia and on the hills around the modern city, usually surrounded by numbers of other graves (Worden 2004, 77).

Little is definitively known about the meetings and burial grounds at the *kramat* sites. One of the earliest visual records of Muslim burial at the Cape is a rare painting by the British immigrant and artist Thomas Bowler in 1850, entitled '*Greenpoint, Cape of Good Hope*' (see fig. 4a). The painting was completed well into the British period, decades after religious freedom was granted, and Muslim burial practices were no longer unseen or hidden affairs but had already become a known and recognisable institution. Nonetheless it was only twelve years since the institution of slavery had ended and the majority of persons in the picture, who appear to be adults, would have had an experience thereof. This continuity suggests the possibility of accessing the traces of the earlier period in Bowler's picture.

10 For example, see Armstrong (1986), and especially Bradlow (1989).



4a
Green Point **by Thomas Bowler, Cape Town, ca. 1850. Showing a 'picturesque' Muslim funeral led by an Imam**

(Source: Bradlow and Cairns 1978, 54-5).



4b
The Pingze Men **by William Alexander, China, 1799. Showing a Chinese landscape at the Western Gate of Beijing absorbed into the Western convention**

(Source: http://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/PINGZE-MEN--THE-WESTERN-GATE-OF-PEKING/CCAEE79FEC35A287)

Bowler was one of the most notable proponents of a clear genre of South African landscape painting that began to emerge in the nineteenth century (Hall 1993, 193). The new genre was a strand within the general vogue for landscape painting in Britain and its colonies at the time, which was one of the most notable features of artistic taste in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Bowler' pictures belonged to a popular level of landscape, the vogue of the 'picturesque', meaning literally 'like a picture'. It is important to understand the background to the emergence and popularity of this genre in order to appreciate the careful placement and role of the 'other' within its conventions. As Mitchell (1994, 23) has put it:

> A historical, as distinct from a historicist, understanding of this sort of [picturesquely structured] painting would, in my view, not simply retrieve their conventionality but explore the ideological use of their conventions in a specific place and time.

A picturesquely arranged landscape consisted of a formula of systematic compositional methods that could be taught. Amateur artist and connoisseur Reverend William Gilpin, who played an important role in the spread of the genre's popularity in Britain, had a "prosaic set of rules by which a scene should be judged according to its 'picturesqueness'. The principal aim was to find 'variety'. The foreground of a view had to be varied and the background smooth – a form of contrast that also aided a sense of recession." This became "a visual criterion whereby the amateur traveler, the tourist, could judge the beauty or appropriateness of the places he or she visited" (Vaughan 1999, 183, 191, 194). One of the key principles of the picturesque tradition, and essential to its visual appeal, was also the placement of a *repoussoir* (a picturesque side-screen) in the composition, to entice curiosity or to provide the observer with a protected, shaded spot as a "refuge", and which reminded the observer that it was only a picture of a scene, that the observer remains safe in another place (Mitchell 1994, 24-5). Other important formal features of the picturesque were, for example, the compositional element of a serpentine "line of beauty" and the system of planes of shadow alternating with planes of light. Mitchell (1994, 22) mentions that the serpentine device has been understood as an iconic form of visual curiosity, providing access to the varieties of visual experience. Many of these features are evident in the picturesque scenes discussed in this chapter.

The picturesque took shape in a context wherein the main form of leisure travel for European, particularly British, noblemen in the early eighteenth century was the Grand Tour to Italy, and this brought with it a desire to acquire pictures of the places visited, which encouraged their production (Vaughan 1999, 185-6). But unlike the aristocratic Grand Tour, 'Picturesque tours' were modest and encouraged local travel, resulting from the expansion of middle class wealth and leisure (Vaughan 1999, 187).[11] Travel and tours thus gave birth to a solid commercial enterprise in the form of the tourist industry that has flourished ever since, for with touring came touring guides; and it was through the 'Picturesque Tour' books of the late eighteenth century, namely those by Reverend Gilpin, that the Picturesque movement first

11 A related form of travel topography that also arose at this time, which took on even more popular and sensational forms which many artists in Britain looked on with disdain, was the panorama landscape, several examples of which also exist of the Cape from the nineteenth century. In Britain the panorama, and the related illusionist landscape spectacle of the Diorama, remained highly popular forms of entertainment throughout the nineteenth century (Vaughan 1999, 194-5).

became widespread (Vaughan 1999, 191, 194). This too was precisely the market at the Cape for which Bowler catered (Worden 2004, 156). Indeed, the Preface to Bowler's *Pictorial Album of Cape Town* (1984, 3), first published in 1866, explicitly states this colonial desire for a body of such representations, painted "expressly for this work":

> The Publisher trusts that, in now offering these [pictures] to the public, he will meet a long-felt wish of many residents in Cape Town and throughout the Colony—and even in England, Holland, and other countries connected by commercial or still nearer and dearer ties with South African colonists—to possess a worthy pictorial album of the old mountain-shadowed, sea-washed city of Van Riebeek.

Recent critical scholarship on the work of Bowler, namely by historical archeologist Martin Hall, have emphasised the sanitised appearance of Bowler's pictures. Hall (1993, 193) makes the case that,

> (a)rtists such as Thomas Bowler, long celebrated for realism and historical veracity, painted places as people wanted to see them—in the case of Cape Town, devoid of the poverty and squalor so evident in the documentary records and the archaeological assemblages.

Indeed, this was one of the reasons for the very existence of the picturesque genre: "The squalor of the modern city was one of the impetuses for people to travel elsewhere to find scenes of beauty and gratification" (Vaughan 1999, 185). However, this study's interest in Bowler's work is less in its sanitisation of the colonial landscape of its poverty and underclasses than in the possibility of accessing interior liminal narratives in its picturing thereof, even within the demands of the genre's conventions.

Sea to land empire

The emergence and prominence of the picturesque at the Cape in the nineteenth century and elsewhere indicates that the change from the maritime Dutch trading empire to the British Empire involved a shift in some fundamental conceptions of the function of landscape. Visual representations of the Cape landscape, as argued in the study, had frequently been named and framed in certain ways from the sea, but by the mid-nineteenth century when Bowler was active, major shifts had occurred. Whereas landscape had been constructed as separate and 'possessable' during the VOC period, often explicitly advancing a commercial, colonial or corporate order, with imagery which communicated the power of the Company and its domination of the land; Bowler's pictures are overwhelmingly benign in comparison. Bowler's 'picturesque', 'charming', and 'tranquil' landscapes present the British city and Cape Colony as a model of colonial prosperity and order, to which effect its inhabitants perform industriously and harmoniously. This also reflected the patriotic and liberalist sensibilities of the artist (Worden 2004, 156). Although seascape representation remained popular, it could be said that the turn from Dutch to British landscape therefore involved a turn from the sea to a greater concern for the land. In this regard, Baderoon (2009, 90) provides a valuable insight:

> The nineteenth-century panoramas of the Cape painted from Signal Hill directed the gaze away from the sea toward the city … The sea, infinite yet prettily contained, recalled the endless distance to Europe and Asia, but in these paintings, the eye turns away from the ocean, drawn by the imposing presence of the mountain and the architecture of the city. This has something to do

> with colonists' preoccupation with land—with its possession—and their sense of belonging in it ... Because land is the great obsession of the settlers and the sign of anguished loss for the indigenous Khoi-San, the carefully observed, regulated presence of land is everywhere in South African literature and art, and it has been possible in this picturesque view of the Cape to turn away from the sea.

Indeed, the preoccupation with colony and Empire, and therefore with land and belonging, is reflected in the content of Bowler's *Pictorial Album*. Unlike the ubiquity of the earlier seascape images of the Dutch period, Bowler appears primarily concerned with the land and the majority of the pictures in the artist's *Pictorial Album*, which are landscape scenes of towns, reflect this. It follows also that such landscapes would be forced to engage the social realities in the greater detail of the town it depicted, and to present the proper forms of its representation, namely that of the presence of its colonial 'other(s)'. Unlike the rarity of liminal peoples in Dutch representation, during the British colonial period these would be a more regular feature, albeit in often carefully controlled ways. Indicative of a shifting away from the primacy of the sea, the sea and seashore is where the underclass is regularly encountered in Bowler's work, but who display only a limited visibility in urban landscape scenes and then typically only in the form of 'Malays' typed by headgear (Hall 1994, 176-7). Thus, even though contemporary political discourses commonly tend toward defining colonialism as a monolithic past, a close reading reveals subtle yet profound differences between earlier and later colonial periods.

The local picturesque

Rather than the primacy of the sea, the greater preoccupation with land would occupy a new found importance in representation, but despite the major shifts the changes were also marked by important continuities. It was an important aspect of picturesque and idyllic landscapes, for example, that they provided vistas. But there were already many panoramas of the Cape that date from late Dutch period from around the second half of the eighteenth century. Vistas, in fact, were ubiquitous during the Dutch colonial period, where views were dominated by Company forts, trading posts and ships. However, in the nineteenth century British landscape, both at home and in the colonies, had become imbued with the romantic appeal of the period. In Britain, vistas came to convey a sense of openness that indicated freedom (Vaughan 1999, 206). At the beginning of the eighteenth century at the Cape however, landscape had not yet reached such sensibilities, which would only develop later in the century and which would become codified in the picturesque. Early in the eighteenth century views from the top of Table Mountain, for example, were still described as 'unpleasant' and one of 'horror' (Worden 2004, 80). Thus, this shift from sea to land was less a move away from the iconic imagery of the earlier colonial period, such as Table Mountain and seascape vistas, than one of reorientation and emphasis, and of new meanings accrued to older imagery within the new landscape dispensation.

Like the continued importance of vistas were marked by both continuity and change, so the symbolic order contained therein would not be abandoned but earlier seascape representation would be reorientated towards the land, with new meanings appropriated onto old symbols. Bowler's landscape scenes, such as '*Adderley Street and the Dutch Reformed Church*', in fact only utilise already well established colonial iconography of the Cape (see fig. 4d). Published in 1866, the picture is an



4c

Native Council of War **by John Alexander Gilfillan, New Zealand, 1855. Showing the "native" Maoris inserted into the picturesque landscape convention**

(Source: http://digital.otago.ac.nz/results.php?lcreator=Gilfillan,%20John%20Alexander,%201793-1864).



4d

Adderley Street and the Dutch Reformed Church **by Thomas Bowler, Cape Town, published 1866. Showing the principal thoroughfare in Cape Town with landmark buildings, and Table Mountain in the background**

(Source: Bowler and Thomson 1984, plate 5).

urban scene of Cape Town's principal thoroughfare showing some of its primary urban landmarks. Significantly however, the scene is carefully positioned toward, and gains much of its identity and authority against, the immediately recognisable and iconic presence of Table Mountain. This, like most of Bowler's urban scenes, depicts landmark buildings set wherever possible against the backdrop of recognisable natural land formations. The opening picture in Bowler's *Pictorial Album*, most explicitly, is an almost mandatory tribute to colonial seascape iconography in an impressive panorama of Cape Town from the sea, entitled '*View of Cape Town, from Table Bay*'. A feature of many of Bowler's landscapes therefore is that they are usually all immediately recognisable, employing as they do an already established repertoire of imagery.

New ideas of landscape and new landscape conventions would also significantly affect the representation of colonial 'other(s)'. By the late eighteenth century British picture touring had moved well beyond a Grand Tour of Italy, and as Britons moved further afield for trade, scientific investigation or conquest, so too did the artist / topographer (Vaughan 1999, 187). However, as evident elsewhere in the British Empire, no new conventions of landscape were invented in South Africa. On the contrary European painters often simply imported European conventions, whereby sites even far removed were rendered according to the laws of western composition and conventions (Mitchell 1994, 22; Vaughan 1999, 187). The extension of the convention onto alien sites allowed for a plain discursive function, whereby the alien lands and its 'other(s)' could be absorbed into the convention and thus made familiar and knowable to the European gaze, even while they remained different. In landscapes of China for example, such as those by William Alexander (see fig. 4b), the local populations and landscapes were simply inserted into the convention. In this the unfamiliar was accommodated. From a European perspective, it was rendered part of a 'universal scheme of knowledge', Westernised in the imagination if not in reality (Vaughan 1999, 187). Similarly, in picturesque landscapes of New Zealand such as '*Native Council of War*' by John Alexander Gilfillan (1855), it is the "native" Maoris who are inserted into the familiar landscape convention (see fig. 4c).

In these scenes across the reaches of the British Empire (figs. 4a - c), in the ways in which the 'other(s)' are absorbed into the convention, there is a clear echo back to the seascape representations of the earlier Dutch colonial period, where the alien environments while maintaining their difference were absorbed into the greater familiarity of the seascape (as argued in Chapter One). Thus, despite the shift from sea to land, like vistas and iconography there exists a discursive continuity in the function of landscape, as a medium in the management of 'otherness'.

The local uses of the convention to manage otherness suggest a particular function for the picturesque in the British colonies; for, the populism of the Picturesque and the panorama apart, many of the other radical developments in conceptions and representations of landscape in Britain were not reflected in colonies. This may expound on the local meanings that the adopted conventions appropriated as they travelled across the further reaches of the Empire. In Britain by the beginning of the nineteenth century new dispensations of landscape had emerged, represented in artists such as Philippe De Loutherbourg (1740-1812), John Martin (1789-1854), Francis Danby (1793-1861), and perhaps most famously in Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775-1851), wherein dramatic and threatening landscapes replaced the safety of the picturesque. These kinds of landscapes were related to changes that had been taking place, in the new valuation of nature that had been pioneered by the poets of the period, and also the sense of turmoil of the times due to the Napoleonic wars (Vaughan 1999, 205-237). Even John Constable, who brought the tradition of patriotically celebrating

the English countryside to a new level of importance, in his late work reflected a pessimism to the very landscape genre he had become famous for: "His later, doom-laden pictures, seem to be a warning that the Arcadian vision of the landscape no longer bore any relationship to the realities of rural life" (Vaughan 1999, 209, 222). However, in the Cape these other dispensations of landscape never emerged. Rather, the picturesque tradition continued to carry great currency, not only popularly but also to the purveyors of artistic taste of the day, reflected in Bowler's award of a gold medal in 1851 at a fine arts exhibition in Cape Town. Expounding on the greater context of shared meanings that constituted this kind of popularity and critical acclaim, the award was won alongside a representation of colonist and 'Other' in Charles Bell's classic propaganda painting '*Landing of Van Riebeeck*', which contrasted a heroic image of the first Dutch settlers against a Khoi population portrayed in miserable conditions (Arnold 1996, 9). Both artists, whether in Bowler's benignity or in Bell's explicitness, painted places and narratives 'as the people wanted to see them'. Thus it would be reasonable to argue that the pictorial subdual of the alien and the 'other' into charming 'picturesqueness' may even have been one of the reasons for the genre's widespread popularity in the British colonies where it attained to prominence.

Access of / to the 'other'

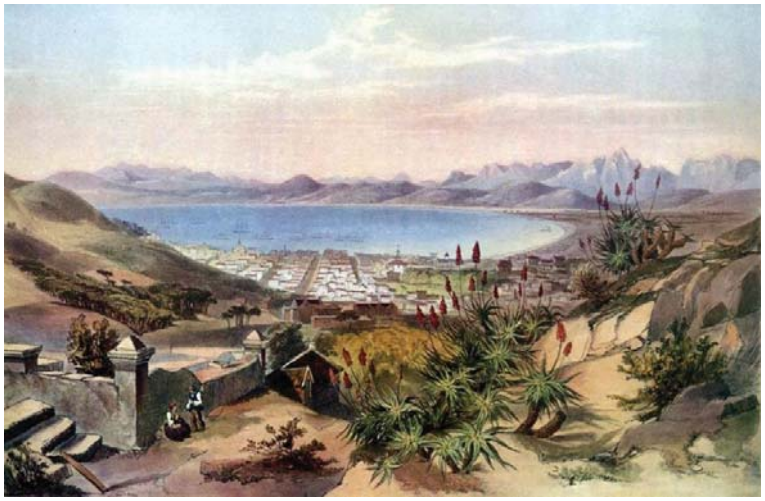
In her study of ways in which Muslims were typically depicted in picturesque landscapes of British colonial Cape Town, Baderoon's argument is suggestive of such local appropriations for the picturesque and a function of the convention in managing 'otherness'. According to Baderoon, not only were Muslims made familiar and unthreatening but were themselves pictorially co-opted in the making of colonial order. Baderoon (2003, 5) observes:

> What is striking about … panoramas of the city, is that they almost always feature a [Muslim] figure standing to the side, near the edge of the frame …

Thus, Baderoon (2003, 5-6) argues:

> 'Malays' appear to play a crucial role in paintings of the 19th century colonial city. They are figures that appear near the edge of the frame, and therefore may be seen as *framing* the landscape. (…) Their immediately recognizable bodies perform the picturesque by framing where the bounded scape starts, and ends, because beyond them lies something which cannot be included in the domesticated space of the colony. (…) As picturesque figures, they secure the bounded territory over which authority is claimed [see fig. 4e, for an example of this in this study].

In this reading, the framing of the picture is seen as a spatialisation of the anxieties of the colonial self in relation to the 'Other(s)' and the African continent. Considering the broad principles of this global genre read through its local appropriations extends this reading, further into the discursive functions of its intentional forms of picturing, but subsequently also into the possibility of liminal narrative readings "against the grain". In the absorption of liminality into the convention, as figures who 'perform the picturesque', Muslims came to play both a formal and a discursive role similar to that of traditional "lead-in" figures. These were 'figures of access' for the observer. This was a principle of the picturesque where, apart from reasons of composition or visual interest, they often "sit in" for the European observer, providing reassurance that the scene and people depicted see events in reality exactly as the observer of the picture does (Mitchell 1994, 24). The 'willingly obedient and submissive' Muslims (Baderoon 2003, 4), as lead-in figures, therefore reassure the European observer that all is well and that the tranquil and prosperous image of the colony indeed reflects its reality. This, for example, is evident in George French Angas' '*Cape Town from the Camps Bay Road, c.1845*' as it is in many other landscapes of Cape Town (the 'Malay' figures, typed by headgear, are toward the bottom left of the picture) (see fig. 4e).



4e.
***Cape Town from the Camps Bay Road*, c.1845 by George French Angas. Showing typical picturesque features such as lead-in figures and serpentine line (formed by a line of aloes).**

(Source: http://molegenealogy.blogspot.com/2010_02_01_archive.html)

Most of the nineteenth landscapes where Muslims "sit in" as lead-in figures are depictions of the colonial city (Baderoon 2003, 5), where their submissive bodies mediate and secure the tamed, colonial landscape for the European observer. What therefore makes Bowler's rare depiction of a Muslim funeral particularly instructive is that it depicts Muslims not in the customary role of lead-in figures, but as figures who feature as the very subject of the painting. In this scene, where the subject of the painting is not the colonial city but the 'other' within it, the lead-in figures appear to simply reverse their role. Rather than a submissive 'other' as mediator, in such scenes where the 'other' forms the subject, lead-in figures often provide a point of access to the unfamiliar and alien scene. Unlike the obedient, picturesque labour of the 'Malays' (Baderoon 2003, 6), in Bowler's picture the lead-in figures are a small party of picnicking Europeans sitting on a small hill to the left of the picture (distinguished in the picture by brim hats rather than the conical hats worn by the Muslims). In gazing over the scene as we do, they appear to disarm the potentially discomforting 'otherness' of the scene by reassuring the observer that these colonial 'others' pose no threat, and that their activities remain only picturesque and harmless.

The local adjustments and appropriations of picturesque conventions which manage 'otherness' in the Cape Colony, is also evident elsewhere in the British colonies, adding credence to the possibility that the subdual of the alien augmented the popularity of the genre. Like Bowler's 1850 '*Greenpoint*', lead-in figures appear to occupy a particular importance in representations of the 'other' elsewhere in the British Empire, where they mediate the difference between European observer and the alien 'Other'. In Alexander's *'The Pingze Men*', it is an unintimidating child on the far left of the picture who in an unguarded glance looks away from the rest of the scene, inviting in and validating the gaze of the observer (fig. 4b). In Gilfillan's *'Native Council of War*', it is the "easy access" of a reclining female nude also on the far left which entirely disarms the scene of a Maori war council and opens it up for the imperial gaze (Mitchell 1994, 24) (fig. 4c). In these picturesque scenes these lead-in figures all appear conspicuously contrived. In Gilfillan's picture the two figures on the left were the only figures not drawn from life (Mitchell 1994, 24), and in Bowler's they too were most probably inserted into the scene since the figures are out of scale (they appear smaller even though they occupy the foreground of the picture). In contradistinction, where the 'other' is not the subject of the colonial gaze but rather the prosperity of the colonial town, such as in Bowler's 1866 '*Adderley* Street', the discursive functions of lead-in figures are lessened and they almost disappear into the scene (fig. 4d).

A compositional device which could often work in tandem with that of lead-in figures, which linked foreground and background and provided visual access into the scene was the serpentine "line of beauty". In Bowler's '*Adderley* Street', the serpentine is formed by a line of horse-drawn carriages which open up an access route that extends from the observer, as it were, propelling the viewer deep into the scene. In Angas' *Cape Town from the Camps Bay Road* it is largely a natural compositional feature in a line of aloes that stretch from the 'Malay' lead-in figures at the bottom left of the picture. However, in depictions of the 'other' such as Bowler's 1850 '*Greenpoint*' or Gilfillan's 1855 '*Native Council of War*', the 'other' forms the serpentine, mediated by lead-in figures of access for the observer.

Like other continuities between early and later colonial periods in South Africa, such as the continuity in vistas and seascape iconography, and the discursive continuity to manage 'otherness' within landscape; similarly in nineteenth century picturesque representations of the 'other' there exists even formal continuities from the earlier period despite the greater formal sophistication of the Picturesque. The seemingly 'natural' ubiquity of Company ships in the foregrounds of Dutch seascapes, taking a long view, reveals themselves to play a role similar to the lead-in figures of the picturesque. As the seascape convention enabled the joining of the 'Company's' seas with alien landscapes (as argued in Chapter One), so the VOC ships come to serve as lead-in figures inserted in the critical threshold of the painting between the European observer and the 'Other'. Lead-in figures, in fact, are ubiquitous in both the Dutch and later British colonial periods. Not unlike the discursive functions of this element in the picturesque, the Company ships are mediating figures, figures of access, and symbols of power and control in the face of distant and alien horizons.

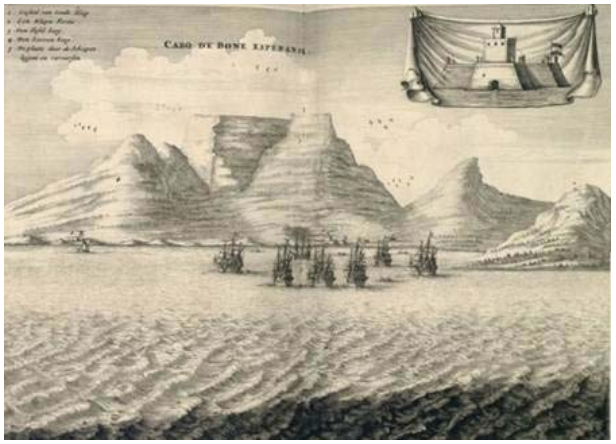
The appeal of the picturesque

This study of landscape representation during the nineteenth century in this chapter has shown that continuities in representation existed not only across places in the British Empire, but also across times between successive European colonial powers such as the case of the Cape Colony. Although Bowler was a major proponent of an emergent South African picturesque tradition, described as "a delineator of South African scenery" by the Publisher of his *Pictorial Album* (Bowler 1984, 3), like other works of the genre Bowler's echoed and built upon many earlier formulas, both discursively and formally. Between early and later colonial periods in South Africa, continuities existed in the imaging of the land, in vistas and seascape iconography; and in terms of the 'other', in the discursive continuity in the function of landscape to manage 'otherness' despite a new landscape dispensation that emerged in the British colonial period. In nineteenth century picturesque representations of the 'other' there existed even formal continuities from the earlier period despite the greater formal sophistication of the Picturesque. This was represented most explicitly in features such as lead-in figures, which allowed not only codification of the 'other' as a means in securing the land, but also a device for accessing the 'other'. Indeed, the absorption of the 'other' into the picturesque and all its concomitant conventional and derivative features to represent it, prompted Mitchell (1994, 24) to wonder at "the fantastic sameness of colonial representations of difference."

In the very benign appearance of the picturesque, it displayed an amalgam of interrelated qualities which all contributed to its recognisable appeal and popularity. The visual appeal of the convention, its sanitisation of the visual field with carefully controlled representations of poverty and difference, and the reference to both an older iconographic order and a later romantic appeal of natural local landscape, together all invoked and resonated a sense of identification and belonging. This and its seeming historical accuracy enabled a naturalisation of these processes, which is extremely convincing even to modern audiences. Unlike the often explicit portrayals of power in Dutch seascapes, the power of nineteenth century landscape representation at the Cape paradoxically appears to be in the very benign nature of the scene.

Such "naturalism" was probably one of the most powerful ways in representation in which colonial order and narrative was affirmed, evident in both Dutch and British colonial representation. Beeckman's watercolour drawing of the early years of the Company Fort (Chapter Two fig. 2c), for example, naturalises Dutch power with the land, while Bowler's pictures naturalise the social order of the colony and colonial city with the land. In Bowler's 1850 depiction of a Muslim funeral for example, the post-emancipation Muslims in the scene, not unlike those of the Chinese or the Maoris by artists in other reaches of the Empire, are implicitly depicted simply as a part of an orderly British colonial landscape, their histories of enslavement and suppression "absorbed by the terrain" (William Kentridge quoted in Halliday 2010). The naturalism of the scene was also reflected in the picture's title after the natural terrain ('Greenpoint'), rather than the people it sought to depict.







4f.
Images showing continuity and change in the naturalisation of iconography and convention at the Cape.
From top to bottom:
I love Cape Town **(modern postcard).**
Cape of Good Hope **(1668);**
The 'Alabama' leaving Table Bay in March 1863 **by Thomas Bowler (1863);**

(Sources: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/; Database of www.africamediaonline.com; www.africanmusicstore.co.za)

The recognisable appeal of picturesque Pictorial Albums such as Bowler's, in essence precursors to modern postcards, are landscapes which, as Clara Irazabal (2004, 144) also reminds us, entail the naturalisation and popularisation of deceptively complex processes:

> Cultural landscapes must be understood as the products of specific political economic formations. The production of 'postcard' images constitutes a practice of representation by which meanings are constituted and communicated. Such shared meanings help to some degree to constitute the reality they aim to represent. (...) Often, ... they are representations that have become alienated or naturalized to the point that their social origins may be lost.

The result of these processes—whether in its Dutch or British colonial as well as modern forms—is often iconic, popular imagery with a wide recognisable appeal, which therefore lends itself to commoditised and easily reproducible views such as those evident in all of these periods (see fig. 4f).

Resistant meanings

In this chapter's exploration of the emergence in the nineteenth century, and enduring valency, of the South African picturesque, it sought not only to study the local appropriations of a convention, but to examine whether such analyses opened up possibilities of reading "against the grain." Beyond the profusion of the demands of the convention and its naturalised appropriations so evident in the analysis, the chapter also sought a closer reading of the landscapes of the liminal peoples the pictures regularly depict. From a careful reading of the grain, in the omissions or contradictions that may become apparent where 'otherness' is represented, alternative narratives may begin to emerge. Earlier in the chapter in this regard, against the usual representation of 'Malay' lead-in figures as obedient subjects of the colony in landscapes of the colonial city, in Bowler's 1850 '*Greenpoint*' the reverse and its rarity made the codifications within it more apparent. Here the religious and social institution of Muslim burial at the Cape unusually formed the subject of the picture, with Europeans fulfilling the role as lead-in figures of access. But moreover, in depicting liminal peoples as its subject in this scene, against the rules of the convention it emerges that the practice of picturesque landscape representation has been undermined by two resistant meanings, in liminality as a lived reality and as a spatial practice.

The first resistant reading is, for Bowler, the highly unusual subject of the picture itself. Although the colonial settler figures are depicted typically at leisure, the 'Malays' for their part do not perform their more usual role of "picturesque labour" in the urban setting (Baderoon 2003, 6), but rather engage in an alternative activity, that of Islamic rites of burial. Moreover, the conventional idyllic quality of the picturesque scene seems far removed from the lived realities of the religious and social underclass, which it from a distance seeks to represent. Rather, burial rites for Muslims, observed Achmat Davids and other historians similarly, provided "a sense of equality and dignity, which they were

denied in the society around them, for, irrespective of social standing, the final ritual and dignity afforded the dead was one of the strongholds that Islam had over Christianity at the Cape" (Davids quoted in Weeder 2006, 44). There is also some irony in this picturesque burial, for unlike the visual variety within urban scenes into which 'otherness' could be relatively easily incorporated and subdued, the attempt to do so where 'otherness' was precisely the subject of the painting, and where difference is knowable and typed by headgear ('Malays' by the *toedang* [12], Imam by a turban, and settlers by brim hats), makes more explicit this usually subtle discursive function of the convention.

Against the unsettling of the codifications of the local picturesque by the alternative practice of Muslim burial, the primary recourse available for the convention appears to be the formal features of the genre itself. However this too has been destabilised. In a second act of resistance, the dominant reading of natural and social landscapes naturalised with British colonial order has been undermined by a much older history of Islam at the Cape. Despite all of the familiar features of the convention (varied foreground and smooth background, *repoussoir* and lead-in figures, serpentine line, alternating planes of shadow and light, etc.), its local appropriations such as the recognisable Cape vistas and iconography are strikingly all absent. The landscape therefore appears almost unrecognisable, and we come to know that it is "Greenpoint" mainly because the painting has been titled as such. But for a lonely building and some vegetation in the background to the left, the vista is empty of any features of interest. The absence of conventional features is made all the more apparent when compared with Bowler's numerous other natural landscape scenes, which demonstrate the artist's eye for

12 The 'toedang' was a conical straw hat of Eastern import often worn on top of the traditional red hankerchief, which became an important status marker of Muslim identity by the late slave period (Bank 1991, 118-9).



4g.
Landscape scenes by Thomas Bowler demonstrating the artist's eye for organising natural land formations into picturesque compositions.

(Source: Database of www.africamediaonline.com)

organising natural land formations into picturesque compositions (see fig. 4g). The conspicuous absence of urban landmarks or topographical features in Bowler's picture has been imposed upon the artist by the spatial practices of Muslim burial, and the convention has subsequently been strained. Such striking departures from the convention is an indication that liminality entailed alternative spatial practices.

While the picturesque landscape tradition at the Cape in the nineteenth century involved shifting away from the sea to scenes of the land, although still bearing many continuities with representation of the earlier period, in depicting a Muslim burial the scene is forced to move still further away toward liminal landscapes. It therefore departs in significant ways not only from the vogue of the local picturesque, but even more so from the earlier Dutch representation to which the scene now bears no comparison.

Alternative lived realities and spatial practices within landscapes of liminality which suggestively emerge from Bowler's depiction of a Muslim funeral bear faint echoes in the nineteenth century of the *kramat* sites found around the mountains and hills of the Cape from the earlier colonial period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which have left traces of such liminal writings of the land (see fig. 4h and 4i). At these sites, gazes become inverted. For escaped slaves they provided good visibility of pursuers (Armstrong 1986, 105). Not unlike such landscapes would strain the conventions for Bowler in the nineteenth century, so from the earlier period these sites were views *from* the mountain, rather than *of* the mountain, and from which the view of the settlement was often only distant, if it did not disappear altogether. No longer only framed backdrops, the 'unconquered zone' of the mountains and hills constituted a part of the lives of the colony's most liminal peoples. Moreover, for those incarcerated on Robben Island, its main purpose since the earliest days of the settlement (Worden 2004, 139, 183), even the Table Bay vista itself so entrenched in the colonial iconography could be invested with alternative meanings. Political prisoners there during the apartheid era in South Africa for example, most famously former State President Nelson Mandela, have recalled how their view of the Mountain and bay represented freedom (Edmonds 2001). In the section of his autobiography entitled "Robben Island: Beginning To Hope", Mandela (1995, 553-4) describes these emotions:

> There in front of us, glinting in the morning light, we saw the ocean, the rocky shore, and in the distance, winking in the sunshine, the glass towers of Cape Town. Although it was surely an illusion, the city, with Table Mountain looming behind it, looked agonizingly close, as if one could almost reach out and grasp it.

As it was for such prisoners on the Island in the twentieth century, so too the case may have been for the Muslim teachers of the eighteenth century who were initially exiled and imprisoned on Robben Island (Jeppie 1996, 140), perhaps most famously Tuan Guru, and others amongst the *bandieten* (see fig. 4j).



4h.
***Kramat* of Shaykh Abdul Kader, Devil's Peak.**

(Photo by Author, January 2011).



4i.
Grave near the *kramat* of Shaykh Noorul Mubeen, Oudekraal.

(Photo by Author, June 2010).



4j.
***Kramat* of Tuan Matarah, Robben Island.**
He was one of two *bandieten* listed as 'Mahommedan priests' who were sentenced to work in chains on Robben Island in 1744 (Worden 2004, 77). Ward (2012) has also recently suggested that the *kramat* belongs to the deposed ruler of Madura, Cakraningrat IV, sent into exile by the VOC government in Batavia.

(Photo by Author, Oct 2010).

ISLAM INSIDE THE TOWN IN REPRESENTATION DURING THE DUTCH COLONIAL PERIOD

Inside the town the proscriptions upon Islam, as well as regulations against the activities of slaves, meant that the practice of Islam would take different forms in the eighteenth century than it did in the mountains outside the town. But while the chapter has analysed representation of Islam outside the town, thus far nothing has been said about Islam in the town itself. There is good reason for this. Reflecting the liminal reality in which Islam existed throughout the VOC period, the remoteness of many *kramats* in the mountains and hills partially explains their existence up to today, whereas virtually nothing of the physical presence of Islam remains in the town from the same period, where it survived through hidden practices. A cohesive and coherent Muslim community would only begin to emerge at the end of the VOC period in the late eighteenth century (Bank 1991, 112), and the mosque even later. Evidence of Islam in the VOC period therefore tends to direct the researcher away from the town rather than towards it.

Muslims during the VOC period were made up of slaves, free blacks and exiles, and *bandieten*. The paucity of references regarding Muslim activities for most of the VOC period, however, is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the reality. Although Muslims remained a small number for most of the VOC period (Rafudeen 2001, 45-6), Robert Shell has provided a list of fifteen eighteenth century "bandiet (convict) imams" who were listed as 'Mahometaanse Priesters' (Hendricks 2005, 193). Moreover, between 1745 and 1747 over one hundred men were sentenced to exile at the Cape from Cheribon, a coastal region in Java, and would have joined the free black population of Cape Town. In terms of high-ranking political exiles of the VOC, although it was more common that they were scattered and isolated throughout the colony, some prisoners of state were also allowed to reside in Cape Town such as the Javanese Pangerans Seloringpasan and Dipanagara. These royal and learned exiles as well as their households resided in the town from 1733 onwards. Even though most of all these significant numbers of *bandieten* and exiles are invisible in the archival records, at least the most prominent of them must have been visible to the small Muslim community in the small port town, most of whom were slaves (Ward 2012). Slaves formed not only most of the small numbers of Muslims but the largest single category of the town's population and were omnipresent throughout the town. Privately owned slaves, for example, were employed as domestic workers in the homes of almost all citizens (Worden 1998/99, 81). Despite the degrees in distinctiveness of social strata there were no distinct quarters based on ethnic or legal status in Dutch Cape Town (Worden 1998/99, 80). Slaves lived usually on their masters' properties (or in the Company's slave lodge), while free blacks could acquire property anywhere in the city (Fransen 2004, 43).

Before Cape Town and Cape society would grow rapidly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century in both size and complexity, as well as a cohesive Muslim community from the end of the century, the drawings of Danish artist Johannes Rach depicted this period, providing an invaluable detailed visual record in the mid-eighteenth century of both the still thatched-roof village quality of the settlement and the social strata of Cape society. Rach had joined the VOC as a gunner in 1762[13] and spent two years at the Cape before continuing to Batavia. Reflecting his training as both an artist and a draughtsman (Hernandono 2007), typical of Rach's style in urban environments were pictures of simple architectural perspectives with a scattering of human figures in the foreground (which seem to have been added in the last stage), which animated the otherwise static composition.

13 Historians appear to date Rach joining the VOC in 1762, although he made at least one drawing while already at the Cape which the artist himself dated as 1761.



4k.
Greenmarket Square
by Johannes Rach (1761).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)



4l.
Greenmarket Square
by Johannes Rach (1762).

(Source: Database of www.atlasofmutualheritage.nl/)

Amongst Rach's drawings made during his short time at the Cape were a series of the Burgher Watch House, or Townhouse, on Greenmarket Square, the oldest known surviving images of this square in the center of the town (see fig. 4k and 4l). The authority of the free burghers was symbolised in this building which, together with the VOC (whose power was embodied in the institutions of the Castle, courts and church), represented the dominant ethos and identity of Cape Town as the chief settlement in the colony (Worden 2004, 70). Rach's pictures show the then newly completed building,[14] but it also shows that in front of it was an open space which also served other public functions, often distinct from dominant urban class identity. Greenmarket Square was the site of the main market and central gathering spot for its citizens, the space where slaves whose owners permitted or required them to hire out their labour gathered. The well in the square was also the main source of water when there was little rainwater in the town's water channels, and it would have been a place which local citizens and especially slaves employed as water carriers would have frequented (Worden 1998/99, 81-2; Worden 2004, 49). In all its architectural, public and social functions then, Rach's pictures of the central space of the town provide an indication of the range of the legalistic social strata of Cape society, their hierarchical relations and a sense of their architectures.

Rach's style of foregrounding a scattering of human figures across an architectural background, appears to have influenced his series of drawings of Greenmarket Square, for Rach completed at least three known drawings of exactly the same scene, except with different social classes and activities arranged across the foreground in each. Two of these scenes are shown in this chapter (fig. 4k-l). The artist appears to have deliberately depicted the same scene in two distinct ways, to illustrate the different social classes of the town's population. In the first drawing, dated 1761, moving across the picture from the left are depicted: a seated female slave, an Asian *bandiet* employed as a policeman (called *caffers*) leading away an offender, a Khoi in more westernised dress, a slave carrying water, two slaves carrying a (female) notable in a sedan chair, and to the right of the picture are the vegetable sellers that provided the square with its name. Thus one of the most striking aspects of the scene is that it is made up entirely of liminal peoples. This is made even more marked by the second drawing, dated 1762, which depicts precisely the opposite. It is made up of the elite and ruling classes on the town, with a few slaves or poorer inhabitants who appear as if only to better distinguish the former. Moving across the picture from the left are depicted: a poorer free inhabitant, a wealthy burgher couple with a slave holding an umbrella, a slave carrying water, another wealthy burgher couple, two notables (perhaps Company officials), and to the right of the picture are the seated vegetable sellers with baskets at the well.

The different social ranks of all the figures depicted are clearly legible from the contrasting styles of dress. This was due to the Batavian sumptuary laws, which regulated and restricted the wearing of particular kinds of clothes to persons of certain ranks. Such rules were applied at the Cape to distinguish the different ranks of VOC officials and burgher councillors from slaves and ex-slaves (Worden 2004, 73). Ownership of slaves, moreover, further enhanced an individual's status (Armstrong 1986, 98). The figures in the pictures thus represent a kind of cataloguing of the visible social hierarchies of Cape society, and the artist's further separation of these into separate pictures therefore reflects the social distinctions in reality.[15]

14 The earlier single storey thatch Townhouse was rebuilt in 1755 as a double storey, then still a rarity in the town, and in a grander style (Fransen 2004, 30).

15 Rach's third picture of Greenmarket Square, dated 1762, similarly follows in separating social classes into separate pictures. It depicts the lower ends of the social scale, but not slaves. It shows, for example, some men inebriated and another urinating beside a tree.

In the first scene, the presence and activities of the slave class and underclass, depicted with close attention to detail, dominate the foreground of the scene; while in the background the authority of the Townhouse towers not only over the surrounding buildings but consequently over the liminality scattered across the space it dominates. Thus a silent tension emerges from the sharp contrasts of the scene, for none of the liminal peoples on the square would have been owners of any of the surrounding buildings and none of the latter, the colonial settlers, are visible on the square (but for two people who gaze over the scene from inside their houses at the front door). Further contrasts become evident, in the uneven surface of the ground, the jagged shapes of the mountains, the labouring of the figures, even the howling dog in the centre foreground, all of which strike a sharp contrast to the formal ordered layout of the townscape, the smooth surfaces of the buildings, and the grandeur of its landmarks. The scene thus represents distinct landscapes of two social realities: the first polished, built and ordered; the other course, unbuilt and disordered. Floating between a landscape of buildings and monuments, the liminal figures therefore inhabit a landscape that appears as a ghostly 'between' space.

While an 'elite / built' versus 'marginalised / lived' dichotomy in the city and city representation could be regarded as normative, what makes the Cape somewhat exceptional in the VOC world in this regard was the kind of settlement that the Cape was and the extent of this juxtaposition as a consequence within it. For Gaastra, the "settlement at the Cape of Good Hope was different in all respects from the factories in Asia," in the "territorial expansion" and the "rapid increase in the population" that resulted from its function as a refreshment station rather than a trading post. As a consequence of this, Gaastra notes that the "large number of slaves among the population is also very noteworthy." Similarly, Worden (2004, 50, 60) adds that one of the most "striking features" of VOC Cape Town was that "some 45 per cent of the population were in Cape Town against their will, either as slaves or as prisoners" and that "the largest single category of Cape Town's population was slaves." Even in his relatively short stay at the Cape, the social classes at the Cape and their distinctiveness were conspicuous enough for Rach to bring attention to this aspect of the society through representation in separate pictures Rach's picture is, in effect, a representation of a liminal landscape, in so far as it was visible to the artist in his relatively brief sojourn in the town. Read together the pictures illustrate an unequal dialectic between the formal identity of the settlement town, embodied in landmarks such as the Townhouse; and the liminal—and in formal architectural terms, ostensibly invisible—social reality of its large urban slave and underclass population. The picture is also suggestive of the nature of liminal spatial practices in the town, existing within and between an image of order and a legalistic social order which entrenched it.

Within these depictions of urban liminality, it is noticeable that Islam in any readily identifiable form is not visible in the scene. This, as it was mentioned earlier in the chapter, was greatly affected by both the proscription on religious practice and the lived realities of enslavement. But compared to the easily identifiable Muslims of nineteenth century paintings, perhaps the most obvious reason for this absence in appearance is the absence of the *toedang* with which Muslims would invariably become typed in the nineteenth century. This at the time had not yet emerged as a marker of identity for Muslims or for European artists. This is itself also an indication that a coherent collective identity had not yet developed at this time, for these drawings were produced when the Cape slave system was at its height, though just before a cohesive Muslim community would begin to emerge in the late eighteenth century (Bank 1991, 112). Thus the slave and underclass is omnipresent in these pictures, though the visibility of Islam is not.

In addition to the lack of a coherent identifiable form, the spatial distribution of Islam in the town would also affect its lack of visibility. Worden (1998/99, 81) has observed that,

> ... Islam was ... less spatially defined than in the VOC's Asian towns. This was partly because the prohibition of the open practice of Islam for long prevented community buildings such as mosques and the residential focusing that this could produce. But it was also because many Moslems were slaves who were scattered across the town in the homes of their owners.

Thus, the small presence of Islam in the town at this time was therefore also a hidden one. More notable exiles or "*bandiet* imams" residing in the town are invisible in Rach's pictures, as they are in the archival records. However, these pictures too are silent about even those who are depicted, for without touchstones such as institutions or materiality through which social, cultural or religious organisation can be discussed—such as the Townhouse against which Rach's scene plays out—we can know little of these liminal figures from their visibility in representation except their existence and their labour.[16] In terms of the meanings and forms that religion took in this context we can from the picture, for example, know little of the "spiritual hunger" of which Mason (2002: 16) reminds us:

> Few worlds were more terrifying than the one that the slaves, Prize Negroes, and free blacks of the Cape shared, and the spiritual hunger that many have argued always accompanied slavery was a vital part of their lives. (…) Similarly, in his discussion of conversion to Islam among the slaves of nineteenth-century Bahia, Brazil, Joao Jose Reis emphasizes the slaves' search for 'spiritual security', as well as for community. (…) Like the slaves of the United States and Brazil, Muslim converts in South Africa longed 'to find meaning and value in life, despite the suffering that flesh is heir to'.

16 A thorough analysis of Islam in this period in all its various religious and cultural dimensions, is beyond the scope of the study of representation in this chapter.

Paradoxically, the absence of Islam in the centre of the town—with its landmarks confidently asserting burgher identity and authority—points to its opposite, that is its presence in 'other' spaces. As Bradlow (1989, 15) similarly, in his seminal study on Islam during the VOC era, has astutely suggested:

> Yet what the restrictions on the public practice of the religion … illustrates is that the Dutch practised their repression in a remarkably sophisticated and, at times subtle manner. In this respect, a banning on the public practice of Islam implies a tacit acceptance of its private practice.

In other words, the absence of Islam in visibility at the centre, does not necessarily mean non-existence than simply existence in other liminal spaces. The earliest recorded Muslim gathering, for example, occurred in a private house in 1772, which provides indications to the hidden forms of Islam that were practiced inside the town during this time. When during the 1790's, the establishment of the communal Friday *Jumu'ah* prayers in a quarry above the town, as well as the first school for Muslim children in what would come to be known as Bo-kaap occurred, were both developments that took place at the periphery rather than the centre. This indicates that Islam was not pushed away from the centres of authority and identity of the town and suppressed by its proscriptions only, but that, in another reading, it was indicative of a culture being shaped in liminal space. Moreover, that these institutions emerged not only *where* they did, but *when* they did, suggests that certain resources existed within the leadership of the Muslim community capable of reading its organisational and institutional needs as well as key openings, spatial and political (by the end of the century, Company rule had collapsed in all but name[17]), in the landscape and to capitalise upon them. In this regard Hendricks (2005, 229-231), for example, has shown that Tuan Guru, "the second spiritual father of Islam at the Cape" (Moosa 1995, 132), had arrived at the Cape two decades before applying for permission to build a mosque in the 1790s, and was therefore generally "exposed to a far wider range of slaves than previously considered."

Islam's later success amongst the underclass during the late slave period could partially be attributed to its negotiating of the very liminal space and its complexities within which it was itself profoundly shaped, in both its 'secular excommunication' and its 'religious exclusion' (Mason 2002, 6).[18] Its first major institutions that would emerge on the outskirts of the town at the end of the eighteenth century could even be seen as a subtle claiming of the periphery.

17 Hendricks 2005, 244.

18 This account centers around a spatial focus, rather than explaining Muslim conversion in totality. Social and pragmatic concerns, of course, do not exclude the more cognitive or spiritual factors which were a vital part of Muslim practice and conversion, which scholars have recently only begun to explore. See especially Mason (2002), Rafudeen (2004), and Hendricks (2005) in this regard.

CONCLUSION

Against the paucity of available references to Islam for most of the VOC period, the chapter accessed landscape representation specifically depicting Muslims and liminality during both the Dutch and British colonial periods. The works selected, namely by Rach and Bowler, cross different styles and different colonial periods, each therefore presenting their own opportunities and constraints for analyses of the liminality they depict. The chapter therefore sought to understand the style, genre or context within which each artist worked. This analysis was measured against representation in other landscapes of the period in the Cape Colony or other parts of the British Empire, as well as the physical traces of Islam that exist at the Cape from the VOC period.

It was revealed that the representation of the 'other', particularly during the British colonial period, often existed within a barrage of naturalised conventions and codifications. However, from this both broad and close reading, the contradictions and departures that emerged within it where the 'other' was specifically depicted pointed to 'other' spaces inside and outside the town in which Islam existed. This would also be reflected in the spaces where its early institutions would emerge at the end of the eighteenth century at the margins of the town, which would also significantly affect the growth of the Muslim community in the following century.

CONCLUSION

The dominant forms of representing the 'other' during both VOC and British rule were carefully controlled, and conditioned by relations of power. The Company was primarily concerned with managing the rival presence of the indigenous 'Other', which features consistently in Dutch representation. This proved more complex than it might at first appear in the picturing of 'empty' landscapes. Rather, codified forms of representing the 'Other' would only develop over time and become more entrenched and naturalised. For the Khoi, unlike the San who were mobile and gradually retreated to the waterholes of the Kalahari Desert, they were unable to avoid confrontation with the Cape settlers (Kiernan 1995, 72). Beyond the development of events such as wars and disease which brought about the dramatic decline of the Khoi, the study of the imaginative colonial appropriation of land and representation also expounds upon how vast and profound this decline was, wherein Khoi landscapes and culture virtually disappeared.

Unlike the Khoi's distinctive way of life, Islam at the Cape would survive slavery and official proscriptions upon the faith during VOC rule. However, it would not do so unaffected. Its history is a discontinuous one, with little definitively known of its early history during most of the VOC period. However, one of the significant ways in which later landscape representation during the British colonial period departed from that under VOC rule, was in the depiction of liminal 'internal others'. The 'Malay' would be a more regular feature in these landscapes, wherein the codification of the proper order of representing the 'other' would be harmonised with the conventions of the picturesque. However, a close reading of the emergence of nineteenth century landscape representation and the continuities, changes, suppressions and omissions in its depiction of 'others' (studied through the work of Thomas Bowler), together with those of an earlier period (in the work of Johannes Rach), pointed to 'other' spaces inside and outside the town in which Islam existed.

Although not of the nature of 'hard evidence', the information that emerges from the analysis of the liminality of Islam in these pictures corresponds with (as opposed to 'proving') and provides further weight to Adil Bradlow's (1989) important—though at the time controversial—claim for liminal spatial practices which linked Muslims in the town with the mountain and forest hideaways around its outskirts, and which gave rise to many of the kramat sites known today. As more evidence emerges which point networks amongst slaves and underclasses which could be imperceptible to outsiders, increasingly this argument is gaining greater credence amongst historians. [1] In an important recent work, Worden and Groenewald (2005), provide a wide selection of translated records extracted from eighteenth century Cape criminal court cases concerning slaves, which in recent decades has been used extensively by a large number of VOC historians (Worden and Groenewald 2005, xv). Although describing crimes rather than the everyday, the cases are extremely revealing and provide rare glimpses and snapshots into the lives of liminal peoples. The selection of cases, for example, often reveal the close links between landscape, topography and slave resistance; and two cases in particular, both in the second half of the century, directly reveal Islam as a part of liminal networks in and around the town. In this regard, this study functions more in a role that extends and fills in gaps in the archive than as a 'hard evidence'.

1 Personal interview with Nigel Worden, 20 October 2011, Cape Town.

However, for both Khoi and Islam, even with a careful analysis of the processes of codification and naturalisation in representation, and a close reading of the contradictions and exclusions within it where the 'other' is depicted, the actual 'interior' narratives of the marginal and liminal groups they depict are extremely difficult to access. While such analysis may yield valuable insights with regard to the kinds of discursive formations that produced the codes through which 'other' was depicted, they do not penetrate into the realities and interior narratives they were never really meant to represent. Reading colonial period images depicting liminal peoples, both with and against the grain, still is at best only indicative or suggestive of liminal narratives and landscapes.

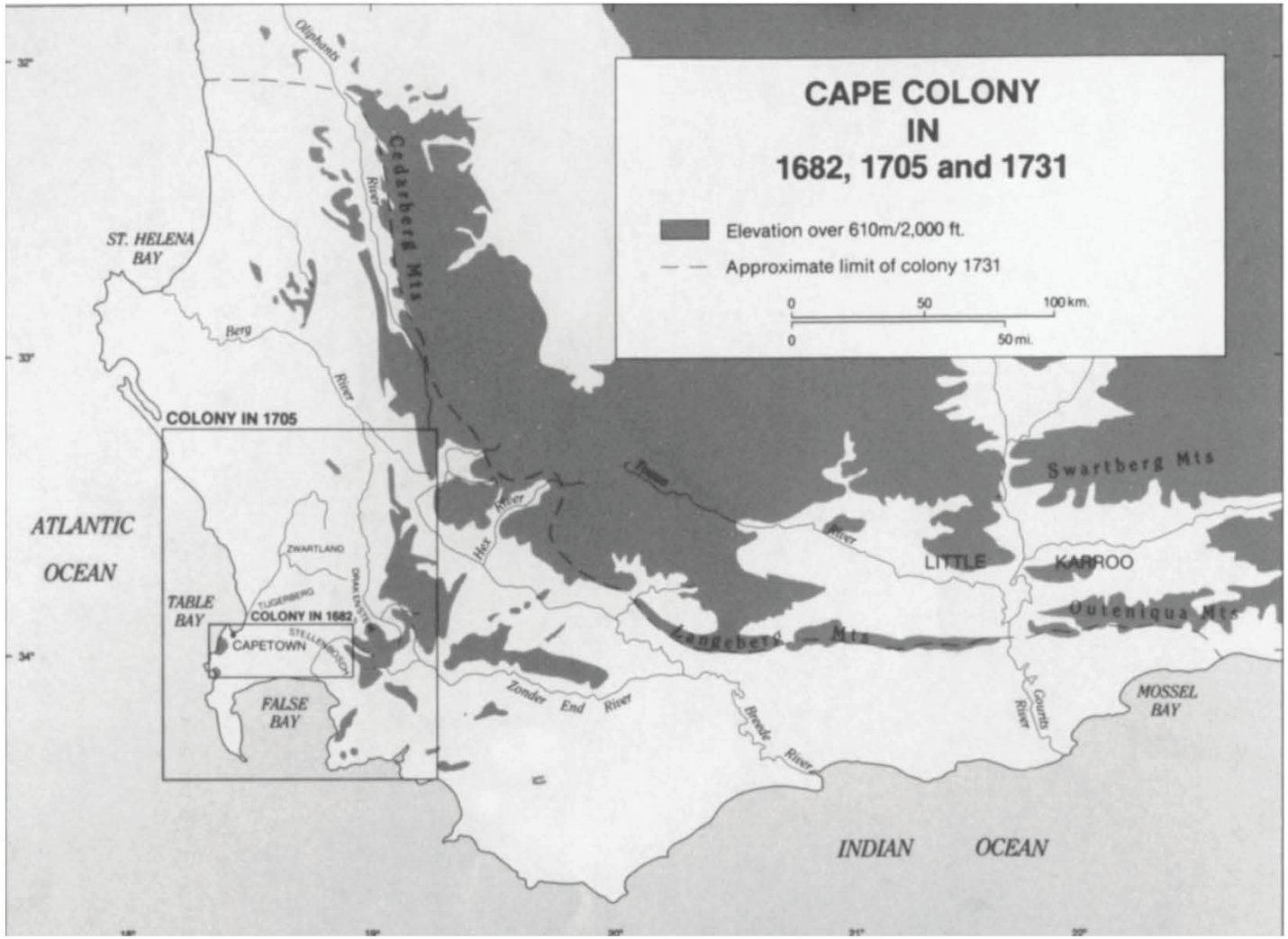
Thus, the limitations in this study's analysis of a selection (representative of certain key historical or conceptual shifts) of the large visual archive of the colonial period has illustrated the role and need for alternative sources and methods of research, providing new points of access and new perspectives. This would not constitute the replacement of one archive with another, but rather toward what Baderoon (2007) has described as "an expanded archive", which incorporates perspectives that also reveal "Muslims as makers rather than simply as objects of meaning".

Archaeological and oral history are important alternative sources of information and access (Worden and Groenewald 2005, xiv). Examples of creative alternative sources which Baderoon has explored in her research on Islam at the Cape are interviews (as an archive of views), art, burial, food and in one of her most recent works, modernity as a shaper of Muslim culture and identity.

Architecture and related disciplines also play an important role, and bring into focus the importance of different scales. While this study dealt with the physical and imaginative geographies of the broader landscape and the burial grounds around the town, other scales beyond the scope of the study was the architectural scale, particularly the emergence of the mosque in the city in the early nineteenth century; while the scale of the home is also crucial. Other important intersections with the more conventional historical sources that are still sites for further study are some of the historical spiritual-cultural practices of Muslims at the Cape which are still practiced today, such as the mawlud celebrations or the complex ritual of ratiep.

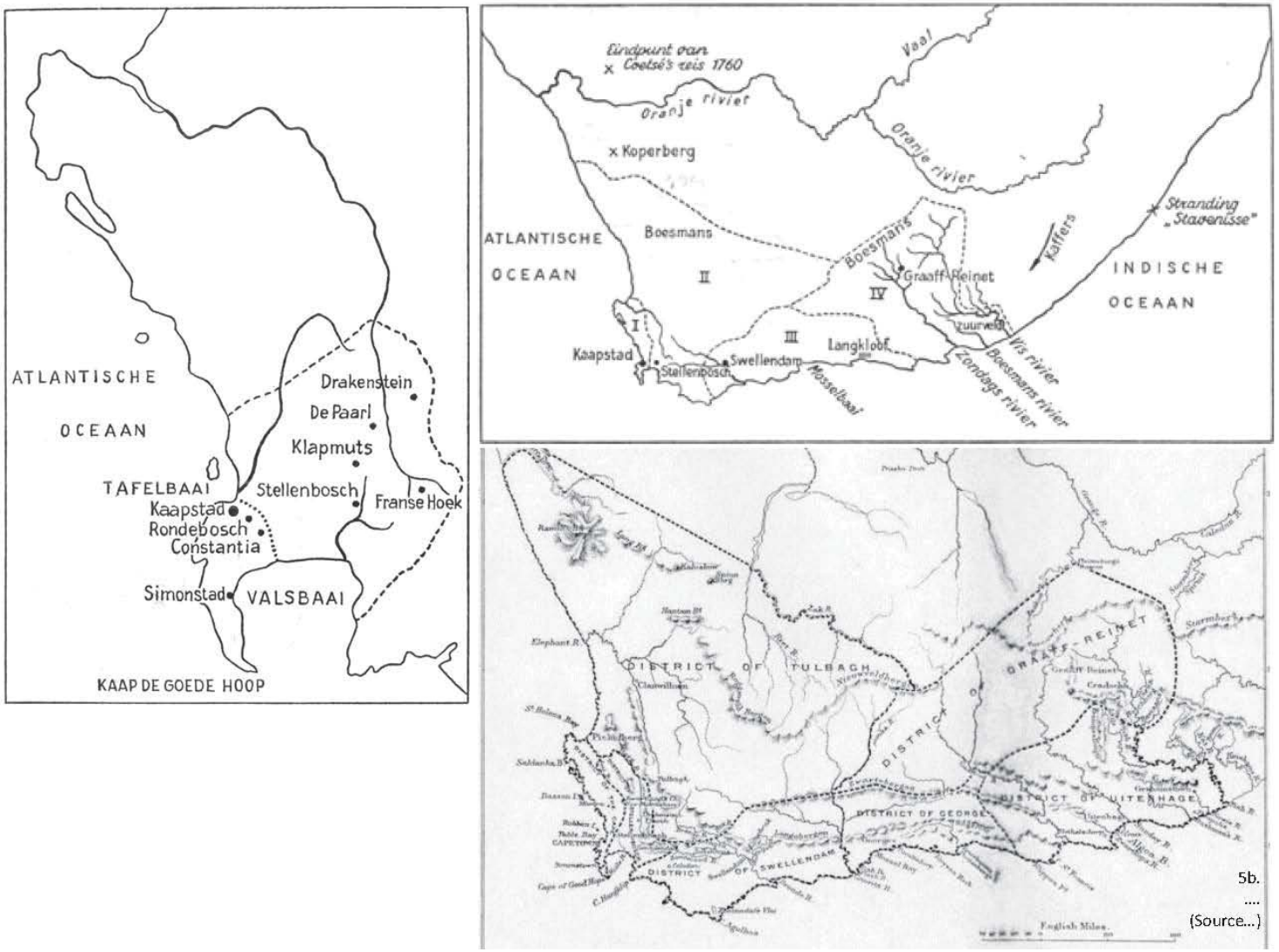
Alternative sources of course also suggest alternative methods. Those mentioned here are only some examples of directions in the researching of liminal peoples and histories that could all yet yield valuable insights.

APPENDIX



5a.
Approximate limits of the Cape Colony in 1682, 1705 and 1731.

(Source: Guelke 1988, 457)

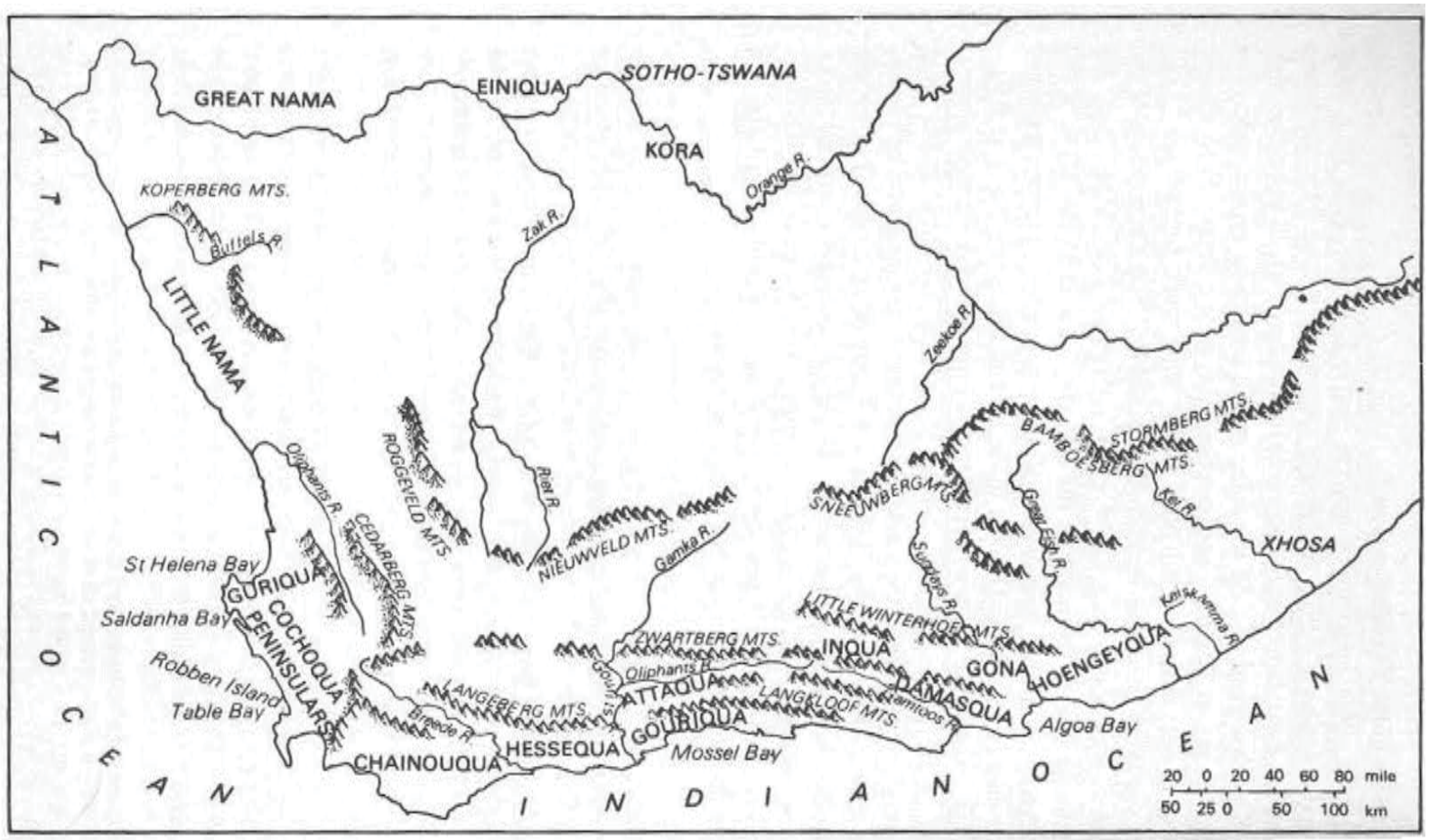


5b.

District maps of the Cape colony in the 17th century, in ca. 1790 (top), and in 1814 (bottom).

(Sources: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/algr001disp04_01/algr001disp04_01_0017.php;

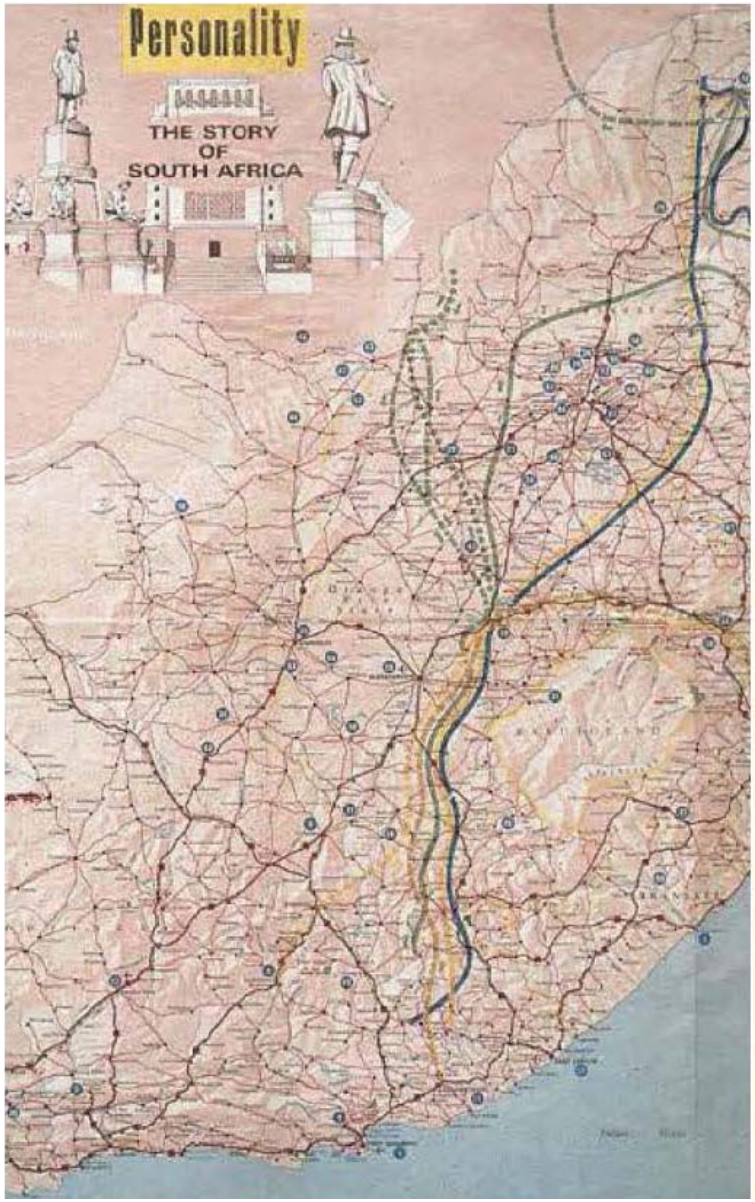
http://www.oocities.org/athens/atlantis/4364/districtmap1814.jpg)



5c

Mountains, rivers, and approximate locations of Khoi before contact with Europeans.

(Source: Elphick 1986, 8)



5d

Detail of 'The Story of South Africa' (**1968) Map, showing Voortrekker routes - from a supplement to Personality magazine.**

F.A. Steyler's (1951) 'Routes of the Great Trek in the Cape Province'.

(Source: Bennningfield 2006, Plate 2.3 and 2.4)



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