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# Negotiations of Social Identity and Creolisation through Recipes in South Africa and Jamaica

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# Negotiations of Social Identity and Creolisation through Recipes in South Africa and Jamaica

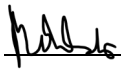
Mapule Mohulatsi

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2024

## Declaration:

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

_Mapule Mohulatsi_____ Signature  _15 day of February 2024

## Dedication:

*For Maria Mohulatsi, Mapule Phanyeko and Selloane Ellenor Mohulatsi*

## Abstract:

This thesis examines recipes — including those featured in creative writing—to demonstrate how collectives and individuals create and sustain narratives of social identity in South Africa, with some comparison to Jamaica. The thesis draws out the longstanding sociality of food in South Africa, paying close attention to the country's history with recipe writing and contemporary narrativizations of social identity as they take place through the recipe. In addition, creolised foods, as they are apprehended in different historical periods in South Africa, also lead to fluid principles of organisation, particularly regarding the aesthetic and narrative choices cookbook writers make. I read two novels, Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012) and Sally Andrew's *Recipes for Love and Murder* (2015); one short story titled "Mrs Plum" by Es'kia Mphahlele; six recipe books: *The Cape Malay Cookbook* (1988) by Faldela Williams, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay – Food from Africa* (2000), *The District Six Huis Kombuis: Food & Memory Project* (2016), Hildagonda Duckitt's *Hilda's "Where is it?!" of Recipes* (1899) and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (1902); a poem titled "Ackee and Codfish" (1976) by Barbara Zencraft and Cecile Emeke's 2014 short film *Ackee and Saltfish*. These texts emerge from differing social groups, geographies and perspectives, but all reveal the recipe's capacity for self-imagining and the extent to which recipes narrate social and cultural histories. They showcase the interdependence of oral/embodied and written mediums. Importantly, they also show the value of the recipe form to current debates on creolisation and separationism in literary and food studies in South Africa and abroad. At its heart, the project explores the extent to which differing social groups in South Africa apprehend culinary and cultural relations through recipe writing and compares this with Jamaica's culinary vernaculars.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis examines recipes — including those featured in creative writing—to demonstrate how collectives and individuals create and sustain narratives of social identity in South Africa with some comparison to Jamaica. The thesis draws out the longstanding sociality of food in South Africa, paying close attention to the country's history with recipe writing and contemporary narrativizations of social identity as they take place through the recipe. A recipe is a statement of the ingredients or procedures required for making something. The word 'recipe' originates from the Latin word *recipere,* meaning "to give and to receive." Recipes are a form of exchange, literally as well as literarily. Culinary recipes, especially, can be interpreted as relational, and this is because they have the practical use of turning ingredients into dishes, just as they intermediate the relationship between a learner and an instructor. Culinary recipes also creatively narrate people and places' collective and individual lives. They allow us to contemplate the sociality of food, cultural formations, and historical events. Leaning on Levi-Strauss' philosophical approach to culinary activities, this study conceptualises culinary recipes and food cooking as a form of mediation. As Levi-Strauss has demonstrated in his *The Raw and the Cooked* (1964), food preparation mediates between life and death because the deceased animal or plant life guarantees our survival. Cooking food also mediates between nature and culture; what and how we eat are often indicative of the societal structures in place. For example, some animal or plant life is reserved for the wealthy through capitalistic modes of societal organisation; this determines access. Certain animals or plant life are prohibited for consumption in some cultures and religions. As a form of literature, culinary recipes mediate information and chronicle everyday life. Culinary recipes also employ anecdotes, tales, memories and accounts to suggest a more abstract meaning beyond the creation of a dish. Whilst their function is literal, this thesis shows that culinary recipes also have metaphorical and narrative-making functions. This study is concerned with culinary recipes, their literariness, and their centrality in the racial, cultural, gendered, and literary discourse in South Africa and Jamaica. It looks to culinary recipes, whether oral or written, as literary narratives (as well as literary devices in already existing literature) that illuminate the relational and transformative nature of racial, cultural, and gendered identity in South Africa and Jamaica's colonial and postcolonial periods.

In South African literary and cultural studies, attention has been given to food and representations of food in artistic production. More attention must still be given to the recipe

as a narrative as well as a literary form and genre. In this study, I engage these qualities in recipe collections and recipes as they are featured in other creative works, such as novels. Added to this, I also argue that published recipes in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa show how forms of creolisation and segregation have survived parallel to each other. Recipes demonstrate how collectives and individuals create and sustain narratives of social identity in South Africa. In this thesis, I compare South Africa to Jamaica because Jamaica has a diasporic African society dealing with creole and exclusionary culinary and cultural formations and traditions. My analysis of recipes in popular South African cookbooks and recipes in creative writing is centred around the history of the Western Cape, particularly Cape Town. The Western Cape is a frontier region, and it has facilitated culinary and cultural relations and how creolisation and segregation are apprehended by differing social groups in South Africa. Recipes published from the Western Cape/Cape Town, as well as those that think with the multifarious moments of social and cultural contact in the area since the seventeenth century—even as they appear in published creative work—showcase varying understandings from collectives and individuals of cultural entanglements and social divisions since the introduction of slavery in the region.

This temporally reflexive study examines the correlations between colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid texts in South Africa. I read two books written in Cape Town by late nineteenth and twentieth-century "celebrity" chef and housekeeper Hildagonda Duckitt. *Hilda's 'Where is it?' Of Recipes* (1899) and *Diary of Cape Housekeeper* (1902) show how, in the Cape Town colonial context, published recipe books exploited the literary conventions of ethnographic travel writing popular at the time to entice an international readership. Duckitt's recipe collection and diary also show the attempts to manage culinary and cultural creolisation. This was accomplished through segregationist pronouncements and stipulations. I read Duckitt's work alongside a 1967 short story by Es'kia Mphahlele titled "Mrs Plum" to understand how British colonial rule and domestic education set the stage for the racial and cultural relations in apartheid South Africa. The short story is set in a racially segregated Johannesburg suburb and reflects on the gendered and separationist legacy of colonial domestic education, an institution of which the books published by Duckitt were a part.

In the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods, recipe writing in South Africa took a decolonial turn. In the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods, recipes are approached as avenues from which culinary, cultural, and racial identities are refashioned in an attempt to epistemic

disarticulations imposed on marginalised groups, such as Coloured people and women, during the colonial and apartheid times. To understand the narrative and literary qualities of the recipe form in the decolonial eras, I turn to the uses of the recipe collection in (re)constructions of Coloured identity in Cape Town. I focus mainly on the people who assume a collective cultural and racial identity from a shared creole and slave past. In the thesis, I analyse cookbooks published in 1988, 2000, and 2016 by members of the Coloured community in Cape Town to determine how the Coloured cultural identity is (re)narrativized as an aquacentric creole-indigenous African identity. The recipe collections published by members of the Coloured community in Cape Town assert belonging to South Africa's national culture. I discuss how they achieve this through seafood and incorporating oral and embodied culinary and cultural knowledge that has survived through intergenerational transferral since slavery in South Africa. The authors of these cookbooks advocate that a slave and creole past and the protracted presence of their culinary traditions fostered the Coloured cultural identity and a South African beginning. I speculate their attentiveness to slave seafood diets and the usage of enslaved people's oral and embodied histories as "slave memory". I also read the 2015 novel *Recipes for Love and Murder* by Sally Andrew and how the book hybridises literary conventions to demonstrate the longstanding historical and cultural mixtures and entanglements (of form, ideology, food, people and cultures) in South Africa.

In these decolonial contexts, the recipe collections make public the extensive nature of food creolisation in South Africa to address the adverse effects of colonial and apartheid cultural and racial exclusion. In the thesis, I connect South Africa's food creolisation with similar processes in other diasporic and postcolonial contexts. I compare the slave, colonial and post-apartheid food histories in South Africa with the Jamaican context to place South Africa's history of creolisation and recipe writing within diasporic debates. I do this through discussions of South African and Jamaican culinary traditions that revolve around slavery and saltfish and conceptualisations of the national dish and home in these republics.

I have chosen these case studies and texts for different reasons, some of which I will detail in the following paragraphs, elaborating on others in the literature review.

For one, the creative work and recipe books I analyse all engage a self-conscious double-addressivity, particularly in how they negotiate what constitutes insiders and outsiders (regarding culinary secrets, cultural practice, and geographical specificity.) Double-

addressivity refers to how a text imagines two (or more) publics simultaneously. Used as a rhetorical tactic, double-addressivity allows for a multiplicity of meanings to converge and for the author's (as well as the reader's) competing desires to work within and in-between binaries like coloniser/colonised, upper/lower class, African/Creole, black/white. In colonial and apartheid South Africa, double-addressivity has been useful to racially marginalised writers, as Bheki Peterson's writing on Sol Plaatje suggests (2008). Writing from the margins for a racially and culturally fractured public, some of whom the genres and forms used were not readily available, writers like Plaatje, who constituted a part of the black elite in early twentieth-century South Africa, "took to reading and writing to defend their rights [and the rights of other marginalised people] as modern citizens" (Peterson 80), for authors like Plaatje, form and genre were essential to these defences. Peterson explains how book paratexts worked as petitions "to negotiate and circumvent the complicated threshold of native life" (82). Genre and form in South Africa continue to work within a double public, albeit different modes of subversion take place, and the books I read in this thesis show this, as well as the place of the recipe book in double addressivity. Imraan Coovadia's novel, *The Institute for Taxi Poetry*, re-imagines the fractured organisation of racial and cultural publics in South Africa by subverting the country's colonial history. Instead of the Anglophone history, readers are presented with an alternative Lusophonian order. The novel also privileges the working classes by centralising their involvement in the alternative nation's cultural and economic formation. This undertaking unsettles the ways class and race are typically negotiated in post-apartheid writing, and readers are challenged to rethink their investments in the story as well as South Africa's current racial and cultural codes. By decentring the normative, Coovadia dislocates the idea that a "real public" is constituted by dominant ideologies or histories. On the other hand, the *District Six Huis Kombuis Cookbook* attempts to reclaim the cookbook as a form that was previously unavailable to enslaved and colonised cooks, as well as the embodied culinary knowledge of these cooks. The recipe collection addresses the descendants of enslaved and colonised people and those implicated in appropriating their culinary culture, like Hildagonda Duckitt and various other white recipe writers. In this cookbook, marginalised writers and readers enact a self-conscious and performative reclamation and make the form and genre "their own". They include personal and public memories, proverbs, jokes, oral stories, etc.

Double-addressivity, however, is not as clearcut as one may think; the writers do not make the intended audience (or message) clear, and in my reading, I show that the recipe's malleability is one way in which what may not be obvious is made to appear to be and vice versa. I also

show how double-addressivity in these books is helpful for literary and cultural scholars reflecting on the racialised logic of South Africa and Jamaica's reading public. Writers in these regions use the recipe to call upon readers to make informed assumptions about identity formation, particularly racial, cultural and social identity. Readers get to do this whilst enjoying generality as well as world transactionality. Interestingly, analysing these texts together also reveals that double-addressivity has much to do with reading practices. In the *District Six Huis Kombuis Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay*, for instance, reading practices are questioned, and other embodied modes of knowledge production and knowledge keeping are sought and experimented with to accommodate audiences that are more comfortable and well-versed in oral histories. In my analysis of *Recipes for Love and Murder*, I show how Sally Andrews uses the recipe in a way that should enlighten literary scholars on the relational activity between the reading public and their chosen reading practices by looking at the ways the novel puts to question linear modes of reading a text. These books lead to varied discourses about the performance of subjectivity. Moreover, the vernacular and the official are both competing as well as in conversation. In sum, these texts show that publics and counterpublics are organised not only by discourse but by literary forms and genres, as well as how authors frame these and how these circulate.

Secondly, the texts I analyse in this thesis lead to interesting debates on current discourse on nostalgia and auto/biographical frameworks. There is much scholarship on food and its connections to nostalgia and auto/biography; these studies document how food activates the senses and memory, especially smell and taste. Scholarship on food as it relates to nostalgic and auto/biographical frameworks in the humanities, and in South African literary scholarship especially, has looked to these to make sense of the past, and this is because the past is seen as instrumental to future narratives concerning the nation. The past serves as either a moral guideline or a convivial terrain where accounts of the nation's triumph over past trauma are rehearsed. The auto-/biographical and nostalgic frameworks in the texts I analyse are mobilised differently and to different ends. In the selected recipe books by Hildagonda Duckitt, Cass Abrahams, the District Six museum, and Faldela Williams, the affordances of memory work and life writing are meshed with the recipe. Life stories, especially ones about the past, are an important frame to the recipes; in my analysis, I highlight how these life stories function as paratexts that frame the reader's reception of the recipes. Some of these life stories, as they appear in the different books, are from the same historical period, but there are different orders of the past, present and future. This complicates notions of auto/biographical time as linear,

coherent or even truthful; instead, auto/biographical time demonstrates why the narrative ("life story") is a necessary condition as well as validation of one's life (also one's truth or memory) as well as the dish itself. The fabric of narrative time construction in auto/biographical genres is functional in recipe writing because memories, especially memories about the past, can be manipulated. In these recipe collections, writers construct and mobilise nostalgia. This leads to my questioning of not only authorial intent but the literary affordances of recipe writing. By this, I mean that the texts I read in this thesis show that recipes have a symbolic function and an aesthetic one. Authors construct nostalgia more than they evoke it. Readers are invited not just to consume food but also language and memory. The emotive and ideological impetus of culinary activities in these texts is highlighted as being deeply connected to language, imagery, and memory, and these are used to subvert and complicate the past, the present, and potential futures. Moreover, nostalgic memories of the past produce new authenticities, particularly regarding cultural memory and identity. Authenticity and authorship recast national, familial and diasporic identities in a new light, and the experimental nature of the recipe is foregrounded as integral to this process.

Relatedly, different anxieties of loss and appropriation are at play across the different textual engagements with food and recipes. The characters in Cecile Ameke's *Saltfish and Ackee* are concerned about how some elements of loss manifest through culinary tourism and the global circulation of food practices. At the same time, Mrs Duckitt might be keen to ensure her colonial Cape readers do not "go native" and their staff do things correctly, hence copious information and instructions, indirectly mirroring different forms of loss in the District Six recipe book, where the authors are navigating different categories of loss (erasure of creole-indigeneity as well as the erasure of the District Six area) mixed with concern about new forms of loss in the form of appropriation, hence the withholding of culinary information.

Through close reading, these texts also show that even as oral/embodied and written forms are designated as competing conventions, they are instead dependent on and parallel to each other. Lastly, and more importantly, they reveal the value of the recipe form to current debates on creolisation and separationism in literary and food studies in South Africa and abroad. I elaborate on the oral/written and creolisation more thoroughly in the literature review. Overall, these books all locate recipes in their literal and figurative meanings.

This thesis addresses debates in literary, food, and diasporic and creolisation studies in South Africa and abroad. In these fields, there has been a tendency to focus on food and its role in the construction of social identity without paying close attention to the role of recipes in these developments (see Trefry et al. 2014; Booysen 2007; Chevalier 2017; Nugent 2010; Chuck et al. 2016; Hackel et al. 2018; Bowe et al. 2019; Happel 2012). There is also a limited engagement with food in relation to the natural environment, and the scholars that focus on food and the environment have tended to do this solely through the lens of food security (see Lamine 2015; Lytle 2009; McKinnon et al. 2009; Springmann et al. 2018; Edwards-Jones 2010; Holdsworth and Landais 2019; Reynolds et al. 2015). Because of the focus on food security, scholars have concentrated their attention on Africa as a victim of colonial and neo-colonial exploitation without dedicating needed regard to the rich historical processes that underpin the culinary traditions of African societies (see Greenberg 2017; Watts 1987; Sasson 2012; Hall et al. 2017). This has led to a disregard for food cultures that are sustained and developed even in exploitative and separationist contexts, such as South Africa's creole cuisine. Of necessity is the exploration of the centrality of recipes and cookbooks in studies of slavery, migration, travel, hybridity, and diaspora. In this study, I circumvent explorations of food in Africa as they relate to crisis and food security. My analysis creatively endeavours to showcase the layered ways culinary recipe collections narrate the social formations of dominant and dominated social groups.

*Literature Review*

In the following literature review, I foreground the thesis's historical context and conceptual framework(s). In the first section of the literature review, I locate the study within some of Edouard Glissant's relational models, showing how the scholar attends to food in his writing on creolisation, a key concept in this thesis. I then discuss the earliest forms of food creolisation in South Africa by focusing on the culinary and cultural entanglements between the indigenous Khoisan, the enslaved people, and the Dutch settlers in Cape Town. I do this to demonstrate that a creole South African culinary culture emerged from at least the seventeenth century. I close the section by broaching scholarship in black diasporic and indigenous studies to link the culinary and literary practices of South Africa to those of Jamaica. In the second section, I review scholarship in literary and food studies and discuss how, in these fields, recipes are advanced as sites of knowledge production and cultural memory. In the third section, I sketch

out some of the ways recipes in African literature have been used as a literary mode to drive plots and reinforce themes and motifs. In the fourth section, I engage with scholarship on literary forms and aesthetic worlds to make a case for recipes as independent narratives and literary texts. I do this with examples from the South African culinary scene.

Glissant's Relational Models and Food: Creolisation, Whole-World, and Rhizomatic Identity

In the thesis, I work with the conceptual framework of creolisation as Edouard Glissant defines it. In *Poetics of Relation,* Glissant writes that creolisation is the "limitless meeting and synthesis of differences whose elements are diffracted and whose consequences are unforeseeable" (34). Creolisation is the ongoing relation and interplay between cultures, languages and people who are studied as different and who create mixed and interdependent cultural codes through connection and association. For Glissant and this thesis, creolisation is not a scattered process. Even though creolisation works with various heres and elsewheres, it is not disordered or forced. It is an organic process that comes with association and contact. Creolisation as a theoretical framework was first used in the Caribbean context to refer to "the process by which people, flora and fauna, ideas, and institutions with roots in the Old World were born, grew, and prospered in the New World" (Price 214). In the twentieth century, the term moved from the field of natural history into the social sciences, where it was used to consider the cultural changes and relations that took place in the New World (Price 214). Studies on creolisation and cultural integration generally have advanced away from the Caribbean context. Creolisation is a globally considered conceptual framework associated with syncretic societies in aspects of language and culture. [1] Glissant's theorisation of creolisation works with social relations and validates that these are never mutually exclusive. Creolisation is at the core of this study's conceptual interests and formations; I find that the relational model helps consider how people and cultures do not synthesise equally, as others might have more influence on cultural formation depending on the context. Creolisation is also better understood alongside Glissant's other models of relation. The scholar's *tout-monde* (Whole-World) and his writing on rhizomatic identity are particularly useful in this thesis.

[1] See Appadurai 1996, Armstrong 2003, Arnold 1994, Braithwaite 1974 and 1984, Chaplin 2016, Chaudenson 2002, Clifford 1997, Dawdy 2000, Friedman 1994 and 1995, Gilroy 1993, Hall 2003, Hymes 1971, Khan 2001 and 2004, Maurer 1997, Mintz 1974 and 1985, Palmie 2002, Poole 1997, Slocum and Thomas 2003, Stewart 1999 and 2007, Young 1995, Gqola 2010, Erasmus 2011, Vergés 2003.

*Tout-monde*, also called Whole-World, is introduced in Glissant's 1993 novel *Tout-Monde* and later expanded in his *Treatise on the Whole-World* (*Traité du Tout-monde,* 1997.) Originated by a fictional theorist, the concept refers to a non-totalitarian totality in which a place (Glissant uses Martinique as his prime example) constantly interacts and exchanges with the rest of the world. The Whole-World relational model does not idealise the local or the notion of a "homeland" (Loichot 2007). Whole-World, like creolisation, does not privilege rooted identity, nor does it privilege the idea that identity, or place, could ever be complete; instead, they are limitless due to the "dizzying speed of interactions that set them up" (Glissant 1993, 119.) Creolisation and Whole-World are not limited to hybridity "whose synthesis [conceptually and materially] is foreseeable" (Glissant 1993, 119). Because it is endless and unforeseeable, creolisation, as both process and theory, allows us to be a part of the whole world, and according to Glissant, we are all the sum of the world (1993, 124). This is not to say that all the places in the world are the same or that all identities in relation are indistinguishable; in fact, the specificity of place is integral in making a Whole-World identity.

> I call the Whole-World our universe as it changes and lives on through its exchanges and, at the same time, the 'vision' that we have of it. The world-totality in its physical diversity and in the representations that it inspires in us: so that we are no longer able to sing, speak or work based on our place alone, without plunging into the imagination of this totality. 108

For Glissant, we are formed by place, and no place exists in isolation. Even though places and people exist with differences,[2] we should "resolve our imaginations [to the] quarrel of the atavistic and the composite, of single root identity and relation-identity" (Glissant 1993, 23). Root and relational identity are important to this thesis for various reasons, some of which are helpful in my attempt to relativise South Africa and the Caribbean later in the chapter. Glissant theorises that root identity is "ratified by a claim to legitimacy that allows a community to proclaim its entitlement to the possession of a land, which thus becomes territory" (1990, 143). Glissant argues against this form of territorialisation in identity-making processes and advocates for circuitry and connectivity. His relational identity "does not think of a land as a territory from which to project toward other territories but as a place where one gives-on-and-with rather than grasps" (1990, 144). Glissant consolidates root and relational identity by

[2] Glissant does not advocate for the suppression of difference in his relational models, and his Chaos-World theory attends to the clashes of different cultures as they relate to each other

developing Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of rhizomatic thinking. Biologically, a rhizome is a plant with a root system that can produce the root system of a new plant. Rhizomatic thinking is the ability to establish connections across and between variegated modes of thought. For Deleuze and Guattari, the significant difference between a tree's root and a rhizomatic root is that a tree's root system is rigid and one-dimensional. In contrast, a rhizomatic root is connective and flexible. A rhizomatic root is relational. Like Deleuze and Guattari, Glissant warns against firm foundations favouring flow and constant movement. A rhizomatic subjectivity is not rooted in one place, memory or history. Thinking about subjectivity without fixity allows a cross-cultural understanding of people and places.

Creolisation, Whole-World, and rhizomatic thinking through root and relational identity and how they work with place and subjectivity need to be discussed in conversation with culinary activities and the function of food. An important feature of Glissant's relational models is the culinary. In his writing, food is used metaphorically to access the material conditions of Martinique and the Caribbean more broadly. A scholar who has brought this to focus is Valérie Loichot (2007, 2013). In her "Between Breadfruit and Masala" (2007), Loichot notes that "between [Glissant's] earlier and later texts, a shift appears on the level of the function of food, and in parallel, of the position of Martinique within the Caribbean and within the world" (2007, 124). Loichot looks at the ways in which Glissant explores how food ties Martinique to both the colonial power (France) and Africa but does not privilege either as foundational to the Martinican foodscape. Loichot explains that Martinican (and Caribbean food cultures more generally) cannot easily be classified as colonial, African or even local. She observes that Glissant resists reading Martinique's culinary landscape as French because this tethers it to its colonial history and the material dependence this history has generated. She writes: "Historically and economically, France has forced Martinique into the status of perennial dependent, within what Francoise Verges has called an economy of debt. This differs from an economy based on a reciprocal exchange of goods" (2004, 125). In the post-colonial era, food exports from Martinique to France and imports from France to Martinique exemplify the economy of debt and unequal exchange. The high-quality food exported to France and the inferior food France dumps on the island is a subject Glissant opens in his *Discourse Antilles* when he writes:

> The issue of banana conditioning (the legitimate demand of French importers on the quality of the fruit leaving Martinique) prompts us to evoke the overripe pears and the half-rotten grapes

> that Martinican consumers choose to buy . . . on the Fort-de-France supermarket shelves". (119)

Glissant questions the non-reciprocity of the colonial power and the dependence Martinique has on France's spoilt goods. Loichot reads this economy of debt as showcasing how "Martinicans' experience with food, oscillating between hunger and satiety, is at the heart of a complex economic, political, and ideological relationship of dependence upon the *metropole* (emphasis hers 2007, 126). The focus on food and the metropole by both Glissant and Loichot also extends to language. Glissant parallels food and language in his thinking on colonial dependence and Martinique's cultural legitimacy. The dependence on the French language and French food as foundational to Martinique's creole cultural landscape means that the island is forever "suspended [and] fails to produce or create anything…" (Glissant *DA*, 357).

Glissant does not propose that we read Africa's presence in Caribbean creole food culture as foundational, as this only leads to a rooted and territorial way of thinking about creole identity. Loichot writes that in *Discourse Antilles* and *Poetics of Relation,* Glissant does not "propose breadfruit or root vegetables such as yam or the taro root, which are associated with resistance to the plantation system, marooning, survival, local production, and which bear a memorial trace to of Africa, as possible alternatives to French products" (2007, 128). Indeed, Glissant pens that "It will not be easy (here) to replace products of intense emotional power, such as Coca-Cola, wheat bread, and butter, with yam, breadfruit, or with a revived production of 'madou,' 'mabi,' or any other local product" (*DA,* 162). Glissant's thinking with food extends beyond the market economy; this is to warn against positioning the Caribbean's history as linear or even as "rooted in Africa."

More dangerous to Glissant is linking Martinique's food and cultural landscapes as purely local. As Loichot explains, this isolates the island "in a narrow parochialism" (2007, 124). Rejecting the monolingual root (Martinique as French, African or local), Glissant extends the idea that the rhizomatic identity is ideal in considering how these three formations intersect in Martinique. To be creole means to be French, African, and local simultaneously and equally.

> The practice of m*étissage* . . . establishes a Relation, in an egalitarian mode . . . between histories that today, in the Caribbean, are known to converge. The civilization of manioc, of sweet potatoes, of peppers and tobacco, faces toward the future of this Relation. Hence, it strives to conquer the memory of these crossed-out histories (*DA,* 462).

Glissant privileges a futuristic outlook and opts for an outward-looking, open-ended form of identity-making in the Caribbean, dismissing particularity and autochthonous genealogy in favour of a "whole-world" model. Loichot explains that this is exemplified by Glissant's writing on masala, a blend of ground spices originating from the Indian subcontinent with a prominent place in the Caribbean culinary landscape due to histories of indenture. In his *Tout-Monde*, Glissant provides a complex and experimental masala recipe. He looks to the masala spice mix as a "bondless chain, a meshed net drifting away" (447). In his recipe, he provides the ingredients: "mix together curcuma rhizome or powder, onion or green onion, parsley, garlic, chilli pepper, grilled or fried rice, cloves, and fried cumin" (447). Glissant does not provide any proportions, edging the reader to "experiment a little" (447). He looks at the spice mix and its adaptability, as well as how it exemplifies the whole-world relational model. Glissant writes: "Masala is essential, yet it disappears in the mix; it is the basis for everything, with so many different results […]. By this, Glissant means that as you add one or two ingredients, the dish becomes something else, with masala as the primary base. He notes: "Mix masala with vegetables or meat, and you will get a Colombo [a Martinican Indian curry], with cumin-flavoured meat, garlic and oil; you will obtain a talchou. […] If you add left-over split peas to masala, green peas, and cubed potatoes, you will obtain samosas" (448). The adaptability of the Indian spice blend (spelt in three different ways in the recipe, as *massala*, *masala*, or *masale*) as a primary element is interesting because, as Loichot highlights, "the engine of this culinary machine, the masala, becomes a product that can be reactivated by itself in an endless recycling […] its major property is paradoxically that it escapes a stabilising definition as movement characterises it […]" Loichot also observes three interesting things regarding Glissant's attention to masala: Firstly, its fluidity creates non-grounded particularity. Secondly, it is a spice mix; this is important because "spice appeals to the nose before the palate, inciting one to imagine and remember, rather than taste and consume" (131). Furthermore, Glissant opting for a spice blend not as concretely Caribbean as Colombo or a Creole dish such as *callaloo* [Caribbean stew made with a plant called Callaloo], which are just as adaptable, speaks to his interest in marginality and its role in the formation of the Whole-World relational model. Loichot proposes that masala is a marginal yet essential component of Martinican creolisation and that Glissant's use of the dish "frees Martinique from the atavistic relationship to the French metropole and from desires of territorialisation and provincialism" (132). Masala represents a multifaceted and adaptable culinary landscape in that it is Martinican, Indian and cosmopolitan; occupying both the global and the local, the dish reveals

the extent to which Martinique is a transactional place (Loichot 132).

In this study, I use these relational models to analyse the texts I read and the regions they hail from. Creolisation is the more central relational model, and this is because one of the study's main concerns is the culinary encounters where differing people and foods not only blend but congregate to create something new and utterly different from the original. I look to the culinary creations, interruptions and intrusions in Cape Town and Jamaica, where bodies were violently exiled, and cooking techniques and food ingredients became primary to the formation of new identities and new dishes. I also connect the theoretical framework of creolisation to the concept of Whole-World, noting how creolisation in Cape Town and Jamaica also show that dishes (and cultural identities) are not fixed to place or time but are instead in constant interaction with the world as well as privilege the marginal. My attention to saltfish and slavery in these regions helps me think through rhizomatic identities, creole-indigeneity (a concept I elaborate on later in this chapter) and, more importantly, how these relational models teach us not only about the relational nature of food and people but also about literary forms and genres as relational. In this thesis, recipes from creole societies about creole foods are read as showcasing potential forms of transtextuality wherein we can think about relationality in its concretised form both through food (the literal) and recipes (the literary.)

In the following pages, I discuss how, in the process of creolisation, people and cultures do not synthesise equally, as others might have more influence on cultural formation depending on the context. This is true in South Africa, just like in the Caribbean. "Relation" refers to the interconnectedness and interdependence of the world and seeks to move beyond atavistic notions of identity.

Relativising South Africa and the Caribbean

Since the Middle Passage, ideas and people have moved between Southern Africa and the Caribbean (Cobley, 1999). In central-Southern Africa, enslaved people were shipped to the French and Spanish islands of the Caribbean from Angolan and Mozambican ports (Cobley, 1999). In the twentieth century, Caribbean seafarers crossed the Atlantic and founded Afro-Caribbean communities in Southern African port cities like Cape Town and Namibia's Windhoek (Cobley 1999, np; Collis-Buthelezi 2015). In Cape Town, the founding members of the first black trade unions (Industrial and Commercial Workers, established 1919) consisted

of Afro-Caribbeans (Cobley 1999; Vinson 2006; Collis-Buthelezi 2015). Regarding ideas, Pan-Africanism in South Africa specifically was primarily influenced by Caribbean people, and the first black lawyer in Cape Town, Henry Sylvester Williams from Trinidad, was central to debates on race relations in South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War (Masilela 1996; Cobley 1999). The twentieth-century teachings of Jamaica's Marcus Garvey that connected black communities throughout the Americas were introduced to South Africans by West Indian seafarers (Cobley 1992 & 1999; Collis-Buthelezi 2015). By the 1920s, the African National Congress and other African political movements were thoroughly radicalised by and associated with black diasporic pursuits of political freedom (Cobley 1992 & 1999; Masilela 1996; Vinson 2006). South Africa and the Caribbean also have a parallel historical trajectory. When slavery was abolished in the Caribbean islands by the British in 1834, the policies implemented to administer abolition were applied in South Africa, and the results of these strategies were similar. Notable is the four-year apprenticeship that previously enslaved people served; this apprenticeship was put in place so that the free labour enslaved people provided did not disappear suddenly. The enforcement of the apprenticeship period provided the template for the forms of indentured labour in the Caribbean and South Africa. By 1838, legal frameworks inaugurated in the Caribbean islands, such as the Masters and Servants laws, were already in place throughout the British Empire, and in South Africa, these were integral to the legal system of racial segregation upheld until 1994. Regarding culture and linked to Pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism in Southern Africa has a prominent religious and sonic presence (Campbell 1988; Chawane 2014; Lee 2003). Cuba, known for its status as a member of the Soviet Bloc more than its geographical location as a Caribbean Island, was extensively involved in the Angolan Civil War, and the structural inequalities of Cuban society in the 1950s have been compared to those of apartheid South Africa (see Russell 1974). However, despite these historical interconnections, the project of relativising Africa to the Caribbean in postcolonial scholarship is usually accomplished through a lens that privileges central and West Africa. This discourse seeks Africans' "historical beginnings" in the diaspora (Collis-Buthelezi 2015). As Victoria Collis-Buthelezi has argued, the problem with this "root discourse" is that Africa remains a majestic before-land unmoored from modernity (2015). Ntongela Masilela makes a similar argument much earlier, and his writing on African modernity and modernists points out the "exclusionary epistemic cultural politics" in writing emerging from the Western hemisphere on black diasporic identity. In his critique of Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993), Masilela questions Gilroy's "historical parameters of the 'Black Atlantic'", bringing to focus that the monograph "narrows the Africanness or the Africanity of the 'Black Atlantic'".

For Masilela,

> The placement of the intellectual bridge of trans-Atlanticism across the vast ocean between Africa and the African diaspora was not because of racial ontologies or the myth of the search for origins but rather because of political solidarity, intellectual affiliations, cultural retainment, and historical appropriations. (90)

Africa was unavoidable as a historical horizon not solely because it was the "root" of black diasporic identity but also because it reflected the ongoing dilemmas of 20th-century black diasporic intellectuals and people. The cultural histories and appropriations between Africa and the Caribbean showcase an ongoing relation. In this thesis, I look at the parallels between South Africa and the Caribbean by centralising Cape Town and Jamaica – like scholars Masilela, Cobley, and Buthelezi-Collins, I see Cape Town as a valuable place to reconsider relations between Africanness, Caribbeaness and diasporic blackness but also to think about a coeval African presence to discourse on the "New World" and modernity. Due to its history of enslavement and indenture, as well as its material and immaterial connections to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, Cape Town is valuable in deconstructions of discourse on what constitutes an African diaspora. As I will show in this thesis, this is mainly because Cape Town challenges us to think about the heterogeneity of blackness in a familiar and unfamiliar way to discourses circulating in the Americas and the Caribbean. I chose Jamaica as a space of comparison because the extended period of Jamaica's independence compared to South Africa's post-apartheid allows reflecting on the shifts in the meanings of food throughout the durée of post-independence and post-apartheid. Also, the extensive diaspora of Jamaica compared to South Africa helps me think about the nature of indigeneity and nativeness in South Africa and the relation of Colouredness to nativeness there. Edouard Glissant's relational models are important to my project of relativising these regions and my reading of food and recipes' function in narrating national and black diasporic identities.

## Historical Context of Creolisation through Food in South Africa and connections to Jamaica

In this thesis, I look at creolisation in South Africa through food and the representations of food in recipes and literature. I analyse recipe collections and creative writing that feature recipes published in the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid eras. To do this, I must contextualise

how food was one of the platforms from which a creole South African culture grew in the earlier moments of colonial contact. In this section of the literature review, I turn to the seventeenth century with the arrival of the first Dutch settlers in 1652 and the enslaved people that were brought to the Cape Colony to meet the labour needs of the settlers. Dutch settlement and slavery in South Africa led to social, cultural and environmental changes and relations that were dependent on indigenous African knowledge of food and the environment, as well as imported Dutch and slave food knowledge and culture. These culinary encounters led to new food cultures that differed from the originals, which were essential to forming new identities and dishes. This thesis makes the case that enslaved people also fashioned their indigeneity and belonging as they originated. I define indigeneity as Boatema Boateng does in her paper "Black Indigeneities, Contested Sovereignties" (2023); she writes that: "indigeneity is a condition that exists even where land-based claims are either impossible or untenable, complicating questions of belonging. [For this thesis,] indigeneity denotes a people's ways of being, with or without land" (Boateng 30). Indigeneity as a self-fashioned form of belonging to a place, particularly in the context of slavery, is an analytic that is also useful in comparing as well as understanding the struggles of continental Africans to those of diasporic Africans, particularly those who are written out in dominant accounts of what constitutes an indigenous identity. The thesis turns to slave food histories to consider what it means to think of the creole and the indigenous as adjacent and analogous.

In South Africa, creolisation is used by scholars working in the social sciences to address the social processes of mixture that arose in a context of imported and locally born enslaved people alongside diverse European heritages as well as indigenous African societies (Shell 40; also see van der Waal, 449; Erasmus 3; Martin 2006; Roberge 2002; Berthet et al. 2019). Dutch settlement and slavery in South Africa precipitated large-scale creolisation. The seventeenth-century contact gave rise to a multitude of interactions and entanglements, and food was an essential constituent of these relations (Baderoon 2014b, 98; Baderoon 2009, 115; Gqola 2010, 165; de Beer 2012; Highfield 2017). The food culture of the early years of the colonial encounter led to the formation of the culinary and cultural identities and politics that survive in South Africa today (Baderoon 2009, 98; Malan et al. 2011; Cloete 2015). Through food, we can access the cultural influences of the settler society alongside the agentive cultures of the indigenous Khoisan as well as the enslaved people who were brought from Indian Ocean regions such as Mozambique, Madagascar, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and the Indonesian archipelago as well as Atlantic regions in West Africa (Harries 2014a, 174; also see

Worden 1985; Dooling 2008; Shell 2019). The interaction between these groups was not equal with the dominating group, the Dutch, controlling contact between the indigenous and the enslaved groups. However, creolisation cannot be easily managed, and the dominated groups at the Cape have also strongly influenced the food cultures we see in colonial and contemporary South Africa.

In the Cape homesteads and plantations, the slaves were strangers to each other, the indigenous communities at the Cape, and the slave-owning classes (Elphick and Giliomee 2014). Language and semantic differences worsened the unfamiliarity of these groups of people (Shell 1994, 61; Elphick and Gilomee 121). Historian Robert Shell[3] has shown how the linguistic shortcomings between the enslaved and indigenous people, as well as the master classes at the Cape, were overcome through the creation of their language from domestic interaction (1994). The linguistic development at the Cape gave birth to the language known today as Afrikaans, which grew in this creolising context. Afrikaans is regarded in South Africa to be a "kitchen language" because free and enslaved women created the dialect just as they were integrating foods and forging what is today a distinct Cape and South African cuisine (Shell 63; Roberge 2002; van der Waal 2012). It was in the domestic space that enslaver and enslaved person classes were exposed to varying cultures, languages and cuisines. It was in this space that these were exchanged and developed. This creole culture can be compared to the Caribbean and the Americas, which were, as Sidney Mintz and Richard Price describe in their essay published in *The Birthplace of African-American Culture* (1992), also institutionally enriched by enslaved and liberated classes who brought with them knowledge from their homelands and also created original ones in the New World. The early Cape's creole culture is best seen in the poetic expressions, architecture, music and food cultures that survive in South Africa today.

An example of this creole culture is seen in what today is known as "Cape Malay"[4] food. "Cape

[3] Shell has been criticised by scholars, among them Zimitri Erasmus, who writes that the historian "slips between four conceptions of creolisation: 1. Biological and taxonomic, 2. A potpourri of subcultures, 3. A syncretistic, domestic culture and 4. A reciprocal cultural exchange between masters and slaves" (2011, 6). Erasmus questions Shell's privileging of the master classes in the cultural and biological formation of creolised culture and people, most importantly, Erasmus questions the ways in which the biological and taxonomic modes of creolisation dominate *Children of Bondage* (2011, 7).

[4] The categorisation of Cape Malay, especially as it is used to refer to people in South Africa, is one with a complicated and shifting history that I sketch out more thoroughly in the first chapter of this thesis. The enslaved people brought to the Cape were referred to as "Malays", and the descendants of enslaved people are also referred to and refer to themselves as "Cape Malays". The term has been used to refer to Coloured Muslim people in Cape Town, to linguistic groups, and to designation of place of origin (see Ward 2012). In the colonial period at the

Malay" food was developed by enslaved people transported from Southeast Asian regions to Cape Town who were in demand in Dutch homes as cooks (Ross 1980, 9; also see Mountain 2004, 11; Botes 2020; Baderoon 2007,118; Bickford-Smith 1995). It was from their innovations that the fusion of European, African and Asian ingredients and food was first generated (Ross 1980, 7; Baderoon 2007; Reddy 2018). The knowledge of spices, especially from the cooks who were from the "spice islands" of Southeast Asian regions, led to an aromatic cuisine with distinctive flavouring and a skilful use and incorporation of ingredients from African and European foods (Hutchison 2006, 29; de Beer 2012; Robins 1998). The "Cape Malay" fusion food predominates Khoisan and Cape Dutch ingredients that enslaved cooks integrated through their novel cooking methods (Abrahams 1995).

South Africa's national dish, bobotie, is a classic "Cape Malay" fusion food. Bobotie was first claimed as the national dish by white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in making an authentic and untouched *volk* culture and identity (Baderoon 2014a, 52; also see van Niekerk 2011). However, bobotie is a creole dish. The dish was developed by enslaved people in the Cape kitchens from a mixture of spices and a meatloaf from Holland (Abrahams 2004). The dish is topped with a beaten egg baked to a crust and served with stewed fruits and chutney (Stalcup 18). The addition of eggs is from European custards (Botes 2020). The stewed fruit and the chutney, alongside the spices in the dish, make for a perfect balance between sweetness and spiciness. The bobotie dish is such a creole dish that there is no one authentic way to make it. For one, there is not a set ensemble of spices to use. Secondly, the dish can be made with fish and other minced meats. The dish has many variations; however, the principal ingredients are minced meat of your choice, bread, and eggs.

There are also Khoisan-slave fusion dishes such as the waterblommetjie bredie, which, as cook and food historian Cass Abrahams explains, is a stew made of a plant found in the Cape wetlands:

> spices like allspice, peppercorns, cloves, garlic, then the wildflowers, that is Khoisan added to the waterblommetjie, plus the meat stewed in a particularly Dutch way. So the method was Dutch, the spices were the ingredients and the slaves, 50 per cent of them were Khoisan.

Cape, the term referred to Cape Muslims, and in the apartheid period, it shifted into a racial classification for Coloured people generally and especially in the Western Cape province where the term still refers to "Colouredness" and not necessarily Islam. I use the term in scare quotes because, to some, it is offensive.

(Abrahams qt. in Baderoon 2007, 121)

The Khoisan-slave food infusions such as the waterblommetjie bredie show a knowledge of the Cape environment by enslaved cooks. The knowledge of the foreign environment could only have developed through close association with and learning from indigenous communities. Many enslaved people who laboured as cooks in the Cape kitchens incorporated indigenous elements into their cooking. The Khoisan-slave food infusions show that there was an alternative creolisation between the enslaved and the indigenous people and that it could not be easily controlled by the Dutch, who viewed these interactions as sites of possible resistance (Sinclair-Thomson and Challis 2020, 479-482; Alpers et al. 2013; Dooling 2008; du Toit 1993; Worden 1984, 226). To the Europeans, the interactions between the Khoisan and the enslaved could only lead to revolt. This fear was impractical, as the two groups often lacked solidarity (Ross 1983). The Dutch perpetuated this paranoia of revolt within the white settler groups. They accomplished this predominantly through associations of food with poison. This anxiousness surrounding poison was tied to the colonial dread of indigenous poison technologies and knowledge (Chaboo et al. 12). The Khoisan communities in Southern Africa, when in conflict with settlers, would poison their arrows to either kill or inflict bodily harm on their opponents (Bunn 59; Adhikari 2015, 99 & 164). The knowledge of poison in enslaved and indigenous groups was a genuine concern for dominating classes. Whilst large-scale revolt was never necessarily close at hand, enslaved cooks did practice freedom and resistance through food creolisation and interaction with indigenous environmental knowledge. More than the poison itself, the settlers feared the existence of alternative epistemologies in Khoisan and enslaved groups.

As performance scholar Jane Taylor explains in her chapter on indigenous poison technologies and knowledge in *Transgressing Boundaries* (1996): “The organic toxins used in colonies are associated with alternative systems of intelligence, unreadable representations, political logics which flout rationality, and medical and cosmological practices…” (89). The fear of indigenous knowledge was deep-rooted. It was also brought on by the fear of the shared systems of understanding between the Khoisan and the enslaved (Baderoon 2009, 91 & 92; Deacon et al. 2004). The dominating classes were intimidated by enslaved persons and indigenous ways of knowing, which were often secretive and kept within the communities and could thus be easily used to overthrow them (Baderoon 2009, 91 & 92; Deacon et al. 61). This fear was further entrenched by the cooks’ knowledge of spices from their homelands which meant that they

could effortlessly conceal any use of poison (Baderoon 2014a, 50; Worden 1982, 55). The fear of poison shows that creolisation in the early Cape society did not occur outside of mistrust and separation. This can be seen in how "settlers and colonialists effectuated western technologies of investigation and observation which were both ethnographic and sleuth-like" (Taylor 89).

As cultural and literary scholars Gabeba Baderoon (2009, 99; 2014a, 46) and Pumla Gqola (2010, 168) suggest, food at the early Cape was a site of small-scale slave resistance because, within the kitchen space, enslaved people were free to innovate and control the tastes of the master classes. "Cape Malay" cooks were regarded as having power over the lives of their masters because they could easily poison them, seeing as they originated and mixed food as they wished. Enslaver and enslaved classes did live in close proximity, and food was an intimate site from which relations were shared and exposed (Worden 1982, 55). Enslaved and later colonised cooks had deep access to the inner worlds of the master classes through the kitchen, which was an industrious area in the household (Malan 2007, 59). This freedom was also practised through associations with the foreign environment by gaining knowledge and incorporating this newfound knowledge into food, healing potions and other concoctions (Deacon et al. 2004, 61; Augusto 2007). The enslaved at the Cape creolised just as they indigenised[5]. For this to happen, associations with the Khoisan were fundamental. The maroon enslaved people in Cape Town show this more clearly.

Antithetical to the legislative infrastructures determined by the Dutch, marooning was the most common form of resistance for the enslaved and the Khoi at the Cape. Maroons at the Cape were referred to as *drosters* and mainly comprised runaway slaves and indigenous serfs. The term *drosters* initially referred to all runaways despite race; however, by the 1750s, the term was typically used for runaway Khoi servants and slaves. Nigel Penn observes that "the changed meaning of the word reflected a growing consciousness, amongst both colonists and their labourers, that there was little difference between the condition of being a slave and the condition of being a servant" (1990, 15). Surviving in the mountains of the Cape peninsula runaways lived close to the sites of labour and practised what Edward Alpers distinguishes as petit maroonage, that being "a form of temporary absence from one's master" which is unlike grand maroonage: an absolute departure from both master and colony (52). The maroon

[5] I elaborate on this point later in the chapter and in the second chapter of the thesis.

enslaved people in Cape Town demonstrate the creolisation between enslaved communities and the foreign environment. Maroons had to depend on the environment and the Khoi's indigenous knowledge of the land for food (Worden 2018, 105; Ulrich 2015, 26; Perez 2022). Food was central to desertion, and the master classes often threatened the enslaved people with the possibility of hunger and starvation (Ross 1983, 41). When they did decide to maroon, the slave deserters frequently "took an oath, symbolised by eating bread covered with blood, that they would never return to the Dutch" (Ross 1983, 41). Return to bondage was usually prompted by hunger (Ross 1983, 67 & 103). The Khoisan, who, in reward for the capture of deserted enslaved people, would receive arak, meat and tobacco if successful (Ross 1983, 12), were often quite valuable for enslaved people who had deserted their masters. It would have been near impossible for deserted enslaved people to survive an environment that was not only dangerous but also unknown to them. An example of this is the fugitive site called Hangklip.

Hangklip was suitable for deserters because it was located in the mountains and the seacoast (Worden 2018, 110). Hangklip was the largest fugitive site to such an extent that a runaway community notorious throughout the Cape was established (Ross 1983, 55; Ulrich 2015, 26; Worden 2018; Alpers 2004). Historian Nigel Worden observes that the runaway slave communities at Hangklip existed from the 1720s until emancipation in the 1830s (2018, 110). In this century-long existence, the diet the coast offered was essential, and the methods of survival of the hunter-gatherers who had lived along the coast before the inception of the colony were employed by the deserters (Ross 1983, 56). They, too, "built small huts and lived off fish, mussels and klip koussin (rock limpets or whelks), and the skills some of them had acquired from their island origins were also useful" (Ross 1983, 56). Because they relied on the sea as well as the kinds of opportunities the sea presented to the ex-slaves, arguments have been posed that they "became the core of the communities of Coloured fishermen in the Cape […] among fishermen there survive traditions of the way of life of the escaped slaves" (Ross 1983, 71; also see Bickford-Smith 1995 and 1987). The traditions of deserters are associated with freedom and escape in South African scholarship on slavery. Nevertheless, there is still space to explore how much they contributed to the creole food cultures that prevail in Cape Town today. Historian Nigel Penn duly asserts that deserters of all kinds at the Cape were "the true pioneers of the colonial frontier" (Penn 98).

The examples I have used in this section show that confronting social history through the lens of food can lead to insights into creolisation concerning power, fear, resistance,

etc….Introducing food and recipes into studies of social history allows scholars to see already explored aspects of social history differently or more expansively, and not that food and recipes can simply be appended to already thoroughly rehearsed discussions. “Cape Malay” food and the *drosters* showcase the agentive power of enslaved people over their new environment as well as over cultural formation in the context of slavery. Their centrality in processes of creolisation, particularly food creolisation, is an avenue for thinking about relation in South Africa. Moreover, the lens of food also allows one to think thoroughly about *processes* of creolisation rather than ‘products of creole culture or identity.’ This may seem contradictory considering that food is material and perhaps more product than most things. However, “Cape Malay” food and the *drosters* and their continued changes since their origination showcase the unending nature of creolisation; they demonstrate the non-finite and non-linear conception of cultural formation that is so central to Glissant’s work (see Erasmus 2011, 10). They veer us from ethnological reasonings of belonging in the nation; I open this discussion up in the next section, where I conceptualise creolisation and indigeneity as adjacent and analogous in Cape Town and Jamaica.

To conclude this section, the critical place of food in South Africa’s creolisation process can be seen as early as the seventeenth century when the VOC settled permanently at the Western Cape. In this period, African, European and Asian foods syncretised to create a South African cuisine. More generally, food in Cape Town and South Africa has always driven social relations in and beyond the household. In this section, I fleshed out the role of food in the Cape’s early context as well as how processes of creolisation took place through food. Food is a medium in which people create and sustain cultural identities. Creolisation in the Cape Colony was grounded in the materiality of food. Creolisation through food at the early Cape showcases the entanglements between differing cultural and racial groups. As racial and cultural boundaries are intensified and even protected by social groups in contemporary South Africa, it becomes imperative that we, as Sarah Nuttall reminds us, think of entanglement as a concept that “enables us […] to look for the transgressions without which everyday life for the oppressor and oppressed would have been impossible” (12). Food is one such possible site of transgression that brings to the fore the ongoing entanglements of social groups in South Africa. The following section engages food, the environment, and the dual process of creolisation and indigenisation through food for enslaved people in Cape Town and Jamaica. I look at food sovereignty in the slave and colonial contexts in Cape Town and Jamaica, and how these histories are accessed through Jamaica’s national dish, ackee, saltfish, and Cape Town's

delicacy saltfish, snoek.

Troubling Indigeneity and Diaspora through Saltfish: South Africa and Jamaica

Enslaved people were forced into a system of labour and removed entirely from their cultural background. In foreign conditions and terrains, new cultures and diets were established. In the Caribbean and the Americas, enslaved communities survived on products from farming and hunting (Sherwood, *The Classic Journal*; see Covey and Eisnach, 74). In South Africa, enslaved people were exposed to much marine life (Markell et al., 1995). These new diets also helped create origin myths for enslaved communities. Forced displacement warranted a cultural response, and as enslaved people creolised with other cultures, they also indigenised. New origin myths marked how enslaved groups had "become indigenous" in foreign territory. Indigenisation was a freedom praxis for enslaved communities. It allowed them to sustain a selfhood the system of slavery had taken away from them. In these regions, the land and the ocean became realms of ancestry and belonging for the enslaved and their descendants. In this section, I review scholarship on the black diaspora and indigeneity. I show how enslaved people became indigenous in Cape Town and Jamaica through food origination and how these histories are mapped in their descendants' food writing and cultural memories. In this section, I also explore the relation of the terms "First Nation," "Indigenous," "coloured/Coloured", and "African" to think about the implication of the term "the New World" in my scholarship, given that the territory described by this time is as ancient as Africa and newness was forced on it as a colonial project.

Tiffany Lethabo King, in her *The Black Shoals* (2019), promotes the convergence of black diasporic and indigenous studies. In this relational theorisation, King pinpoints the dangers of limiting scholarship on black diasporas to water and those of indigeneity to the land (4). Similarly, Vincente Diaz's scholarship on Pacific Island communities favours a relational theorisation of indigeneity and "queries the line between exclusivist and ahistorical definitions of indigeneity" (23). For Diaz, the sea, the land and the human are analogous (2015). I would add the non-human to Diaz's arrangement. The porosity of black and indigenous studies has also been opened to view more recently by Hugo Ka Canham in his *Riotous Deathscapes* (2023). In the monograph, ka Canham focuses on the permeability of indigenous identity in South Africa. His *mpondo theory* knits together black and indigenous studies. Mpondo theory

attends to black life on the margins and, through the "confluence of the natural world and the jostle of oral narratives against officially sanctioned histories […finds the] livingness that points to black and indigenous life precariously unmoored from modernity" (ka Canham, 4). Canham attends to water and rock surfaces to illustrate the affiliations between the Khoisan, Europeans and the enslaved Africans and Asians in the Mpondoland Wild Coast since the seventeenth century. The monograph shows how these lineages of relationality confound contemporary understandings of deep time, knowability and cultural incorporation. King, Diaz and ka Canham, in their focus on the ways of water and sand, do not define indigeneity only as "a function of who first lived within a particular region" (ka Canham, 42). Instead, both the ocean and the land are seen as facilitating encounter and thus also facilitating processes of indigenisation. In their work indigeneity is understood as a confluence of relations and entanglements that is constantly in flux and is not tied solely to firstness as well as to "disappeared" First Nation communities. Various cultural groups creolised at the Cape, and new forms of "originality" and indigeneity were embedded in the land. In this thesis, I contemplate the dual process of creolisation and indigenisation in South Africa and Jamaica.

Scholars Melanie Newton (2013), Shona Jackson (2012), Robbie Shilliam (2015), Vincente Diaz (2015 and 2006), Viranjini Munasinghe (2006) and Aisha Khan (2015) have all written on creolisation and indigeneity in the New World to claim that the "newness" of the New World is "reinscribed on the archipelago's foundational imperial myths – the narrative of aboriginal disappearance…" (Newton 108). For these scholars, the process of creolisation in the Caribbean produced "new nativities" (Newton 109). The historical development of these "new nativities" is predominantly perpetuated via the narrative that "enslaved Africans and their descendants replaced the original Antilleans and became indigenous to the Caribbean. [This narrative leads to the assessment] that aboriginal absence and African indigeneity strongly define anglophone Caribbean studies" (Newton 109). Aboriginal absence in the Caribbean needs to be read through the relational lens. This is especially true in parts of the Caribbean, where groups with ancestral links to First Nation communities exist. In Guyana, for example, there are First Nation groups that did not disappear when Europeans and enslaved Africans settled (Jackson 2012).[6] In the Guyanese postcolonial state, there are ongoing debates about the national culture as well as claims of indigeneity by Afro-Creole groups, Indo-Creole groups

[6] In some parts of the Caribbean, the disappearance of First Nation communities is read as "fact", but if we consider relation, then we can also speculate these groups folded into Maroon and other slave communities.

and the First Nation communities (Jackson 2012). Shona Jackson observes how indigeneity is fluid for all these groups, with varying practices and processes that constitute belonging (4). Jackson decouples the term "native" from Indigenous Peoples and Creoles and, in so doing, asserts that all these groups are indigenous as well as creole because First Nation communities are not immune to acculturation (4). For Jackson, indigeneity in the Caribbean is not about purity and authenticity. Instead, it is about the time before the making of the New World and modern subjects, as well as the subjectivities that emerged in the period of slavery. Jackson uses the term in the context of Guyana and the broader Caribbean. I extend it to South Africa and Cape Town to consider indigeneity and nativity.

In South Africa, the colonial administrations imposed the categories "native" and "non-native", and the former referred to those considered "'ancestrally indigenous', 'tribal' and governed by customary law" (Erasmus 2011, 2). Those who were considered "non-native" were considered so because they were "non-tribal and not indigenous" (Erasmus 2011, 2). In South Africa and Jamaica, the use of race, indigeneity and ethnicity as connoting belonging to the land and entitlement over the material and cultural resources of the postcolonial state circle back to earlier uses of racial, indigenous and ethnic categories, exacerbated during the periods of indirect rule (Erasmus 2011; Mamdani 1996). In South Africa and Jamaica, indigeneity "lends weight to unequal and racialised citizenships" (Erasmus 2011, 13). As Zimitri Erasmus accurately describes, "Cape slave communities were legally defined – by colonial powers, and the apartheid state, as 'non-native'. They were considered *not* ancestrally indigenous despite their birth in the Cape" (2011, 13; emphasis hers). However, centralising creolisation processes and methods at the Cape is one way in which to deliberate on the indigeneity of enslaved peoples at the Cape, those transported as well as those born there. This is because, as Erasmus notes,

> Creolisation as method counters ethnological reasoning; urges critique of essentialist uses of 'Creole', 'Krio' and 'Coloured'; and nourishes ways of knowing that refuse the certainties of ethnology – of origin(s) and their lack. Its emphasis on unpredictability does not imply passive acceptance of 'what is'. (15)

As I show in the second chapter, creolisation at the Cape has led to contradicting discourses and definitions of the 'Coloured' identity, which in this thesis is conceptualised as a creolised identity through four categories: the biological and taxonomic, an amalgamation of subcultures,

a syncretistic, domestic culture, and having been conceived through reciprocal cultural exchange. In discussing Coloured identity and its self-fashioned indigeneity, I do not wish to engage in discourse on nativity in South Africa, especially concerning firstness and the terrestrial. Instead, I show how terms and categories of identity-making in Cape Town, such as "First Nation", "Indigenous", "Coloured", and "African", are synchronous due to processes of creolisation. I also relativise these to Jamaican discourses on nativity and firstness.

The term "native" in the fifth chapter is associated with the ways it has been "appropriated by Afro-creole[7] subjects in Jamaica to constitute fixity and belonging" (Jackson, 4). In the Caribbean context, the term "native" is used by both First Nation communities and creoles. The former's use of "native" is deduced from Enlightenment modes of determining one's humanity (native as not human and native as primal), and the latter "appropriates the term to signal to fixity with regard to belonging (native as becoming human and native as modern)" (Jackson 4). Similarly, for Sylvia Wynter, the Caribbean is characterised by both creolisation as well as indigenisation, and this is because, in the New World, cultural performances by black people took place through acculturation (creolisation) and rooting (indigenisation) (54). According to Wynter, rooting was how enslaved Africans retained aspects of their African culture as a mode of anticolonial resistance (16). Rooting and becoming indigenous were some of the ways in which a self-defined identity was and still is oriented within anticolonial resistance in the Caribbean (see McKay 1912; Braithwaite 1984; Mintz 1965; Hall 1995; DeLoughrey 2001; Hintzen 2004). In places like Guyana, this process of indigenisation took

[7] The term Creole in the Caribbean takes on multiple meanings. As Stuart Hall explains, the term/category "has been used to describe vernacular forms of language that are comprised of elements from European and African languages (13). Sociologically, it refers to an identifiable fraction of colonial society, for instance, in Guyana and Trinidad, it signals the difference between those of 'Indian' and 'African' descent and is used to allude to Africans born in Guyana or, more generally to 'blacks', whatever their actual skin colour (14). Originally, Creoles were white Europeans born in the colonies, or those Europeans who were thought to have acquired 'native' characteristics and were no longer considered 'proper Europeans'. Shortly after, the category applied to black slaves. In the context of slavery and enslaved persons, the category predominantly referred to enslaved persons born and thus 'native to' the island or territory – although birth was not always necessarily the determining factor and an enslaved person's acclimatisation to the conditions and circumstances of slavery/territory also meant they could be referred to as Creole. The essential distinction is between those from cultures imported from elsewhere and those rooted or grounded in the vernacular local space. What is noteworthy is that it had a white and a black referent, applying to native-born white and black populations, and only subsequently did it [the term/category Creole] acquire the more specific contemporary meaning of 'racial mixing'/ 'the result of inter-cohabitation between two 'races' (14). It was never and is not today fully fixed *racially* [emphasis his, 14]. Creole remains a powerfully charged but also an exceedingly slippery signifier. It seems impossible to freeze this term in its meaning or to give it any kind of fixed or precise racial referent" (14). My thinking with and about processes of creolisation, creole identities and discourses on nativity/firstness in Jamaica in relation to Cape Town is focused on the slipperiness of these terms and categories as well as the shared contradictions they produce in each region, particularly in the ways food and recipes are used to narrativize these contradictions and modes of definition.

place with the continued presence of the First Nation communities. It was the same in South Africa with the arrival, creolisation and indigenisation of the enslaved alongside the Khoisan and Bantu groups. The dual process of creolisation and indigenisation should be understood as one where "creolisation and indigeneity are intertwined and interdependent in the production of material right and socio-political belonging in the colonial and postcolonial state" (Jackson, 6). In this thesis, I engage with creolisation and indigeneity through culinary vernacular literary practices and gastropoetics. I do this by relativising the saltfish histories and recipes of enslaved people and their descendants in Cape Town and Jamaica.

Through food, enslaved people in South Africa and the Caribbean were embedded in the land. The thesis's second and fifth chapters focus on Cape Town and Jamaica to determine how food was essential to creating creole-indigenous identities and how recipes and other culinary vernaculars show this. The chapters consider the ocean to establish how indigeneity is not solely about the terrestrial. I look at the predominance of snoek (a fish fed to the enslaved people by the VOC and now associated with the Coloured working classes in Cape Town) and Jamaica's saltfish and ackee (also a slave dish but now a firm favourite of the upper classes due to the price of cod in Jamaica) to determine how creole-indigenous identities are both terra and aquacentric in their constructions of belonging. The prevalence of snoek and cod in recipes and other culinary vernaculars showcase slave food cultures as well as the place of the creole-indigenous subject in the cultural imaginaries of the postcolonial South African and Jamaican state(s). In these recipes and culinary vernaculars, rehearsals of food sovereignty speak directly to belonging both in the nation (as land and as symbolic) and in the black diaspora. Food is one way through which the material and the discursive terrains of belonging and "becoming indigenous" are advanced.

As I have mentioned, in the late apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks published by the descendants of the previously enslaved, there is an attentiveness to processes of creolisation and indigenisation through food and oceanic crossings. The memory of slavery and earlier modes of creolisation allows the descendants of the enslaved to occupy the national imaginary in ways that serve as a reminder of South Africa's creole slave past. These have impacted every aspect of national culture, and one way this is seen is through food, which in its ubiquity also shows the extent to which enslaved people's descendants have fashioned their indigeneity. Slave memory, as defined by Pumla Gqola, is the processing and interpretation of an enslaved person's past; slave memory can be disseminated through cultural, filmic and literary texts

(2004, iii). Gqola asserts that primarily, these are "particularly attentive to the encoding of consciousness about the country's slave past (2004, iii). Slave memory implicates the historical in the contemporary (Gqola 2004, 3).

The prevalence of snoek in cookbooks and other modes of cultural production by the descendants of the enslaved in Cape Town offers a rendition of slave memory that is connected to the making of an aquacentric creole-indigenous African identity. Marieke Norton, in her article "The Life and Times of Snoek", observes that "it is often claimed that no fish is more traditional to the Cape" and that it is "the best known and most versatile Cape fish" (Norton 33). Snoek is associated with the traditions and myths of Coloured people and fishermen in Cape Town who claim a slave past (Samson 2007; Norton 2013).

In the seventeenth century, the snoek was a stable diet for colonists, sailors and enslaved people. Its abundance in the Western Cape waters made it a reliable source of sustenance (van Sittert 1992). Before then, it was probably eaten by Khoisan communities in the region (see van Sittert 1992; Boswell 2022). The name "snoek" is derived from the Dutch word "zeesnoek", a name used for sea pike. Norton explains that the sea pike was "a favoured domestic fish for the Dutch, and perhaps this is one of the reasons why snoek in particular was so popular in the Cape" (Norton 32). Norton notes that the snoek is a "historical, cultural, economic and ecological feature in Cape Town" (31). It is historicised in the Cape as a cultural symbol of the Coloured fisherman communities in Cape Town who were skilled in catching the vicious fish, and it is associated with the Coloured working classes in Cape Town (Isaacs 2015, 245; Groenmeyer 2014, 361; Scott 1951). The Cape and snoek, Norton also argues, "are performed together through acts of differentiation, they constitute what they both are" (31). Snoek traditions, stories, sayings, and proverbs, prevalent in Cape Town, are both a material and a foundational myth to the Coloured identity. These traditions, stories, and sayings signal the creation of cultural identity and memory. As Imraan Jardine says to Gabeba Baderoon, they are "a sort of an identity, something you can relate to. It is an important part of my make-up, for example" (2007,123). In the second chapter of the thesis, I look closely at how snoek, alongside the use of spices and embodied culinary knowledge, has been helpful to the formation of the Coloured creole-indigenous identity in Cape Town.

Snoek and seafood generally, and how they are utilised to assert a creole-indigenous identity, can also be compared to Jamaica and its national dish, ackee and saltfish. Neither the ackee nor

codfish are indigenous to Jamaica. Ackee is a West African fruit, and cod is imported from North America. The ackee and saltfish dish creolised in Jamaica. It has become important to discourse on Jamaican nativity and national language and culture. In her "The Journey of Saltfish across the Atlantic to the West Indies" (2022), food and memory scholar Shrinagar Francis writes on the rebranding of saltfish. How it has moved from "poor people food" to "traditional food" across the Caribbean, she focuses mainly on Trinidad and Tobago. Like snoek, also a saltfish, salted cod was branded as "slave" food during colonial enslavement. Francis considers the movement and the proliferation of the fish across the Atlantic and into the new colonies of the "New World". I will detail this history more thoroughly in the fifth chapter. Francis traces how the fish has been iconised and venerated in fish tales, folk tales, as well as in more contemporary cultural production like Jack Agüeros' poem, "Psalm for Bacalao," to the Mighty Sparrow's calypso, "Saltfish". In her thinking with ideology, class and economics as they intersect with the movement of saltfish, Francis concludes that "saltfish stands as the centrepiece of many national and emotionally significant dishes of West Indian countries, and holds a significant place in the food memories of many". Ackee and Saltfish is one of the dishes she centralises in her discussion on saltfish diasporas. However, Francis does not consider the expanse of the saltfish diaspora and its associations with histories of colonial enslavement, as well as the place of these in post-independent/postcolonial South Atlantic and Indian Ocean societies. In the fifth chapter of this study, I continue the project of thinking with the rebranding of slave food to traditional food in Jamaican cookbooks and cultural production and how this plays out in a globalised culinary landscape. However, I do this to show how, as Glissant suggests through his conceptualisation of Whole-World, certain parts of the world demonstrate relationality in especially explicit ways. Saltfish resonates strongly in subaltern claims to identity and belonging in Cape Town and Jamaica. It is also interesting that Jamaica, like Cape Town, is conventionally celebrated (in tourism, for example) as a typical site of creolisation. Moreover, the shared histories of enslavement and its shaping of racialised domestic work in the colonial and postcolonial eras, primarily how these are shaped by food writing, are central to my drawing together ideas about the role of food in shaping relational collective identities in these regions. I do this in the fifth chapter by analysing Barbara Zencraft's 1976 poem "Ackee and Codfish". Jamaica's national culture and "new nativities" also concern those in the diaspora who connect with the homeland and Africa through the national dish. In the fifth and final chapter of this thesis, I show how the creole-indigenous Jamaican identity and Jamaica's national dish are central to the types of ethnic advocacy in the diasporic context. Jamaican culinary culture in the diasporic context continues to be rhizomatic.

In the age of takeaways and menus, this is either accepted or problematised by those who wish to assert cultural differences and national belonging. My reading of Cecile Emeke's short film, *Ackee and Saltfish*, shows this.

All in all, the dual creolisation and indigenisation of enslaved people in South Africa and Jamaica are very similar. The food cultures and pieces of knowledge of enslaved people in both these countries influenced the national culinary cultures we see today.

In the next section, I discuss literary and food studies in South Africa and abroad to ascertain their engagement with the knowledge production and literary practices surrounding food. I do this to advance my case that recipes need to be read as narrative and literary texts that provide us with South Africa's creole culinary history. Recipes as narrative and literary texts also provide reading methods to ascertain South Africa's relational history. The mixtures and entanglements of people, language, and culture have shaped Cape Town and South Africa. Food is a critical site for exploring the cultural networks of the Cape Coast and South Africa.

## Recipes as Knowledge Production in Literary/Cultural and Food Studies

Gabeba Baderoon writes in her article on Muslim food at the Cape titled "'Catch with the Eye': Stories of Muslim food in Cape Town" (2007) that "[t]he practices surrounding food absorb and carry traces of their encounters, like language. And like language, food is a channel for memory and artistry" (129). In this section, I review scholarship that centralises recipe writing as a literary practice to display the sociality of food. Recipe writing is not solely instructive; it is also a creative undertaking from which people who see themselves in the same way or as different carefully construct culinary, cultural, and social vernacular and cultural memories. Recipes narrate social and cultural identities, and in South Africa, recipe writing is a shared episteme.

In the global North and South studies on literature and food are cross-disciplinary, and we see work on genre be approached (Appelbaum 2003; Fitzpatrick 2013; Tigner and Carruth 2018), class (Daly and Ross 2008; Cozzi 2010), gender (Lewis 2016; Innes 2001; Wall 2022), race (Cusack 2000; Witt 2004; Halloran 2012; Gaul 2022), the local/global (Minz 1986; James 2002; Black 2010), migration (Sellick 2010; Nyamnjoh 2018; Terry 2021) and the environment

(Ondieki et al 2017; Roy et al 2024; Hall 2020). This scholarship uncovers the sociality of food as it plays out in creative and academic genres and the everyday lives of ordinary people. In their *Literature and Food Studies* (2018), Amy Tigner and Allison Carruth approach literary studies via food studies and vice versa to show that both fields reconfigure how we think and work with creative and scholarly genres. Tigner and Carruth suggest that we look at the "relationship between literary practices and food practices as recursive [and in this process, we will notice that] literary texts do not just transmit or depict food cultures and food practice: they also help to structure them" (2). Through food and food studies literary scholars can engage the "vernacular literary practices" that Tigner and Carruth define as "quotidian modes of writing that develop within specific historical contexts that intermix rhetorical and aesthetic craft with the dissemination of applied knowledge that is variously empirical, sensory, instructive, interactive, and intergenerational" (3). In line with Tiger and Carruth's approach, Susan Leornadi (1989), Elizabeth Fleitz (2010), Janet Theophano (2003), Lisa McNee (2003), Janet Floyd with Laurel Forster (2003) and Julie Huntington (2015) have all contributed to engagement with food and food writing from literary perspectives to show that recipes and cookbooks contextualise and interpret cultural, historical and aesthetic formations.

In South Africa, scholarship that looks at food and its vernacular literary practices is much needed because, via food, differing social groups are entangled even as they may sometimes wish to see and represent themselves as separate and independent. Food is one of the points whereby the process of creolisation first took place in South Africa. The culinary vernacular literary practices in the country offer an outlook on how South Africans confront social entanglement and narrate their cultural and racial identities. Gabeba Baderoon's *Regarding Muslims* is the leading monograph in cultural and literary studies in South Africa that considers the recipe as an interpretative and representative text and food as an "important element of the history and representation of slavery [and creolisation in South Africa]" (2014a, 46).

*Regarding Muslims* examines the historical and the contemporary representations of Islam and Muslim people in South Africa from the time of slavery to the post-apartheid era. One avenue through which this takes place is the consideration of cookbooks as "an important archive for images of Islam in South Africa" (Baderoon 2014a, 55). Reading the introductions, prefaces, forewords and illustrations of the cookbooks produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by white writers and illustrators, Baderoon reads the "visibility of 'Malay' cooking in dominant food culture paralleled by the invisibility of the people who make it" (2014a, 56). Baderoon,

in her paratextual reading of recipe books published in South Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, shows how slavery in these cookbooks is rendered invisible in the South African imaginary just as previously enslaved Muslim people (who form part of the complicated "Malay" identity) are represented as picturesque and exotic figures. The cookbooks published by white recipe book writers reject creolisation and cultural exchange in favour of narratives of a self-made and commanding culture (van Niekerk 2011). The representations of Muslim people as exotic and submissive in these cookery books for Baderoon "functions solely to add depth to and distinctiveness to white subjectivity" (Baderoon 2014a, 21). *Regarding Muslims* in its consideration of the cookbook as an archive also turns to the culinary vernacular literary practices of the previously enslaved and colonised people from the South African Muslim community who subvert the genre of the cookbook to demonstrate the importance of the cuisine in preserving cultural identity and memory (Baderoon 2014a, 59). Baderoon discusses South African cookbooks published by Muslim women, like the 1961 title *Indian Delights* by the Women's Cultural Group in Durban, *The Cape Malay Cookbook* (1988) by Muslim author Faldela Williams, as well as *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* (2000). She observes that these writers take to the recipe collection as a political project and, in so doing, disobey the established conventions of cookbook writing and reinvent the genre (Baderoon 60; also see Vahed and Waetjen 2010; Reddy 2018; Reddy and Moletsane 2021; Lewis and Reddy 2021; Naidoo and Reddy 2023; Naidoo 2023). In *Regarding Muslims,* Baderoon engages the politicised domain of food to address the history and the memory of slavery in South Africa. From her enquiry, we can discern that Islam was first practised in South Africa within a creole slave community and that this religious and cultural community is one whose creole culture can be accessed mainly through representations of food.

Baderoon's interventions in colonial and post-apartheid recipe books and food as archives can be read alongside the growing body of work in feminist and food studies in South Africa. This scholarship turns away from developmental paradigms of food and scholarship that addresses food security in favour of research that orients itself toward food sovereignty in African cultural, literary and gender studies (Lewis 2016, 1; also see Roy 2010; Cock 2016). Cultural, literary and gender scholars in South Africa have begun to link food to agentive forms of knowledge and cultural identity. In exploring the liberatory politics surrounding food, there has been some focus on recipes as instruments of knowledge production. This especially concerns women who in South Africa have been confined to the domestic domain as submissive nurturers (see Samuelson 2008 and 2012; Tobler 2000; Frenkel 2008; McClintock 1991).

Scholars like Desiree Lewis (2016, 2018 and 2023), Goolam Vahed with Thembisa Waetjen (2010), Dhee Naidoo and Vasu Reddy (2023) look to recipes to speak to gendered forms of knowledge, gender identity formations as well as power relations that take place through food and cookbooks. Similar to Tigner and Caruth, South African cultural and food studies scholar Desiree Lewis writes that "because food is so quotidian, it provides an entry point for connecting autobiographical, informal and specialist knowledge in ways that deepen understanding of food's apparently commonplace, but densely philosophical, political and cultural meanings" (2016, 3). Writing about her mother and her use of the kitchen as a sphere of knowledge production, Lewis observes that her mother creatively encounters cookbook recipes by modifying them and giving them a "distinctly personal slant" (2016, 4). Lewis relates that recipes and dishes were personalised through her mother's improvisation, showcasing imaginativeness and knowledge (2016, 4). In her old age, Lewis' mother's "culinary library" was vast, including recipes from cookbooks, magazines, relatives, friends, and her own hand-written recipes (Lewis 2016, 4). For her and others like her, the kitchen space is an epistemological domain and a space for creative expression (Avakian and Haber, 2).

The anecdote provided by Lewis demonstrates the social role of women who cook in fashioning the tastes of their families and the broader society (Lewis 2016, 5). The anecdote also signals the social lives of the recipes themselves. This is seen in the way they move in public and personal circles. Lewis's mother's culinary library, like many other libraries of this kind, disseminates histories and forms a part of the non-official archives in both public and private domains. Recipes administer personal and public histories. Some of these histories are commodified for a large audience, and others circulate within smaller circles. Public and personal recipes form part of a culinary print/oral culture and archive that has, as Goolam Vahed and Thembisa Waetjen argue, transformed domestic and insulated spaces like kitchens into public spaces of knowledge production, gendered readership and agents of diasporic discourse (105). The kitchen space is often overlooked as a site of knowledge production. Scholars who work with food, like Panama Roy, show that such spaces "underscore the productivity of recuperating and analysing often-overlooked social and bodily grammars of colonial encounter and postcolonial development—grammars that can substantially recast existing accounts of events, communities, and persons" (24). The language of food is embodied and prevalent. As Levi Strauss in his "The Culinary Triangle" writes: "[…] cooking which, it has never been sufficiently emphasised, is with language a truly universal form of human activity: if there is no society without a language, nor is there any which does not cook in some

manner at least some of its food" (54). Cooking and language are two universal forms of knowledge-making, and the recipe brings this to the fore, especially in the ways it is entangled within both the oral and the written. In South Africa, oral and embodied histories have become central to how people think of archives and cultural memory.

In this study, I read recipe collections and recipes as they appear in creative writing, but I also pay attention to the embodied and oral histories that accompany them. The nature of translation that takes place when an oral form, such as a tale or a proverb, is incorporated into a recipe and even when a recipe is translated from the oral to the written is of importance. Translation of the oral to the written also comes with many challenges. Published recipes in South Africa are usually accompanied by memories, oral stories and proverbs that tell of a cultural past. This has been enriching to studies of transnationalism and diaspora and localised perspectives of belonging and acculturation (Jagganath 2017, 107-108; Nyamnjoh 2018, 25; Halloran 2012, 147). The predominance of memories and oral stories highlights the awareness from colonial and postcolonial recipe writers of the kind of narrative and epistemic work the recipe collection can do and how this is central to the ways culinary and cultural identities are organised. In South African recipe collections, the inclusion of memories and oral forms in text-based recipes shows that orality and literacy are embedded in the same networks and that they are, as Isabel Hofmeyr writes, "implicated in each other" (1995, 29; also see Finnegan 17-18). The oral-written dichotomy and the embodied techniques utilised by cookbook writers to evoke and make use of hidden memories, stories and archives are essential to the constructions of social and cultural identity. This has not altogether been advantageous. The "purity" and "authenticity" prescribed to oral forms have been beneficial to racist categorisations, theories and translations as well.

In his writing on the "Cape Malay" culinary and religious culture, Apartheid-era folklorist ID du Plessis exemplifies the distortions that occur when oral cultures are approached and bent for their "authenticity". In his *Tales from the Cape Malay Quarter,* du Plessis takes it upon himself to preserve the "Malay" culture that he claims is from the East (7). Du Plessis approaches generations-worth of tales to preserve them without acknowledging how these tales may have survived the temporal and geographical dislocation that comes with slavery. In his endeavour, du Plessis accomplishes what historian Shamil Jeppie describes as the "reinvention of the 'Malay ethnicity' that is fixed in time" (1987, 1). His fixation with the "Cape Malays" as stuck in the Old East disavows creolisation at the Cape and simultaneously invalidates the cultural

violence of the Cape slave system. In his reinvention and recreation of Cape Muslim traditions, I.D du Plessis also reflected a form of social control. His undertaking proved that a survivalist and written white culture and history could triumph over the so-called disappearing folk tales and, thus, the history of the "Cape Malays" (Jeppie 1987, 2).

In the decolonial cookbooks published by Muslim authors, a "deinvention", which refers to a process of rewriting for accuracy, takes place (Jeppie 1987, 3). These authors acknowledge the creole nature of the Muslim identity in South Africa and how oral histories have survived through embodied and written methods. They showcase that reliance on either of these mediums is usually dictated by the context in which translation occurs. In cookbooks like *Indian Delights,* the recipes are approached as remembered and passed down orally (Vahed and Waetjen 2010, 106). Memory is essential because it helps to reproduce the recipes and oral stories that do not stand independently without it. The memory-centred approach of these authors also demonstrates that oral histories and traditions are embodied more than are "oral". What is oral is the translation and not necessarily the memory itself. My point is that food and recipe writing in South Africa has been generative in how people think of archives and how people archive collective and personal cultural histories. As epistemological domains, the kitchen and the recipe book also produce a culinary vernacular literary practice that relies on and is informed by oral cultures and traditions. The presence of oral traditions in the form of memories and oral forms such as proverbs in published recipes allows me to think of hidden archival presences and the literary. In what follows, I will start by first sketching the archive's centrality in South African cultural vernaculars. Then, I will show how oral traditions as archives make space for literary development and aesthetics in South African published recipes.

In South Africa, "the archive" as a term has had to withstand constant public deliberation. This is predominantly due to the contested identity politics in the nation-state post-apartheid. At the official level, "the archive" is a storehouse of information and, in the words of Carolyn Hamilton, "the circumscribed body of knowledge of the past that is historically determined as that which is available to us to draw on when thinking about the past" (120). In South Africa, the archive, as Verne Harris (2013) reminds us, is not just about the past but also a conceptual space where public deliberation about the future occurs (126). Because official archives operate on the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, that which is deliberately omitted because of curatorial as well as racial politics is often accessed through memory, a field of historical

inquiry that refigures the official archive. In this refiguration of the archive, the past as it is accessed via memory becomes a mode through which people can create and sustain present and future selves that were previously unimagined and left out of official archives.

In South Africa, this is true for communities such as black and other previously disadvantaged groups who have been excluded from the historical meaning-making that official archives produce. Memory for these groups is one of those "other archives" that challenge official archives. This is what Bheki Peterson, in the collection *Refiguring the Archive* (2002), speaks of as the archives that are "stored in the stubborn memories of people, in suitcases and plastic bags under beds, in wardrobes and in ceilings" (31). Recipes, written or oral, form part of the "other archive" repertoire. They have been mainly perceived as commonplace, whereas cultural, literary and food scholars have shown that they are "autobiographical, research laden and philosophical entities with political as well as cultural meaning" (Lewis 2016, 3). In his writing on unofficial archives, Peterson elaborates that we should "occupy ourselves with locating, understanding and foregrounding the various forms of oppositional experiences and knowledge systems that are currently omitted from the archives in their current figuration" (30). This is the work that Baderoon, Lewis, and Vahed with Waetjen have occupied themselves with, and it has primarily shown the recipe collection as an alternative form of self-imagining for all social groups in South Africa, especially for those whose communities have been excluded from the official archive.

I return to *Regarding Muslims,* which, for example, focuses on the written recipes from both white and black racial groups as "revealing a history that subverts the placid reputation of Cape Muslims" (58). Baderoon also looks to oral food stories and recipes in the Cape Muslim community to show food as an alternative archive and the site of an alternative modernity (2014a, 66). According to Baderoon, the history of Cape Muslim alternative modernities has survived through oral traditions in Cape Muslim communities since slavery in South Africa (2014a, 133). Baderoon illustrates how food and recipes as alternative archives have been beneficial to how we think of "slavery and Islam as forming a South African *beginning*" (emphasis hers, 7). Looking at the memories and oral narratives that envelop food and recipe writing in the Cape Muslim community, Baderoon has troubled public deliberation in South Africa on its slave past as well the place of this past in public negotiations of the future.

The oral traditions accompanying recipe writing in Cape Town have helped shape personal,

social and cultural identities and histories. These traditions have opened the space for us to think of bodily and even spiritual knowledge in Black communities as legitimate forms of history-making as well as legitimate archives from which we can elaborate on past, current and future political and cultural imaginaries. Eating and preparing food are bodily acts, as are the many oral traditions that have played an essential role in forming food and cultural knowledge and practices in South Africa. Food allows us to problematise notions of the literary as conjoined to the literate. Culinary knowledge, in its ubiquity, shows this more precisely. Oral and embodied traditions complicate notions of literateness in that the ability to read is not necessarily an ability to *know*. The secretiveness of enslaved and colonised cooks over their culinary knowledge shows this as well as literariness because hiding these cultural and culinary secrets takes inventiveness, creativity, and an alterity of bodily language.

The embodiment of culinary and cultural knowledge by enslaved and colonised people and the subsequent disembodiment of culinary knowledge by colonial writers shows that food is also a performative territory whereby other viable modes of communication occur. In hiding culinary knowledge through embodied methods, enslaved and colonised women "evaded classifying impulses and remade available knowledge through subtle and unexpected means" (Baderoon 2014a, 62). The references to oral recipes and food memories that have been passed down generationally in recipe collections published in the decolonial periods in South Africa are indexical as well as symbolic. They index oral traditions and embodied epistemes as legitimate kinds of literature of the body, which is symbolic of the resistance of oral cultures against the hegemony of literate ones (see Ong, 14).

Chapter Two of this study examines the relation between the oral and the written. It contributes to current theorisation on food sovereignty and vernacular literary practices by food, cultural and literary scholars in South Africa and abroad. In my contribution, I pay attention to the processes of creolisation at the level of food production and culture as well as to the interdependence of oral and written forms in food writing. Food sovereignty, which in the social sciences is broadly conceived through notions of food security, asks that we pay attention not only to food production and bodily sustenance but also to the epistemologies and literary practices that encircle food. As Lewis puts it: "Food sovereignty links food to feelings, agencies and pleasures that extend our conventional understanding of the dimensions of freedoms" (2016, 2). Food sovereignty is linked to vernacular literary practices in that practices of freedom through food and the languages that develop around these processes shape historical

and social events.

In South Africa, recipes have been shaped by earlier forms of creolised food cultures. The decolonial turn in the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods made some of these histories visible using both the oral and the written. In the following section, I look at recipes within the broader context of African writing to show how, in these texts, recipes function as a literary mode and genre.

Recipes as a Literary Mode in African Literature(s): Gastro-politics vs Gastro-poetics

In the previous section, I pointed out some scholarship examining knowledge production and culinary vernacular literary practices in South Africa and abroad. I showed how this scholarship engages food for its quotidian and epistemic qualities. In this section, I will briefly overview some of the creative work that includes food and representations of food in African literature. Then, I will assess how recipes are incorporated as a literary mode before detailing how recipes are, in fact, a literary form in their own right in the following section.

The term "gastro-politics" was coined by Arjun Appadurai, and it refers to "conflict or competition over specific cultural or economic resources as it emerges in social transactions around food. In this sense, gastro-politics is a common feature of many cultures" (1981, 495). Representations of food and eating in African literature and scholarship have been read within the gastro-political lens. Examples of this are Achille Mbembe's account of a postcolonial Cameroon run by gluttonous and self-indulgent rulers whose appetites for "food" in the form of banquets and political power are colossal (107). Similarly, James Ogude reads the postcolonial African state as the "site of eating". He argues that the powerful consume and exploit state-owned enterprises in Africa (5). Ogude posits that within the moral economy of eating hides "a peculiar male anxiety that can only express its rampant authority through excess and a political infrastructure of violence" (5). In his reading of East African Indian literature, Dan Ojwang writes that "food and eating have most memorably appeared in African literature and popular culture as metaphors for political corruption, the greedy acquisition of material goods, and the social inequality engendered by the latter in both the colonial and postindependence eras" (65). Ojwang points us toward the post-independence worlds of Chinua Achebe's, Ngugi wa Thiongo and Hama Tuma's writings, where food represents the inequality and the dysfunction of the postcolony. In the later years of independence, writers

like Yvonne Vera, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Bessie Head, and Ben Okri have all looked to connections between food and class privilege and the effects of consumer culture and capitalism in urban African contexts (Highfield 2017). The gastro-political lens underplays food's role in individuals' everyday lives and "the formal questions of how literary modes and mechanisms depict the pleasure and perils of everyday life and sociality" (Phillips 278). This turn to the quotidian and the literary modes as accompanying food is marked by what food and literary scholars call gastro-poetics (Roy 20; see Goffe 2019; Highmore 2013; Kulez 2018; Parmar 2019).

Delores Phillips, in her "Appetite and Everyday Life in African Literature", writes that while "African literary criticism has engaged food as a political index, the connection between food and everyday life has, until relatively recently, largely eluded critical attention" (276). Phillips connects the predominance of the political engagement with food in African creative texts with food security and highlights that the gastropolitical has eclipsed the potential reading of gastropoetics, a framework that this thesis privileges in reading recipes as literary texts. In this thesis, I also turn to the potential of gastropoetics, but I do not focus solely on depictions of food in African literature. I extend the framework of gastropoetics to the representations and the *poetics* of food as they are showcased in published recipe collections. I also read gastropoetics in creative writing that features recipes. Before I look at the gastropoetics within recipe books, I will look at the representation and usage of recipes as a literary mode in creative writing from South Africa and other African writing.

In creative writing, recipes operate as harbingers and carriers of food cultures; however, they also operate as plot drivers, and usually, we see that their centrality in the narrative goes beyond that of symbolising food or cultural identity. I will give three examples of this. The first is Mary Watson's YA novel, *Blood to Poison* (2022). In the novel, the protagonist is a descendant of an enslaved person whose blood is haunted by a curse, a family heirloom passed down through the bloodline for hundreds of years. To break the curse, the protagonist's late aunt leaves her a recipe book filled with recipes, stories and spells (some of these are disguised as recipes). This is to help the teenager navigate the curse and the Cape Town streets filled with dark magic. The spell as a recipe makes sense because spells are also procedural and methodical. The recipe book in the novel also comments on the food cultures of the enslaved at the Cape, whose "magic" with spices and food in general has been passed on to their living ancestors. The spell/recipe book in the novel becomes a literary mode that connects the living to the dead.

The second example is Chris Abani's *Graceland* (2004). The narrative is interspersed with recipes passed on to the young protagonist by his late mother. Living precariously in the slums of Lagos, the young man finds comfort in the recipes his mother leaves for him in a journal before her death. The recipes and the other fractured writing in the journal bring "a sense of the lost domesticity that cannot be experienced" (Phillips 2012, 106).

> All these recipes, and yet nobody he knew cooked from recipes. That was something actors did on television and in the movies: white women with stiff clothes and crisp-looking aprons and perfect hair who never sweated as they ran around doing housework for the husbands they called 'hon.' (Abani, 146)

Delores Phillips observes that "[b]y interpreting recipes as something that white people use, Elvis determines that the book his mother drafts follows the conventions of a literary form that is more intimately linked to the mass media that he imperfectly imitates" (2012, 109). In the novel, recipes equal cultural estrangement and not necessarily the cultural exchange and interaction one has come to expect from the form and genre. Moreover, the way the recipes intersperse throughout the novel seems to comment on text hybridisation, texts within texts, and the unnecessary estrangements between culinary, autobiographical and fictive forms (Phillips 2012, 107). The recipes in *Graceland* and Elvis' inability to use them functionally speak to the domestic dysfunctions of Lagos and Nigeria and are thus gastro-political symbols.

The third and final example I will look at is Lindsey Collen's *Mutiny* (2001). This example is more detailed than the previous two examples mainly because Collen intentionally uses recipes as a literary mode. The novel is set in Mauritius and details the imprisonment and attempted escape of three women: Juna, Leila and Mama Gracienne. In the prison, the three women must face the cold and hunger. The physical hunger torments the women: "I'm hungry," [Leila, Juna's cell mate] says. "I'm starving. These words drive me mad" (Collen 23). Physical hunger leads to mental weakness, so the three women share recipes to abate this hunger. Through this practice, they reach a common ground and a shared mental strength to plan their escape.

> Concentrate all out on the food. Tell recipes to lighten the weight of the boredom, talk about food to quell the pangs of hunger that gnaw at the pits of our stomachs, talk to tame the obsession about eating. Hunt and gather. Sow and reap. Prepare and cook. Conserve for hard

> times. Pickle and stew. Dry and salt. Keep the required seed, the very best. It is knowledge in concrete form. Store knowledge for later. Share it. Then forget about food. Ban the subject all together. (Collen 25)

Sharing the recipes starts as a strategy to pass the time but soon becomes a mechanism to control their hunger by only speaking of it when playing the game (Collen 22). The rule of the game is that these recipes must be shared alphabetically, which requires an added layer of concentration from the women. The recipes in the text also tend to reflect the women's moods, an example of this is the first recipe for bitter aubergines and gourd rings (Collen 23).

The rationing praxis of the game reflects the food rations of the prison system, and it also leads to a rationalised attempt at escape. The getaway is planned to take place when an impending cyclone hits. The cyclone is one of the elements critical to the planned escape, alongside Juna's knowledge of prison electronics and the arrival of one political activist in the prison. Later, when Juna gets a message from her political-activist friends about the insurrection she should lead from within the prison and the escape of herself, Leila and Mama Gracienne, she is told to wait for and to use the eye of the cyclone. The plan depends on Juna and the atmospheric conditions, which pressurises Juna because she "prefers getting orders. Instructions, directions. Recipes for escape" (Collen 119). The messenger responds by saying that "[y]ou should be sick of orders by now, and if there were recipes, *they* would know them too" (Collen; emphasis hers, 119). In the novel, the notion of recipes as "knowledge in concrete form" that can be stored and used for later, as well as the view that knowledge in concrete form is dangerous because it can become a piece of general knowledge, speaks directly to the idea that insurrection can never fully be calculated. It also directs our attention to the *nature* of recipes. You can follow all the steps with recipes and still reach an unexpected outcome. In the novel, the recipe for escape is a criminal code that is simultaneously instructive, conditional and muti-directional. For example, the message from the outside advises that Juna "*run through* all the ways a mutiny could take place. […]. Not just the itineraries of escape and mutiny, but the *map* of a mutiny. […] Stick to riddles. Guessing games. That kind of thing" (Collen emphasis hers, 119). The recipes, guessing games, and riddles are all storytelling methods and signals to mutiny that are not bound by rules and cannot be easily tracked.

Eventually, the women escape the prison through the eye of the cyclone, but the cyclone is accompanied by a harsh and unexpected wind and attacking troops from abroad (Collen 341).

The cyclone wind and the troops leave behind a devastation that is another kind of captivity. The tropical Indian Ocean Island [Mauritius] is left "helpless, struggling, starving, straggling, hopeless one by one back to beg, to beg for *them* [the troops] to take us in…" (341). In the novel, the recipe for mutiny does, but it also does not go as planned because it is hunger on the other side of the cyclone and the prison walls. The cyclone personifies unpredictability and natural disaster. The unpredictable end to the narrative is one way in which Collen herself escapes the prescriptions of the prison-escape novel.

Lindsey Collen's novel does not follow the recipe of a prison escape novel, and at the end of the narrative, we do not get a sense of relief and victory, as Sharae Deckard writes:

> The novel's invocation of mutiny and tempest is significant not merely in its subject matter but in its literary form, in that the narrative's formal disruptions [that come in the form of recipes, Juna's inner thoughts and Acts of the law copied from the prison library] could be read as a kind of 'literary mutiny' which attempts to conceive of a space of radical political possibility beyond the limits of historiographical or mimetic representation. (837)

Recipes and legislation are, on the one hand, sets of instructions that should be followed, but they also act in the novel as conditional and unpredictable. The recipe for mutiny has unexpected results, and the laws of nature and war impede the promised fulfilment of escape. The unpredictability of the recipe genre and form drives the novel's "literary mutiny."

Food represents the connections between people and cultures and cultural memory in these three examples. Recipes are also used to represent or place food in the narratives and drive the authors' plots and intellectual projects. The gastro-political and the gastro-poetic are interconnected, and in this federation, the recipe triumphs as a literary mode working within the novel form. This trend in South African literature is also exemplified in books like *Recipes for Love and Murder* (2015) by Sally Andrew. In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I read Sally Andrew's *Recipes for Love and Murder.* The book is part novel and part cookbook. In this hybridisation of forms, there is also the mixture of the mystery and romance genres as well as references to oral/embodied and written South African food and environmental histories. The book is "creole" in multiple ways, which is linked to its preoccupation with racial and gendered themes in post-apartheid South Africa. In the fourth chapter, I contend with the recipe and how Andrew's usage opens space for hybridised representations of the post-apartheid national

home.

In this section, I have shown how, in African literature, the use of recipes as a literary mode is both gastropolitical and gastropoetic. The recipe form operates as a plot driver and tool for writers to stage their literary projects alongside and even against the prescribed uses of genres and the novel form. In the following section, I look at recipe moments in South Africa and how scholars have read well-known recipe collections. I do this before highlighting my contribution: recipes are an independent literary form and genre and integral to new scholarship on creolisation, especially in South Africa.

South African Recipe Writing

In what follows, I show how South African recipe writers crisscross between the gastropolitical and the gastro-poetic. I track scholarship on South African recipe moments in the colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid eras.

The first recipe books to be published in South Africa are A.G. Hewitt's *Cape Cookery* (1889) and *Hilda's "Where Is It?"* by Hildagonda Duckitt (1891). Before the publication of these two books, recipes were circulated within families via manuscripts and oral and embodied mediums (see Carew 2020). The colonial cookbooks were essential to the upkeep of white colonial subjectivity, predominantly colonial female subjectivity. These cookbooks were influenced by publications circulating publicly in Europe, such as *Mrs Beetoon's Book of Household Management*. *Cape Cookery* and *Hilda's "Where Is It?"* were intended for a local and an international audience.[8] In their reading of Duckitt's *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper,* Marius

[8] In the colonial period, recipe books in South Africa were published by white and bourgeois people. These texts have been read by scholars in the humanities as domestic archives for different reasons. The first is to contend with the value of recipe collections in forming cultural and gender identities (Martin 2015; de Beer 2012; Carew 2020; Crous and Murdoch 2021). Others have researched the propagation of a racist and gendered ideology in colonial recipe collections (Baderoon 2014a; de Beer 2012; Ang 2015). There is also interest in tracking the origination and development of certain dishes (Botes 2020). The gastropolitical nature of the African colonial cookbook has been more thoroughly researched by politics scholar Igor Cusack (2018). In his "The Power Behind the Pudding", Cusack writes that African colonial cookery books "fixed and interpolated the imagined reader in a position of a colonial homemaker" (1). Cusack interprets the advice, and the hints disseminated in these collections as "contributing to the maintenance of a [colonial] version of domesticity" (1). He says this was not just a "harmless ideology by non-political players but a site of imperial as well as patriarchal power" (1). This line of thinking has been explored by Jean and John Comaroff (1992), Anne McClintock (1995), Ann Stoler (1989 and 1995), Zine Magubane (2004) and Elizabeth Elbourne (2002), who have all contributed to scholarship on domesticity and empire by looking at how European women in the colonies were economic and political players who had racial dominance over colonised subjects but were subordinate to their male counterparts. Ann Stoler

Crous and Alan Murdoch (2021) state that the book can be read "within the context of feminist autobiography" (2). Crous and Murdoch read the diary as the conscious production of subjectivity and write that in this voluntary process, Duckitt tells her story (2). Crous and Murdoch also suggest that in our reading of the diary, we should establish Duckitt's domestic and intellectual pursuits and how these relate to the patriarchy of Victorian South African society (3). In the third chapter of this thesis, I take heed of the suggestion by Crous and Murdoch to make sense of Duckitt's feminist and colonial subjectivity and how it contributes to imperialism and segregation in colonial South Africa.

Before the publication of *Indian Delights* in 1961, cookbooks in South Africa were predominantly published by white people.[9] In the twentieth century, cultural superiority and purity were essential, especially for those communities that could benefit from apartheid segregation. Examples of this are the Jewish community cookbooks, which, as Gavin Beinart-Smollen writes, "reveal how South African Jewish women actively cemented their status as members of the white racial and economic elite and joined other white South Africans in benefiting from white privilege in the most intimate of arenas — their homes" (3). In the apartheid period, white culinary writers also took the cookery book as an empirical project. For example, in the 1986 *Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery*, Maggie Black refers to Hilda Gerber, the author of *The Traditional Cape Cookery of the Cape Malays* (1958), as a "cookery researcher" (51). In his foreword to Gerber's book, Du Plessis states, "Gerber's work which is not just a collection of recipes but a study of food habits, and a comprehensive survey of a subject which has long called for treatment by an expert" (5). The structure of the book does follow the conventions of a research account. The recipes are organised by food type. They are also accompanied by the histories of the origins of dishes and ingredients and the names of the people the recipes come from. The chapters and the recipes have footnotes that lead to various archives, scholarly books and articles. Gerber approaches the cookbook as a scholarly and historical genre.[10] C.L. Leipoldt is another twentieth-century white recipe writer who

mainly writes that "in this ambiguous position, they [colonial women] were active agents of imperial culture [and power] in their own right (Stoler 2014, 460).

[9] Scholarship on apartheid and recipe writing in South Africa shows that culinary writing at the time was a political enterprise and an avenue to think critically about one's position in the socio-economic strata (see Beinart-Smollen, 3). The cookbooks published in the twentieth century in South Africa by white writers were not exactly as racist as the earlier collections of the nineteenth century. For one, they weren't necessarily aimed at exclusively white readers. However, white writers, as "experts", presided over the creole food culture of South Africa (Baderoon 2014a, 47).

[10] Even as she establishes herself as an expert on Cape Malay cultural identity through an assumed familiarity with Cape Malay people and food culture (Baderoon 2009, 104), in contrast to colonial and other apartheid recipe

approaches the genre as one of research.

C Louis Leipoldt was a well-known paediatrician, poet and South African food writer. In his *Cape Cookery* (1976; the manuscript was finished in 1947 and published posthumously), Leipoldt is not adamant about temperatures, quantities, or dish sizes. He focuses on the food discourse; the recipes are a page long or more. Riaan Oppelt writes that Leipoldt "was something of a cultural historian in many of his articles on food" (2012, 5). He adds that "he [Leipoldt] assimilated his recipes with his social commentary" (5). Leipoldt's biographer Kannenmeyer notes that Leipoldt's recipes were discourses written in Afrikaans prose with a focus on the art of cooking (567). Kannenmeyer also writes that Leipoldt's intended reader was the connoisseur (567). In and outside of his community, Leipoldt was regarded as a knowledgeable writer about the history of national culinary practices. His politics of inclusion and exclusion, especially regarding race, were often unclear and sometimes contradictory (Oppelt 2012; 2019). Riaan Oppelt posits that Leipoldt is remembered as a staunch Afrikaner nationalist even though his writing on the contributions of enslaved people at the Cape was against notions of an untouched and distinctly Afrikaner culture (2012, 1).[11]

As I have mentioned, *Indian Delights* by The Women's Cultural Group (1961) was the first book of its kind. The book has an empowered autoethnographic approach to preserving the Muslim cultural and culinary identity. Cultural historian Laurel Forster has argued that cookbooks are a responsive form and texts that "galvanise or intervene or even resist cultural contexts" (1). *Indian Delights* is one such example. The recipe collection reflects on the apartheid socio-cultural landscape. It also makes an intervention that is not passive but active (Forster 1). When anthropologist Helen Kuper commented that Indian people in South Africa had made no contributions to South African literature, The Women's Cultural Group—founded in 1954 by a small group of elite and mainly Muslim women in Durban (Vahed and Waetjen

book writers, Gerber provides different variations of dishes and acknowledges the women from whom she received the recipes (de Beer 35). Baderoon writes that this approach leads to "the recognition of people who are generally ignored and presided over and opens the door for others to trace these contributions in future" (see Baderoon 2014a, 57).

[11] Riaan Oppelt also puts to question how C.L. Leipoldt, in his food writing, does not "pursue any grand ambition to give voice to Coloured slaves and servants, he does humanise them and reveres their culinary skill; when he calls them artists he does not abstract them but emphasises his take on the complex blend of personal and social factors he considers inherent in all artistry…" (8). The references to "Cape Malay" cooking as artistry by Leipoldt give reason for it to be researched and even deemed valuable. However, the system of slavery itself is not put into question.

60)—responded with a political and intellectual project in the form of a communal cookery book (Baderoon 2014a, 60). Whilst the response is gastropolitical, the cookbook is gastropoetic because it pays attention to ordinary Muslim women's everyday lives and food stories. The recipes in the book are "interspersed with proverbs, stories, and other narratives [the writers] felt represented a collective 'Indian past'" (Waetjen 2009, 576). The incorporation of these re-invents the cookbook genre. It presents the genre as intertextual and social (Govinden 102; qt. in Baderoon 2014a, 60). Vasu Reddy and Relebohile Molestane write that *Indian Delights* tells private and social histories (8).

In contributing to the vast scholarship on recipes in South Africa across the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid periods, I consider cultural identity, creolisation, and the literary and narrative capacity of recipe collections and recipes featured in creative writing. I think alongside literary scholar Hedley Twidle, who in his *Experiments with Truth* (2019) orients recipes, tax returns and Wikipedia pages as "broadly non-fictional [because] their makers and readers assume the function of words referring to actually existing elements of the world in which such texts are embedded" (1). I show how recipes—exceptionally written recipes—are most associated with pre-existing information as well as realism. Recipes are constantly being revised, triggering questions about truth and falsity. Recipes can tell us a lot about narrative power and choice. Often "narrative strategies pertaining to style, voice, metaphor, prose surface and rhetorical tactics are adapted" (Twidle 2). Recipes like fictional and non-fictional texts exist in an aesthetic world always shaped by social and political contexts. The social and political context informs and determines a recipe's relevance, longevity, and topicality. Recipe books are also written, quite literally, for consumption. They crisscross the private and the public in exciting ways. In the next section, I centralise creolisation and creole food in South Africa's recipe writing, showing how recipes can also be read independently as a literary form and genre.

## Creolisation in South African Recipes: Past and Present

In creative literature, recipes have been adapted as a literary mode; however, recipes can also be read independently as a literary form and genre. Recipes have narrative and fictive capacities (see Floyd and Foster 2017; Joensuu 2021; Wall 2015). Recipes, like all literary forms, use devices and techniques to convey a deeper meaning than what one reads on the page. Using structural, rhythmic, metrical, verbal and visual tools, recipes portray themes and motifs. The

recipe form is worthy of textual analysis primarily because of its narrative capacity. In my thinking about literary form, I work with Eric Hayot's definition of the term in his *Literary Worlds*. Hayot describes literary form as:

> […] not simply representational space, but indeed the interior space generated by the work of art, […] we can think of form as the structure governing the horizons of the diegetic world. […]. Form amounts to the restrictions or limits on the nature of possible aesthetic worlds, which are what help the sonnet become a sonnet and the program short story a program short story. If we consider those differences as orientations toward the question of the world, then we must recognise that form, which determines the horizon of a work's world imagination, is a crucial feature of the general history of world-orientedness. (180)

According to Hayot, literary forms are structural both outside and inside. Forms are governed by representational space, meaning that a sonnet can only have fourteen lines, and a haiku can only have seventeen syllables. These representational structures within literary/aesthetic worlds also have internal diegetic worlds. A haiku can say in seventeen syllables what some novels depict in four hundred pages. The haiku's representational structure is an aesthetic play in that its smallness is meant to carry a "big message". Representational space and diegesis both produce the reader's understanding of the text. To read form, we must consider its representational structure and diegetic world. The ingredients, descriptions, methods, and preparation times are all a part of the recipe's representational structure. These are also the space for diegesis. Recipe writers determine world and food imaginations in this space, orienting their readers. In her *PMLA* essay, Susan Leonardi (1989) writes that "like a story, a recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point, a reason to be" (340). She elaborates that "a recipe is an embedded discourse, and like other embedded discourses, it can have a variety of relationships with its frame, or its bed" (340). Leonardi posits that recipes also make use of narrative strategies (340). An example is how some recipe writers utilise ingredients to project diasporic movement, displacement, and trans-local histories. In her argument regarding the narrative uses of the recipe form, Leonardi elaborates by writing that:

> Like a narrative, a recipe is reproducible, and, further, its hearers-readers-receivers are *encouraged* to reproduce it, to revisit it and make it their own. Folktales, ghost stories, jokes and recipes willingly undergo such repetition and revision. Unlike the repetition of a narrative, however, a recipe's reproducibility can have a literal result, the dish itself. This kinship to the literality of human reproducibility, along with the social context of the recipe, contributes to

this gendered nature of this form of embedded discourse. (emphasis hers, 344)

Leonardi places the recipe form within a generic world with folktales, ghost stories, and jokes. As a storytelling form, the recipe also comes in styles, moods, and tastes. Recipes also vary from playful to melancholic to nostalgic to grimy.

Leonardi's suggestions can be read alongside more recent scholarship on recipe writing. Lorna Piatti-Farnell has written that recipes, cookbooks generally, and their "propensity to be read, evaluated, and reconfigured, can be read as a manifestation of a voice, a site of interpretation and communication between writer and reader which is defined not by static assessment, but by dynamic and often incongruous exchanges of emotions, mysteries and riddles" ("Words from the Culinary Crypt", 2013). Piatti-Farnell further imparts that written recipes and cookbooks are "in-between texts" or even "living-dead" entities "bridging the gap between the ephemerality of the word and the tangibility of physical action" (2013). This gap can also be thought of in terms of past presences in food writing which Esther Rashkin (1992) characterises as "culinary phantoms". These are the voices of the writers reliving through the recipe's re-enactment; the culinary phantoms are also the animal or plant life consumed. As Piatti-Farnell understands it, the concept of the culinary phantoms is essential in grasping "the status of the cookbook as a haunted text" ("Words from the Culinary Crypt", 2013); the cookbook is haunted mainly by the writer, who is simultaneously present and elsewhere. The cookbook is also haunted because it is the site of memories, mourning and melancholia, which are "connected to its aesthetic, political and intellectual contexts" ("Words from the Culinary Crypt", 2013). The notion of the cookbook as an in-between or living-dead text, "haunted" by culinary phantoms, is beneficial when considering the intergenerational nature of recipes and how the past is conjured through reading recipes and making food. As a gastropoetic, the culinary phantoms in recipes can be linked to the modes of cultural survival embedded in creole dishes, recipes and societies. For example, the haunt of slavery in South African cookbooks is aestheticised in such a way that the material and the conceptual are conjoined by differing social groups in different ways and for different reasons. Moreover, the past is central to the literary choices that recipe and cookbook writers make. In this chapter, for example, I have already discussed the role of oral histories and aesthetics in apartheid and post-apartheid contexts. Negotiations of what constitutes national culture in cookbooks in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid contexts tend to return to earlier moments of encounter between differing people and cultures; there is a return to a creole beginning that fostered the modern South

African national culture as it is rehearsed today. I argue that this shapes the literary terrain.

The culinary recipes in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa all show variations of the South African national culture. They do this by embracing the structural, rhythmic, metrical, verbal, and visual tools that recipes present and the narrative capacities of the recipe form and genre. Recipes tell the story of purity and authenticity, or relation and creolisation. The shared use of symbols (in the form of foodstuffs or cooking utensils), motifs and themes in recipe collections help narrate and represent cultural affiliations and how they fit into the national culture. These literary texts demonstrate how culinary, cultural and racial creolisation have survived differing modes of social disintegration and segregation in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. If, as Eric Hayot writes, "form determines the horizon of a work's imagination and is a crucial feature of the general history of world-orientedness" (180), then recipes— which are currently beyond the purview of South Africa's literary canons— show limitless possibilities as a literary form and genre in perceptions on food as well as cultural/racial entanglements.

In South Africa, recipes are integral to the intellectual traditions of those whose histories are well-recorded and those communities that have survived epistemic injustices. Recipes thrive across generations and geographies for their educational, autobiographical, ethnographic, speculative and retentive virtues. Their intrinsic worth is judged differently by both collectives as well as individuals. Recipes and food in South Africa have disseminated instructive, empirical, sensory, interactive and intergenerational knowledge. More than anything, recipes have been utilised for cultural memory and identity. As Stuart Hall explains, cultural identity refers to "those aspects of our identities which arise from our 'belonging' to distinctive ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious and, above all, national cultures" (274). Integral to cultural identity are national cultures (Hall 291). Within national cultures, there are systems of representation that legitimise belonging, and through these representations, people participate in the idea of a national identity (Hall 292). Hall writes that "national culture is a discourse" (Hall 292). In South Africa, there are several approaches to national identity, and because there has been little unification or consensus, the system of representation is vast, and the discourse on national identity is ongoing. Recipes in South Africa are a medium through which discourses on cultural and national identity take place, and often, the recipe form is approached as a creative platform. Since all identities are formed and transformed continuously in relation, creolisation is one framework from which we can discern the mixed and independent cultural codes. In South

Africa, this is important because the national culture is conceived from the translocality introduced by European settlement, slavery and indentureship in port cities like Cape Town and Durban. This translocality has always troubled notions of national belonging. As Glissant conceptualises, creolisation takes us from pureness (as well as territory) and allows us to think with fluid, relational and entangled identities. This is not as easy an endeavour as it may sound, especially considering how racial purity and cultural mixing are approached through food and food metaphors. Levi-Strauss uses the categories "raw" and "cooked" to theorise on cultural purity and mixing, whereby the "raw" is associated with the inedible, animality, cultural/racial purity as well as those aspects of society that resist assimilation and encounter; and the "cooked" is associated with palatability and the digestible. In South Africa, it is imperative to imaginatively occupy that in-between space of "cooking", where the raw slowly becomes cooked; that is the relational space. In this arena, categories such as "African", "European", and "Indian" are raw; this is because they do not belong, or are not understood as belonging, to a state of creoleness. However, South African national culture is conceived from and celebrates "rainbowness[12]" and the concocted. Earlier moments of creolisation were and still are a cooking process, and for this reason, South Africanness can never be a fully fixed product or stabilised recipe. Consequently, dishes and published recipes offer varied themes, rhythms, movements, continuities, interruptions, conversations, and improvisations. In addition, creolised foods, as they are apprehended in different historical periods in South Africa, also lead to fluid principles of organisation, particularly regarding the aesthetic and narrative choices cookbook writers make.

Generally, literary creolisation is understood as "the textual expression of the syncretism and hybridity that is part of Caribbean [or Creole] societies. In a narrower sense, it refers to the literary use of the Creole Caribbean vernacular languages and traditions" (Buzelin 67). Definitions of literary creolisation, though, still privilege the Caribbean, particularly the *Creolite* movement's manifesto.[13] This is not altogether advantageous if creolisation and literary creolisation are to be read in other contexts outside the Caribbean, like South Africa. This is because in South Africa, the linguistic components of creolisation, which resulted in languages like Afrikaans, which I described earlier in this chapter, have shaped some aspects

[12] Relating to, or being people of different races and cultures.

[13] A literary and cultural movement developed in the 1980s by Patrick Chamoiseau, Jean Bernabe and Raphael Confiant. The movement was strongly influenced by Glissant's definition and theorisation of creolisation; the movement and its cultural and literary impetus was to think of the creole (in language and in literature) as distinct from the European and the African.

of literary culture(s); but not all. Or rather, not in the more obvious ways, as in the Caribbean. The *Creolite* movement, however, is still useful to this study mainly in its conceptualisation of literary activity and how this is extended through the Creole; the movement helps us think of creolisation as shaping narrative style (Buzelin 68). I privilege this mode of literary creolisation in this thesis; I think about literary creolisation through storytelling rather than through linguistic points of view. I also think about storytelling moments in South African cookbooks as well as the strategies authors use. I do not privilege cookbooks that idealise creolisation and the syncretic; it is for this reason that I also read the narrative strategies that repress creole histories in favour of a "raw" and "untouched" culinary culture. This happens in the third chapter when I discuss Hildagonda Duckitt's use of ethnography to observe and narrate Cape Town's nineteenth and twentieth-century creole food culture. This form of repression is also central in definitions of literary creolisation because it speaks to the power of political context and how creole people and cultures have had to survive. In the fourth chapter, I think of literary creolisation through the syncretism of literary genres and forms.

For now, I will briefly return to some of the food cultures and writing I have discussed in this chapter to show how creolisation and creolised foods transform the literary practices of recipe collections and creative writing generally in varied historical contexts. Worthy to note that whereas Glissant uses creole food to think outside of national entrapment, South Africa's food writing tends to refer to earlier modes of relation to disseminate a separationist national culture; this is even in the post-apartheid period, where corrective measures are taken to renegotiate the public history of previously disadvantaged people. In South Africa, the cookbook, as a genre and as a form, rehearses varying modes of return — also read haunting — and this is because "recipes function as the vehicle for the parallel consciousness of culinary phantoms to find a status of reincarnated identification through their connection to a series of repeated gestures" (Piatti-Farnell 2013). "Cape Malay" food is perhaps the leading creole food culture where modes of return and aesthetic practices are continuously revisited and reworked by various social groups.

Examples of this are how scholars (Baderoon 2009; de Beer 2012; Ang 2015; Oppelt 2012) all note how both C.L Leipoldt and Hilda Gerber [both writing in the apartheid context] recognise the influence of the "Cape Malay" figure in the making of the national cuisine as well as the oral traditions through which the "Cape Malay" food culture has been sustained. These scholars also note that Gerber and Leipoldt's associations of the "Cape Malay" figure with the kitchen,

docility and exotism underplay the cruelty of the Cape slave system as well as the resistance to this system by enslaved cooks. Concerning revisited and rewritten aesthetic practice, Baderoon (2009) and de Beer (2012) observe how the illustrations accompanying Gerber's collection by Katrine Harries portray Cape Muslims similarly to the colonial writers. In these illustrations, Baderoon reads the "Cape Malay" people as "unvaryingly amiable and submissive in their demeanour and clothing. Focusing on [the] visible aspects, seen as exotic and colourful, this approach neglects the food's complexity or shifts over time, and contradicts the approach taken in the written text" (Baderoon 2009, 103). These contradictions arise because Leipoldt and Gerber are ethnographic in their approach, like the colonial writers. In their quest to record and classify the "Other", they enter what literary scholar Dirk Klopper describes as the "discursive dimensions of ethnography" (Klopper 38). They create an anthropological and hierarchical distance between the observer and the observed. One could also read these anthropological approaches as privileging the raw over the cooked/cooking. Glissant in his *Poetics of Relation* understands this ethnographic approach as repressive and intrinsic to Western colonial structures, he writes that the drive toward "a concern for the truth of human beings and culture has become more gratifying than discovering new lands, and Western ethnography is structured on the basis of this need" (26). Glissant, like Baderoon, de Beer and Klopper, also signals this need to observe and understand as a mode of "grasping" and that it has a fearsome repressive meaning (Glissant 26). I would add that these observant modes of food writing are in themselves aesthetic practices, they exoticise and obscure in ways that satisfy the political context. They also open the space for subversion.

*Indian Delights* is an example of this in that it responds to the exalted exotification and obscurantism of creole food and cultural history in the cookbooks published by white culinary writers. It does this through the celebration of community (Waetjen 575). *Indian Delights* and the late apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks it inspired, like *The Cape Malay Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay*, seriously consider cultural and culinary identity and gender. They also pay attention to the newness of the genre to those who have used oral and embodied means to pass on creole food knowledge and culture. Thembisa Waetjen observes how The Women's Cultural Group, in publishing a recipe collection, was aware that this genre was foreign to the households they were writing about and collecting recipes from mainly because knowledge of food was passed on intergenerationally (Waetjen 2009, 578). Waetjen relates the importance of publicly archiving this culinary knowledge and the challenges it presented (2009, 578). For example, translating and converting measurements and ingredients

was complex because these are primarily intuitive to community members (2009, 578). The book also confronts the "changing ideals of womanhood and, through a playful approach, challenges the behavioural prescriptions associated with cookbooks" (Waetjen 583). Thembi Waetjen notes how *Indian Delights* uses hyperbole and parody (583). She observes how husbands are referred to as "Prince Charming" or "Lord and Master" who are no longer waited upon by the "Lady" as in "the days gone by" (583). The modern housewife is also presented humorously (Waetjen 583).

Following in the tradition set by *Indian Delights* books like *The Cape Malay Cookbook* (1988) by Faldela Williams, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* (2000)*, Bo-Kaap Kitchen* by Craig Fraser (2013) and *The District Six Huis Kombuis Food and Memory Cookbook* (2015) all showcase the embodied food knowledge and the cultural histories of previously disadvantaged communities through autobiographical writing, as will be discussed in the second chapter of the thesis. These books subvert the methodical organisation of colonial and early apartheid cookery writing. Dishes are organised by street names, family names, and events; these are interspersed with vignettes, memories, oral tales, and personal family photographs. Rarely do these books use illustrations, and the touch of the personal through family photo albums amounts to an intimate connection with readers. These books, like the colonial and apartheid recipe collections, also participate in the commodification of food that the genre of the cookbook generates. However, we also see "dissident practices within food production that exceed the frame of the commodified cookbook and bring subversive meanings of food into the foreground" (Baderoon 2014a, 61). These recent publications pay attention to the improvisational qualities of South African creole food, and through this, they provide space for an understanding of creolisation as an open and dynamic process. Unlike the colonial and apartheid recipe collections, they showcase the volatile nature of cultural construction.

*Methods*

In the study I use textual and visual analyses as the main methods. Through these research methods, I read four cookery books, a diary account, a poem, a short story, two novels and a short film. In my reading of the cookbooks, I explore the patterns in language as well as the literary conventions and techniques the authors use. I analyse the family histories, memories, national histories, proverbs and sayings that the authors incorporate to contextualize recipes and food cultures in South Africa and abroad.

The gastropoetics, as well as the gastropolitics of the South African culinary landscape in the cookbooks I read, are seen especially in the forewords, author's notes, covers, introductions and prefaces of the collections. In these sections, the authors will often speak directly to their intended audience as well as the historical context; for example, in the colonial cookery books, the gastropolitical is highlighted in the ways in which the upper classes are foregrounded as the stewards of good health and good food. The gastropolitical in the colonial cookbooks I read is also showcased through the domestic and culinary education meted out to those in the upper classes to direct their labourers and cooks. In the recipe collections published in the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods, gastropoetics are seen in how ordinary and previously disadvantaged individuals are celebrated for their contributions to South Africa's food culture. The gastropolitical and gastropoetic are also rehearsed in the illustrations and photographs strategically consolidated in all these books.

The late apartheid and post-apartheid cookery books make available photographs of food, people and places from personal archives and these are published to evoke the intimate alongside the national. In the *Huis Kombuis Food and Memory Cookbook* that I read in the first chapter, we see photographs of people in their childhood; we see portraits, people's weddings, their homes, as well as the embroidered recipe cloths the participants who were involved in making the book made. These I read as celebrating the embodied methods of enslaved and colonised people's food culture as well as the stitching of personal and communal memories into the official archive.

The study also textually analyzes recipes in creative writing. In my analysis, I consider recipes as both an independent form and a literary mode. The focus is on the ways in which the use of recipes alters writing and reading practices as well as perceptions of historical events and developments.

In the following section, I outline the chapters in the thesis.

*Chapter Outline*

Chapter Two

In the second chapter I evaluate constructions of Coloured cultural and culinary identity in the late apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks published in Cape Town. In the chapter I read Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012), *The Cape Malay Cookbook* (1988) by Faldela Williams, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay – Food from Africa* (2000) and *The District Six Huis Kombuis: Food & Memory Project* (2016). I read particularly the snoek's presence and the ways in which these books utilise longstanding oral and embodied methods to accentuate communal traditions and memories linked to slavery. Recipes and food, particularly snoek recipes, show how the slave descendant Coloured community in Cape Town make use of the sea to construct and narrate a collective cultural identity that memorialises slavery just as it celebrates a specific South African cultural identity. Seafood, in the way it is used to label belonging in the recipe collections published by the Coloured community in the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods in Cape Town, presents an oceanic paradigm that complicates notions of a rooted and terrestrial indigeneity in South Africa. Through the oceanic gastropoetics of this community we see constructions of a creole-indigenous African identity. The recipes I read enact a slave memory to speak of and to generations' worth of silenced and misunderstood histories of the Coloured creole-indigenous African identity in Cape Town.

Chapter Three

In the third chapter I turn to Hildagonda Duckitt, a housekeeper who was born in the Cape in 1839 and wrote profusely on household management and the art of cooking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for local and international readers. In her *Hilda's 'Where is it?' of Recipes* (1899) and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (1902) Hildagonda Duckitt employs the literary conventions of characterization, verisimilitude and scene setting to display her thorough knowledge of Cape Town's people and its cuisine. Duckitt utilises the form of the cookery book to position herself as an expert in these subjects and, in so doing, helps shape and expand the political desires of the British Empire. In my close reading of Duckitt's work, I think about the cultural power battles between the English and the colonised people at the Cape with Duckitt as the ethnographic protagonist. I think about how the interactions between colonial and colonised people in Duckitt's writing demonstrate a repressed version of creolisation and creole food. I argue that even though Duckitt constructs the discourse of a much-desired imperial domesticity through the authoritarian "author" figure; these texts were close to impossible without colonised labour *as well as* knowledge. In the chapter I also look at the legacy of colonial domestic education in apartheid South Africa and how recipe books

were critical in the apartheid white household as a segregationist tool and as civilising instruments. I connect this domestic education to apartheid's Bantu Education Act, which legislated separate development in education and relegated black students to manual labourers. I do this through Es'kia Mphahlele's 1967 short story "Mrs Plum". In the short story, a black domestic worker is introduced to written recipes at her place of employment in a white liberal household.

Chapter Four

In the fourth chapter, I look at the ways in which the hybridisation of the recipe form with traditional literary conventions together, with the absorption of oral/embodied histories in South African fictional writing, allow for a multi-temporal and a multi-geographic narrativization that reflects on South Africa's dynamic history with cultural, racial and gendered interrelations. I do this by reading Sally Andrew's 2015 book, *Recipes for Love and Murder*. The book is part-cookery book and part-novel. It is also a crime mystery narrative as well as a romance. Andrew's hybridisation of forms, genres, and themes — ranging from gender-based violence, crime, South Africa's various political transitions, foodways and national belonging in post-apartheid South Africa —as well as her temporal and geographic reflexivity in *Recipes for Love and Murder* shows how the recipe can be used as a literary mode and as a literary form in its own right. In its multi-pronged project *Recipes for Love and Murder* privileges gender and women's place in the intimate and the national homes. In her hybridised use of literary conventions, Andrew subverts normative representations in South African literature. This is seen in how gender relations procure concern alongside the racial themes predominant in South African creative writing. Recipes and food in the book show how the intimate home and the national home mirror each other as well as how women interact with the recipe form and the kitchen space to perform citizenship as well as to nurture themselves and each other.

Chapter Five

This thesis is centred around recipes and food in narrativization of South African national and cultural identities, but in the fifth and final chapter, I engage with Jamaica to assess the use of culinary vernaculars in a different context. I discuss Jamaica's national dish, ackee and saltfish. The dish is a slave food that now represents national culture, something that was fostered

during the Jamaican independence era. In the fifth chapter, I discuss food experimentation and the indigenisation of enslaved people in Jamaica. I then look at Jamaica's national dish and connect it to its national language through Barbara Zencraft's poem, "Ackee and Codfish", to see how earlier modes of creole-indigenisation became important to newly independent Jamaica. I read Zencraft's poem alongside some poems in Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* (1912). I then proceed to a discussion of cookbooks in and about Jamaica and the place of ackee and saltfish in the national as well as the diasporic imaginaries to evaluate how discourse on nativity and belonging is fostered via culinary tourism. In the chapter, I also analyse Cecile Emeke's short film, *Ackee and Saltfish*. In my analysis, I show how creole indigeneity and Jamaica's national dish are central to ethnic advocacy in the diasporic context and how, in the hyper-globalization era of takeaways and menus, nativity is unsettled.

Chapter Six

The final chapter summarizes the study's findings and reflects on its shortcomings. I also discuss the larger implications of this research and avenues for future research.

In this chapter I have provided a thesis statement as well as a literature review. The literature review provides the historical context of food creolisation in South Africa and discusses the scholarship on recipes in literary/cultural studies and food studies. In the literature review, I also look at recipes as a literary mode in African Literature, recipes as an independent form, and scholarship on indigeneity and diaspora through saltfish in South Africa and Jamaica. I also provided a methods section as well as a chapter outline.

## Chapter Two:

### Creole-Indigeneity, Slave Memory and Saltfish (Snoek) in *The Cape Malay Cookbook*, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* and *District Six Huis Kombuis*

*Introduction*

In this chapter, I foreground creole-indigeneity and slave memory in the post-apartheid understandings of Coloured identities to consider creole-indigeneity in Cape Town. Creole-indigeneity is a term coined by literary scholar Shona Jackson to describe modes of belonging by previously enslaved people in Guyana and the Caribbean, as well as more generally. The term refers to "indigeneity and creolisation as intertwined and interdependent in the production of both material right and socio-political belonging in the postcolonial state" (Jackson 6). Creole-indigeneity refigures the concept of indigeneity through creole subjects and cultures and calls attention to the "reinvention as well as the deployment of indigeneity in the assertion of creole belonging" (Jackson, 6). In South Africa, creole-indigeneity is an avenue from which to historise Coloured cultural formation as well as what constitutes belonging in the post-apartheid period. Zimitri Erasmus and Edgar Pieterse, in their writing on creolisation and Coloured identities, observe the exclusion of Coloured people from a black and indigenous identity (Erasmus and Pieterse 1999; Erasmus 2001). Pumla Gqola (2010) also observes the irony: "In contemporary South Africa [where] whites claim Africanness, blacks continue to embrace this identity, yet Coloured claims to it are seen to be the most vocally contested" (39). Reading Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012), *The Cape Malay Cookbook* by Faldela Williams (1988), *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* (2000) and the *District Six Huis Kombuis: Food and Memory Cookbook* (2016) I make the case that in Cape Town, Coloured creole-indigenous subjectivity can be accessed through food and the sociality of food. Before outlining the chapter sections, I will briefly overview some scholarship that attends to Coloured identities as creole and how this is connected to South Africa's slave history.

The group identity of "Coloured" in South Africa "alludes to a phenotypically diverse group of people descended largely from Cape slaves, indigenous Khoisan peoples and other blacks

who had been assimilated into Cape colonial society by the late nineteenth century" (Adhikari 1992, 95). Zimitri Erasmus posits that Coloured identities "are not simply apartheid labels imposed by whites" (2001, 16) but that they are historically constructed and given meaning in particular social contexts (Erasmus and Pieterse 181). Erasmus with Pieterse point us to the "importance of an examination of the role of slavery in the collective history and partial 'origin' of Coloured communities" (1999, 181). Similarly, Mohammed Adhikari writes that Cape slavery "was one of the more important foundational historical influences in the making of the Coloured community" (1992, 96). These scholars centralise the social and cultural interactions that shape Coloured identities, with Erasmus noting that Coloured identities are based on cultural creativity and creolised formations shaped by South Africa's slave, colonial and apartheid past (2001, 14). Erasmus highlights the significance of cultural dislocation and dispossession in the context of slavery for enslaved and indigenous people. She shows how the cultural borrowing, appropriation and translation that came with the colonial encounter were crucial to forming Coloured cultural identities in South Africa (2001). Erasmus and Pieterse consider the importance of creolisation in understanding Coloured identities (1999, 183). Creolisation in South Africa, as in the "New World", refers to cultural exchange that leads to new cultural formations (Glissant 1990; Verges 2001 and 2012, Hall 2013; Erasmus 2011; van der Waal 2018).

Creolisation as an analytical framework provides a lens through which to consider how Coloured cultural identities first came to be in South Africa. It allows for understanding Coloured identities as relational (Erasmus and Pieterse 183). Cultural elements from European, Malaysian, Khoi and other African groups were appropriated and translated to create a Coloured cultural formation "comprising detailed bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being" (Erasmus 2001, 21). In centralising cultural creolisation when thinking about Coloured identities, there has been a move beyond racist assumptions of the Coloured identity as a "race mixture" and a privileging of Coloured identities as "culturally mixed" (Erasmus, 2001). Of course, as Helene Strauss states, "not all Coloured identities are creolised in the same ways" (27). The categorisation "Coloured" in South Africa today has no fixed meaning; hence, we must acknowledge the variety of ways Coloured people shape their collective identity.[14] As Mohamed Adhikari writes: "there is a

[14] In this chapter I look specifically to constructions of Coloured identity in Cape Town that assume a collective cultural identity from a shared creole slave past. In so doing I do not mean to single out this construction of

tentativeness about whether members should express their identity as black, as African, as South African, as coloured, as Khoisan or as descendants of slaves, or whether they should make a stand on the principle of non-racism – or what combination of these forms of self-understanding are pertinent in what contexts" (xi, 2009). For some, creolisation under slavery constitutes a beginning.[15]

In this chapter, I pay attention to "Cape Malay" food in constructions of Coloured/Muslim identity in Cape Town as both creole and indigenous. I follow Pumla Gqola when she asserts that "creolisation as a memory project within Coloured communities values the history of enslavement as a constitutive, even if not total, influence on current collective positionings within Coloured communities" (30). "Cape Malay" food is one of the avenues from which a shared slave past is recognised and memorialised in Cape Town.

The term "Cape Malay" is historically fraught because it came into meaning to refer to people who were transported from the East to the Cape and spoke Melayu, which, as Alan Mountain in his *An Unsung Heritage: Perspectives on Slavery* explains, is "the lingua franca of a vast geographical area stretching from Madagascar in the west to the remote islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific Ocean in the east" (85). Mountain explains that in Cape Town, the people who spoke this language were referred to as "Malays" and that after the ban on Islam was lifted in Cape Town, it became associated with Cape Muslims (85). Today, the term is used interchangeably with the term "Cape Muslim", which was effective from the nineteenth

Coloured cultural identity is the sole mode in which Coloured communities in South Africa make meaning of their selfhood.

[15] I use the term "creolisation under slavery" deliberately because in Southern Africa and in the Western Cape region, it has been argued that creolisation took place before the advent of colonial historiography. Patric Tariq Mellet has, albeit controversially, argued against the hegemony of colonial beginnings in Southern Africa. Critical to my own intervention is Mellet's dislodging of stereotypes associated with the San, mainly regarding their phenotype, modes of production as well and location (see Lewis 2021, 60). Mellet draws from scholars like Adhikari and argues that the San have always been heterogenous, he also makes claims that Khoe and San communities were in contact with Europeans before 1652. Furthermore, Mellet argues that the effects of slavery systems on the people of South Africa precede Cape slavery (by the VOC) (84). Mellet discusses Arab slavery in the Eastern African Coast and the types of relations with Southern Africa this system had. It is from these periods that he traces cultural and racial heterogeneity and earlier modes of creolisation. Regarding "colouredness" especially as this term is associated with racial and cultural mixtures in South Africa, Mellet argues that Cape slavery had a profound role in shaping ancestry, as well as that in South Africa, "colouredness" disrupts any notion of a fixed heritage and is, in fact, reminiscent of Southern Africa's creole nature before the VOC introduced their mode of slavery in the region. This is integral to the argument I make in this chapter, that Coloured identity in South Africa and its unfixed nature confound current theorisation on ancestry and indigeneity. In this chapter and throughout this thesis, I do privilege a colonial historiographic timeline, however, in no way do I endorse the idea that South Africa's history begins with the settlement of the VOC in the Western Cape and in Cape Town specifically.

century but came to constitute a legal racial category under apartheid's 1959 extension of the 1950 Population Registration Act (da Costa 238; Reddy 75; also see Adhikari 1992; Morris 1992; James and Caliguire 1996). Historians Nigel Worden and Robert Ross have shown that early Muslims at the Cape formed a cultural identity through a unified religious identity as well as interactions and creolisation with other cultural and ethnic groups in the urban Cape environment (Worden 1985; Ross 1999; also see Bickford-Smith 1995). The use of "Malay" or "Cape Malay" during the colonial period is different from its use under and after apartheid (Baderoon 2014a, 13).

As historian Shamil Jeppie writes, "[b]y the twentieth century, being Muslim was endowed with a single ethnic marker — Malay — most often separate and distinct from the larger community of people termed Coloured" (2001, 80). "Cape Malay" as a categorisation of the apartheid state was used to sub-divide Cape Muslims from others who were also deemed to be "Coloured" but were Christian or those who were Muslim but of Indian origin. It was in this way that "Malay" was used to declare origin from Indonesia by Muslim people in Cape Town (Baderoon 2002, 7). However, Jeppie has argued that Cape Muslim identity and "Cape Malay" food have local and creole cultural roots (2001, 81). African, Asian, and European cultures influence "Cape Malay" food. It is not Muslim food, although it has specific meanings within the Cape Muslim community. Pumla Gqola states that the conflation of "Cape Malay" and Cape Muslim not only devalues the influence of non-Southeast Asian locations but also denies the creolisation processes which occurred to produce Cape Muslim identity in South Africa (2010, 143). I am particularly interested in the "Cape Malay" cultural and religious category because of how historically and contemporarily it is connected to practices of food creolisation in South Africa.

Constructions of Coloured cultural and culinary identity in late apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks published in Cape Town showcase longstanding oral and embodied methods of narrativisation to draw attention to communal traditions linked to slavery. This is particularly true of the snoek recipes; snoek is a species of snake mackerel and a popular [salt]fish in South Africa (especially in Cape Town). Snoek is important because it was fed to enslaved people by the VOC in the slave context. In colonial, apartheid and contemporary Cape Town, snoek has been associated with the ex-slave communities at the Cape who are predominantly Coloured and a part of the working classes. Snoek, seafood generally, in the way it is used to label belonging and tradition in the recipe collections published by the Coloured community in Cape

Town in the late apartheid and post-apartheid periods, presents an oceanic paradigm that complicates notions of a rooted and terrestrial indigeneity in South Africa. Through the oceanic gastro-poetics of this community, constructions of a creole-indigenous African identity take place.

The chapter opens with a discussion of Imraan Coovadia's novel *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* and my interpretation of the novel's rendering of slave memory through snoek and its consideration of South Africa's complicated relationship with displaced people's oral and written histories. I then move on to a review of the oral and embodied practices of enslaved communities at the Cape, their centrality in published recipe collections, and how this is essential to the constructions of the Coloured cultural identity as an African creole-indigenous identity. I then read the recipes and writing from Faldela Williams' *The Cape Malay Cookbook*, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* by Cass Abrahams and the *District Six Huis Kombuis Food and Memory Project* (2016) to show how the sea, spice and snoek are indispensable to constructions of the creole-indigenous African identity that is often excluded from post-apartheid rehearsals of Africanness. I show how this aquacentric rendition of Africanity was exacerbated in the seventeenth century when enslaved people were first brought to South Africa, thus establishing the enduring presence of creole-indigenous traditions and histories. [16]

*Slave Memory and Snoek in South Africa: Imraan Coovadia's The Institute for Taxi Poetry*

Imraan Coovadia is a South African novelist whose oeuvre is dominated by a focus on crime

[16] In *The Lie of 1652*, Patric Tariq Mellet describes and provides evidence of peninsula indigenes and their "shoreline frontier" 52 years before colonial domination in the Western Cape and in Cape Town, particularly. He focuses mainly on the Watermans also referred to as *Ammaqua*, an aquacentric community. This community grew in the early 17th century and consisted of drifters from the Khoe formations. Mellet also describes the line-fishermen San group, known as the Sonqua's. The Sonqua were also frequently joined by Khoe deserters and outcasts. In his journal, colonialist Jan Van Riebeck also describes these aquacentric communities (see *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, 1954). As described by Mellet, these communities were among the first water-centric "production lines". They provided barrelled freshwater, a much-needed commodity, for anchored ships even before the settlement of the VOC. They also provided and tended to salt pans, which were critical to Europeans, as well as timber for ships. Mellet describes these communities as showcasing the "earliest roots of proletarianisation of African Indigenous people in South Africa." (Mellet 110) Mellet also interestingly comments on the contestation between First Nation communities and Europeans over water resources and how these are the "birthplace of the dynamics of what in later years would become known as the land question" (111). Mellet is referring to the postcolonial contestations over land by previously colonised groups in South Africa; of importance to the thesis and this chapter's argument is the centrality of bodies of water in questions of belonging and fashioning identity, especially to marginal groups. The enslaved in Cape Town were inheriting an aquacentric culture fashioned by First Nation drifters and outcasts. It can also be argued that the enslaved became an important addition, complication even, to already existing "production lines"; forever altering South Africa's proletariat formation.

and corruption in South Africa and the Indian Ocean diasporas. His novels include *Green-Eyed Thieves* (2006), *A Spy in Time* (2018), *High-Low In-Between* (2009), *The Wedding* (2001), *Tales of a Metric System* (2014) and the novel I read in this section of the chapter, *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012). In his writing, Coovadia also pays close attention to food cultures in the Indian Ocean and how they crisscross in South Africa. In his *The Institute for Taxi Poetry,* Coovadia combines his interests in crime fiction and food by centring the snoek —a fish fed to the enslaved by the VOC—in his narration of the Cape Town cityscape and the legacy of slavery in the city.

*The Institute for Taxi Poetry* is concerned with the working classes in post-apartheid South Africa, whose position in the socio-economic and socio-cultural hierarchies is inherited from the palimpsest histories of dispossession and transoceanic movement. Coovadia uses oceanic worldviews and histories to navigate and complicate Afro-Asian relations, globalised economic and class positions, and the relations between the global North and the global South. In the novel, Cape Town is utilised to relativise South Africa with its adjacent waters, and this is in line with what Isabel Hofmeyr has written about as transnationalism's "growing interest in forms of transoceanic 'citizenship' and belonging, which nationalism obscures" (Hofmeyr 2013, 510). Through Cape Town, South Africa has Atlantic and Indian Ocean connections. In the novel, Coovadia extends Meg Samuelson's notion of the "dark tide" in and beyond Atlantic and Indian Ocean histories. Meg Samuelson describes how, through the black Atlantic and the histories of indenture in the Indian Ocean, "[South Africa] takes on new conceptual forms, or reanimates earlier ones abandoned under the urgencies of apartheid, while past structures of oppression and displacement, or memories thereof, seep across the temporal rupture posited in the 'post' into a disavowing present" (2013, 10). In Imraan Coovadia's novel, the diversification of international and national cultural entanglements is shown through the geographical flexibility of post-apartheids pasts *and* future, which are opened in such a way that South Africa—represented in the novel as "the country" — and those who live in it are inextricably linked to the rest of the world, most especially through Cape Town's oceanic paths and histories.

Coovadia invites us into a Cape Town that is cosmopolitan and has transnational connections, thus associating South Africa with the modern globalised world that cultivates mobility, migration and social-cultural exchange (see Muller 2016, 51). Coovadia also highlights the inequalities that come with access to global networks. An instance of this is seen through the

novel's considerations of slavery and its legacy in South Africa. Coovadia turns to seen and unseen memories of slavery in South Africa through snoek as well as South Africa's complicated relationship with oral and written histories. Through its use of the snoek as a symbol of the working class in South Africa and the novel's interactions with oral and embodied narratives in working-class communities, the novel performs a slave memory. In the novel, the snoek's visibility in the personal memories of slavery and its concurrent invisibility in the public histories of slavery is used to navigate the geography of the sea as a complicating transport surface with geographically and culturally specific histories that impact the lives of the dispossessed in postcolonial South Africa. The sea is understood in the novel as a material space with both a multicultural as well as multispecies ecology (see DeLoughrey 2017; Hofmeyer and Lavery 2022; Samuelson 2022; Boswell et al. 2022; Blum 2010; Lavery 2023).

In Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry,* slave memory is a multidirectional frame of reference. In this chapter section, I evaluate how the novel ties slave memory to the working class and oral traditions through transportation vessels that operate above and below the oceanic waterline. Coovadia envisages both land and sea as sites from which slave memory is constructed and narrated, as well as privileges and empowers the working classes and their chosen modes of historicisation, which are embodied and unofficial. In the following paragraphs, I discuss how Coovadia effectively narrates the South African working class's connection to slavery through the mini-bus taxi, the submarine world, and the snoek. I am particularly interested in his use of snoek to elicit the sea as a site of slave memory and how this is tethered to oceanic claims to indigeneity and belonging, which I discuss more thoroughly in the two following sections. The novel turns to the watery world to elaborate on its concerns with the power battles between permanent and impermanent histories and the evolving nature of official and unofficial memories.

In *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012), a poet is murdered in crime-ridden Cape Town controlled by thugs masked as politicians. The novel combines the components of tragedy and comedy genres alongside those of crime writing. *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* is an alt-history novel that initiates an intense dive into the decolonial politics of taxi poetry. Alternative-History is a form of speculative fiction whereby historical events are narrated differently and with different results than real life (Lindblad 149). Cape Town and Capetonians in the novel are represented as unstable and without much permanence (Coovadia 12), and in this way, the novel conceptualises what Meg Samuelson refers to as "the dark tides that transport and haunt

the post-apartheid imagination" (2013, 10). The fictional state is only ever referred to as "the country," and no racial markers exist for any characters (Fasselt 27). In addition, instead of the dominant Anglophone and Dutch colonialist histories of South Africa, the novel uses an alternative history. It refocuses on global history as dominated by the Lusophonian order. In the novel, global politics and capital are hegemonised by the Portuguese. The story is an imagining (alt-history) of a world colonised by the Portuguese, with Brazil as the metropole at the centre of the postcolonial world (Fasselt 27). The novel shows a familiar Cape Town (Barris 10). We know we are in Cape Town because of the mentions of the Grand Parade, Long Street and Mount Nelson Hotel, among others. Coovadia envisages a literary reimagination of a Cape cityscape muddled by a Lusophonian order. For one, our protagonist and narrator, Adam Raven, is an assistant director for the Jose da Silva Perreira Institute for Transport Poetry, which hosts students from other countries (Coovadia 22). Another way this counter-factual world is envisaged is through Solly Greenfield's literary rival Gerome Geromian, whose poems "were licensed by the Brazilian companies, reprinted in the established Sao Paolo and Paris journals, and soon enshrined in the standard Academy of Brazil editions, the ones with the gold-leaf lettering on the side" (Coovadia 46).

Transport Poetry is an imagined literary form that appears on the sides of taxis, airplanes, trucks, ships etc. Taxi poetry, which is stencilled only on taxis, is an imaginative site from which the transnational is galvanised. Coovadia uses mobility as a symbol and a trope of South Africa's varying transitions from the precolonial to the postcolonial. South Africa is represented as blurred and muddied by the varying cultural and racial codes that prevail due to histories of slavery, colonialism and apartheid. An instance of this is the way the novel offers a critique and a counter-history of South Africa's "decentring of other African countries in post-apartheid South Africa" (Fasselt 27). A central character, Antonia Chirindza, is Mozambican. In one scene, Somali, Congolese, and Zimbabwean taxi touts are described as "unattached to the Taxi Owners Association because of their outside origins and had to work in secret" (Coovadia 53). In his review, Percy Zvomuya observes the references to Shona poetry throughout the novel (*Mail & Guardian*, 11 May 2012). There are also mentions of various African cities and their transport systems.

As a crime novel, *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* has an accidental sleuth as the narrator. As described by Rosemary Herbert, the accidental sleuth is "a protagonist who is not a detective by avocation of profession, either amateur, private or official, but who nonetheless assumes the

role of sleuth" (4). She continues:

> Often a character falls into the role because of his or her proximity to the scene of the crime, whether as a guest in a country house that becomes a murder scene or as an unwilling bystander who observes a criminal act in the mean streets. Accidental sleuths are frequently related to or personally involved in the lives of other characters directly affected by crime. (4)

This is true of Adam Ravens, the accidental sleuth and narrator who introduces himself to us as the first of "Solly's interns, by the way, and maybe not the one who displeased him the most, and maybe that was the closest either of us came to a proper relationship" (Coovadia 9). It is because of this relationship that Solly's murder is investigated and solved by Adam. Solly Greenfields and Adam Ravens were friends and taxi poets. Solly Greenfields is a street intellectual who is shot in his Woodstock home and left to die in a macabre and mysterious scene. The book is narrated throughout the week following his death, and his protégé, Adam Ravens, is intent on solving the tragedy, unlike those around him. Adam, who reveres Solly, finds out at the end of the book that Solly was a sexual predator who was shot dead by the up-and-coming taxi poet Antonia Chrindza with the help of his son, Zebulon.

*The Institute for Taxi Poetry* envisions mobility from above and below the waterline through the taxi and underwater vessels. Above the waterline, the taxi symbolises collective cultural and social exchange. Below the waterline, the submarine, the torpedo tube, and the snoek are markers of motorised historical change and biodiversity in the marine environment. Unsubmerged, the taxi is a symbol of the collective lives of the working class in the country. In an interview with the *Sunday Tribune,* Coovadia states, "One thing I loved about taxis was the sense of community" (13 May 2012). Coovadia navigates an individual's life story alongside collective histories. *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* pays homage to the community, the diaspora, the clique and the school. The "taxi" in the novel refers to a mini-bus taxi, which in South Africa is a form of everyday transport people from working-class backgrounds use to travel; throughout South African writing and scholarship, the taxi has come to represent the ways in which people connect socially and how this has impacted South African cultural formations and modes of social exchange.

The culture of the taxi in South Africa is extensive. The taxi industry has its own cultural and economic codes. Ronit Frenkel notes, "The taxi industry in South Africa has taken the role of

a government institution in providing an extensive transport network that the government has failed to provide, thereby flattening the gap between official and unofficial mechanisms of public service" (6). The taxi moves people (usually working-class people from townships that work in city centres) from place to place and is filled daily with scores of characters with many stories. For the duration of the taxi ride, people must sit together, making the taxi a space of social exchange and interaction. Writing on the taxi industries in Johannesburg and Durban and their cultural influence, Thomas Blom Hansen writes that "taxis have become poignant and fine-tuned sensors of trends in the youth culture of the townships" (188). Taxis are also oral history repositories that hold space and time for the trends in stories and debates people have in their everyday lives to preserve and continue (see Field 131). The taxi space is one of word of mouth; in it, advice, rumours, state affairs, directions and social change are absorbed and transferred. *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* privileges collective histories, particularly those of the working classes in Cape Town, and how social exchange shapes cultural exchange and even identity. In a taxi ride, Adam Ravens counts twenty-three occupants and identifies "the murmur of tongues in forty-six shoes" (Coovadia 59). As a taxi poet, Adam is trained to record the cultural and political life of the taxi industry.

In *The Institute for Taxi Poetry,* taxi poets are an integral part of this system of exchange. When Adam Ravens first describes this figure, he says that they "record the shifting history of the taxi company, its minibuses, taxi bosses, drivers, and sliding doormen, and all the shifting sensations, impressions, and moving feelings of the participants, even those that were so subtle and ever-changing that nobody besides a taxi poet could return them to memory" (Coovadia 39). In a way, the taxi poet is a contemporary griot who records the oral narratives of ordinary people and memorialises them. These narratives and memories are then turned into short poems stencilled on the sides of the minibuses by the taxi poet. Thus, the lower classes envisage and rehearse the history of the city, province, and country. The ritual of the griot-like taxi poet highlights and brings to the fore the collective experience of sights, sounds and symbols, as well as the multiple meanings that intersect at the juncture of regional, national, political, and economic transitions. *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* circumvents questions on social organisation. The taxi poet's observance of everyday life demonstrates what Mark Muthuray, writing on social structures and symbols in *On the Sacred in African Literature,* describes as "relations between things, actions, interactions, and transactions [that] are represented simultaneously […and highlight the] aspects of the moral and social order and the sensory pole which stimulates desires and feelings at the national as well as the personal level" (11).

Transport literature in the text is not solely entrusted to the minibus or even the road. The ocean is also envisioned as a literary transnational locale, and in so doing, Coovadia refutes the immaterialism that has haunted transnational studies (Blum 2010). When Adam Ravens gives a detailed summary of the syllabus at the Perreira Institute for Taxi Poetry, he says that it includes Sumerian reed-boat poems, the modernist Berthold Auerbach's exploration of "the seabed in a bathysphere…" trireme Pindarics, the Homeric Catalogue of Ships and the undeciphered inscriptions of ritual and calendar boats (Coovadia 67). Alongside the attention given to the material conditions and the various practices in the maritime world (Blum 670), the novel also demonstrates the connections between the local and global as well as the intraspecies relations that have played out in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. The novel focuses on how these contribute to shaping the historical and the ordinary in Cape Town. An instance of this is when Adam Ravens visits a member of the Taxi Owners Association, and he is served the famous Capetonian seafood delicacy, snoek (Coovadia 138). The saltfish is served to him in a way that is different from how it is consumed locally (Coovadia 138). Adam remarks that the snoek "was presented whole in the Brazilian style, sliced lengthwise on a rippled blue plate, in an embalming fluid consisting primarily of vinegar" (Coovadia 138). In the novel, the sea is a transport surface of both material as well as literary aesthetics, and Coovadia centralises the ontological and epistemological bonds that have connected these two oceans.

As a transport arena, the sea, from its surface to the benthic, allows for enquiry whereby mythologised nationalisms can be reimagined. In *The Institute for Taxi Poetry,* we encounter other modes of transport through the sea, such as boats, atomic missiles and submarines. These modes of water transportation signal the expansion of terrestrial national cartographies via the occupation and control of oceanic zones (see Hofmeyr, 2021). They also signal to the ocean as a motorised and computerised space familiar to humans through various media that survive in an organic and biodiverse marine environment (see Jue, 2020). For Coovadia, these transport technologies represent a technological-political enterprise that subsumes human and more-than-human spaces and histories. The inclusion of oceanic transport literature in the novel is used to imagine interconnected geographies and the palimpsest nature in which they are appended by both cultural as well as literary aesthetics. The most prominent example of this is depicted through the world-famous underwater transport poet Charlotte Monaghan. In the text, Charlotte Monaghan is one of the first few people who pioneered transport literature and is world-famous because she is also one of the first transport poets to write for underwater vessel

companies and to teach world-renowned underwater transport poets.

In the alternative-present of the novel, Charlotte Monaghan represents the growing importance of waterborne transport in global South and North contexts. Adam reveals that in the global South, the Perreira Institute "was intended to raise the level of transport poetry throughout the region. It was a political objective, strongly supported by the ideological guardians of the Congress Party" (Coovadia 43). This explains why taxi poetry, a vernacular literary practice developed in the streets, is cultivated in the institutional context (Coovadia 67). When he tells us about Charlotte Monaghan, Adam comments on the overseas context and its broad scope; he recounts that "transport poetry was global and by nature a technological-political enterprise" (Coovadia 41). Monaghan is introduced as a one-of-a-kind transport poet and scholar. Adam says she "mentored a generation of underwater poets at Groton [a town in Massachusetts], waking up their waterlogged senses, teaching them her rough syllables. Monaghan's students had shown the world something new and unprecedented about the bottom of the ocean" (Coovadia 42). The growing importance of the deep ocean as a transport surface is displayed when Adam relates that: "In recent years it seemed that every prize under the sun, as well as under the water, had gone to one of Monaghan's products" (Coovadia 42). The school at Groton is said to have "built enormous submarines and sent them beneath the Arctic ice…" and this points to the access the school has to funding (Coovadia 42). Monaghan's fame and success also have historical relevance. Charlotte Monaghan became famous and respected during the Cold War when terrestrial as well as aquatic spaces were battle zones, and governments were consumed by the need to manufacture and own atomic missile submarines. Monaghan was renowned as an underwater transport poet when she began to write for the Electric Boat Company, a real-life luxury cruising company based in Seattle, Washington. Ravens commends her longstanding imaginative and unconventional approach to the aquatic environment.

> She had unique experiences which she sewed into her work:
>
> *In the torpedo tube I find an octopus curled in a nylon net,*
> *Heady with salt,*
> *Holding eight hands with my glove now,*
> *Like the lover who gave me sea-legs.* (Coovadia, 42)

The deep ocean is thus depicted as an avenue where literary aesthetics co-exist alongside marine species and national technological-political enterprises. The transport poet Monaghan writes the above poem to oppose the Cold War interest in atomic missile submarines publicly. She invites transport poetry readers into a diving experience where they meet "an octopus curled in a nylon net/heady with salt" and, in the same breath, remember "the lover who gave me sea-legs". Monaghan invites her readers to think with the seas "webbed networks and capital's myth element" (DeLoughrey 705). In Monaghan's poem, the torpedo tube is entangled with an aquatic life form; torpedo tubes are cylindrical devices used for launching mines and missiles into the ocean and through poetic language, Monaghan invites her readers to think about military claims on the ocean and the violence of these claims on aquatic creatures and life in general. Monaghan's centrality in Cold War poetry in the novel is important for Coovadia for two reasons: firstly, he connects Monaghan's underwater poetry with the cold-war literary aesthetics of the time whereby solidarity, especially for intellectuals and writers in "Third World" countries, was reimagined and territorialised in ways that influenced literary aesthetics (see Verges 2003; Lee and Mahler 2020; Hofmeyr 2015, and Halim 2012). Monaghan is highly regarded by taxi poets from the global South who have "taxi poet dreams [and envision that] Groton was where you might want to dream them" (Coovadia 42). Monaghan extends Third-Worldism to the ocean and its inhabitants and invites a reading of the ocean as a site wherein historical and literary inquiry can occur. Secondly, like Robert Kaplan (2011), Coovadia also predicts that because of the growing sovereignty of the Indian Ocean and its regions, the West's power is to see its decline in these waters (Kaplan 32).

Coovadia shows that the sea is not just a metaphor for transnationalism, and he does so through an engagement with the benthic regions of the marine environment. This is an important aspect of studies in Oceanic Humanities that work with the materiality of the sea to think with existing and emerging topics in transnational studies (see Blum 2010; Hofmeyr and Lavery 2022; DeLoughrey 2019; Alaimo 2019; Mentz 2023; Jue 2020). As Lindsay Bremner explains in her "Folded Ocean", the sea as a transnational arena imparts "an interconnectedness [that] might provide a way of contesting imperial and nationalist ways of reading cities and of countering the apparent inevitability of neoliberal territorial transformation" (18). This is precisely the work Monaghan's character and her transport poetry do in the novel.

Monaghan is introduced quite early in the narrative, and it is clear that Adam Ravens wishes to associate the snoek as an aquatic species in this oceanic tapestry to highlight its transnational

and landed history with the working classes in Cape Town and South Africa more broadly. Throughout the novel, Adam tries to write a snoek poem for Solly, who reveres the fish because of its association with the working classes in Cape Town. For Solly, the snoek presents an opportunity to "think historically" about the labouring classes in South Africa (and the Cape especially) since the time of slavery and this is because—according to Solly— "snoek has been the daily fare of the workers, and of slaves brought here by the Dutch from Batavia, and of the blacks from the Eastern Cape, as far as Transkei, and of orphans, farm labourers, bus drivers, streetwalkers - and also of taxi poets" (30). Adam's snoek poem is an attempt to disclose this extensive snoek history and how it is representative of the convoluted nature of the biosphere, he says that the snoek poem "would incorporate all the topics of existence from the grand philosophy of the dark universe, ninety-nine per cent of which transcended our perception, down to the humble [snoek] bone which came out of your mouth" (124). The unfinished poem is utilised by Adam as a "recipe for life" under Solly's tutelage.

> Solly sang the praises of the Cape snoek as he skinned and chopped it. The heap of carbon-blue skin grew on the chopping board. The fish released its not discomforting scent, almost like an expired jar of olives, as he talked. First and foremost, snoek—species *thyrsitesatun*, a member in good standing of the *Gempylidae* family—is the fish of the oppressed and dispossessed, of whom we have more than a few on this continent. Yours and my friend Karl Marx told us we must always think historically, thus to avoid the traps and illusions perpetrated by the ruling classes. So let us think historically. […]. I am persuaded that our literary traditions owe a considerable debt to this insignificant fish. (30)

The fish in the novel is also tied to the literature of the dispossessed just as much as it is to a deep ocean history. Through Adam's snoek poem, Coovadia prompts us to read and understand the deep ocean as a material archive of the histories of slavery and movement in African and Asian history. In the novel, snoek is integral to taxi poetry because, like the literary genre, the fish alludes to the histories of those moved around and dispossessed by the colonialist project. Taxi poetry and snoek are used as modes of postcolonial theorising about how people move around the world freely as well as how people are moved unwillingly. To "think historically", as Solly suggests, one has to go to the bottom levels of the class hierarchy. We can also read his acknowledgement of snoek in the histories of the working classes as a suggestion that we also "think historically" by going below the waterline and engaging the oceanic depths as a site of slave history (see DeLoughrey 2012 and 2023, Zygmunt Bauman 2013; Sharpe 2016;

Neimanis 2019; Gumbs 2021). Solly's mention of the genus and species names indicates a biological interest. In his snoek tirade, Solly reminds Adam of the eradication of snoek history in "the country's" literature. He continues:

> For six or so, something like that, per kilo, we have snoek. And it's nourished all the poets, white, brown, black, yellow and purple. Nevertheless, if you look at a span of centuries since the arrival of the Dutch on our shores, not one particle of recognition has this species received. If I am not mistaken, and I don't believe so because I have an excellent memory for such matters, there is not a single line referencing the snoek in all our literature. It has been utterly erased from our history. And maybe, Adam Ravens, you can fix that. When you matriculate in a few months you can compose a sonnet in honour of the snoek. Make me proud, Kitten. (34)

For Coovadia, snoek and the snoek poem Adam wants to write for Solly (which remains unfinished even at the end of the novel) are symbolic of South Africa and how, through the perpetual movement of various people (and species), South Africa remains an unfinished project that is continuously changing and creolising. Solly remarks that since the arrival of the Dutch, snoek has been consumed across racial lines, and that is true because it was fed to the lower classes by the VOC, including white sailors who were regarded as "poor whites" (Mbeki et al. 488; Norton 32; see van Sittert 1992). The fish is now commonly associated with poor Coloured people in Cape Town (Mubaiwa, iii). This is because it was predominantly fed to enslaved people, and constructions of Coloured people as "ex-slaves" in Cape Town prevail (Isaacs 2015, 245; Adhikari 1992, 95-96; Soudien 3). The association of the fish with Coloured identities is also due to the constructions of Coloured male identities as natural fishermen that are predominant in Cape Town's imaginary and published scholarly and creative literature.[17] James Gates elaborates on this by writing that "the association of Coloured and fisher reveals some of the complexities involved in understanding the current construction of Coloured identity [because] more often than not it is impossible to disaggregate the negative stereotypes attributed to the handline fisher from the stereotypes commonly ascribed to what are perceived as low-class Coloureds in general" (111).

[17] Frank Robb, *Fisherman of the Cape* (1975); Micheal Saloman, *Freshwater Fishing in South Africa* (1978); OJ Shultz, "An Ethnography of St. Helena Bay" (2010 MA thesis); Mohammed Carim, *Coolie Come Out and Fight* (2013) are among some books you can find on the subject.

With regards to slavery and Cape Town, it was from the period that "Cape Malays" laboured as fishermen that the Dutch exported snoek to other slave and indenture colonies (Thompson 84; van Sittert 1992, 35; Mayson 15). The records at the Cape Archives also show that merchants with the necessary vessels could profit from the movement of enslaved people as well as snoek. By 1830, it was already noted that salt fish was an article of export, mainly to Mauritius.[18] Snoek is a part of the Cape's economic, cultural and ecological infrastructure (Isaacs 2013 and 2015). In Cape Town, it is perceived as a cultural symbol of the Coloured fisherman communities who are skilled in catching the vicious fish, and it is now associated with working-class diets (Isaacs 2015, 245). The fish has razor-sharp teeth and is known to be agile as well as ferocious (White 353). The "snoekers" (Coloured men who catch the fish) are expected to be highly skilled (van Sittert 1992, 41). It is a vicious fish, yet, in the Cape, "when snoek is plentiful it is comparatively cheap, and two ounces of snoek go much further than any other fish, because there is no oil in other fish, and snoek is one mass of oil and flavours their food better" (van Sittert 1992, 33). In the late apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks, all the recipes with snoek in them are tied to the Cape and especially Coloured people. So, to not recognise snoek is to obscure South Africa's slave past. Furthermore, the suppression of this snoek history is one way in which aquacentric claims of African indigeneity for groups with a long presence in South Africa who have struggled for recognition in the national imaginary, such as Coloured people from the Cape Muslim community, are made anonymous (Kaarsholm 462). We often think of indigenous histories through a landed perspective; slavery and snoek in Cape Town perplex these assemblages. I expand on this later in the chapter.

For Solly, the association of snoek with a particular class and race and how the historical processes responsible for these associations are suppressed also result in the suppression of certain kinds of literature, like oral literature (see Chigumadzi et al., 435). Oral literature is important in the novel as it acknowledges the origins of transport poetry in its spoken-word form as well its role in transmitting the histories of the working classes in Cape Town (also read Coloured people) who in the novel are characterised as relying on oral and "street" histories to perform alternative modes of social identity. The novel is preoccupied with the ocean and its relationship to literary aesthetics, as well as how the ocean connects to questions of memory, particularly how these relate to oral histories and literature.

[18] Cape Archives: FDS (3) Ref: MIC/129/24L.

To please Solly, Adam conducts some research on the species and finds out about the life of snoek in the UK which is not an alternative history but an actual one.

> However, I had been reading up on the subject at the public library behind Main Road in Woodstock. I had information of my own. I imagined Solly would be interested. "Do you know, Solly, that during the Second World War, when there was a submarine blockade, they canned the snoek right over here, in the Cape Town harbour? From there they shipped it over to the United Kingdom. So, for the British, in their minds it's associated with deprivation. Which explains its unpopularity over there, similar to sardines, which the British also cannot tolerate, but which the Brazilians apparently go crazy for. Plus and all, we have our snoek when it's just been pulled out of the ocean. It can't be the same when you are getting it out of a tin can. Or do you think so?" (31)

During the Second World War, the abundance of snoek in the Cape waters and South Africa's neutrality attracted the British to the fish. The British government saw it as an inexpensive way to feed their troops and war-deprived citizens (Scott 144). The canned fish was not well received in Britain because snoek is quite a delicate fish, and when not expertly caught and preserved (either by icing or salting it), it becomes soggy (Norton 32). In South Africa, the fish is usually treated from the moment it is caught, and it does not have to go through the lines of production canning requires. Snoek in the United Kingdom has a tarnished reputation because of the lousy canning, and it is associated with impoverishment and wartime (see Trillin 2004). In the library, Adam finds this information on snoek in the UK. He remembers it just as he tries to recollect Solly's snoek recipe: "I wanted to remember the recipe for later, and his very words, every last one of them, in case one day I had interns of my own" (Coovadia 31). Adam thinks highly of Solly and strives to become like him one day, and his failure to remember the recipe is an indicator of his insecurities; he says, "I wasn't sure when to add the tomatoes, how to clean the fish, what temperature to cook at, whether to add white vinegar, and in what measure" (Coovadia 32). Adam struggles to remember a recipe he memorises and does not write down. The unwritten snoek recipe is not solely about the preparation of snoek. The ability to remember is crucial to a taxi poet, and Adam is fearful he might never be as good as his mentor. Outside of Adam's insecurities, the unwritten snoek recipe also points to several of Coovadia's interests.

To begin, Coovadia remarks on the role of the written word and how certain histories are remembered because they are recorded in writing; whilst there is nothing on the snoek in Cape Town where the fish it caught—this is according to Solly—Adam finds an extensive history of the fish in the UK. Coovadia is commenting on the power of recording and documenting histories. Taxi poets insist on writing things down; in a way, Solly's recipe remains "formless" because Adam does not write it down. Taxi poets also write things down because they know how street knowledges move, and they try to record as much of this history as they can using the poetic form. At the level of transportation, when snoek is transported from the ocean to a tin can, it loses its taste and cultural value, which means (for Adam) only those close to the fish and its habitat can genuinely know its significance and original taste—Coovadia comments on local histories and how their cultural value is also specific to place. The notion of originality is also tied to oral forms of transmission; Solly is unimpressed by Adam's knowledge-seeking in the library as well as his working with taxi poetry within an institution. Solly is a staunch believer that taxi poetry as a form should remain in the streets. Solly's notion of "thinking historically" then is also limited to cultural insiders. His scepticism accentuates a nervousness about whose history is recorded "officially" and what this means for those who do not have a say in how official forms of history are set up. This nervousness is not mere paranoia. In his library search, Adam finds nothing about the fish being exported to Mauritius by the VOC to feed indentured labourers. This history is much closer to Cape Town and its history of slavery and indenture.

*The Institute for Taxi Poetry* is tethered to questions of solidarity in the global South. The snoek and its role in the foodways of the Cape captures this history and the condition of the working classes, which could be linked to other Indian Ocean regions.

When Adam does get to writing his snoek poem, this is what he manages to pen down:

> The snoek has no teeth tiny enough
> By which to grasp its condition
> That, in my modest opinion is rough,
> Like the N2 taking me off to perdition,
> And stuff. (123)

For Adam, the snoek moves unconsciously in its ocean current and can never fathom its condition above water in the same way he is naively on the N2—a South African national road and highway— driving him to perdition. South Africa has only three national roads connecting cities, municipalities and provinces. For Coovadia, the N2 is a metaphor for national histories and the transnational routes available for those in the nation, which remain unknown to many. So, as the snoek is the fish of the dispossessed, it, like Adam, cannot choose its path. Throughout the novel, Adam cannot and really does struggle to choose his own path; he, too, "cannot grasp his condition." At the novel's end, he is the only one blinded by his love for Solly. He struggles to see Solly for who he is: a sexual predator. Like the snoek that succumbs to the fisher's bait, Adam is blindsided by Solly's poetic eloquence and erudition.

To conclude this section, Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* is concerned with histories of dispossession and transoceanic movement. This dispossession, as well as processes of reclamation, are imagined through the literary genre of taxi poetry as well as snoek, which was fed to the slave population at the Cape and has now entered the food culture of the descendants of the enslaved, most of whom are now the working-classes. As a symbol of the working class in the novel, the snoek enacts a slave memory. In the novel the sea is imagined as a transport surface as well as a culturally historic space. This narrative is concerned with ways of remembering and the ways in which the literary worlds of the working classes elicit and work with cultural memory, as well as the sea's centrality in this meaning-making process. In the following section, I focus my attention on the oral and embodied modes of narrative-making in the recipes published in late and post-apartheid in Cape Town by people primarily descended from those previously enslaved at the Cape and classified as "Coloured" during apartheid. I look at the centrality of the snoek and the sea in these narratives and how this is tied to memories of slavery as well as constructions of Coloured identity as a creole-indigenous African identity.

*Food, Knowledge Production and Creole-Indigeneity in Cape Town*

The relationship the "Cape Malay" community in Cape Town has with the written recipe illustrates the importance of culinary narration to a community with a prolonged but largely overlooked presence in South Africa and at the Cape. The knowledge and skill with commodities such as spices, as well as a culinary heritage with Malaysian, Indonesian, Indian, European and African influences, have led to a distinctly exotic representation in readings of

the Cape's creole food culture (examples are Hewitt 1889; Gerber 1954; Leipoldt 1976; van der Post 1977). The late-apartheid and post-apartheid cookbooks published from Cape Town are an opportunity to read into the interior and communal knowledge preservation and transmission processes, such as those within the "Cape Malay" community. These recipe books show that instead of being exotic, this community is a creole-indigenous African community. The recipe collections illustrate the formulation of a cultural history without necessarily indulging their readers with a complete knowledge of "Cape Malay" food. This community's culinary culture is a closed and secretive culture that has preserved food knowledge through oral and embodied modes of transmission from as early as the seventeenth century. Those on the inside and outside of this culinary culture are selectively chosen. The secrecy stems from a slave context where the enslaved had to escape the surveillance of the master classes over their culinary knowledge (and lives in general) (Soudien 3; Minty 425 and Baderoon 2009, 99). This knowledge was, and still is, jealously guarded and it is also understood to be essential to communal traditions for Coloured people in Cape Town especially. It is also a site of slave memory that renders slavery the beginning of what is presumed by the community to be an African identity.

In this chapter section, I investigate the narrative work entrusted to the recipe book by culinary authors in the "Cape Malay" community. I consider the recipe an important narrative form for these writers because, through the recipe, earlier oral and embodied knowledge can be recognised and made public knowledge to attest to the Coloured identity as a creolised African identity. To support this assertion, I analyse fish recipes, particularly the snoek recipes, and how the turn to the sea and seafood in these cookbooks complicates notions of a rooted indigeneity and claims to Africanity tied to the land. In these recipes, there is the celebration of an oceanic and creole-indigenous African heritage that has memories of slavery and centralises the sea in these memories as well as in constructions of Coloured identity in the Cape. In this section, I read *The Cape Malay Cookbook* by Faldela Williams, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* by Cass Abrahams and *District Six Huis Kombuis: Food and Memory Cookbook* published by the District Six Museum.

Through food, enslaved people were perceived to have an alternative epistemology that lay outside the dominant order and could not always be tainted by colonial control and surveillance (Baderoon 2014a, 50). Using their knowledge of food, the enslaved could elude their masters and have their own consumption and creation practices that were not attached to the dominant

culture and were not driven by the desires of the dominant classes (Baderoon 2014a, 51). The servant classes were aware of the erasure that came with their food knowledge being subsumed into the cultures of the dominant classes. To avoid this, food knowledge was conveyed and translated through embodied and oral modes. This was an assertion of freedom that was often unreadable to the master classes, and through cooking, the enslaved people could withhold some of their skills, which frequently roused suspicions of their use and knowledge of poison (van der Post 146; Augusto 165; Bunn 59; Taylor 89). Even as they had knowledge of spices from their homelands, enslaved cooks also adopted the various leaves and herbs of the Cape in ways that were previously unthought of (Abrahams qt in Baderoon 101; Augusto 161 & 166). Even after emancipation, the enslaved people could not own or claim land (or themselves) in ways that the Khoisan and European people could (Dooling 119). Their knowledge of land, sea and food was a mode of selfhood that allowed them to occupy space in ways indigenous people and Europeans could not, and these practices were valuable sources of self-sustenance, especially after emancipation (Bank 41; Harries 2014a, 190). A creole food culture in Cape Town was made possible by the modified and secretive use of ingredients and cooking methods from African, Asian and European food cultures. As Baderoon writes, these local practices "embedded them [the enslaved] onto Africa" (2009, 99). Creolisation and indigenisation were connected and took place concurrently.

Labour was central to the formation of the creole-indigenous African identity. The knowledge the enslaved people had of the Cape landscape was produced under the conditions of forced labour, and this is an important aspect of the construction of creole-indigenous identities. In her development of the term, used in the Guyanese and Caribbean context, Shona Jackson writes that creole indigeneity reflects "the production of indigeneity through a teleological relation to labour, which in slave contexts is what indigenizes the modern subject" (26). Enslaved people were shaped in profound ways by the coercive labour system, and as Adhikari explains, slavery is also a socialising experience (1992, 97). In all slave contexts, labour is a dominant basis from which social identities are formed and naturalised (Washington 2003; Adhikari 1992; Bickford-Smith 1998; Worden 2012). In Cape Town, as the enslaved tilled the land, cooked in the kitchens and caught fish (Ross 1983, 11), knowledge was generated. It became cultural and traditional knowledge that in the post-apartheid period is important for slave descendant people as it reflects a beginning and cultural continuity (Erasmus 2001; Erasmus and Pieterse 1999; Adhikari 1992). This cultural continuity is also apprehended through the modes of knowledge transferral sustained by enslaved people.

The oral and embodied methods of enslaved and colonised people in Cape Town were critical to cultural survival, and at the time, occupational ties were some of the ways in which kinship was extended (see Bickford-Smith 1995, 445). The modes of knowledge transferral at the Cape were not solely relegated to the kitchen, as they are also evidenced at sea. For example, the fishing industry in Cape Town, like the culinary industry, was also dominated by enslaved communities from Southeast Asian regions and in the fishing sector, knowledge also moved secretively, especially after emancipation since ex-slaves had to sustain themselves as wage labourers (Ross 1980, 9 and 11-12). When slavery ended, the sea was a source of food and labour for the previously enslaved who worked as fishermen, skippers and fish curers; knowledge of the sea and fishing was protected because it guaranteed their bodily and cultural survival (see van Sittert 2015). As fishermen, Coloured people protected their knowledge via small and unnoticeable actions required in finding and catching schools of fish. Without the clandestine fisher's knowledge, the performed task did not yield the exceptional results that may be expected (van Sittert 2015). Through close observation, one could notice these techniques; however, one still needed to have the know-how or share the fishermen's occupational solidarity because knowledge of fish catching was encoded and communal (Bickford-Smith 21-22). In this way "catch/steal with the eye" became an embodied mode of knowledge transferral. Writing on fishers' knowledge on the west coast of the Western Cape, Lance van Sittert observes "catch/steal with the eye" as a method used by skippers, noting that it entails watching a process closely enough to be in the know (2015, 301). In the kitchen arena, Coloured cooks have also protected their knowledge of food through embodied and subtle means. In her ""Catch with the eye": stories of Muslim food in Cape Town", Gabeba Baderoon notes that during her interviews with Cape Muslim cooks, participants claimed to have learnt a cooking skill/dish by "catching/stealing with the eye" (2007). Where cooking is concerned, stealing with the eye is inevitable because, as chef Cass Abrahams writes: "["Cape Malay"] recipes are jealously guarded […].[19] When an outsider requests a recipe, it is often given with an essential ingredient or step missing" (Abrahams 2000, 9). Baderoon reads this method as an "evasion of the classifying impulse, and the remaking of available knowledge through subtle and unexpected means" (2014a, 62). "Catch/steal with the eye" is a skilful resistance strategy that has led to "Cape Malay" food being associated with mysticism.

[19] Cass Abrahams speaks about her own experience with "catching/stealing with the eye", https://mykitchen.co.za/qa-with-cass-abrahams/ (accessed October 2023).

To an extent, enslaved and colonised women were able to keep secret their knowledge and skills of food and spices especially because they were aware of the surveillance of white women. This led to acts of subversion that became key to creating alternative modernities and a "Cape Malay" food history and culture particular to the Cape. Subversion of this kind also came with a level of skill. Speaking to Capetonian poet and gourmet Rustum Kozain, Baderoon notes that cooking as a skill in Malay and Muslim households goes "beyond the notion of logic and is akin to 'conjuring'", a more mystical than a practical knowledge (2007, 116). Coloured cooks had to "conjure" and mix spices and food in complicated that could not be easily detected. As they conjured and mixed enslaved cooks also created and originated dishes and cooking styles. The secretive method was beneficial to the maintenance of communal culinary and cultural traditions as some of the knowledge was kept within the community, and what was observed was regulated by those on the inside. The need for historical continuity and selfhood was sustained through secret knowledge, and this further ingrained a mysticism that was already attached to "Cape Malay" people who were perceived and depicted by white food writers in the Cape as "exotic". This mysticism is made stronger by the fact that "Cape Malay" cooks were not reliant on measurements and metrics to know just how much of the spice was needed.

The knowledge of spice was intuitive. In her 'Authors Preface' for *The Cape Malay Cookbook*, Faldela Williams writes on measurements that:

> When I began researching the more traditional recipes, however, I found great difficulty in obtaining the exact quantities for the ingredients, as most of the older Malay cooks estimate rather than measure the amounts required. (6)

Williams explains that even through extensive research, it was challenging to assess quantities for ingredients, and it is clear that the use of spices is a traditional knowledge that is inherited instead of learnt. The notion of intuition is reaffirmed when Williams writes in the introductory section on spices, herbs and seasonings that "it is difficult to describe the subtle aromas and intriguing undertones of foods so delicately spiced" (8). Food and spices, as intuitive and mystical, are essential to creole-indigenous modes of belonging because they "satisfy the ontological and material requirements for being and belonging" (Jackson 34). The shared knowledge, because it emerges from enslaved and later colonised labour, also connects a foundational myth to material cultures. Thus, it temporally locates a beginning even as it is

"magic" and "mystical knowledge." Williams writes that "[e]ver since their arrival at the Cape, over 300 years ago, Malay cooks have been masters of the art of seasoning…" (8). The mystical is attached to the material, and together, these constitute belonging and origination. The legerdemain use of spices is also tethered to narratives about the layered and creole-indigenous nature of "Cape Malay"/Coloured identity.

In the narratives of spices in *The Cape Malay Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay,* there is the chronicling of "Cape Malay" food as a "fusion" food whereby African, Asian and European influences intersect and collaborate. Cass Abrahams accentuates this point by stating, "there's no such thing as 'Cape Malay' food—its African food infused with dishes from other cultures" (*Sunday Times*, 2021). In saying this, Abrahams locates the food within its historical and geographical context. "Cape Malay" food materialised because of slavery at the Cape. Abrahams suggests that slavery should be regarded as a moment of cultural balancing and fusion that has transformed South Africa's culinary landscape as well as how Cape Muslim people "who are the caretakers of the cuisine" (Abrahams qt in Baderoon 2007, 120) fit into the national and continental rubrics. Williams and Abrahams, in their recipe books, centralise the expert use of spices by enslaved and colonised cooks as an avenue from which a traditional South African culinary culture was birthed (Williams 7; Abrahams 11). The balancing of spices can also be read alongside the dual creolisation and indigenisation of the enslaved as well as their knowledge preservation techniques. These, too, were balanced. There is also the balancing in the cookery books regarding how much of the cuisine's secrets should be made available. The turn in the Cape Muslim community to make these oral and embodied culinary and cultural histories available through written texts has led to some contestation as to the extent that this culinary knowledge should be made available to the broader South African public even as the longstanding cultural influences of the community need to be publicised. Due to these contestations, the narrative in the "Cape Malay" community, much like food, is balanced and assessed for those on the outside.

Food and the ways in which it provided sovereignty and creative self-determination for the enslaved, as well as the ways slave food cultures, traditions and knowledge were transferred through oral and embodied means, are centralised in *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* and *The Cape Malay Cookbook*. Abrahams highlights sovereignty and embodiment more explicitly in her spices and herbs section when she writes: "Don't be filled with trepidation when you encounter spices, but do as the kitchen slaves of old when they added them to the food of their

Dutch masters with free abandon and created the South African cuisine as we know it" (15). These assertions of freedom draw public attention to the far-reaching presence of enslaved culinary, cultural and emancipatory practices, as well as how their presence at the Cape correlates with a South African beginning. Calling attention to the long-existing modes of cultural and knowledge transmission is also a way to make this history visible. In these texts, the embodied knowledge put to paper stages a claim to belonging as well as justifies epistemologies that were either disregarded or recorded differently than written and more formal modes of knowing. *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* and *The Cape Malay Cookbook* take advantage of the medium of writing.

These recipe books do not take the usual convention of cookbooks, and they approach the epistemological project offered by the genre to subvert and reinvent the colonial cookbook. As I discuss in the next chapter, colonial writers in their cookbooks were notorious for exploiting the culinary knowledge of their workers. They presented themselves as offering the secrets to the distinct "Cape Malay" flavour to their readers. In response, the decolonial cookbooks do not offer all the secrets to "Cape Malay" cooking, and in reading them, we can never know whether the recipes are missing any steps or ingredients that have been purposefully left out. Only an insider would know. The cookbooks mainly legitimise the bodily presence and knowledge of enslaved and colonised people. This decolonial approach is not accepted by some of the older generation of women who believe that cookbooks show a lack of skill and cooking knowledge (Baderoon 2007, 123). This gestures to the intentionality of practices like catching with the eye and the skill required to use them. However, for the younger generation, the cookery book and the recipe help maintain oral traditions that are prone to disappear with fewer and fewer parents teaching their children the valuable secrets of the Cape cuisine (Baderoon 2007, 123-125). Other aspects of this culinary pedagogy are also connected to religion, particularly Islam. I have mentioned that the term "Cape Malay" has a fraught history and is often associated with Islam, a religion with a rich literature and doctrine on food that is not disregarded in contemporary cookbooks but is encapsulated within the traditional. There is an understanding in these books that "Muslim food" is African food because the food was creolised and originated in Africa.

In the next section, I expand on spice and fish and how they both showcase an aquacentric African culinary tradition. Pumla Gqola observes that "Cape Malay/Capetonian Muslim societies connect with the history that the famous spice route was also the slave route…" (168;

also see Baderoon 2014a, 24). In these rehearsals, the ocean space is rendered as a place for memorialising the violence of slavery (DeLoughrey 704). Snoek, a traditional slave food in Cape Muslim culture (Abrahams 9; Williams 21), is an aquatic species. The ocean in these cookery books is centralised as a place of belonging.

*Sea, Spice and Snoek in The Cape Malay Cookbook and Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay*

Published in the years 1988 and 2000, *The Cape Malay Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* were the first decolonial cookbooks to assert that the "Cape Malay" cultural identity was an African identity. Furthermore, these cookery books also establish "Cape Malay"/ Coloured belonging in Africa through an oceanic paradigm. This section expands on the previous one; here, I detail the ways in which *The Cape Malay Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* centralise the sea, spice and snoek.

*Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* gives close and thoughtful attention to Cape Muslim traditions; however, from its title, the cookery book is also attentive to the creole and African nature of the "Cape Malay" culinary landscape. The book's full title is *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay: Food from Africa.* The combination of "Cape Malay" and "Food from Africa" attests to a history of indigenisation. The title also averts religious controversy. There was some controversy and tension that affected the Cape Muslim community in the late years of the nineteenth century when Abu Bakr Effendi's teachings brought to the surface that crayfish, snoek, and shellfish were *haram* and should not be consumed by the Cape Muslims who were predominantly ex-slaves and political exiles. This verdict saw some of the congregants and the Imams disputing that there was no proof that these were unlawful in a Muslim's diet. The controversy, amongst others, led to public dissatisfaction and even a petition for the Effendi's removal. By the time the Effendi passed his verdict, food, fish, and the ocean were, as Alan Kirkaldy puts it, in the Cape Muslim's "blood" (13 & 25). The dilemma for the Muslim community, which comprised primarily of ex-slaves, was that even as they valued their religious identity and religious teaching from the Effendi, who had been brought specially from Turkey by the commission of Foreign Affairs, fish was also a critical part of their cultural and culinary identity. Abrahams reassures her readers in her introduction and states: "Seafood is *halaal*. I always advise non-Muslims wishing to invite Muslims for a meal to serve fish (9)."

The importance of fish to Cape Muslims' culinary and cultural formations is also linked to their proximity to the sea.

Cass Abrahams insists in her introduction that what is regarded as "Cape Malay" is, in fact, an African fusion food. For Abrahams, the "Cape Malay" flavour and influences are creolised with the food the enslaved found in Africa, and her purpose as a chef and food historian is to make these histories and narratives public and accessible. In an interview with the *Sunday Times* Abrahams remarks that:

> Many of our recipes originated from the Koi-San and were adopted by the Dutch who visited the Cape. Some were taken overseas, where they were changed to become part of other peoples' cuisine. The old ladies in my community passed the history of our food on to me orally. I wrote the recipes down and tried them. If we don't record the history of our food we'll lose it. For example, bobotie is an old recipe that comes from Indonesia. That variation is called bobotok and was wrapped and cooked in banana leaves. Cape slaves added fruits and spices to the dish. The Dutch included ground beef, giving us the modern version. (19/09/21)

Abrahams highlights the importance of oceanic movement, how people and cultures creolised at the Cape, and how this happened in many ways through food. Abrahams also notes the oral tradition and how recipes were passed down by the older generation of women in her community. According to Abrahams, this history will be easily lost if it is not written down. This uneasiness is not due solely to the permanence of oral histories. I have already mentioned that this insiderism is not always beneficial, especially to a community that wishes to publicise its extensive presence and history in Africa. The turn to slave history at the Cape as African history is important because it complicates notions of a rooted indigeneity and claims to Africanity that are tied to the land. Rather, we see through the creole African heritage with memories of slavery that an African culture is also oceanic, fluid and relational (see Desai, 716 -718). The contention that "Cape Malay" food is African fusion food in *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* and *The Cape Malay Cookbook* is entrenched by the focus these two writers give to spice and fish as well as the centrality of the ocean in the availability of these two commodities.

*The Cape Malay Cookbook* and *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* have sections dedicated to the types and the uses of certain spices and herbs (Abrahams 11; Williams 8). In her interview with Gabeba Baderoon, Cass Abrahams states that the cooking methods in the early Cape

society were Dutch, but the spices were the ingredients of the enslaved (2007, 121). Both chefs also acknowledge in their cookbooks that the skilful use of spices, as well as knowledge of fishing methods in slave and ex-slave communities, altered the South African culinary landscape (Abrahams 9; Williams 7). Regarding fish, both these cookbooks herald the "Malay" fishermen and snoek as integral to the "Cape Malay" community and its traditions (Abrahams 9; Williams 7). In the Introduction to *The Cape Malay Cookbook*, Williams writes:

> From its very beginning, South Africa has been a melting pot where East meets West. In the 17th century, Malay cooks were much sought after in the predominantly Dutch homes and soon learned how to prepare solid Dutch fare such as melktert, but added their own embellishment of grated nutmeg or cinnamon. They also used the exotic spices of the land of their birth to create such well-known dishes as bobotie, sosaties and pickled fish which were always accompanied by chilli atjars, blatjangs, and sambals. Many Malays were also expert fishermen, so that fish, especially snoek, and other seafoods became an important part of their diet, and the sound of the fish horn is still remembered by Malays of an older generation. (7)

Willams commemorates a slave past; however, she also endorses an orientalist outlook, and her use of the word "exotic" understates the ubiquitous role of spices in the lives of the enslaved at the Cape. The notion of the melting pot does make it seem as if the enslaved were compliant workers who easily merged into the Cape cultural and culinary landscape. The innovation they had in their capacities as cooks and as fishermen is due to their skilfulness, which also did not come naturally but had been harnessed in their lands of birth and transplanted at the Cape, where they laboured under force (Ross 1980, 9-10; Mason 108). In their occupational roles as fishermen and as cooks, enslaved people informed cultural formations in their community, whether they were Muslim or not (Adhikari 1992, 97-98). As they engaged with what was foreign and what was perceived to be "natural" to them, they were embroiled in the dual process of creolisation and indigenisation, and in that process, an African creole-indigenous culture emerged. This creole-indigeneity was one of balancing and layers as well as fusing land and sea. Snoek presents this amphibious culture, especially in the way it is caught and landed (Isaacs 2013, 17; Mubaiwa iii). Caught by enslaved fishermen and "forming an important part of the slaves' protein" (Isaacs 2013, 16) from as early as the seventeenth century, the fish is a Capetonian speciality. Snoek further legitimizes the claim that the "Cape Malay" culinary tradition is distinctly African. Not only is the fish caught in African waters, but, as Deela Dunn, a Capetonian caterer, comments in her interview with Gabeba Baderoon: "Amid the various

fusion dishes snoek is a Capetonian traditional fish and dish." Dunn establishes that "everything done with snoek is Capetonian" (2007, 121). The snoek is known as the Cape's traditional fish, and the writing that encircles the snoek recipes by Williams and Abrahams pays attention to the idea of snoek as traditional as this is useful to the project of asserting creole-indigeneity as well as establishing the historical continuity of the "Cape Malay" people and culture.

Smoorsnoek is a traditional "Cape Malay" dish containing gently braised snoek. In her smoorsnoek recipe, Williams writes:

> *A very old, traditional dish which goes back a long way. In Malay households, fish is generally served on Monday after the rich spicy foods eaten on the weekend.*
>
> **1 kg dried salted snoek**
> **Water**
> **2 onions, thinly sliced**
> **30 ml sunflower oil**
> **1 medium cabbage, shredded**
> **4 cloves of garlic, crushed**
> **1 dried red chilli or 5 ml crushed dried chillis**
> **5 ml sugar**
> **4 potatoes, quartered**
>
> *Soak snoek in water for 1 hour. Drain. Boil in fresh water to cover until cooked, about 15 minutes. Add cabbage and garlic and simmer, covered, until cabbage is lightly browned, about 15 minutes. Add chilli and sugar. Add potatoes and simmer, covered, until potatoes are cooked, about 15 minutes, or until flavours are well-blended. Serve with white rice and Vegetable or Lemon atjar (atchaar.)* (22)

This recipe is a relatively simple dish that has minimal ingredients and an uncomplicated cooking method. The recipe is also a narrative, even as it follows the conventions of a recipe with a list of ingredients and instructions on how to prepare the dish. The recipe opens as an anecdote and suggests a primordial "Cape Malay" world and tradition. By opening with the words "a very old, traditional dish which goes back a long way", Williams invites us to think with and alongside the long-established presence of the "Cape Malays" at the Cape as well as

the persistence of their culinary and cultural history and traditions. This narrative-making is tied to the oral tales' famous opening of "once upon a time…" and unearths Cape Town's slave heritage through a celebratory memorialisation (see Worden, 2009).

Williams also pays attention to ritual. The eating of fish on Monday after the spicy Sunday food, a ritual that is commented upon in all the cookbooks I read in this chapter, can be seen as ritualised resistance and a practice of food-sovereignty that commemorates the cultural legacies of enslaved people as well as how these people were embedded onto the African landscape by maintaining culinary traditions that are now cultural traditions. In her recipe for fried snoek, Williams reiterates that snoek "is a traditional Malay dish" and captures the traditional importance of snoek more fully by adding that "it is customary to serve [fried snoek] with a garnish of onion rings and lemon wedges" (21). These statements show that culinary practice is also cultural practice.

In the opening for *Cass Abrahams Cooks Malay,* Abrahams writes that:

> Because the Western Cape is surrounded by the sea, fish has always been a firm favourite in the Cape Malay community. There are many fishermen and fish vendors among the Cape Malays and in earlier times the plaintive cry of the fish-horn used to draw women out daily to buy fresh fish from the fish vendor. Fish and shellfish are prepared in interesting and exciting ways. A firm favourite is snoek, dried smoked, pickled or used in stews and curries. A famous saying in the Cape Malay community is: 'If you have snoek in the house, you have food on the table'. Unless used in an exotic dish, such as crayfish curry, fish is rarely served on Sundays or for special celebrations as it is considered huiskos. It is often served on Mondays after Sunday's rich meal. (9)

Abrahams also mentions "earlier times", invoking the protracted presence of the "Cape Malay" community at the Cape. The epistemologies of the community are also accessed through the oral tradition. In this instance, Abrahams refers to a saying about snoek, which exemplifies the place snoek holds in the daily lives and collective cultural traditions of the "Cape Malay" community. It also shows that snoek as a food has a place in the cultural expressions of the community. There are many other snoek sayings at the Cape. Marieke Norton mentions one in her article "The Life and Times of Snoek" when she writes: "Slaan my dood met 'n pap snoek" this is an old saying in the colourful Afrikaans of the Cape. It translates as "knock me dead

with a mushy snoek" and is an expression that means "that's astonishing" (31). Norton explains that the saying is derived from the snoek turning soft and thus ineffectual depending on the fisherman's skills in catching and preserving the fish (31). Known to be a ferocious fish, snoek is completely different when it goes "pap", meaning it is lifeless and soggy. This saying is also fixed to occupational skill and catch/steal with the eye methods within fishing communities, and a missing step or movement could lead to soggy snoek, which I might add is a type of horror for Capetonians for whom the popular line fish is best braaied, grilled, fried, and wind dried; all these are impossible with pap snoek. In all the cookbooks I read in this chapter, the snoek is an occupational, cultural and environmental connective tissue as it moves from sea to saying to the kitchen.

In the following paragraphs, I turn to the fish recipes and fish stories in the *District Six Huis Kombuis: Food and Memory Project* and show how even as the book speaks back to apartheid displacement and forced removals, these are connected to earlier moments of displacement introduced by slavery and British colonialism in South Africa. In the recipe collection, the loss of home and cultural traditions is also connected to the loss of proximity to the sea. Home, depicted as the space between land and sea in *Huis Kombuis,* is recuperated through memories of the sea and the place of fish in the culinary culture of District Six before the forced removals.

*Water Displacement in The District Six Huis Kombuis – Food and Memory Cookbook*

*The District Six Huis Kombuis – Food and Memory Cookbook* is a family home-cooking book not limited to the "Cape Malay" cuisine (Soudien 14). The book does expand on the history of servitude and oppression as well as the politicised nature of the kitchen in Cape Town (Soudien 14). Paying attention to the importance of food sovereignty, culinary, and cultural self-narration, the cookbook centralises the home and community to address the legacies of displacement and trauma in Cape Town. In this section, I read the snoek recipes in *District Six Huis Kombuis* as presenting a well-established amphibious aesthetic whereby the sea meets the land so that cultures are created and transformed through more-than-human encounters. The amphibious aesthetic, as described by Meg Samuelson, is "characterised by the perspectival ambivalence and optical bifocality that arises from littoral proprioceptivity, in which sensory reception is orientated simultaneously towards land and sea, interior and exterior, here and there" (2017, 20). The waves of stories in the cookbook showcase the centrifugal force of the

ocean and the centripetal pull of the land (Samuelson 2017, 20). The recipes (as stories and with the stories that accompany them) present District Six as a sea-oriented area with the colonial and apartheid removals forcefully disturbing this connection to the water world and divulging what Isabel Hofmeyr and Kerry Bystrom describe as "hydro-colonialism", a term with three meanings, one of which is the "occupation of land with water resources" (3). To oppose the hydrocoloniality of the apartheid state and its legacy, the fish stories in the *Huis Kombuis* cookbook use an amphibious aesthetic to punctuate the cultural impairment caused by the forced removals. They do this by publicising a cultural history tied to land and sea.

The *District Six Huis Kombuis – Food and Memory Cookbook* pays homage to the lives lived and those lost in the District Six area due to the forced removal of about sixty-thousand people from their homes in the Cape Peninsula between 1957 and 1985 under the Group Areas Act of 1951 (see McEachern 1998; Minty 2006; Baderoon 2009). This meant the communities were forced to move to the Cape Flats, over 25 kilometres away. The British removals of black dockworkers in 1901 provided a model for such removals. In 1901, the area was inhabited by ex-slaves, traders, prostitutes, sailors, professionals, intellectuals, and immigrants who, to the British, presented a problem and an undesirability that had to be hidden from view (Viljoen 9). By 1966, District Six still had a unique and hybridised culture as it was a composite of the diverse and dynamic Malay, Eastern European, Indian and African immigrant populations. The area's majority population were the descendants of formerly enslaved people classified by the apartheid state as "Cape Coloured," "Cape Malay", or "Coloured" (Beyers 79; Soudien 3). It housed musicians, artists, writers, and activists, and because of its proximity to the docks, District Six was also home to seafarers (Rassool 286).[20] To the apartheid government, the district represented moral degradation and needed rehabilitation. In the foreword to the cookbook, the South African literary scholar Shaun Viljoen writes that the book is a "record of memories of food, of recipes, of lives lived and rituals shared, of a communal spirit and neighbourliness in District Six, a residential and commercial area that was violently and painfully fragmented by apartheid forced removals" (8).

The conventional narrative of the forced removals in South Africa usually mourns the loss of houses and land-space. The forced removals in fishing and fish-reliant communities such as

[20] Zoe Wicomb writes that Coloured people have played a critical role in constructions of District Six as an ethnic homeland (117). Constructions of District Six as a "Coloured space" (Beyers, 79) prevail even though from the nineteenth century the area was not only a place of refuge for emancipated slaves but for immigrants from diverse origins as well (Soudien 2001, 117-118).

those in Simonstown, Hout Bay, Kalk Bay as well as the District Six area challenge this narrative. The *Huis Kombuis* cookbook is a food and memory project that uses the form of the recipe to narrate the continued histories of displacement and dispersal. One of the ways in which displacement and dispersal are interrogated in the cookery book is through the attention given to the relationship the District Six community had with the sea. In this recipe book, there are grievances tied to the loss of access to the sea. The book laments the sea as a source of food as well as a cultural site. It locates the importance of the sea and seafood via invocations of the food cultures of emancipated enslaved people at the Cape and the ways in which these survived at District Six before the forced removals (see pgs. 8,9 & 24). The cookbook does this through recuperative storytelling methods. The contents page of the book reveals this rehabilitative exercise with titles such as "The Recuperative Power of Stories of Food", "Monday Was for Fish and Leftovers", "Stretching the Pot", and "A Tafel Was an Open Table". The recipes are presented alongside stories showcasing the communal and personal histories of life as it was in District Six before the forced removals. The recipes, in their narrative capacity, furnish us with the social and cultural history of the District Six community.

According to Shaun Viljoen (2018), the idea for the recipe book came from the District Six Museum, which is located in the Cape Town city centre and was founded in 1989. The District Six Museum has sought to reconstruct the area where District Six once stood. On its website, the museum describes itself as "building support for the work of memory through creating collecting points and storytelling opportunities in different parts of the city" (Museum Website, accessed 2021). The project fuses food and memory, and the curator, Tina Smith, explains that "huis kombuis", when translated from the Afrikaans language to English, means "home kitchen", and that this title was inspired by the participants, many of whom the kitchen was the heart of the home (District Six Website, accessed 2021). Smith continues that in the heart of the home, traditional recipes are brought to life through the culinary rituals of cooking and eating (District Six Website, accessed 2021). As Viljoen explains in his foreword, the cookbook memorialises life at District Six as it was and, through a nostalgic narrativisation, publicises memories that challenge the apartheid government's "official transcript" of life at District Six.

Recollection and nostalgia are used as narrative structures in the cookbook. As participants provide memories of the food at District Six, they also "construct and circulate oral transcripts

and reject the degrading terms of their subjugation and attempt to salvage a sense of pride, dignity and self-worth despite their condition" (Trotter 53). Using oral history as a research method, the recipe book accessed the culinary and cultural knowledge of its participants through interviews and workshops that consisted of a core group of fourteen women aged between sixty and ninety years old. In the workshops, stories and recipes were exchanged, and thus, a shared history of District Six was constructed (Smith 15). In the recipe collection, the kitchen is explored as a site of knowledge production, highlighting the "movement between the most intimate and the most public in fostering foods symbolic power, in general, and in relation to memory, in particular" (Holtzman 373).

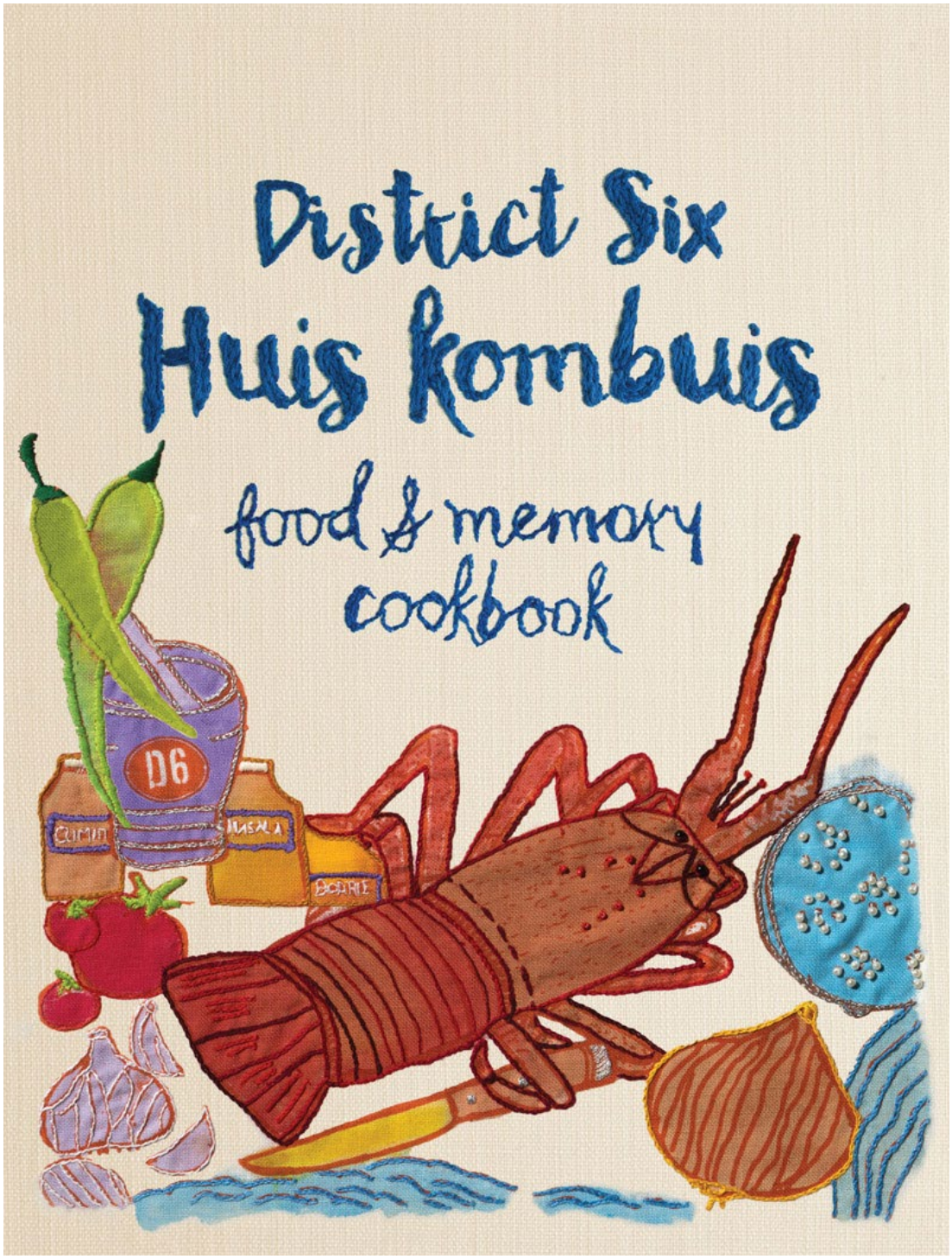
Added to the interviews and the workshops, each participant shared a traditional family recipe as well as objects from personal and familial collections. These were added to the Museum's archive. The recipes and objects were used as a basis to access memories of District Six before and at the time of the evictions. For design and narrative purposes these recipes were embroidered onto cloth (Smith 15). The workshops comprised embroidery classes, and participants were aided in the making of the recipe cloths for the recipe book. Utilising craft as an urban expression of history, the *Huis Kombuis* project, through its workshops, also created articles such as aprons, oven gloves, table runners and cushions which are representative of domestic life and family. The book uses needle and thread to create an evocative visualscape of District Six. The recipe cloths also showcase a narrative of District Six that is woven in multiculturism as well as an inscription of historical events that is not dependent on pen and paper as a mode of preserving histories and passing down otherwise forgotten narratives.

The cloth as a material represents stability and permanence, and in using the recipe cloths, the cookbook comments on the synergies between tangible and intangible pasts. The recipe cloths are used to validate the participants' memories and their legitimacy in the history of District Six (Bennett 136; Rassool 288). The cloth makes physical the emotions and memories shared within the community with the promise of durability when protected and cared for. Pictures of the recipe cloths and other images of life at District Six before the removals are central to the text, and this is a confrontation with the exotic imagery of the "Cape Malay's" relationship with food. As researcher and curator of visual identities in South Africa Amie Soudien writes, "The cookbook expands upon this history through the inclusion of many individuals, who have

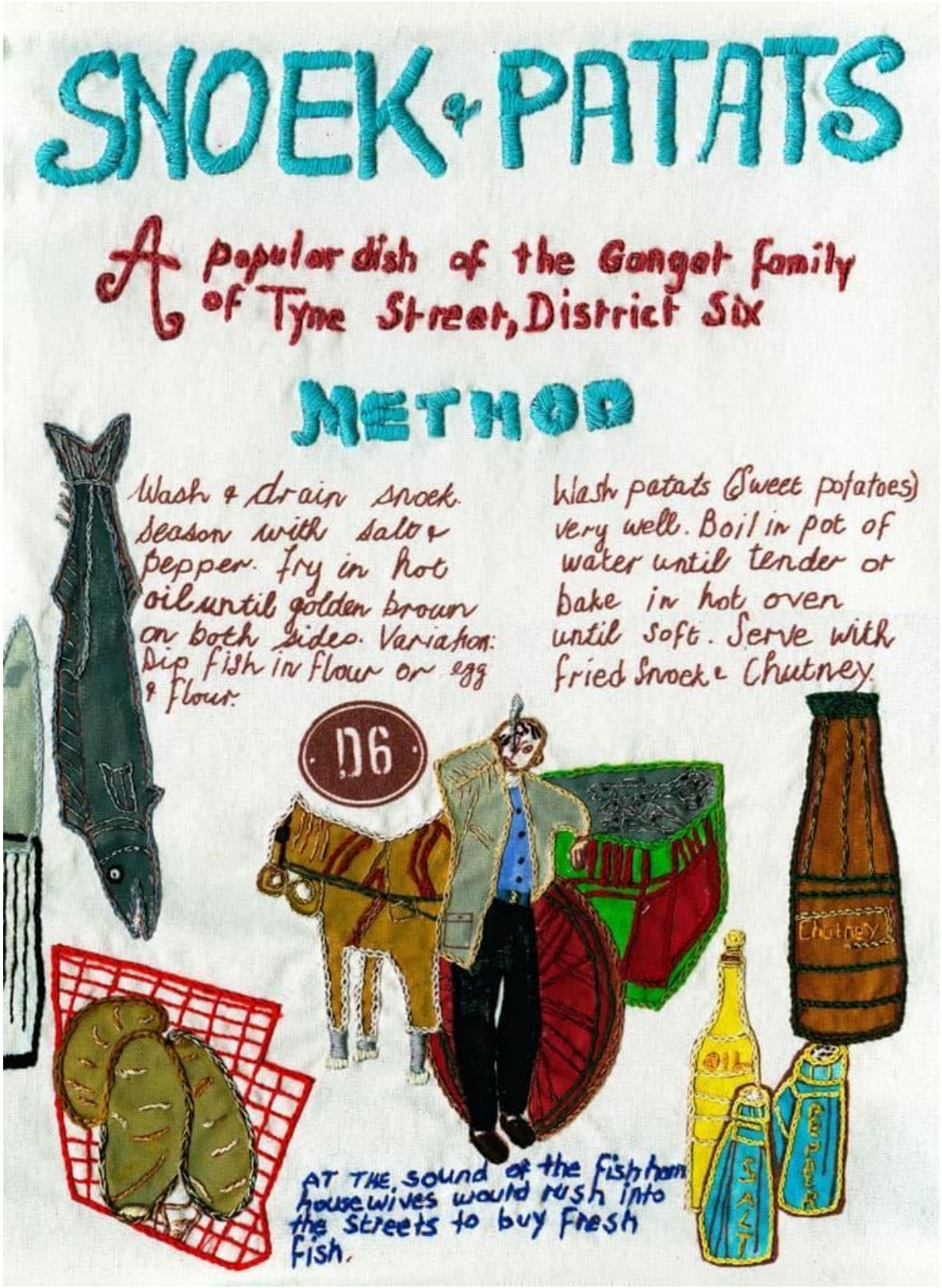
self-authored their recorded narratives and have contributed their own imagery to the book" (14).

Another image-making tool used is the layout of the text. Instead of grouping the recipes in the standard cookbook layout, usually separated by types of dishes, the recipe collection uses the days of the week and popular phrases as principles of organisation. The titles are: "Monday was fish and leftovers", "Stretching the pot", "Niks het geflop nie" ("Nothing Flopped"), "We ate soup", "Nothing went wasted", "Friday the pans were screaming", "Hanover Street", "Sunday" and "A tafel was an open table" (7). A narrative about the culinary and cultural heritage develops from the contents page. For example, the first section, titled "Monday was for fish", has recipes with and without fish in them, and these include a crayfish curry, a soup, fish smoortjies, as well as a recipe for Shepard's pie and sago pudding which were leftovers from Sunday and eaten on the Monday. Throughout the text, the food is contextually organised, creating a sense of life in District Six. Added to this is the image of the sea, which is a central image/motif throughout the cookbook. For the Coloured community in Cape Town, the sea is a culinary as well as a cultural space of history.

The sea as a culinary, memorial and cultural site is elicited from these images and accompanying narratives. An example of this is the cover of the cookbook, which is a recipe cloth that has a crayfish, three spice containers labelled "cumin", "masala", and "borrie" alongside three tomatoes, two chillies peppers, an onion, mortar and pestle and placemats embroidered on it. The cloth also has wavering lines of blue that surround the edges of the cloth and represent the ocean. These objects foreground a particularly Indian Ocean-influenced history, especially with the presence of spices introduced to the Cape culinary landscape by enslaved and indentured labourers. The embroidered crayfish is also an invocation of the ocean, which is an important location in the food histories of District Six. Forced removals led to estrangement from the sea and this has affected the foodway networks and stories that the removed participants and community have with and of the marine environment.




Cover of Huis Kombuis**.** [***This item is copied in terms of Fair Dealing in Section 12 of the current Copyright Act.***]




Example of recipe cloth from *Huis Kombuis*. [***This item is copied in terms of Fair Dealing in Section 12 of the current Copyright Act.***]

The fish recipes in the *Huis Kombuis* are a homage to the sea and its centrality as a source of food and cultural memories. The fish recipes are accompanied by short as well as long narratives that tell of a community whose location before the forced removals wavered between interior and exterior, revealing what literary scholar Meg Samuelson writes of as the "mutability and mutual permeability of the boundaries between land and sea" (Samuelson 2017, 18). This oceanic inclination is highlighted in the foreword when Shaun Viljoen writes that: "The sea, at the area's edge, was both a gateway from and to the world as well as a bountiful source of fresh food" (9). Viljoen connects the District Six area, as well as its creole food cultures, with the ocean (Viljoen 9). The area did have a substantial history of fish in its food culture. As early as the 1830s, the "Cowley missionaries had established fish schemes at District Six and fish was caught and cured at Roggebaai—the Cape Town foreshore— as it had become a key source of livelihood for emancipated slaves and their descendants" (Smith 24). As I've mentioned, before it was known as District Six, the area had been referred to as the Dry Docks area with a community of African and Coloured dockworkers who were also forcefully removed by the British colonial powers in 1901. This history points us toward the longstanding culinary and cultural significance of the ocean in the area, and we can see through the fish recipes in *Huis Kombuis,* the world-making force that proximity to the sea provides.

These recipes show off an amphibious epistemology that has long existed, and they do this by being attentive to the occupational solidarities of the post-abolition era in Cape Town. They show us the surviving perspectives of the sea as a place of culture and belonging. The sea as a labour site in the context of slavery at the Cape—alongside the rural wine farming regions, domestic services, tailoring and carpentry—was a liquid plantation zone; added to this, it was also a site of private and communal freedoms, especially for the newly liberated who as waged labourers were responsible for their sustenance. These fish recipes then are, in their own way, "contemplating the theme of the sea as an archive of intricate meanings about slavery [and displacement generally]" (Baderoon 2014a, 66). The sea in the cookbook is presented as a publicly shared system of food production as well as culinary and cultural production (Appelbaum 2003, 3). The importance of the sea as a food and cultural site is narrated in a nostalgic and mournful manner. All the recipes in the text are accompanied by a commemorating statement that supports the claims of the displaced ex-residents. The recipes do not follow a formula, and very few focus on methods and time directives. This, too, is connected to memory because we do not all remember in the same ways. The recipes are meant to be communal, and to focus on directives would be to individualise them. The unformulaic

way the recipes are presented is a narrative choice, and it supports the central theme of memory. I will now look at three examples from the book of recipes.

In her recipe cloth for snoek head soup, Sheila Rolls braids: "*When I was a child in District Six, my mother Joan Gangaat of June Street often made snoek head soup. It was tasty and also nutritious. When we were ill she always gave us a bowl of snoek head soup. She sat on a chair close to our bed and she would say "if you want to get better drink your soup*" (33). After a short ingredients list consisting of 3 snoek heads, 4 medium potatoes, three litres of water, 2 sliced onions, 2 bay leaves, 2 cloves of chopped garlic, 5 all spice, salt and black pepper, we get a methods section of the recipe which simply instructs that we "place all the ingredients in a large pot except salt and pepper, add cold water and bring to boil [after that] we simmer on low heat for half an hour and then we add salt and pepper to serve on buttered bread" (33). There is little here that teaches the reader how to make the dish as well as where to get the ingredients needed, like the snoek heads, for example. The recipe divulges cultural insiderism in that locals and insiders will know where to get ingredients like snoek heads, which I imagine are hard, if not impossible, to find outside of Cape Town. The anecdote provided by Rolls is at the heart of this recipe and it revisits her childhood and her familial setting at the time before the forced removals. We get a sense of homeliness and care from the anecdote. There is also access to the importance of snoek head soup in wintertime as a tasty dish as well as nutritious subsistence. Through snoek, which is a valued ingredient, we are allowed into the intimate home space and shown the care in the family space. This scene contradicts any of the conceptions of District Six as a morally corrupt area. The snoek heads also allow us to think about access to seafood and the availability of nutrition when one is closer to the sea.

Another example is Linda Fortune from Tyne Street, whose memory paints a picture of the sea and her father's reverence for the sea. Fortune provides us with the anecdote before she imparts her recipe for crayfish curry. She chronicles:

> My father was an upholsterer who loved to go fishing and experiment when cooking. He cooked with olive oil, herrings, octopus, mushrooms and fragrant herbs and spices that he served on our special Willow pattern dishes. Crayfish fishing was one of his greatest pleasures. He woke up long before dawn to take the first bus to Bakoven and walked the remaining three miles to Oudekraal to catch crayfish. This was long before quotas and restrictions. He went when conditions regarding the tides and moon were optimal and, including a few of the neighbourhood children, we often went with him. My father knew just where to get the biggest ones. He had a great respect for the sea and

> always threw back the smaller ones and female crayfish laden with eggs, which we called "berries". When there was an abundance of crayfish, we ate what we could in our house and then shared the rest with the neighbours. Like us most people did not own fridges. Sometimes my father pickled crayfish in jars filled with vinegar, bay leaves and onions. I have a good memory of seeing those jars of pickled crayfish on the kitchen dresser shelf. It was a real delicacy. (46)

Fortune describes a fishing father whose epistemologies of the sea are informed by those of the fishermen who knew and respected the sea and its inhabitants. The mention of the quotas and the restrictions reminds us of the imposition of the colonial and the apartheid governments, which to this day affects the fishing communities at the Cape who are further excluded from the ocean by the capitalistic machinations of industrial fishing (see Sittert 2001; van Zyl 2008; Norton 2014 and 2015; Mubaiwa 2014; Isaacs 2006). We are also made aware of the communal act of eating when the fish is plentiful, which speaks directly to the motif of the tafel, where community and family members sit and eat side by side. Fortune also tells us about the lack of fridges and her mother's preservation methods, which can also be connected to modes of knowledge-keeping whereby the preservation of food is a communally learned and valued skill for saving and keeping food. I will add that almost all the recipes in the cookbook mention the lack of a fridge, implying that preservation methods were shared throughout the community. In the same breath, Linda continues that she "has a memory of seeing those jars of pickled crayfish on the kitchen dresser shelf". She, too, has preserved the memory of the jars over the years. Preservation then goes beyond the conservation of food; it also comments on the sustentation of memories and historical events, and this helps support the claims of the other displaced ex-residents. It allows us to trust the legitimacy of Fortune's memory of the dish she provides a recipe for, as well as the memory of the events that took place at District Six during the forced removals. Interestingly, even though Fortune's father worked as an upholsterer, he knows where to catch crayfish, and this shows that fishing is a communal activity as this information probably came to him from those who work with fish and the sea daily. Fortune, through her father, shows the sea and fishing as a pleasurable and not occupational labour, a pleasure that is tied to the love, respect and knowledge of and for nature.

In the book, the theme of the sea does not just accompany fish recipes. For instance, Janap Mosoet of Arundel Street provides us with a mince pie recipe, but in her narrative, she spares the thought that:

> Mondays was fish day, usually salt fish with cabbage smoor but we could also get crayfish shells free. The *keite* and the *grate* were free and we could make a big pot of *bredie* with the fish grate. We were raised on snoekkop, lekker gekoek (snoek head, nicely cooked). We could go to the fish market to get *kailings. Kailings* were the bits of fish or fish batter that broke off during deep-frying that were free from the fish shops. *Akrikels* were free from the rocks on the beach so when there was no money, we could still find food. Nowadays we cannot go to the beaches to take them. It is not ours anymore. (157)

She also evokes an emancipatory eating practice that comes with proximity to the sea. She more thoroughly reveals that the sea "is not ours anymore" and links this displacement directly to the forced removals. Mosoet refers to the free pieces of fish from the market sellers and the free fish from the ocean. The free food from the ocean speaks directly to histories of foraging in the Cape peninsula that were inherited from Khoisan communities who, when facing genocidal violence during the early colonial encounter, incorporated with enslaved communities and thus knowledge on food, poison and other cultural elements was passed on and shared (see Denbow 2017; Boonzaier 1997; McGranaghan 2015; Adhikari 2010). The ability to forage for food at the ocean was, of course, disturbed by the segregationist colonial and apartheid systems that turned beaches into whites-only areas as well as sites for recreational activity (see Rogerson 2017; Samuelson 2013; Prochazka and Kruger 2001; Mafumbu et al 2022). These invocations by Mosoet, as well as the general theme of the sea, which is carried throughout the cookbook, allow us to read the forced removals at District Six as land *and* water-based displacement. As Hofmeyr prompts in her *Dockside Reading*:

> In a postcolonial context where land has been overdetermined and the sea overerased, such relativizing methods become especially pertinent. Land is favored both as an automatic platform of knowledge and as a locus of the colonial and anticolonial nation. The ocean, by contrast, has been forgotten, first by the emerging settler colonial nation attempting to erase its origins and then by anticolonial nationalism turning its back on the ocean as the source of imperialism. (19)

The fish recipes and stories in *Huis Kombuis* are dominated by snoek and other fish stories for a reason. As they mourn the land displacement, the ex-residents of District Six also agonise over the loss of their proximity to the sea, which equals to their loss of a sea heritage that shaped their food culture and history. The fish recipes are a site of slave memory in that they are reminiscent of the emancipated slave community at the Cape, for whom the sea and fish also provided sovereignty and creative self-determination. The fish recipes herald cultural continuity despite the events and histories of continued displacement and cultural

dispossession.

*Conclusion*

In this chapter, I showed how slave memory, as it is accessed through intergenerational oral and embodied traditions and practices, highlights the protracted presence of the Coloured community as well as the ways they indigenised on the African landscape through food traditions and cultures initiated by enslaved communities in Cape Town. The published recipes by authors from the Coloured cultural identity show a shared creole and slave past. They use the recipe as a narrative mode to publicise earlier moments of creolisation and slave history in Cape Town. This is important because, in the post-apartheid South African national imaginary, the Africanity of Coloured people is questioned and dismissed. These recipes publicise how enslaved people in Cape Town creolised and originated food cultures that are not critical not only to their communal cultural identity but to South Africa's culinary landscape. Moreover, the attention given to spice, snoek as well as the sea shows how the creole-indigenous African identity, the Coloured identity, is aquacentric in its labelling of belonging. The ocean, for this community, is a cultural site of belonging. The gastro-poetics of this community are important in the post-apartheid period because, during the colonial and apartheid periods, this culinary and cultural knowledge was presided over by white culinary "experts" who, in their gastro-political writing, associated the "Cape Malay" food culture with the East and not necessarily to Africa. This undermined the origination and indigenisation that was taking place as these foods were creolising with African, Asian and European ingredients and cooking styles. Furthermore, these writers also minimised the presence and the brutality of slavery in Cape Town. In their address to international readers, colonial cookbooks embraced a logic of abolition that made it necessary to underplay the legacy of slavery in South Africa. These cookery-writing strategies were adopted during the apartheid period. These silenced slave histories in the colonial and apartheid cookery books influenced the late apartheid and post-apartheid recipes we read today. In the next chapter, I look at some of the literary techniques and advances used by white culinary experts in the colonial period and how these *managed* the Cape's culinary and cultural creolisation.

## Chapter Three:

### Cookbooks and Domestic Work in the Colonial and Apartheid Periods through Hildagonda Duckitt's Writing and Es'kia Mphahlele's "Mrs Plum"

*Introduction*

In the late nineteenth and twentieth century, South Africa had a trickle of published cookbooks that were published for the Cape colony as well as for international readership. As I have mentioned in the introduction to this thesis the earliest published cookery books were A.G Hewitt's *Cape Cookery* published in 1889, Hildagonda Duckitt's *Hilda's "Where is it?" of Recipes–containing, amongst other practical and tried recipes, many old Cape, Indian, and Malay dishes and preserves; also directions for polishing furniture, cleaning silk, etc., and a collection of home remedies in case of sickness'* (1891) and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (1902). These books were multifunctional. They incorporated advice on household management, medicinal recipes and other practical advice. In Cape Town, these books were published to help readers—who were assumed to be white women –acclimatise to the Cape environment as well as to the subjugated people who laboured under their supervision in the monitored space of the colonial home. These recipe books aided readers in their attempts to settle and naturalise on foreign territory while expanding the imperial project and, in so doing, vitalised the various ways the settlers performed and instilled belonging. Settlement had to be performed because the settlers were wary of transplantation. As Alan Lester writes in his "Reformulating identities" (1998), "transplantation was feared because transplantation to a colonial environment had the potential to overthrow the settlers' established but vulnerable class hierarchy" (518). To the settlers, transplantation to the Cape would equal degeneration to the level of blacks and for the colonial Britons, there was no desire to "become indigenous," and thus notions of cultural, racial and class superiority were protected to distinguish their difference from the "natives" (Lester 518). Even as they proffered cultural and class superiority as well as domestic functionality, these recipe/household management books were creative endeavours. They can be read as fictions and dramas of servility that empowered white women's fantasies of civilising colonised bodies as well as environments through a domestic ideology. These books were intentional about their management of a culturally and racially diverse socio-landscape.

From the moment of colonial contact and slavery, South Africa became a creolised society. When the British occupied the Cape in 1795, they attempted to take control of a creole populace; so did the National Party in 1948 when apartheid was formally legislated. The racial and segregationist ideologies of these two governing bodies had an eye toward the management and regulation of social and biological entanglements to empower white racial and cultural dominance. The recipe books by Hewitt and Duckitt also promoted racist ideology, and the writers tasked the imagined readers of these books to regulate not only their households but the broader racial and cultural relations at the Cape.

In this chapter, I argue that the nineteenth and twentieth-century recipe books published in Cape Town and later in other parts of South Africa utilised the literary conventions of ethnographic travel writing and tried to manage creolisation through segregationist pronouncements. In the first two sections of this chapter, I turn to Hildagonda Duckitt, a housekeeper who was born in the Cape in 1839 and wrote profusely on household management and the art of cooking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century for local and international readers. In her writing, Hildagonda Duckitt employs the literary conventions of characterisation, scene-setting and verisimilitude to display her thorough knowledge of Cape Town's people and its cuisine. Duckitt utilises the form of the cookery book to position herself as an expert in these subjects and, in so doing, helps shape and expand the political desires of the British Empire. In my close reading of Duckitt's work, I think about the cultural power battles between the English and the colonised people at the Cape, with Duckitt as the ethnographic protagonist. I think about how the interactions between colonial and colonised people in Duckitt's writing showcase a repressed form of creolisation. Even though the creative agencies of colonised people were often suppressed by dominating groups, the cookery books of the Cape were creole texts. The dominating classes constructed discourses of a much-desired imperial domesticity through the authoritarian "author" figure; these texts were also close to impossible without colonised labour *as well as* knowledge. Reading Dukitt's work shows that the gastro-politics as well as the gastro-poetics of the colonial cookbooks were also adopted and adapted from metropolitan household management books.

The cookery books of nineteenth and twentieth-century Cape Town were modelled from the conduct books published from the metropole that were responsible for the creation of gendered ideals in the private and public spheres of society in England and its colonies (Cusack 7; see Bullock 2012; Sellick 2010 and Mitchell 2011). These cookery/conduct books were also

domestic fictions because they represented life through speculative understandings of gender roles in the private and public domains. They also provided an abstract discourse on natural history and the political economy. In the metropole, these sorts of books also empowered and even helped create the white middle-classes. This was accomplished through the expansion of the hierarchies between the upper and the lower classes as new organisational principles were established. To cultivate these results in the societal sphere, these books positioned white women as economic and political subjects within the domestic domain. These books were, as Nancy Armstrong explains in her *Domestic Fictions* (1989), "the site of the household, family life, and all that was hallowed as female [and] this gendered field of knowledge contested a dominant political order which depended, among other things, on representing women as economic and political objects" (15). These representations and roles specified to white women as domestic political actors came to pass in the colonies as well, but in the colonial context, the racial inflexion was intensified.

In the colonies, cookery and household management books expose imperialism as a gendered and racialised project that placed men as arbiters and enforcers of laws and policies (as in the metropole) as well as the ways white women held positions of borrowed power over colonised people. White colonial women were, as Anne McClintock in her *Imperial Leather* so powerfully puts it, "not the hapless onlookers of empire but were ambiguously complicit both as colonisers and colonised, privileged and restricted, acted upon and acting" (1995, 6). In the colonies and in the metropole, cookery and household management books were narrative as well as instructive forms that were female fields of knowledge in which white women held class, cultural as well as racial authority. As experts in the organisation of domestic space, white women in the colonies were entrusted with the work of marshalling and sterilising racially inferior classes in the home, and this effectively impressed the public domain as well. The "home" was thus transformed into a space where a colonial European authoritative identity was rehearsed.

To uphold the presumed racial and cultural superiority within the domestic space, white women had to study their subjects to provide the necessary information for their fellow compatriots and readers. The colonial women who wrote cookery books often had to play investigative roles and become domestic ethnographers. As domestic ethnographers, these writers provided the mandate for the social etiquette that would determine racial and cultural difference. The books on cookery and household management provided their readers with a set of tolerable

social practices just as they instructed them on the preparation of food and other household management.

Recipe books written from the Cape colony were performed acts of white female subjectivity. In her study on domesticity and performance, Kathryn Sorrells writes that: "subjectivities are produced and performed in the privacy of our most intimate sites of belonging [and in this way] 'home' is reconfigured as a site of surveillance and forced consent, belonging in the home, as in the nation comes under scrutiny" (1). For white colonial women, the notion of home had a double meaning in that the familial home and the imperial home were linked and weighted with the time's gendered and racial assumptions (Hall and Rose 24; see Kaplan, 3). Colonial white women were aware that they were not "hapless onlookers" (McClintock 1995, 6) but that they were themselves being minded by colonial men for their service to Empire. Their subjectivity was tied to this serviceability, and because the intimate space of the colonial household was an occupational domain for colonised people, it was a valid platform from which to establish separationist precepts and principles. These principles were perceived to be necessary, especially in Cape Town, because the demographic was cross-racial, and often, it did prove difficult to determine who was white and who was not (Bickford-Smith 1981; Worden 1992). This led to the alleviation of the culture of respectability and the enforcement of "manners" and "civility" (see Ross 1999; Macmillan 1927). The cultural, racial and ethnic diversity of Cape Town encouraged white colonial women to set themselves and their readers as racially and culturally superior. In this position, the writers of cookbooks became investigators of and insiders in the creolised Cape Town society that consisted of "Cape Malays"/ Coloureds, Africans and other Asian and European people.

Colonised people were othered and then surveilled, and as the subjects of colonial study, they were marginalised actors. As ethnographers, the writers of cookery and household management books provided empirical knowledge based on observant methods to their readers. With this information, their readers could get a better understanding of the ways and habits of those who were under their domestic authority. The recipe book in the colonial context, then, can be understood as a text that, as Kathryn Sorrells describes, crisscrosses between the "familiar and the foreign, the rational and the hysterical, [and in it] the sanitised space of the home is reconstituted as a site of politely violent interpellation, discipline and control" (Sorrells 5). In the Victorian household, the interpersonal ties were tenuous and marked by racialised difference. In the colonial world, the cookbook became an essential tool that shaped the

colonial encounter. For the white women writing from the colonies, the project extended beyond European middle-class aspirations. It epitomised a frontier logic of settlement and dominance. So, as they presented the economic logic of meals, cookbooks in the colonies also had a civilising logic.

The standard set by Hewitt and Duckitt laid the groundwork for the recipe books published in the 1940s and 1950s in Cape Town by authors such as Hilda Gerber, who published *Traditional Cookery of the Cape Malays* in 1957, and CL Leipoldt whose *Cape Cookery* was published posthumously in 1976. Unlike the colonial books, the twentieth-century recipe collections acknowledged the role of the enslaved in creating the Cape cuisine. However, these collections also submitted to the segregationist ideologies of the nineteenth century in their discussion of food and domestic work when apartheid was formally sanctioned. Recipe books, like all texts, are inseparable from their political contexts. The racialised political discourse of the colonial and apartheid periods helped shape the culinary writing of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the third section of the chapter, I look at the legacy of colonial domestic education in apartheid South Africa and how recipe books were critical in the apartheid white household as a segregationist tool and as civilising instruments. I connect this domestic education to apartheid's Bantu Education Act, which legislated separate development in education and relegated black students to manual labourers. I do this through Es'kia Mphahlele's 1967 short story "Mrs Plum". The short story considers how the Bantu Education system was designed in such a way that white employees augmented instruction on manual labour for black students. Even with the school system providing cookery, needlework, handcraft and planting as secondary school subjects, it was only "on the ground" that this training was fully developed. The short story expands on this history through its exploration of the relationship between a white madam and a black domestic worker who encounters recipes for the first time at her place of employment.

*Narrative Strategies in Hildagonda Duckitt's Writing*

*Hilda's Where is it of Recipes?!* was published in 1891 and is a detailed recipe collection of the Cape's cuisine. The collection includes instructions on polishing furniture, cleaning silk, and home remedies for various maladies. The recipe collection has an Introduction in which Duckitt provides her reasons for publishing the book; she writes that it was the suggestion of

friends both in England and at the Cape that she collect old-fashioned [early Cape] and practical recipes to provide to housewives (vii). The collection is introduced as a text that will provide readers with an understanding of the art of cooking (vii). The cookery collection is followed by her other famous text, *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper*, published in 1902. The diary documents the daily events in Duckitt's life and the monthly work required in a Cape household. The diary is not precisely what one expects from a journal in that it does not detail Hildagonda Duckitt's inner life; instead, it is filled with cooking recipes, notes on gardening, animal husbandry and correspondence between herself and other homemakers who live abroad and in other parts of South Africa. Similar to colonial publishing more generally (see Hofmeyr, 2013), the diary also has footnotes wherein Duckitt provides readers with information from published works such as the *Woman's Agricultural Times* (111), the *Journal of Greengrocery* (111) and numerous newspaper articles that might be of use to homemakers. *Hilda's Where is it of Recipes?!* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* can be read as historical manuscripts that detail Cape Town's food culture and Victorian life at the Cape. They can also be read for their literary qualities.

In this section of the chapter, I first contextualise the publication of *Hilda's Where is it of Recipes?!* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper,* and to do this, I focus on the print capitalism of the nineteenth century to determine how these texts were distributed as feminine forms which made available the social commentary as well as the autobiographies of Victorian women. These manuscripts provide us with the social and political trajectory from the perspectives of women, and in them, we witness how white women in the colonies accessed an imbalanced racial and gender power. Secondly, I locate the narrative strategies utilised by Duckitt, reading them as a literary practice. I begin by looking at the ways Duckitt self-characterizes and how, as the protagonist, she equips herself with domestic virtues such as self-sacrifice and hard work. Duckitt motivates white colonial women to realise and act on their racial and gender authority. I then proceed to look at the ways Duckitt, in her diary, sets the scene for her international readers and how, through idyllic descriptions of the Cape countryside, Duckitt naturalises as well as empowers the presence of the British at the Cape. Finally, I discuss the literary deployment of verisimilitude and how, even as a "realist text", her diary cogitates historical events to suit the ideological project of Empire and its presence at the Cape. I use the historicization of the Anglo-Boer War and slavery at the Cape as examples of this. The ways in which Duckitt exploits these literary techniques allow us to read these books as literary texts in addition to their usefulness as instruments of domestic rule.

*Hilda's Where is it of Recipes?!* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* are presented through the recipe book form and the diary form. Hildagonda Duckitt exploits these two forms, which at the time of their publication were considered to be feminine forms in what Albert Hurtado designates as "the intimate frontiers of empire" (1999). These texts' physical characteristics and intellectual content were adapted from the forms and genres already circulating publicly in Britain. In Cape Town, recipe books were first circulated in the form of manuscripts that were meant to pass down familial histories and methods of preparing food. These were circulated within the close-knit family home from the seventeenth century by the first Cape settlers who were mostly of Dutch origin (see Carew, 2020). The publication of cookery books from Cape Town happened under British occupation in the nineteenth century, and these published recipe books, much like the ones in the metropole, encouraged upward class mobility and were instruments of empire-building. As people from Britain and other parts of Europe explored the world in search of social and capitalist advancement as well as "adventure", the parts of the world they moved to were categorised (Mackenzie 20). Tied to the imperial cartographic project, recipe books historicised and indexed different people and cultures, more so from the nineteenth century because they were being fuelled by the print capitalism that came with the technological advancements of the era (Mackenzie 20). Through print capitalism, forms that were once intimate and personal became public. The publication of Hildagonda Duckitt's recipe book and diary, which were written in Cape Town and published from London, signals this shift in the Cape colony. The recipe book displays the colonial print capitalism more clearly. In the Introduction to the recipe book, there is a page with the number of copies printed in March 1891. This is the year of the book's first print run, and a thousand copies were printed. This is a big number for the first print run. I imagine this information is made available so that the reader is aware of the book's popularity (Weedon 22). On the same page, we see that the same number of copies are printed to be sold almost every year ,–except in the years 1888 and 1907 — with the numbers doubling from 1904 until 1908 (ii). By 1908, twenty-four thousand copies are said to have been printed and presumably sold (ii). There was a growing demand for the book in South Africa and abroad. In the preface for the second edition of the recipe book published in 1908, Duckitt writes that:

> *Hilda's 'Where Is It' Of Recipes* has been received in so friendly and kind a manner by the press and public, both in the South African Colonies and in England, that within an

> unexpectedly short time a second edition is called for; and I gladly seize the opportunity of thanking the many friends, known and unknown, who have accorded so warm a greeting to the little Colonial recipe book. In this new edition some corrections have been made and some excellent recipes have been added. (Preface)

Duckitt and her publishers are cognisant of the demand for books and the mass market produced by the print capitalism machinery, and this self-awareness is also one that is attentive to improvement and revision (Weedon 30). The publication of the recipe book first in 1891 and the diary in 1902 also signals to print capitalism's interest in the broader feminisation of these forms. So, as men were expected to write travelogues and even guidebooks, women wrote and published recipes and diary accounts (see Weedon, 3).[21] These texts became a preferred form of autobiography and social commentary for women (Hogan 95).

The recipe collection and the diary are a lived experience of colonialism's gendered ideology at the time. Imperial women like Duckitt occupied an interesting position in the imperial hierarchy where they were racially superior to their "native" workers and yet still subordinated to white men who were at the top in the socio-economic hierarchy. In Duckitt's own family, which consists of children from both sexes, children are brought up in a manner that positions the boy children for more socially and economically viable prospects. In the Introduction to her diary, Duckitt relates that in her family, "[t]he girls were educated by governesses at home — and my brothers had tutors to begin with, and then were sent to school or college — but all the boys chose to be farmers." A governess is a woman employed in the private household to teach "daughters the genteel accomplishments which were the aims of a female education" (Peterson 9-10). This female education consists of subjects that prepare girls for positions of authority within the household. In Duckitt's family home, the managerial role of the girls is firmly established. In her diary, Duckitt says that "[th]e supervision of the dairy was left to one of the daughters of the house — the churning and washing-up being done by a very capable coloured woman, while we creamed or skimmed the pans of milk — set in rows as each day's milk came in" (9). The domestic ordering is gendered and racialised. There is also a racialised hierarchy in terms of physical exertion in labour. These examples show that the daughters are

[21] This is not to say that women did not write and publish travelogues and guidebooks. Rather, the commercialization of domestic forms taking place in the Victorian publishing industry affected what women could publish. In her *Victorian Publishing* Alexis Weedon notes how publisher's often guided authors into these commercial ventures and an example she gives is that of Eliza Acton whose poetry manuscript was rejected by a publisher in favour of her popular 1845 recipe collection titled *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (3).

given supervisory roles from a tender age. This fortifies them in their positions as future wives and housekeepers. However, it does not elevate their position in such a way that they are equal to white men who can choose between college or farming.

White women's restricted access to colonial authority led to their affirmation of a particular set of relations, and their limited power was warranted through their enunciations of racial differentiation (Stoler 1989, 138 & 146). In their unstable social position, white women were able, as Jenny Sharpe observes, to "appropriate the moral *value* of womanhood and transform it into a female form of moral *agency*, an agency that was contingent upon them establishing their racial superiority over [colonised] women" (emphasis hers, 10). For Sharpe, women like Hildagonda Duckitt show us that we cannot theorise race and gender separately. Instead, we can witness how, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, race and gender were interchangeable "sites of textual and theoretical production" (11). Writing either about themselves or colonised people, white women were a part of the production of imperial power as well as the gendered contestations over colonial authority within English political and social life (see Magubane, 2004).

Duckitt, in her diary, narrativises, fictionalises and then textualises. As she does this, she constantly shifts between the racial ethnographic self and the gendered protagonist self. Duckitt's writing is contradictory in many ways because often, in her narration, these two "selves" grapple with and for colonial authority from a position of borrowed and limited power (Crous and Murdoch 3). An example of this is in the ways Duckitt describes colonised women; in her diary, she writes:

> Cape girls are inclined to be careless and forgetful. For the care of children native servants are not so advisable, as, though many of our coloured women are most faithful and attached servants, they have not, as a rule, been trained in habits of obedience and truthfulness themselves and consequently are not capable of training children to be truthful and obedient. (33)

In the above extract, Duckitt speaks from a position of power and control. The contradictions become apparent when she labels Coloured women as "faithful and attached" as well as lacking in "obedience and truthfulness". It seems contradictory that one could be described as faithful (worthy of trust, consistent, reliable) yet untruthful. Moreover, an attached servant must show some level of obedience to be effective. Duckitt's descriptions infantilise the Coloured servants

and consequently renders them as morally inept. Duckitt constantly makes condescending remarks towards colonised people even as she praises them. In her diary, she tells us that: "Hottentots make splendid herdsmen, and are devoted to their sheep and lambs, but I am sorry to say the genuine Hottentot will soon be a thing of the past" (75). For Duckitt, the moral virtues of colonised subjects are judged in accordance with the ways they may or may not show truthfulness or genuineness to the very people who subjugate them. Duckitt's puritanism is also relegated to white women who do not take charge of their households. In her appraisals of the white idle woman of means, there is an apparent frustration with those who do not use their colonial authority in ways that benefit their households and the colonial society at large. For Duckitt, the white woman's place in the household is one that makes her virtuous and valuable. She writes:

> Such knowledge [of housekeeping] will help the household along more smoothly and happily than the mistress being able to read French novels. The meaning of the old English word "lady" is said to have been "loaf-giver"— implying a person as practical as Solomon's beautiful description (Prov. xxxi.) of the " virtuous woman" whose " price is far above rubies," and the heart of whose husband "doth safely trust in her," and of whom it is specially said, " She looketh well to the ways of her own household, and eateth not the bread of idleness." (72)

Duckitt takes seriously the moral virtues associated with domestic work and education. She reprehends the reading of French novels in favour of conduct books like the one she is writing. Duckitt also galvanises white colonial women to take charge of their racial and gender power. In her position as advisor, Duckitt veers between her ethnographic writing on colonised labour and the autobiographical, whereby she gives examples and anecdotes from her own life experiences and perspective. *Hilda's Where Is It of Recipes?!* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper,* in their ethnographic endeavours, are autobiographical and comment on the socio-cultural landscape of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Cape Town from Duckitt's perspective. Her experiences and perspectives help construct the narrative as real.

*Hilda's Where is It?! of Recipes* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* are ethnographic realist texts. Ethnographic realism is "a genre that constructs the 'empirical' facts of cultural practice from the omniscient narrator who speaks (typically) for non-Western peoples without acknowledging or accounting for the historical, political, and intersubjective realities of ethnographic interaction" (Jacobson and Larson 182; see Marcus and Cushman, 27). In the

genre of ethnographic realism, the narrator is all-knowing and speaks on behalf of other people outside of themselves to explain or introduce foreign cultural practices to their intended readers. As the narrator introduces "the facts based on empirical evidence" to their readers, much historical accuracy is lost or left out. Even as a realist genre, ethnographic realism is also fictional in the way it manipulates historical and political realities. In her ethnographic realism, Hildagonda Duckitt uses the principal ethnographic method of participant observation in which there is "the combined presence and invisibility of the reporter…" (Hemer 165). Duckitt, in the two texts, has an "ethnographic self" that observes and relays the behaviours and cultural practices of others as well as a "personal self" that not only translates this information but also introspects in the writing so that readers can trust her as both cultural insider as well as an expert (Hemer 165).

In the diary and the recipe book, characterisation is used to construe both imperial and subaltern identities and their designated roles in the social and domestic order. The main character is Duckitt herself and she displays many of the traits associated with protagonists. She is driven by a goal and a sense of duty. She is superior and intelligent. She is loyal to a cause: England, her family and women in the domestic sphere. Duckitt presents herself as the protagonist, particularly in how she approaches and publicises "her life story". The autobiographical approach is evidenced especially in her published diary. In the diary, we not only get summaries of the important events in her life, but we also have access to the social and economic organisation of Cape Town and her place in it. Duckitt's self-characterization is a deliberate narrative strategy. It mainly serves to acquaint local and international readers with her social circumstances so that she gains their trust. *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* has little to do with her interior life, and the text is more about her position in the Cape society, and in her household. She holds authority in both these spaces. The diary's introduction details her early life in the countryside. It is an effective way to characterise her as a protagonist from the Cape high class with a vast knowledge of the Cape environment. In the introduction, she provides the details of the large house and estate as well as the monthly activities for her family and the farm and vineyard labourers. She writes: "On a large estate where there were horses, sheep, cows, ostriches, vineyards, poultry and pigs, there were endless things to be seen to, the many buildings had to be kept in repair, wire-fencing to be put up, and so there was much to interest and occupy both men and women" (10). This description is suggestive of the size of the estate and the multitudinous domestic responsibilities it requires. By the end of the introduction on life in her old home (Groote Poste), readers have been assured of Duckitt's wealthy upbringing

as well as her supervisory experience in the domestic space. The introduction of the diary provides us with Duckitt's character placement and positioning. The introductory material also allows Duckitt to set the scene for her readers.

Scene-setting in *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* is a narrative strategy whereby the time, place and environment are established and developed to set the mood. This is an important strategy, especially for readers considering moving to the colony. Duckitt's description of the Cape countryside presents an idyllic and quaint Cape Town. She writes:

> The best spring months are September and October, when flowers appear everywhere as if by magic; no one can imagine what the wealth of flowers is who has never seen it! Among them, the crimson gladiolus, the proteas of all kinds, the aigrettje or little aigrette, and hundreds more. The hills overlooking Groote Poste are scented of an evening with lovely sprays of avond bloemetje, or evening flowers; the petals are red outside, and stiffly closed by day, and open their white faces as the sun sets. As you rode over those hills, the soft fragrant scent was wafted to you. The lovely view of sky and ocean reached to Table Mountain, so clearly defined in the distance […]. […] oh, how one does thank God who has made all things beautiful! (10-11)

The above reads like a letter written to a close friend. The descriptions of the Cape countryside in spring also facilitate a self-consciously and distinctly colonial conversation between England and the Cape with Duckitt at the centre (Martin 580). In this scene, Duckitt presents a Cape landscape filled with energetic activity through dreamy and languorous prose; she disseminates the Victorian sensibility that associates flowers, gardens and nature more generally with beauty and leisure (Waters, 1985). Furthermore, Duckitt describes a scene from her childhood or early adulthood years; however, she depicts the moment and the landscape as if it were taking place right before her eyes— "all this has formed an indelible picture in my mind's eye, and I see it clearly now!" (11). Duckitt recycles a memory and, in so doing, goes back in time. This movement between the past and the present evokes a nostalgia for the agrarian way of life. It also presents the Cape as an Eden for Victorian pastoralism. The mythic allusion to the Cape countryside not only cultivates Victorian tastes and sensibilities but also naturalises and authorises the presence of the British at the Cape. The inferences to beauty, peace, and tranquillity allow the reader to see how the Cape's geography and climate suit an English way of life.

The recipe book and diary have a clear audience, and Duckitt aims to provide a sense of homeliness in foreign territory in her addressing this audience. Duckitt introduces her readers

to the Cape's rural/urban[22] landscape. Added to characterisation and scene-setting, Duckitt uses the literary device of verisimilitude. Verisimilitude as a narrative technique adds credibility and believability to the text, and writers use it to depict realistic settings and events (Stoehr, 1969). Hildagonda Duckitt's diary is not a work of fiction; it is a realist text. However, even as a realist text, the diary has elements of fabrication, especially in the ways Duckitt manipulates historical events to fit into the ideological project of Empire. At the first level, Duckitt uses verisimilitude to ascertain herself as an all-knowing narrator and an expert in the domestic world of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Cape Town. Furthermore, verisimilitude is meant to make the reader comfortable with a Cape Town that is without the horrors of war and slavery, a Cape Town that the presence of the British has renovated. For one, in her diary, Duckitt does not mention the Anglo-Boer War (Martin 580). Another way in which she positions herself as an imperial subject is through the abolitionist reasonings she provides. Duckitt's writing is bound up with the abolition of slavery at the Cape. The diary and her descriptions of the labour roles of colonised people also provide the moral and ethical grounds for colonialism.

At the Cape Hildagonda Duckitt is born into a hybrid family. Her father married a Dutch woman named Hildagonda Versfeld, who "had an excellent English education" (3). Her uncles also married into Dutch families, and Duckitt emphasises that her English and Dutch relatives existed cordially. Hildagonda Duckitt approves of the hybridisation of Dutch and English people and cultures, and in providing us with this information, she also historically places us in her socio-cultural landscape. She does not detail the tensions between the English and the Dutch at the Cape. Duckitt relates that her syncretic family "lived quite happily" (3). This detail is used strategically to present us with Duckitt's and her family's lack of cultural bias. In the diary, Duckitt does not embellish historical events; instead, she underplays many of the changes in nineteenth and twentieth-century Cape Town. For example, Duckitt does not mention the Anglo-Boer War between the British Empire and the Boer republics, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, ending in the year she published the diary. This would be an important detail seeing as her family is integrated and since the diary was written during a period of hostility between the English and the Dutch. Instead, Duckitt tiptoes around the topic. The references to a "Dutch" heritage over a "Boer" one undermine the twentieth-century movements toward an

[22] By the time she writes the diary Duckitt has moved to her own home in the suburb of Wynberg; however, she uses Groote Poste which was her childhood home to introduce her colonial upbringing in the Cape countryside.

Afrikaner national identity and how even as Dutch origins were important, there was also an unyielding regard by the Dutch upper classes and the general Boer public of their national identity being a South African identity (see Webb and Kriel 2000; Hofmeyr 2014; and Giliomee 1987 and 1983).[23] Duckitt avoids the war topic and only mentions anything related to the war on her dedication page. Her dedication page does show that her allegiance lies with the English. The diary is dedicated to the princess of Wales who "in South Africa's darkest hour, cheered it by her gracious presence". The book is dedicated as an "expression of loyalty and devotion". The book showcases its imperial outlook, as the Princess of Wales spoke against the Anglo-Boer war during her visit (Parkhouse 2015). Duckitt firmly associates herself with the British Empire despite her syncretic heritage and the fact that she was born in South Africa. The historical accuracy throughout the diary is obscure and improvised to create an unsullied narrative that would make English readers comfortable with migrating to the Cape.

Hildagonda Duckitt also underplays many historical facts related to slavery that her readers may be repulsed by. Her descriptions of colonised workers are one such example. At Groote Poste, Duckitt is exposed to indigenous and previously enslaved labourers; she writes that:

> We had a mill worked by horses for grinding our corn—for, there were always an average of twenty men to feed, baking and cooking were no sinecure. We had a man cook, who was an East Coast negro, rescued from a slave dhow. Many of these negroes, both men and women, were at that time indentured on farms, and made excellent servants. (6)

Duckitt continues to describe how the labourers help with other farm activities, such as dairy-making and winemaking, where they are supervised by the daughters of the house and are allowed to go home in March for a few weeks (9). Two very strategic things are happening here. Firstly, Duckitt uses verisimilitude to present herself as a trusted and well-experienced supervisory figure in the Cape domestic world. Another aspect more related to historical accuracy and verisimilitude is the downplaying of Cape Town's slave history, a history that the indentured labourers Duckitt describes were freed from by the British, who were pro-abolition. However, in Cape Town, the system of indenture retained many of the traits of the slave system before it and Duckitt does not even broach that topic (see Harries, 323). Duckitt mentions that these workers go home for a few weeks to relieve her readers of the infamy of

[23] There is also a voluminous literature on the Afrikaner identity as a creolised identity see Shell, 1994, pg. 11; van der Waal 2018; Adhikari 2003; Viljoen and van der Merwe, 2007; Kriel 2018, Hofmeyr 1995).

slavery and their complicity in it as imperial subjects. In the above excerpt, Duckitt also mentions that the East Coast negro was "rescued from a slave dhow"; this is another instance whereby the historical facts are blurred to suit the narrative. The East Coast negro was most probably a "prize slave". In 1808, when trade in slavery was banned, there were "two new waves of forced immigrants who moved from Mozambique to the British colony where they acquired limited rights as 'apprenticed' or 'prize' slaves" (Harries 2014b, 324). This forced immigration was different from legalised slavery in that prize slaves were usually apprenticed because they could not be sold or returned to their homelands. By the time slavery was abolished, many of the prize slaves had already been moved from their homelands and had to be sold illegally and very cheaply or apprenticed (Saunders 1985; Reidy 1997; Worden 2017). So, the East Coast negro was not "rescued" per se seeing as he was already in the hold of the slave dhow and was subsequently apprenticed, against his will, to the system of indentured labour. Another subtle contrivance is the referral to the dhow instead of a ship. In alluding to a dhow, Duckitt implicates Indian Ocean traders in the illegal slave trade.

The "dhow" is an Indian Ocean boat made of wood that relies on the wind to move. By the nineteenth century, with the abolishment logic at an all-time high, the dhow shared a "nativeness" with other vessels that were made of wood and traversed the western Indian Ocean to imperialists (Gilbert 66). As Erik Gilbert explains:

> When the slave trade suppression effort was at its height in the second half of the nineteenth century, the instructions to naval officers took a tautological approach to defining their quarry and declared that a native vessel was a vessel that 'presented the outward appearance of native build or rig', or it was a vessel that was 'manned by a crew of whom the captain and the majority of the seaman belong by origin to a country having a sea-coast on the Indian Ocean', either condition satisfying the law (Admiralty 1892, pp. 104–105). In other words a 'native vessel' was either a native-looking vessel or it was a vessel full of 'natives'. (66)

The reference to the dhow implicates non-Europeans and elicits an African and small-scale system of slavery. Because the "negro" is said to be from the East Coast, we can conjecture that Duckitt directly implicates the Mozambican slave system, which, at the time, "supported the transition from slavery to indentured labour by providing both slave traders and government recruiters with workers who had little or no say over how and to whom they were engaged" (Harries 2014b, 324). The idea of the dhow also seems out of the question because, in the

nineteenth century, ships were being used to transport approximately 2,400 "workers" to the Cape (Harries 2014b, 334); this would prove impossible in a dhow, which is much smaller in size and can handle approximately 160 people when it is a large shipment (Hopper 40)[24]. As the above quote indicates, it is highly possible that the labourer was "rescued" from a dhow by a British patrol ship. However, Duckitt does not detail this history. This would only implicate the English in a forced labour system that resembled the Cape slave system. Instead, we are told that the workers make "excellent servants," as she presents them to her readers as compliant workers.

Duckitt, in her descriptions of the indentured labourers, evinces the principles of the Caledon Code of 1809, which set the moral foundations for the contract(s) and contact(s) between masters and servants (Williams 899). Duckitt tries to convince readers of the benevolence of the indentured labour system and her own family's moral compass as a part of the master classes. An example is when she provides detailed information about the food rations for the labourers. She writes that:

> As the farm labourers and herds had to be fed daily, a sheep was killed every morning, and often a stall-fed ox; the herdsmen on the out-stations, and their wives, lived in comfortable cottages and gardens, near the kraals, which were bedded down with straw, and fences of thick layers of rhenoster bush made a warm shelter for the animals on cold nights. These men had regular rations given them of one sheep, about 30 lbs. meat, 2 lbs. coffee, salt, and thirty fish — salted haarders (a kind of mullet caught in quantities at Saldanah Bay, and sent round to the farms by people who bought them from the fishermen). (9-10)

Duckitt provides this information so that she can insert herself in the liberatory history of the Cape, where workers are not enslaved but are fed well and live with their families in comfortable accommodations. Duckitt provides this highly descriptive piece of information to prepare readers for her advice on domestic education and supervision in the diary. Whether the information provided is accurate or not is not the issue at hand. What is important is the

[24] In her "Madagascar and Mozambique in the slave trade of the Western Indian Ocean 1800-1861" Gwyn Campbell writes that "The dhows were anything up to 350 tons; those between 80 and 100 tons could carry up to 150 slaves, whilst specially adapted dhows could transport up to 250 slaves. […] If, as occasionally happened, one of the specialist long-distance slaving dhows of the northern network was diverted into the southern Mozambique Channel trade, cargoes of up to 400 slaves were carried. This was still 50 per cent of the slave-carrying capacity of the large European ships used during the first half of the nineteenth century for the Atlantic run." (183).

strategic narration on Ducktitt's part. The diary is convincingly curated to suit the international politics of the time, which were imperial as well as abolitionist.

In this section, I provided the context in which Hildagonda Duckitt's recipe collection and her diary are published, as well as the nineteenth-century print capitalism that expanded the reception of these books. I read the recipe collection and the diary as feminine forms, showing how, at the time of publication, *Hilda's Where is it of Recipes?!* and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* were utilised for social commentary and autobiographical means. These books provide us with Cape Town's social and political landscape from Duckitt's perspective. Duckitt uses the literary technique of characterisation to depict herself as hardworking, virtuous and well-bred. These traits help constitute Hildagonda Duckitt as a domestic expert. Scene-setting allows Duckitt to paint the Cape as an idyllic environment to encourage the topical subject of living in the colonies. The *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* fictionalises through a blurred historicising of the Anglo-Boer War and slavery at the Cape. The introductory material of the diary and the recipe book shows that for the women of the Empire, whether in the colony or England, the home was a territory of labour, power and subversion. For women like Duckitt, the home is a territory of *research*.

In the following section, I look closely at Duckitt's observation methods and how her ethnographic approaches were also repressive of creolisation in that they advocated a segregationist logic. Duckitt's writing provides insight into the gender divides and racialised roles of the time, especially how these relate to the sensitivities of "culture". Duckitt is unmarried and has no children, yet she still provides information on what is suitable regarding nurses and child-rearing. Most of her domestic advice, however, is relegated to the upkeep of the household. Despite her status as an unmarried and childless woman, Duckitt assumes the position of the domestic ethnographer. She narrates the diary, as well as her book of recipes, as well-researched observations of the Cape landscape and its indigenous and indentured labourers.

*Disembodiment and Repressed Creolisation in Duckitt's Writing*

In her recipe book as well as in her diary, Hildagonda Duckitt assigns herself as the translator of a foreign world and its people, and she offers her local and international readers an experience of the Cape. As an expert, Duckitt "professes to capture the truth about a place [and

its people] in pure scientific form, operating under the guise of scientific exactitude and promising to retrieve and reproduce nature exactly as it is" (McClintock 1995, 27). The components of verisimilitude and cultural translation in the text provide what historian Troy Bickham in his *Eating the Empire* refers to as "virtual travel" which in the cookery book world means that "like museums and botanical gardens, meals — whether eaten inside or outside the home — could act as social occasions for shared explorations of other worlds" (96). The recipe book and the diary are set up in two ways: they provide "authentic" knowledge of food and its preparation from the Cape colony for those who are set up in England, and they are also meant to prepare to-be colonialists on how to survive the Cape colony, its animals, plants, and its people. To do this, Duckitt uses food to make the Cape palatable. Duckitt also makes invisible the people who are responsible for the colony's culinary culture and tradition, thus offering what Gabeba Baderoon has previously written about as "disembodied versions of 'Cape Malay' and indigenous Khoisan food, disarticulated from the very people who made them [and] used to craft a national cuisine" (2014a, 56). In this section of the chapter, I write about how Hildagonda Duckitt uses a separationist logic that censors the Cape's creole culture and demographic. In her writing, Duckitt sanctions her racial and cultural superiority by becoming a verifiable translator of the Cape's creole food culture.

An example of a disembodied version of the Cape's creolised food is seen notably in the recipe book *Hilda's "Where is it?" of Recipes* which is introduced through its subtitle: *Hilda's "Where is it?" of Recipes: Containing, Amongst Other Practical and Tried Recipes, Many Old Cape, Indian and Malay Dishes and Preserves, Also Directions For Polishing Furniture, Cleansing Silk, Etc., And a Collection of Home Remedies in Case of Sickness*. This subtitle suggests that the culinary recipes were gained from the knowledge of Coloured cooks in Cape Town who dominated the culinary industry since the time of Dutch settlement and had an extensive knowledge of Cape cookery in all its dynamism (Sen 81). That suggestion is soon refuted when, in her introduction, Duckitt writes that: "Few colonial cooks of the present day understand the *art* of cooking; it is therefore absolutely necessary for the lady of the house to know something about it, so that she can direct them" (emphasis hers, vii). The term "colonial" refers to those that relate to or belong to the colonies (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 2023). Duckitt's usage of the term "colonial cooks" refers to colonised "Cape Malay"/Coloured women in Cape Town. It also refers to cooks within colonial South Africa who are white or cooks who, despite their race, prepare food in the colonial style. In Duckitt's context, the

colonial style of cooking is a Cape method of cooking. This is a method of cooking that "Cape Malay"/Coloured women are unrivalled in due to the generational knowledge they possess. The subtitle, then, when read alongside the remark on inexperienced colonial cooks, suggests that Duckitt presides over the knowledge of old Cape, Indian and Malay dishes and preserves. This is made clear when Duckitt states that "the women [Coloured women], as a rule, make very good cooks" (32). However, Duckitt deduces that they "make good cooks" after training. In the same sentence, she writes:

> Servants are not plentiful or good, and to any mistress who has tact and patience I would say, get a young white or coloured girl and train her. I have found training a girl, if you can get one out of a nice home, very satisfactory… (32)

She adds:

> I find the best way to train them is just to devote some time when you first get them, and give them an object-lesson in cooking or housework, letting them do things under your supervision — for instance, I would have cutlets and soup several days running, till they know exactly how to do it, and so on; take a cookery-book, if you don't know much yourself, and teach practically, not by description. (32)

These statements imply that despite their racial categorisation, all servants must be trained and monitored, even if these methods of training are separationist and racial. [25] It is inconceivable that Duckitt is the expert and must teach colonised "Cape Malay" women how to cook in the old Cape or the "colonial style" because it is a creole style of cooking that their enslaved ancestors created. Even in her English dishes, Duckitt has infused Cape methods and ingredients that previously enslaved cooks innovated. The presence of almonds, cloves and nutmeg in her recipes for Apples (1), Scalloped Chicken (32), and Curry of Cold Meat (44), amongst many others, is emblematic of the creolised nature of her food. The curry of cold meat recipe is perhaps one of the most sophisticated forms of creolised food making in the text. Cold meats are a specifically European food (see Mitchell, 2006). In her cold meat recipe, Duckitt has added a curry flavour through a homemade curry paste and tamarinds, indigenous to Asia,

[25] Throughout the book Duckitt organizes labour through racial categorizations and the assumptions predominant in the nineteenth and early twentieth century; for example, she advises that women pair Coloured cooks with white nurses (32). She also imparts to her readers that Coloured women are like children in their forgetfulness and lack of manners; therefore, they should not be entrusted with the care of children (32).

which enslaved cooks introduced to the Cape culinary scene. The heavy use of nutmegs, cloves, pepper and cinnamon in the text directly connects to Dutch trade routes. In making these statements, Duckitt dismisses the heavy presence of the Cape's slave past in favour of a white imperial culture that is set up as a "bulwark against colonised people and their culture" (Crous and Murdoch, 4).

Another interesting factor that relates to the disembodiment of these creole dishes and recipes outside of the nebulous racial category of "colonial cook" is how Duckitt absorbingly relegates the transmission of knowledge on food to recipe books and does not imagine any other way in which knowledge on cooking may have been passed on to colonial and colonised cooks. The level of importance placed on the recipe book, whether it be an unpublished family manuscript or a published cookery book, is separationist in that recipes are acknowledged by Duckitt as white technologies. When she dedicates the book to her "country cousins and far-off friends in South Africa—who in the rush of life, have not found the leisure to copy their mothers' and grandmothers' old recipe books…", Duckitt insinuates that all the knowledge on Cape cookery is preserved through the recipe books in which an older generation of white women kept the secrets of their cooking as well as the food knowledge of enslaved cooks through family manuscripts. Duckitt noticeably implies that the colonised cooks who needed to be directed also lost this knowledge and "artistry" from their enslaved ancestors. Duckitt believes in the power of the recipe book as the evidence of knowledge on cooking. She understates the relative power of oral and embodied modes of knowledge transmission, through which colonised cooks managed to preserve their knowledge of food and spices.

Duckitt introduces recipes that are not hers (unlike Mrs Beeton, Duckitt acknowledges where the recipe is not hers originally) by mentioning the recipe's owner in brackets. Recipes from a Mrs Daniel Cloete (30), a Mrs Fleming (35) appears more than once, a Mrs Dwyer (226), a Dr Hiddingh (108) and many other Mrs's are included. However, where a colonised cook is acknowledged, Duckitt writes in brackets, "Taught to me by an Indian Cook" (46). This is just one example; however, the recipe book has many such iterations. The lack of a name is significant because it renders the Indian cook invisible. In many other instances, Duckitt will mention that the dish is Indian or Malay but that the recipe is hers or her mother's (see pgs. 12, 14, 47, 216, 227, 232) or simply that the recipe is Malay or Indian (pgs. 33, 83 and 217). The manner of acknowledgement in the recipe book represses the creolised nature of food knowledge at the Cape, and this is because once the dish is turned into a textual recipe, it is

then constructed as belonging to either herself or the person who transcribed the recipe, like her mother. Duckitt offers us the disembodied version of dishes and, therefore, does not acknowledge by name the skills transferred to her by colonised labourers.

In the previous chapter, I showed how, in the Coloured community in Cape Town, recipes do not belong to individuals. They are communal and shared. Those who are cultural insiders will have access to a recipe not solely through owning a piece of text but through an embodied and intuitive knowledge. The individualisation of a recipe is often perceived as taking away from a communal and cultural identity. The manner of acknowledgement in Duckitt's published recipe book also renders the colonised cooks invisible; for one, they are not named as all the other Mrs in the text. This namelessness is what South African scholar Cheryl-Ann Michael has observed in her writing on "Cape Malay" recipe books as a representation of "people of Malay descent [as] curiously vague figures, scarcely visible despite, or perhaps because of, their food" (261). To render the colonised figures invisible in this way is also an effective way to claim the proprietorship of their food knowledge. The authoritative author, Hildagonda Duckitt, owns their skills by translating said skills into recipes, and to do this she needs first to diminish their personhood. She does this by representing them as bodies without names; something of which the *Huis Kombuis* project I discussed in the previous chapter undoes purposefully, for example, by providing the names and the surnames of the participants alongside portraits and brief descriptions of the participants' background. The presence of the nameless and colonised body in Duckitt's recipe book and her diary is tied to the global biological hypothesis of the nineteenth and twentieth century that used racial classifications to allocate social roles, most especially in the colonies (Posel 2001; Bashford and Levine 2010; Yudell 2014). The fundamental differences between mistresses and their servants in nineteenth-century Britain were determined by class. In South Africa, as in many other colonies, this class relationship took on a racial form (Cock 1989, 69). Duckitt's racial superiority is used in the recipe book and diary to ascertain cultural superiority.

From as early as the preface of *Diary of Cape Housekeeper,* Duckitt establishes herself as a verifiable translator as well as an expert; she writes: "I shall be glad indeed if what I have learnt by lifelong experience and experiment should lighten the labour of those beginning the responsibilities of housekeeping in our dear old Colony, under conditions new and strange to them" (Preface to the Diary, x). Hildagonda Duckitt believes that a thorough recipe book takes research: "I have also noted down from reliable sources some information regarding other parts

of South Africa with which I am not personally acquainted" (Preface to the Diary, x). As a part of her research process, Duckitt closely observes her cooks to learn these dishes and methods before she translates them for her international or untrained readers. In her role as a domestic ethnographer, Duckitt is quite active. Duckitt is not idle, nor is she entirely dependent on her workers. She works intellectually and physically hard to achieve a settler's interpretation of local dishes. She writes in her diary that:

> I would say to every girl, "Learn as much as you can personally from the most experienced cook you know, of the fundamental principles of cooking. Get her to show you how to bake, to boil, to fry, to stew, and (if she will allow it) get her to let you do it yourself, while she looks on and directs. *Be her kitchen-maid* whenever she will permit it, and learn how to clean the cooking-pots, to prepare the vegetables, and *every detail of the work* of the kitchen. When you are master of that, cookery books will help you with the rest, for you will know what they mean and have a key to their language. (71, all emphasis hers).

As a researcher and ethnographer, Duckitt monitors the experienced cooks. This means she somehow acknowledges that the culinary artistry lies with the Coloured cooks from whom she learns to make the Cape, Indian and Malay dishes in her recipe book and diary. Duckitt, in her extraction, does give the kitchen maid or the cook autonomy over their skills, *if she will allow it*, *whenever she will permit it.* To be allowed is to be let in on the culinary secrets that would have otherwise passed unnoticed. Duckitt is not intimidated by the Cape cooks' secretiveness or skill level; instead, she wishes to adapt these skills to her recipes, even if it means becoming a kitchen maid. This determination does not account for the fact that servants in the Cape were not always willing participants. They, unlike Duckitt, are exploited for their labour and expertise. They "are not deferential workers but trapped workers", as Jacklyn Cock in her *Maids and Madams* puts it (1989, 7; also see Worden et al., 204 on Masters and Servants Act of 1855). In this way, Duckitt's diary/cookery book also operates as a technology of possession (McClintock 1995, 28).

Even as an object of possession, with the voices of colonised workers silenced and the authorial figure celebrated, we should read Duckitt's recipe collection and diary as creolised texts in which differing food knowledges and techniques were integrated to produce the work. Interestingly, the disembodied versions of the recipes in her cookery book and in her diary are contrarily depicted alongside picturesque characterisations that "entrench the connection between food and Malays" (Baderoon 2014a, 114). In her diary, Duckitt writes that:

> Melons of all kinds are sold in the markets, where the great heaps of them side by side with scarlet chillies, red and yellow tomatoes, and other bright coloured fruit and vegetables, make masses which would delight an artist, and the subject is still better for sketching when the stall is presided over by Malays in their bright coloured dresses. How many subjects an artist would find to paint in our markets! You will see an old Malay with one of the broad hats like a little thatched roof on his head, and wearing the Malay pattens instead of boots, with perhaps a turkey under each arm, or with a bamboo under each shoulder, from which hangs a basket at each end, one filled with geese and the other with apricots, and so on, a never ending series of pictures; the Malay gala dresses are always of beautiful colours. (65)

This colourful prose outlines a servile and motley Malay figure who is made visible by the observer (Duckitt) and is "typically presented as exotic, submissive and static […] (Baderoon, 2014a, 1). This representation is not one to rouse suspicions of rebellion from this figure who has experienced and survived the trauma of slavery and other modes of colonial exploitation and is effectively a portrayal that enables the erasure of these histories (Baderoon 2014a, 1). Duckitt's depiction, as Esther de Beer explains, "uses food to frame the figure as domesticated and servile" (34). These depictions of servility that are both visible and yet anonymous are deliberate and a part of Duckitt's interests in abolition, colonial instruction and imperial advancement. Duckitt's writing is intentional and staged. It is a narrative construction that serves a purpose using the recipe book form.

To conclude this section and the chapter's focus on Hildagonda Duckitt, I have shown how the cookery books written from the colony, like the ones published by Duckitt, were creolised texts. Despite the repression of the knowledge produced by colonised workers, it is evident that knowledge was generated from both the mistresses and the servants. Writers like Duckitt were not always honest about the sources of their information and the extractive means through which the knowledge they provided to readers inside and outside the colony was acquired. Writers opted to take the credit for themselves. These books were not solitary endeavours. They were the joint effort of the white domestic overseer as well as the thoughts, inventions, methods, and alterations of enslaved and colonised people. This whitewashing of the cookery book form obscured what was a process of translation by the white mistress who observed and guided the chopping, tasting, peeling and folding hands of the enslaved and later colonised workers. Duckitt uses different literary techniques to set herself up as the expert. She provides

translated and disembodied versions of Cape culinary knowledges for her readers to practice in their homes. I have shown how colonised cooks such as the "Cape Malays" were exoticised just as their knowledge was taken and translated for international readers. In the Cape Town kitchens, the dishes and the cooking methods were creolised from as early as the seventeenth century with the arrival of the first Dutch settlers and accompanying enslaved people. This includes creolisation with other European foods and Khoisan methods of collecting and preserving food (Baderoon 2007, 120). Cookery book writers like Duckitt did not divulge the production of creolised knowledge, and the repression of this creolised (and creolising) process was deliberately silenced because it did not cohere with the separationist logic of imperial advancement.

In the third section of the chapter, I discuss the legacy of domestic education in the colonial Cape and how it provided a model for apartheid segregationist and racialised rule. I trace this legacy in Johannesburg and connect the racialised domestic education of the apartheid home with the Bantu Education Act which supported separate development and consigned manual labour to the black demographic. Domestic work was one of the significant sources of employment for black women.

*Mphahlele's Mrs Plum and the Legacy of the Cult of Domesticity in South Africa*

In this section, I read the role of the recipe book in the zombification of madams and maids in the apartheid household as well as how this is connected to apartheid's Bantu Education, which was a legacy of the imperial project through South African writer and scholar Es'kia Mphahlele's short story "Mrs Plum" (1967). The short story is set in Johannesburg in the 1960s. However, it looks to earlier moments of colonial encounter to address the protracted nature of zombification and segregation through domestic education in South Africa. I take the term "zombification" and its meaning from Francis Nyamnjoh (2005), who uses it to refer to the "mutual suspension of one's humanity between white employers and black employees in the South African domestic home" (181). The recipe book in "Mrs Plum" represents the racial and gendered scientific ordering and ideology of domestic life introduced and sustained from the moment of the colonial contact in South Africa, as well as how these arrangements were further entrenched and rehearsed during apartheid (Baderoon 2014b, 175). The cookery book in the short story also represents the instruments used to transform domestic work in South Africa

into a predominantly black female institution (Cock 1989, 173). The short story looks at the increased presence of African women in Johannesburg from the 1940s, which was caused by industrial growth as well as social disruptive forces that led to women needing to be salaried workers (see Gordon, xix). By the mid-twentieth century, the prolonged contacts between people of differing racial and cultural backgrounds were construed as illegal, and cookbooks were entangled in this discontinuance of cultural exchange. As domestic workers, black women in Johannesburg and South Africa generally were at the forefront of this process of disembodiment and zombification enacted by the control of their employers. This control was literarily imagined through recipe books.

Shared values solidified the uniformity of an imperial feminist subjectivity in South Africa. In regions like the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal and Natal white women shared the experiences of their part of the colony and its landscape.[26] For example, in her diary, Hildagonda Duckitt provides notes from other people in South Africa. In that section, housewives comment on their area's weather, animals, colonised people, and food cultures (268). The imperial and separationist logic of colonial cookbooks first published in Cape Town was adapted throughout South African recipe books published before and during apartheid. The cookbooks also made invisible the black labour that had made them possible (Beinart-Smollan 2). A comparative context to Cape Town is Johannesburg, where cookbooks like *Victory Cookbook South African Woman's Auxiliary Services by Mrs J C Smuts* (c1945), *Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy) (1951) and *The Complete South African Cookbook* (1980) were repositories of food preparation advice as well as a domestic knowledge that had a civilising mission to it. These texts had a collateral effect and "cultivated" the people whose labour was exploited and concealed. By the mid-twentieth century, the domestic labour industry in South Africa was a predominantly black female industry, and in cities like Johannesburg, most of these workers were living with their employers after migrating from the rural homelands into the city for economic advancement (Bonner 1988; Elloff 2011; Glaser 2005; Ginsburg 2011 and Gaitskell 2017). The women who migrated into Johannesburg occupied the city as beer brewers, factory workers, prostitutes, and domestic workers (Glaser 2005; Moodie 1994; Breckenridge 2000; Harries 1990). Within the city's domestic service industry, cookbooks

[26] This uniformity mirrored the British political establishment in South Africa especially after 1910 when a unitary state was constituted. In his "Apartheid and Urban Segregation Laws in South Africa" AJ Christopher writes that "uniform policies were pursued which introduced a degree of conformity into the South African urban scene. The political philosophy adopted was segregationist, in line with the thinking of the dominant White electorate of all political persuasions" (421).

were preoccupied with shaping black women into "good citizens" (Jansen 15; see Beinart-Smollan, 2023). These cookbooks, which also functioned as manuals, provided the "educational" tools for white women to not only allocate occupational roles but also to enforce and situate the appropriate ideologies to reinforce these roles (Cock 1989, 265). Gender was at the centre of this organisation. It was a useful regulatory fiction in a city populated by youthful women whose morality was perceived as uncontrolled in the urban context (Glaser 303; Braidotti 159; see Locher-Scholten, 5). The domestic labour industry in South Africa today is predominantly black and female, and this is tied to imperial and apartheid organisations of labour.

Gender studies scholar Thenjiwe Magwaza reports that "[today] domestic workers in South Africa constitute one of the largest single sectors of the country's labour force" (80; also see Gordon, xiii). This now black female institution is connected to the country's long history of domestic work (Baderoon 2014b, 175). Sociologist Jacklyn Cock, in her *Maids and Madams,* posits that: "By 1890, domestic service had been transformed into a predominantly black, female institution. It is suggested that a pattern of ultra-exploitation marks these early relationships that has continued until the present" (1989, 174). The ultra-exploitation Cock refers to is the continued reliance on black domestic labour from slavery to indentured and wage labour in South Africa. The domestic labour industry in South Africa, especially with the occupation of Britain in 1795, was not always solely reliant on black domestic workers. From 1820 to 1890, Europeans who had immigrated to South Africa mainly for economic reasons were a significant part of domestic service, and this is also because their employers, who were also mainly English, needed servants who already had a specialised understanding of the English culture. It was from 1845 that the transition into a black domestic labour force became especially realised due to the demand for domestic workers and the decline of Europeans willing to work as domestic servants. Many found new opportunities, such as marriage and other modes of upward social mobility (Cock 1989, 185). The indigenous populations continued to be a source of cheap labour over the inconsistent and expensive European domestic workers. By the nineteenth century, black women dominated the domestic service sector in South Africa (Cock 1989, 191). This transition was not effortless for those at the top of the social strata. There was a uniform "education" for the black servants to be assimilated into the desires and tastes of their masters and madams.

One of the ways this was achieved was through the cookbook and domestic manuals that were

not directed at the black servants themselves but rather at their employers as to how they should train and direct their workers in the kitchen. Recipe books in the context of the apartheid home also served to display the cultural superiority of the madam. Often white women would use recipes to brandish their authority and knowledgeability over black domestic women (Beinart-Smollan 11; also see Cock 1989). These cookbooks informed processes of white cultural superiority, resulting in what Francis Nyamnjoh describes as "mutual zombification" (2005). Zombification refers to the "masks" of both maids and madams that are put on to regulate the social exchange within the domestic establishment, and it requires a suspension of one's humanity (see Nyamnjoh 182). Restricted interactions within the racialised geography of the apartheid household led to home rules that mired the intimate space of the home. Rules relating to the black domestic's manoeuvring of the white household, such as using the backdoor and not being allowed to sit down or having a separate stool, led to the performed invisibility of the worker as well as the performed visibility of the employer (Ginsburg, 59 & 62). These interactions zombified both madam and maid. Recipe books and newspaper advice columns on the appropriate behaviour of black domestic workers informed this mutual zombification in many ways. This is evidenced in Es'kia Mphahlele's "Mrs Plum". The short story provides an account of the legacy of white domestic tools for servility. This happens through the cookbook alongside other forms of print like the magazine and the newspaper.

"Mrs Plum" is a short story that details the gradual politicisation of a domestic worker, Karabo, in the white liberal world of her madam, Mrs Plum. Mphahlele, in his short story, explores the intimate and economic relationship between a domestic worker and her madam. In the short story, the relationship between the two women exhibits the social and political tensions that have haunted South Africa as early as the seventeenth century. The short story also pivots between the private and the public spheres, and as Damian Ruth writes, Mphahlele in the story:

> Offer [s] us the metaphor of the keyhole with the maid on one side of the door and the madam on the other, a metaphor for domestic service which plays so major a role in the larger network of relations in South Africa. It is an extraordinarily rich metaphor with complex implications to do with spatial access and spatial control, containment and penetration, mysteries and insight, and of course the channelling of vision, partial vision and perspective. (76)

The short story conveys the paradoxically isolated yet intimate nature of the relationship between the two women who live in proximity and yet are sequestered by the racial politics of

the apartheid government. Both women are curious about the other's world, and because of this, they analyse each other through overt and clandestine methods. This is to ascertain each other's racial and cultural worlds. However, by the end of the short story, the two women cannot escape apartheid's spatial logic of separation and are further apart with only an economic attachment to each other. The metaphor of the keyhole foregrounds the curiosities and fortified imaginations of dominating as well as subordinate groups under apartheid. Mphahlele reveals the social illiteracy that comes with segregationist policy. The metaphor of the keyhole showcases how separated races and cultures constantly seek meaning by registering or shutting out impressions of others. Through this process, the characters, especially Karabo and Mrs Plum, discover meanings of themselves and others (see Mphahlele 1993, 184). The short story reveals the observation methods and the ensnared imaginations of madams and maids with special attention to the resultant political and economic education of subjugated groups. Another way Mphahlele employs the metaphor of the keyhole is in the kaleidoscopic way the short story looks to the past, present and future in his narration of a black woman's growing political education. Looking at South Africa's history with domestic work through the keyhole that is Karabo's imaginary, Mphahlele fashions a narrative that comments on how the domestic labour industry in South Africa from the days of slavery has shaped the lives of black domestic workers who have dominated this sector as the lowest paid labourers in the country's economy since then (Ruth 77).

Karabo is a twenty-year-old woman who, like many others, occupies the city space to secure some economic and social security in the precarious apartheid era. She moved from Phokeng (a municipality in the North West province of South Africa) to Johannesburg to venture into domestic work. She moves to Greenside (a white suburb then) to reside and work as the cook and laundry woman in Mrs Plum's household. Before this, Karabo had been employed by two other white households that she had to leave for economic and safety reasons: in one household, she was never paid on time, and in the other, she experienced ruthless racial and sexual violence. The situation is entirely different when she works in Mrs Plum's household. When she enters the world of Mrs Plum, Karabo, as Norman Hodge writes, is not a *tabula rasa* (33). From the beginning of the short story, Mphahlele establishes that she is "an open, dignified, honest character and that a happy home life fixes her moral values and sense of right and wrong" (Hodge 33).

Mrs Plum, on the other hand, is a widowed liberal white woman who writes and advocates for

Africans in liberal magazines and newspapers. Because of her politics, Mrs Plum insists on calling Karabo by her African name and is open to the improvement and education of her help. However, her methods of education and improvement take a dark turn in the short story when Mrs Plum's influence becomes rather forceful and uncomfortable for Karabo. This is because Mrs Plum's idea of education and development is very prescriptive and assimilative. This assimilative process annoys Karabo, yet it also allows her to enter her madam's interior world. The short story, then, as Craig MacKenzie puts it, is: "an acute and subtle interrogation of white liberalism in South Africa by a black narrator whose steady growth in knowledge and understanding allows her to prise apart the liberal ideology of her employer and to expose the hypocrisy and injustice that it contains" (244).

The short story is divided into four sections that detail the growth of Karabo as a character. The first section summarises her first few months living in Johannesburg. The second section details Karabo and Mrs Plum's relationship. In the third section, Karabo goes through a period of self-realisation and begins to seek her education away from Mrs Plum. In the final section, Karabo reflects on her experiences with Mrs Plum. My interest in the short story is in the second section, which deals directly with the cookbook and relates the first stage of Karabo's "education" in Mrs Plum's kitchen. Karabo must behave in a certain way to impress her madam. At first, this educative experience is relatively new and even enjoyable for Karabo; she tells us that:

> Since I came to work for Mrs Plum Kate has been teaching me plenty of cooking. I first learned from her and Madam the word *recipes.* When Kate was at the big school, Madam taught me how to read cookery books. I went on very slowly at first, slower than an ox-waggon. Now I know more. […]. Madam did not only teach me cooking. She taught me how to look after guests. She praised me when I did very very well; not like the white people I had worked for before. I do not know what runs crooked in the heads of other people. Madam also had classes in the evenings for servants to teach them how to read and write. (128)

Kate is Mrs Plum's daughter who is training to be a chef. Karabo is first introduced to recipes when she starts working for Mrs Plum. This does not mean that Karabo has never had to follow a procedural way of completing a task or even a meal either from her parents or previous employers; instead, Mphahlele is indicating that Karabo is not attuned to the idea of *written* recipes and cookbooks. Karabo must first learn to read the recipes and understand the

procedural methods of the genre, and it is only when Kate returns home from the big school that Karabo embodies this knowledge by cooking the recipe dish (128). These are the beginning stages of Karabo's knowledge about her new world and the types of priorities this world has, such as hospitality. Soon enough, Karabo's attainment of this knowledge made her "fit enough to cook in a hotel" and cook Sunday lunch and entertain guests (128). In no time, Karabo's assimilation is so advanced that, in her capacity, she begins to buy clothes and cosmetics that are similar to those of Mrs Plum (151).

In "Mrs Plum," Mphahlele investigates domestic education and how, within the apartheid structure, schooling for black people was vocational and that this pedagogy was extended even within the household, which was also a training ground. For Mphahlele, domestic labour and the educative measures of white women during apartheid should be considered as a type of social education alongside the Bantu Education that was legislated by the Commission on Native Education in 1958 as advised by the anthropologist W.W.M Eiselen in the Eiselen Commission Report of 1951. In the opening of "Mrs Plum," Karabo tells us that she and the other girls who have moved to Johannesburg as domestic labourers "had already passed Standard Six so we learned English where we worked" (125). The Bantu Education Act legislated that learning for black students occur in their native tongue, including English and Afrikaans classes where this was available. The limited understanding of English and Afrikaans for students trained to be workers led to an inferiority complex, as they had to communicate with their employers in languages they did not understand intuitively. The subjects usually taught in native tongues were generally vocational, including cookery, needlework, agriculture, and planting, as well as mathematical and social studies, which were inclined subjects for the few pupils who managed to move to higher grades. As Pam Christie and Colin Collins write:

> In a situation of poorly qualified teachers, lack of facilities and a system of automatic promotion, it is not likely that academic standards would be high. And, although the purpose of language instruction was undoubtedly to facilitate communication in the language of the employer, it is unlikely that such rudimentary exposure would result in mastery, and this itself would perpetuate the ideology of inferiority, and the social relations of domination and subordination. (72)

Black students were cultivated to work as labourers aiding the industrial ambitions of their masters, and priority was given to them being adequately trained and skilled alongside having

the appropriate ethics and attitudes (Christie and Collins 61; see Hyslop 1989; Moore 2015; Giliomee 2012; Ntantala 1960). However, as Christie and Collins expand: "skills training [was] more likely to occur on the job than in the schooling system, particularly for the levels of skill in which most blacks were involved" (72). This happens between Karabo and Mrs Plum when Karabo is taught to read cookbooks. This education is not only for Karabo's benefit and is linked to Mrs Plum's ideas on the advancement of the black race—she teaches other black people to read and write (128)— as well as to impress others on the advancement of her help. Karabo is made to flaunt her abilities to guests, and this is good for Mrs Plum's public image as a liberal white woman. Mphahlele, in this way, questions white liberal ideology.

Mphahlele places Mrs Plum's liberal education abreast of apartheid's Bantu Education to remark on the ongoing confrontations between the English and the Afrikaner and how both groups have worked together as well as vie for control over black labour. Mphahlele is interested in this phenomenon mainly because it is also an avenue from which to unveil the hypocrisies of white liberals who publicly opposed the apartheid government (and slavery) but were just as involved in the abusive and unsettling uses of black labour. Mrs Plum functions for Mphahlele as a representative of the broader white liberal denomination against Bantu Education but maintained similar structures in their colonial rule. Christie and Collins report that: "the move to Bantu Education was opposed by English speakers in general and most especially the English-speaking missionaries who were in control of the black schooling system" (Christie and Collins 60). This was contradictory because English missionary schools in South Africa also advocated and provided education for vocational work to African women (Gaitskell 244). Mrs Plum criticises apartheid and its treatment of black people; however, her treatment of Karabo and her other servants is one of racial as well as cultural domination and control. Through Mrs Plum, Mphahlele conveys that for the English, the problem was not necessarily the oppression of black people but rather that the Afrikaners, and not themselves, were responsible for how blacks were to be integrated into the segregationist society.

The story is set in the 1960s, and at the time, white liberals were understood to be a group of political thinkers who were predominantly from English backgrounds. In Mphahlele's story, Mrs Plum is one such character. She is a member of the protest group Black Sash, which was established in Johannesburg in 1955 as a non-resistance organisation for liberal white women to oppose the apartheid government's policies via demonstrations and public writing. The group was called Black Sash because its members wore black sashes over one shoulder in their public

demonstrations.

> Kate also told me she said, My mother and other women who think like her put on black belts over their shoulders when they are sad and they want to show the white government they do not like the things being done by whites to blacks. My mother and the others go and stand where the people in government are going to enter or go out of a building. (161)

Karabo relates the information she receives from Kate, who is also actively involved in her domestic education. Karabo further divulges that Mrs Plum encourages her to read, so she gives her newspapers so she can speak and write in better English (130). Whilst Karabo appreciates these efforts, she is also overwhelmed by the training from Mrs Plum, particularly regarding table etiquette. She discloses that:

> In the first year Mrs Plum wanted me to eat at table with her. It was very hard, one because I was not used to eating at table with a fork and knife, two because I heard of no other kitchen worker who was handled like this. I was afraid. Afraid of everybody, of Madam's guests if they found me doing this. Madam said I must not be silly. I must show that African servants can also eat at table. Number three, I could not eat some of the things I loved very much: mealie-meal porridge with sour milk or morogo, stamped mealies mixed with butter beans, sour porridge for breakfast and other things. Also, except for morning porridge, our food is nice when you eat with the hand. So nice that it does not stop in the mouth or the throat to greet anyone before it passes smoothly down. (162)

Karabo is aware of the social unacceptability of this practice between herself and Mrs Plum. When she voices this, Mrs Plum tells her not to be silly, as this practice is meant to prove that even African servants can be domesticated and trained. Through her control, Mrs Plum does exactly what Baderoon explains to be a requisite of domestic labour in white homes; that "domestic work requires black people to become recognisable, reassuring, and compliant figures. Because they work in the intimate space of the house, servants are always under suspicion, and they have to rehearse their compliancy repeatedly" (2014b, 185). Karabo also feels alienated from her cultural eating practices. She misses the food that she prefers to eat, as well as eating without utensils. This gastronomical alienation is connected to the recipes Karabo is made to read and cook. It is almost as if she is in some programme whereby she is not in complete control of her personhood and is forced to acculturate to Mrs Plums' desires and expected outcomes.

Through these practices, Karabo is treated as if her "humanity were deliberately frozen for zombification with impunity" (Nyamnjoh 182). Mrs Plum renders her invisible and zombified, and in highlighting this, Mphahlele reflects on how domestic work— as Jacklyn Cock in her "Challenging the Invisibility of Domestic Workers" (2011) writes—— "is trivialised and seen as women's work. And it is work done in the hidden abode of the household, which is jealously guarded as a private sphere…" (132). In this hidden sphere, white women— liberal or otherwise— were in charge, and through forms like the cookbook, they, much like the women of empire, assisted and aided the nationalistic aspirations of the men in charge. These forms and practices initiated by white women for their domestic workers are dramas of servility since dominance and docility are rehearsed by the madam and the maid (Baderoon 2014b, 175).

Through this performance of dominance and docility, the spatial logics of apartheid are rehearsed, and the political relation between the madam and the maid is private and public. For white women like Mrs Plum, the ideological stratifications of the nation are practiced into their private realities, and as households are regulated, they also become overdetermined (Baderoon 2014b, 178). In the story, this overdetermination comes from both Karabo and Mrs Plum: Karabo is willing to learn and acculturate at first, so much so that she begins to use the same cosmetics as Mrs Plum. When Mrs Plum is jailed because she refused policemen entry to search Karabo and Dicks'—the man who does the garden— rooms by hosing the policemen down, she subsequently refuses to pay the fine and *chooses* to go to jail as an act of defiance, she later regrets this. She is embarrassed by this moment of solidarity. The overdetermination of both maid and madam in the short story leads to Karabo's gradual realisation that apartheid's systematic injustice is intertwined with the individuals who are privileged by it. Karabo begins associating the more extensive system with Mrs Plums' whiteness and her educative measures.

In the story's third section, Karabo joins a knitting and sewing class at the Black Crow Club. The classes on knitting and sewing are politically charged classes hosted by Lillian Ngoyi, a historical political figure who championed African women's rights in apartheid South Africa. At the Black Crow Club, Karabo's socio-political education takes a turn, and she realises that she is a part of a more significant socio-political problem; she is, as Norman Hodge writes, made aware of the "impersonal forces that affect her life both inside and outside Mrs Plum's household" (34). Karabo disengages from her employer's tutelage. She begins to show an understanding of her positionality in the world of apartheid (Hodge 34). Ngoyi, in her classes,

teaches the women knitting and sewing as their madams encourage—it is Mrs Plum who suggests that Karabo should join the class—but she also politicises her teaching by making the women aware of their place in the white household. In taking this theoretical approach, her role as a teacher is different from the role Mrs Plum and her daughter Kate play in Karabo's life. Her teaching is also different from the government-sanctioned education. From the classes Karabo begins to have a different image of her madam: "I was learning. I was growing up. Every time I thought of Madam, she became more and more like a dark forest which one fears to enter, and which one will never know. But there were several times when I thought, This woman is easy to understand, she is like all other white women" (135). Karabo in her political awareness starts to categorise Mrs Plum "with all other white women" and in so doing she begins to also rebel against Mrs Plums household pedagogic strategies of recipe and newspaper reading. Karabo begins to understand the separationist nature of these texts and commences to read texts with representations of black people in them.

> What else are they teaching you at the Black Crow, Karabo?
> I tell her I say, nothing Madam. I ask her I say Why does Madam ask?
> You are changing.
> What does Madam mean?
> Well, you are changing.
> But we are always changing Madam.
> And she left me standing in the kitchen. This was a few days after I had told her that I did not want to read more than one white paper a day. The only magazines I wanted to read, I said to her, were those from overseas, if she had them. I told her that white papers had pictures of white people most of the time. They talked mostly about white people and their gardens, dogs, weddings and parties. I asked her if she could buy me a Sunday paper that spoke about my people. Madam bought it for me. I did not think she would do it.

Karabo is a round character, and this is made visible by her changed attitude towards her employer as she grows in her political education. She sees through Mrs Plum and the course of her disenchantment thus begins.

> I sat on my bed and looked at my face in the mirror. Since the morning I had been feeling as if a black cloud were hanging over me, pressing on my head and shoulders. I do not know how long I sat there. Then I smelled Madam. What was it? Where was she? After a few moments I knew what it was. My perfume and scent. I used the same cosmetics as Mrs Plum's. I should

> have been used to it by now. But this morning - why did I smell Mrs Plum like this? Then, without knowing why, I asked myself I said, Why have I been using the same cosmetics as Madam? I wanted to throw them all out. (Mphahelele, 182).

Karabo's disenchantment is characterised by the self-realisation of exactly how involved she is in Mrs Plums' indoctrination and "self-improvement" programme. She realises that she smells like Mrs Plum, she seems to have not noticed this transition. Another way Karabo's disenchantment is exemplified in the story is through Karabo's growing disdain for Mrs Plum's dogs; this disdain is also tied to food. Karabo incessantly mentions the difference in treatment between black people and white people's dogs. From the first line of the short story, she tells us that Mrs Plum "loved dogs and Africans and said that everyone must follow the law even if it hurt" (125). The dogs come before the Africans, and in placing the dogs with the Africans Mphahlele comments on the nature of white people's relationship with black domestic workers as "kept" as well as the suburban misplaced values whereby dogs are valued over people (Hodge 41). Throughout the story, Karabo and other domestics like Chimane, her friend who is also a domestic worker, as well as Dick, compare the ways in which they are treated to the "royal treatment" the pets of their white employers receive.

> Madam was still not sure of him. She often went to the dogs after a meal or after a cleaning and said to them Did Dick give you food sweethearts? And I could see that Dick was blowing up like a balloon with anger. These things called white people! he said to me. Talking to dogs! (138)

And:

> That is a good African dog. A dog must look for its own food when it is not time for meals. Not those stupid spoiled angels the whites keep giving tea and biscuits. (136)

Karabo grows to loathe Mrs Plum's two dogs mainly because they eat better than most Africans and seem to occupy the better parts of white people's hearts. One day Karabo peeps through a keyhole and witnesses an immoral moment between Mrs Plum and one of her dogs. Mrs Plum is seen by Karabo in a masturbatory act with the dog. At this moment, Karabo is totally disenchanted with Mrs Plum, and when Dick unfairly loses his job because of the dogs, she is openly hurt. Near the end of the story, Karabo quits her job because Mrs Plum will not allow her to go home to mourn one of her deceased family members, this is after she (Mrs Plum) has

been actively involved in the dog cemetery project in Greenside; this infuriates Karabo.

After some time, Mrs Plum makes a trip to Phokeng to ask Karabo to resume her duties and Karabo takes the job solely for economic reasons. She negotiates for a raise as well as more leave days. At the end of the short story, Karabo is aware of her position in society and accepts employment from Mrs Plum solely to manoeuvre her economic position. She is in no way endeared to Mrs Plum. Karabo can now differentiate between the private and the public and the ways in which she, as a domestic worker, occupies both. As Baderoon asserts, "the role of domestic worker translates between public and private, inside and outside, and is therefore associated with the anxieties of ambiguity and betrayal that translation always generates" (2014b, 176). In this particular drama of servility, Karabo is not willing to play the role of the controlled body.

Set in Johannesburg, "Mrs Plum" is a story that works with longer histories of domestic work in South Africa. Mphahlele turns to the palimpsestic legacy of the labour systems like slavery and wage labour under British colonialism and how these continue to shape the lives of black women during apartheid. The short story pays attention to the particularities of domestic service in South Africa. It highlights just as it complicates the intimate and yet impersonal nature of the work (see Ally 2014). Moreover, the short story, as sociologist Shireen Ally writes "delineates the servant as a fulcrum figure of the colonial frontier […]" (47). These associations with the figure of the maid continue even in our postcolonial reality and South African artists like Mary Sibande [27] and Zanele Muholi[28] work with the domestic servant figure to address and redress the colonial encounter. In these representations, the maid is connected to colonial and apartheid's spatial politics and geographies. These two systems are temporally and ideologically linked.

Mphahlele's short story, like these visual artworks, also highlights the servant's capacity for subterfuge. Karabo is constantly gossiping with the other maids in the area and when she joins the Black Crow Club, she enters an underground world of political education. This contrasts

[27] See artwork and article on Mary Sibande's domestic Victorian Queen here: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/07/mary-sibande-south-africa-art

[28] See artwork and description here: https://derica.tumblr.com/post/5364557936/zanele-muholi-massa-and-minah

with the domestic education from Mrs Plum. In the end, Karabo understands that the discriminatory system is not going anywhere anytime soon and thus decides to play the game to her own advantage. Another way in which the colonial frontier is addressed in the short story is through the recipe. In the short story, recipes index racial and cultural differences. They also work as domesticating instruments. Using the recipe, Mphahlele redresses the imperial apparatus and calls attention to its cumulative and inherited uses under apartheid. Mphahlele sets the recipe form as a prop in South Africa's ongoing drama of servility.

*Conclusion*

Colonial and apartheid cookery books published in Cape Town were instrumental to societal and cultural segregation even as they handled creolised food cultures and dishes. In this chapter, I discussed the place of cookery books in the colonial and apartheid private and public spheres. I discussed how, at the first level, recipe books and other feminised forms in the colonial period were ethnographic texts motivated by the time's imperial literary tastes. In Cape Town, cookery books were used to circulate domesticating knowledges to local readers as well as to encourage readers in the metropole to settle at the Cape. At the second level, through the cookery book form, colonial writers positioned themselves as well-adept in the behaviours and cultures of colonised people. They used the recipe form to narrate their insights whilst detailing their research strategies to convince their readers of their well-informed positionality. Using Hilagonda Duckitt as one such example, in this chapter, I read Hilda's 'Where is it?' of Recipes and her Diary of a Cape Housekeeper to show how, through her use of characterization, scene-setting, and verisimilitude, Duckitt set herself up as a verifiable translator of the Cape socio-cultural scene. I showed how, in her deliberate usage of these literary conventions, Duckitt disembodied the culinary knowledge of enslaved and colonised women as well as repressed the creolised nature of the Cape's cuisine. In the chapter, I also discussed the legacy of colonial domestic education by demonstrating how the apartheid private and public spheres were modelled on the segregationist precepts of the colonial order. Reading Es'kia Mphahlele's short story "Mrs Plum", I showed how the recipe as an instrument of domestic correction is connected to apartheid's Bantu Education Act, which legislated the separate development of blacks and whites, thus relegating black people to menial and manual labours such as domestic work. Under this separate development, vocational education took place within the intimate space of the apartheid household where recipes as dramas of servility zombified both maids

and madams. In the following chapter, I look at how the recipe is used literarily in post-apartheid writing by reading Sally Andrew's 2015 novel, *Recipes for Love and Murder*. In the novel, the recipe is used creatively to address the racial and gendered histories of South Africa as well as to show how, in the post-apartheid period, the recipe is a democratic genre, and through it, a multi-temporal and multi-geographic narrativization can take place.

# Chapter Four:

## Hybridised Literary Conventions and Representation in *Recipes for Love and Murder*

*Introduction*

South Africa's history with recipes is oral, embodied, and textual. Published recipes in South Africa are characterised by verbal and non-verbal (embodied and disembodied) constituents. In the post-apartheid context, this is especially realised via the transcription (and translation) of the oral/embodied through the medium of writing. I have shown in the second chapter how published cookbooks for the Coloured community in Cape Town are an avenue from which oral and embodied food practices are made public, as well as how these gastro-chronicles enable translations of slave oceanic routes into territorial roots (Samuelson 2010, 272). These translations are essential in constructing the Coloured identity as a creole-indigenous African identity. This is just one example of how, in late apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, recipes have been used to address historical distances through an ongoing dialectic between past significance and present meaning (Brown 1995). The line of continuity generated by oral and embodied practices was manipulated in colonial and apartheid South Africa when forms of oral and embodied knowledge were repressed in favour of written histories. In the third chapter, I showed how the disembodiment and over-textualization of recipes in colonial and apartheid white households was a valuable tool of colonial and apartheid racial and cultural domination as well as a segregationist instrument within the private and public spheres. In this chapter, I look at the use of the recipe form alongside traditional literary forms and conventions. I also consider the absorption of oral/embodied histories in South African fictional writing and how it allows for a multi-temporal and a multi-geographic narrativisation that brings forth and reflects on South Africa's dynamic history with cultural, racial and gendered interrelatedness. I do this by reading Sally Andrew's 2015 book, *Recipes for Love and Murder*.

*Recipes for Love and Murder* transcends the formal and generic codes that have become staple in African literature. The novel works with recipes and food to make the amalgamation of place, time, form, genre and medium possible. This is fast becoming a common feature of African literary texts. In contemporary African literature, we see memoirs that can be read as cookbooks, food blog posts turn to a collection of essays and food memoirs that approach topics

that are usually weighty in a light-hearted manner. Yet, Africa's history, its gastro-political and gastro-poetic practices in the everyday are still at the heart of the books.

The hybridisation of temporalities, geographies, forms, themes and genres is now common in African literature (published locally or globally). There is a rise in books that utilise recipes, cooking, and/or foodways as an organising principle. In *The Settler's Cookbook* (2008), Yasmin Alibhai-Brown narrates her family's migration from turbulent India to East Africa, where her family was eventually expelled in 1972 under Idi Amin's rule. Her family ends up in the UK where she marries an Englishman. In the memoir/cookbook Alibhai-Brown recalls and synthesises her and her family's journeys and hybrid food traditions through the concoction of English, Indian and African dishes and ingredients. The memoir/cookbook and its use of dual genres is a play on the blended gastro-traditions of herself and her family. Another example is *From Pasta to Pigfoot* (2015) by Frances Mensah Williams; in the book, the protagonist Faye Bonsu endeavours on a journey from London to Ghana with a yearning to understand her long-lost African heritage. In Ghana, she must acclimatise to different foodstuffs and her beloved pasta must make space for the various dishes she is exposed to. The novel explores multiculturalism without the seriousness that has become so common in African Literature novels that probe the topic, the book lightens this subject matter with quirky and humorous depictions of Western and African food tastes. Another notable example is Yemisi Aribisala's *Longthroat Memoirs* (2016); this book of essays delves into Nigeria through the country's illustrious cuisine. The memoir (originated from a blog series) explores the cultural topics and erotics of Nigerian cuisine. Aribisala researches the mouth-watering dishes of Nigeria to probe why, when and how Nigerians love to eat. In all these examples, genres are experimented with, and the form of the cookery book is included. Recipes emerge as a literary mode from which hybrid cultures can be analysed in depth. In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* there is an equally intense and deliberate plurality of literary conventions.

In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* middle-aged Tannie Maria van Harten is the agony aunt for *Klein Gazette* where she shares delicious and easy-to-make recipes with her distressed readers and letter writers. Very early in the narrative, she receives one letter from a woman, Martine van Schalkwyk, who is in an emotionally and physically abusive marriage (28-29). Martine is murdered in cold blood after a few letters and recipes have been shared between herself and Tannie Maria (51-52). Then, Tannie Maria and her colleagues — Jessie Mostert and Hattie Christie —venture from magazine curation and writing into amateur detective mode. With the

help of her delicious meals and recipes, Tannie Maria helps to solve the crime. After a series of twists and turns as well as one more murder (a witness is murdered), it is discovered that Martine was killed by her former boss, Mr Cornelius van Wyk, who manages the local Spar supermarket, a prominent franchise chain in South Africa. Martine, who was employed at the Spar as a bookkeeper, gathers that van Wyk has been embezzling money and thus tries to blackmail him for a cut with the hopes that this money will help her escape her abusive marriage to Dirk van Schalkwyk (321-322).

*Recipes for Love and Murder* is part-cookbook and part-novel. It is also a crime detection narrative as well as a romance. The novel addresses a range of themes from gender-based violence, crime, South Africa's various political transitions, foodways and national belonging in post-apartheid South Africa. In its use of the recipe as a literary mode, as well as an independent literary form and genre, the book showcases temporal as well as geographic reflexivity. Through the recipe, Andrew stages South Africa's transitional history via a multi-temporal framing that looks to the precolonial, the colonial and the postcolonial/post-apartheid. An example of this in the book is the incorporation of the embodied and intergenerational histories of the Khoisan (depicted as extinct in the novel) who are included in the post-apartheid setting through the character of Constable Piet Kleinbooi who is a descendant of the Khoisan. Added to this multi-temporal framework, there is also a turn to multiple geographies in the narrative through an engagement with Indian and Atlantic Ocean foodways. *Recipes for Love and Murder* engages with the recipe as a "principle of organisation for understanding the multifarious ways in which globally vast and historically ancient networks of circulation impinge upon our collective sense of the world in the twenty-first century" (Mohan, 3). In its multi-pronged project, *Recipes for Love and Murder* privileges gender and women's place in the intimate and national homes.

The book's central theme is gender-based violence. Andrew's usage of recipes and food is mainly to think around the concept of home for South African women. Andrew navigates the gendered nature of the private and public spheres. Through the recipe, as both literary mode and form, we get a sense of the present as well as the historical place of women in the organization of the private and the public home. As Meg Samuelson reminds us, South African women "have been cast as symbolic embodiments of home and all it signifies, and their bodies have been cast as the contested terrain on which new (national) homes are constructed" (2008, 131; see Samuelson 2005). Often these constructions are contradictory because women, even

as they are subsumed symbolically into the national body politic, are excluded as national citizens from the broader socio-cultural and political structures (Boonzaier and De La Rey 1003; see McClintock 1991, 105). The one way in which women are excluded as citizens is through the violence meted against them in both private and public spaces. The rates at which women die at the hands of intimate partner violence and the country's rape statistics are representative of South Africa's failed reconciliation efforts towards national forgiveness, peace and restoration first inaugurated at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Ross 2004). This is seen through women's rage against failed structural protection in the post-apartheid context (Samuelson 2008, 132; also see Gqola 2007, Cock 1991, Salo 2005). In the post-apartheid era, women are increasingly seeking recognition and showcasing the levels of unhomeliness within the domestic space and the national home. Through her female characters, Andrew confronts the South African state and the misogyny of South African men to reveal the plight of women in the country regardless of their socio-economic and racial positioning, and in so doing showcases the various ways in which women negotiate their own terms within the South African gendered script (Murray 14). Sally Andrew not only posits the recipe form and food as powerful tools towards reconciliation and restoration, but she also uses these to comment on intergenerational gender-based violence's in South Africa by calling forth the aunt figure. Tannie means "aunt" in Afrikaans, and in the novel, this figure is used to represent matrilineal, traditional and historical continuity in South Africa's transitionary political and social history (see Brown 273). *Recipes for Love and Murder* has a feminist and intergenerational worldview, and its multipronged storyline, as well as its multidirectional use of form and genre, are all useful in rearranging the tropes that have become so familiar in South African literature.

In this chapter, I open with a discussion on *Recipes for Love and Murder* as a transtextual novel. I do this by reading the book's first recipe, the recipe for murder. This recipe introduces the book's hybrid use of literary conventions and Andrew's subversion of normative representations of race and gender in South African literature. The recipe for murder also introduces an embodied and participatory reading practice. Following that, I look at root and relational identity as defined by Edouard Glissant in his *Poetics of Relation* (1990). Root and relational identity are two varieties of identity associated with the concepts of home, roots, genealogy and geography. I centre the rooted and relational characterization of Constable Piet Kleinbooi in my analysis of Andrew's recovery and incorporation of First Nation oral and embodied knowledges in the crime mystery novel. The chapter then moves to discussions of

culinary diplomacy and Andrew's invocation of the national and the domestic home through food. Culinary diplomacy refers to the ways in which food and cuisines are used as instruments of cultural exchange or even separation within national or transnational contexts (see Matrozi-Marin, 2017 and 2018). I use examples from the text that show how food accompanies discourses of social disintegration and relation in South Africa. I look at how, through food, the intimate home and the national home mirror each other, as well as how women interface with the recipe form and the kitchen space to perform citizenship in ways that allow them to nurture themselves and each other. In doing this, I focus specifically on Tannie Maria's national identity. Tannie Maria's Afrikaner identity as it relates to gender, the domestic and the national home(s) is evoked through a famous Afrikaner recipe collection, *Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy) first published in 1951 by S.J.A de Villiers. Using this well-known Afrikaner cookbook, Andrew subverts its symbolic role in Afrikaner homes.

*Transtextuality and Representation in Recipes for Love and Murder*

Gérard Genette defines transtextuality as "the transcendence of the text, all that sets the text in a relationship, whether obvious or concealed, with other texts" (1). *Recipes for Love and Murder* is a transtextual text, seeing that in the book, literary forms and genres are placed in a dialogic relation with each other. *Recipes for Love and Murder* transcends the novel form by engaging with and inviting the recipe book form; additionally, the book is both a crime mystery as well as a romance. In its transtextuality, *Recipes for Love and Murder* utilizes the cookery book form as a storytelling genre. The book shows how both novel writing and cookbook writing are developed by social and historical events as well as mixtures and entanglements (of form, of ideology, of people and cultures). Andrew formulates the novel and the recipe book as constantly developing genres that reflect societal transformations as well as vernaculars (see Bakhtin 1935). *Recipes for Love and Murder* demonstrates that genres and forms do not operate or even grow autonomously. In its use of novelistic and gastro-conventions, the book also has chronotopic multiplicity, whereby polymorphic spatio-temporalities are envisaged. An example of this is how "textuality" in the book is reviewed through collaboration and engagement with precolonial South African oral and embodied histories that have survived through intergenerational transferal. Precolonial and post-transitional (after-apartheid) themes in South African writing are fused and brought forward in ways that do not hierarchise their importance. In her usage of a chronotopic multiplicity, Andrew accommodates and observes how precolonial, colonial and postcolonial/post-apartheid histories are rehearsed and

remembered in contemporary South Africa. Andrew does not in any way look at hybridity as a form of uncontested syncretism. Instead, Andrew's use of hybrid forms and genres can also be read as reflecting upon South Africa's complicated history with the representation of cultural and racial intermixing. The nonhegemonic organization of literary conventions showcases the modalities of hybridity (see Stam, 276). The formal, generic and thematic hybridity of the book allows Andrew to subvert popularized forms of representation for her own pursuits.

*Recipes for Love and Murder* opens with the editor of the *Karoo Gazette* paying her close friend Tannie Maria a visit to relate the news of Tannie Maria's new position at the *Gazette*. Tannie Maria learns that she's to write an advice column on love, and each letter she responds to will be supported by a recipe, this is how "Tannie Maria's Love and Advice Column" is established and the context for the "recipes for love and murder" generated. When we read the book, the murder has been solved, and Tannie Maria is conveying the details of the murder mystery as she writes a recipe book. She tells us that:

> A lot of people from all over the Klein Karoo wrote to me. The letters I wrote back gave me the recipes for this book: recipes for love and murder. So here I am, writing a recipe book after all. Not the kind I thought I'd write, but anyway. One thing led to another in ways I did not expect. But let me not tell the story all upside-down; I just want to give you a taste...The main recipe in this book is the recipe for murder. The love recipe is more complicated, but in a funny way it came out of this murder recipe:
>
> RECIPE FOR MURDER
>
> 1 stocky man who abused his wife
> 1 small tender wife
> 1 medium-sized woman in love with the wife
> 1 double-barrelled shotgun
> 1 small Karoo town marinated in secrets
> 3 bottles of Klipdrift brandy
> 3 little ducks
> 1 bottle of pomegranate juice
> 1 handful of chilli peppers
> 1 mild gardener

1 fire poker
1 red-hot New Yorker
7 Seventh-day Adventists (prepared for the End of the World)
1 hard-boiled investigative journalist
1 soft amateur detective
2 cool policemen
1 lamb
1 handful of red herring and suspects mixed together
Pinch of greed

- Throw all the ingredients into a big pot and simmer slowly, stirring with a wooden spoon for a few years. Adds the ducks, chillies and brandy towards the end and turn up the heat. (17)

The recipe for murder is inspired by Martine's brutal death and the events that follow it. The recipe for murder is a tasting experience and acts, in the first instance, as a character list. The "1 stocky man" is Martine's husband Dirk, Anna Pretorius is the "1 medium-sized woman in love with the wife"—both Dirk, a former soldier now turned drunken and abusive husband as well as Anna are prime suspects in the murder of "1 small tender wife"— Martine van Schalkwyk. The "1 mild gardener" is the second murder victim in the book. Lawrence works for Martine and Dirk; the murder of Lawrence is of importance and is mentioned in the recipe because it is one of the first clues that the two suspects (alongside a third suspect, John Visser, an old lover of Martine) are not the wanted murderer. The "7 Seventh-day Adventists" are apocalypse anticipators whose diets are strictly vegan. The "1 hard-boiled investigative journalist" is Jesse Mostert, a journalist for the *Gazette* who studied at a Cape Town university, she and Tannie Maria work very closely to solve the crime. Tannie Maria is the "soft amateur detective". The "red-hot New Yorker" is Candy, a cousin of Martine. The "two cool policemen" are Detective Henk Kannemeyer and his partner Constable Piet Kleinbooi, who is a tracker and a descendant of the indigenous Khoisan.

In the recipe for murder, these characters are mixed with fire pokers, brandy, lamb, three little ducks, greed, a shotgun, pomegranate juice, and a handful of chilli peppers. All these objects are signs and clues that are either legitimate and will help solve the crime or are red herrings. The possibility of both makes for an interesting read.

The recipe for murder follows the structure of the recipe form. It includes the title of the recipe, the ingredients, the measurements, as well as the expected duration for meal preparation. The recipe's instruction that we "throw all the ingredients into a big pot and simmer slowly, stirring with a wooden spoon for a few years" indicates that it is not a recipe of skill and competence but rather one of entanglements and mixtures. This also signals Andrew's interest in South Africa as a melting pot, this is seen especially through the recipe for murder's diverse list of characters, which is inclusive of the non-human. The use of temperatures and proportions also works in accordance with the form of the recipe.

The character list is also non-racialised. Andrew's use of hybridity differs conceptually from that of the nineteenth century in that "there are no clear-cut racial and biological assumptions" (Acheraïou 89; see Kuortti and Nyman 2007; Smyth 2000; Sharif and Giroux 2016). Instead of using racial categories to describe and introduce the characters, Andrew uses temperamental categories like "mild" and "cool" as well as proportions like "small", "medium-sized" and "stocky". The novel's characters are racially diverse; however, this is clearly not at the centre of Andrew's invocations and interests, which are focused mainly on gender-based violence in South Africa. The form of the recipe allows Andrew to evade the hegemonic racial structures of representation that have haunted South African writing. The recipe for murder is the first suggestion that popularized representational modalities will be subverted in the book primarily through the creative use of the recipe form and genre.

The recipe form in *Recipe for Love and Murder* is understood as a work of imagination alongside the novel form. The interplay of forms is accompanied by an interplay of genres. Tannie Maria tells us that she is writing a cookbook. She adds that her recipe for love is a recipe that is conceived from the recipe for murder. Tannie Maria is entangled in three genres: crime mystery, food writing and romance. In the narrative, we engage all three, and the genre-bending nature of the book is tied to the important theme of postcolonial hybridity in the narrative. *Recipes for Love and Murder* is a book of transculturation in the postcolonial/post-apartheid context, and the generic choices by Andrew are also connected to the new and old contact zones in South Africa's cultural world. Andrew uses the interdependence of genres to comment on the racial, cultural and gendered correlations in South Africa. Andrew proposes a syncretic cultural synergy. This is not to dismiss the longstanding oppositions within the various racial, cultural and gender groups. Through generic hybridity, these share space within the book as well as in debates on South African writing. In the book, readers are made to understand that

race, class and gender in South Africa are not mutually exclusive.

By subverting hegemonic categories of description and representation, Andrew unveils South Africa's representational crisis, especially regarding race as a thematic obsession in South African writing (see Barnard 2012; Mare 2014; Erasmus 2017; Frenkel and MacKenzie 2010). Andrew diverts the obsession with race to the neglect of the country's past and present gender issues. Even though South Africa's problems with race are approached in the novel, the novel's main preoccupation is with gender and gender-based violence. In mentioning the abusive husband and the small tender wife in the recipe for murder, Andrew introduces this. In her preoccupation with gender-based violence, Andrew does not overlook how gender is connected to race, as well as the fact that gender-based violence affects women across racial categories. As Pumla Gqola and other scholars of gender have observed, in South Africa, GBV is "played out in many homes across province, race and class" (Gqola 2007, 118; Salo 2007; Gouws 2020; Gaitskell 1989; Moolman 2013). Andrew fuses the racial and gendered themes interestingly, and the one strategy she uses is placing the iconic figure of Nelson Mandela within the politics of both race as well as gender.

Andrew revisits and reuses the most famous image of transition in South Africa — the moment Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically elected president, is released from prison — to blend her considerations of both race and gender. Through deploying this historically important moment in South Africa's democracy, Andrew confronts the doubts and the confusions that come with transition for women without "reducing them to single, simple formulation" (Ndebele 156). Tannie Maria tells us that:

> Mandela stood up for women's rights and criticised violence against women. Sometimes after listening to him I felt I must just walk away from Fanie. But my fear was stronger. So was the voice of my husband, mother and church: Staan by jou man. Stand by your man. (41)

Tannie Maria confronts the fear she held for her deceased husband in an Afrikaner community that encouraged silence and submission from women, and to her (unlike her mother whose abomination for the democratically elected black government led her into a self-imposed quarantine), Mandela's presidency also means the strengthening of women's voices. Tannie Maria celebrates the moment of Mandela's release not solely for racial freedom but for the promise of gender equality as well. Prior to Mandela's release, Tannie Maria struggled

internally because her community was beleaguered by racial and misogynistic prejudice. Her wish to belong took precedence despite the physical and emotional abuse she had to withstand. Mandela's release invigorates the desire for freedom away from her husband. Tannie Maria's internal struggles also reflect the condition of South Africa's socio-political landscape in which racial prejudice has generally procured more significant concern than the equity between genders (see Meintjes 1996; Frenkel 2008; Stratton 2020; Swarr 2012).

Tannie Maria represents women in South Africa who have been politically marginalised and have had to fight to gain recognition in the intimate as well as the public domain through subversive means (such as recipe writing) and are now making legitimate claims for recognition as citizens in the post-apartheid nation-state (see McEwan 2010; Reddy 2005; Lewis 2009; Boswell 2020). For Tannie Maria, her recipes offer an alternative and temporally reflexive narrative of national reconciliation. The self-referential form of the recipe has a durational lifespan—recipes can be passed on and preserved generationally through memory, embodiment and writing. This capacity for prolongation allows one to look to the past to address the present and the future of women's place in South Africa. For Tannie Maria, food has the potential to revive and release memory. Throughout the book, Tannie Maria has memories of her abusive past, and these memories encourage her to fight for Martine and women's justice. Through the recipe form, Andrew establishes the marginal space occupied by women's voices in South Africa's nation-making to speak against gender-based violence and set up discourses on memory and food as they relate to gender equality. Through her dishes and recipe writing, we read and understand Tannie Maria's solicitation of a past that is not yet past and has lost its grip and a future that is yet to take shape (Turner 133). The marginal can also be read through Tannie Maria herself. Tannie Maria is an unexceptional protagonist: a white middle-aged woman living in a small town still hoping for love as she heals her past pain through food. However, it is this unexceptional woman whose courage and fight for justice sees that Martine's murderer is caught and sentenced to imprisonment. Through this character who fights for others as well as a past self, Andrew suspends any of our attempts at settled assumptions about Tannie Maria. The back-and-forth of memory, of which the visual of Mandela's release is a part, is a process of retrieval and redemption. This back-and-forth between past and future is also initiated by the back-and-forth reading the recipe for murder calls for. The type of reading the book requires, which is introduced by the recipe for murder, is productive in that it offers us a temporal worldview of perceiving South Africa's political history and transition (see Bakhtin 360).

The recipe for murder also allows for a more experimental way of reading and it sets the stage for readers to also join in the amateur detective work. The recipe and the "ingredients" provided by Tannie Maria in the recipe for murder compress the narrative and provide the reader with clues. As we read the text, we find ourselves going back to this recipe to track the murderer. By inviting the reader into the detective work, the book comments on the participatory nature of the recipe form in which instructions on food preparation are open to readers for interpretation and development. *Recipes for Love and Murder* works with the form of the recipe to set the stage for shared cultural codes whilst simultaneously challenging the already existing reading practices of the novel form whereby the authorial voice of the writer and/or narrator guides the reader towards anticipated outcomes. The recipe for murder and the ways it calls for a back-and-forth reading disrupts our thinking about books as objects of chronological interpretation. Novels often demand progressive modes of reading from the prologue to the epilogue, whereas recipe books are sectioned, and the reader can open and read the section most relevant to them. *Recipes for Love and Murder* also provides recipes for dishes that readers can prepare, and in this way, the text invites embodied participation from the readers. The book, in its capacity as a cookbook, requires a back-and-forth reading that is not linear as readers are welcome to visit the book solely for its recipes and not its story. The merging of the novel form with the cookbook form redefines reading practices, and consequently, these familiar literary forms, just like hybrid cultures, "acquire new meanings, while echoing old ones" (Werbner 136).

The reading practices initiated in the book go beyond the written. In her call for a back-and-forth reading and writing practice, Andrew also elicits the precolonial world through the oral and embodied histories of Southern Africa's First Nation communities. I move now to focus on one of the two cool policemen in the recipe for murder to think about how in *Recipes for Love and Murder,* Andrew traces the survival of oral and embodied modes of knowledge transferal, as well as claims to national belonging and citizenship. *Recipes for Love and Murder* is partial to heterogeneity and multiculturism (Werbner 142). It showcases this through a complex view of temporality and territory ( Drichel 587). In her engagement with generic and thematic multiplicity, Andrew also tackles discourse on territory, particularly the ways in which these relate to notions of white settlement, indigenization and land dispossession in South Africa.

*Representations of Root and Relational Identity in Recipes for Love and Murder*

*Recipes for Love and Murder* is inextricably bound to discourse on territory. This is especially true about white settlement and indigeneity because in South Africa, especially in the Karoo, where the novel is set, indigenous knowledges are perceived to be rooted in the territory (Clifford 1988; see Glissant 1990). In the book, this is mainly the case with the character Constable Piet Kleeinboi, who has "Bushman" ancestry and heritage.[29] Piet is an excellent tracker because (or instead, we are made in the text to believe it is because) he is a descendant of the indigenous Khoisan who were nomadic and had a deep knowledge of the land. Andrew wields Piet's ancestry to incorporate the survival of oral and embodied modes of knowledge transmission in contemporary South Africa. Andrew continues with her project of transtextuality by incorporating the knowledge genealogies of precolonial Southern Africa and the debates this generates in the contemporary nation-state. Piet Kleinbooi is a contentious character because, as Hugo ka Canham writes: "Indigenous people's existence is generally at odds with the neocolonial [South African] nation state that purports to represent all people while primarily concerned with promoting majority cultures. The modern neocolonial state requires compulsory settlement on land and adopts development projects that exploit resources of indigenous minority groups" (43; see Gqola 2010). In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* Piet's character showcases both a root as well as a relational identity. These foreground the book's interest in representing new claims to territory and belonging in the post-apartheid nation-state (Settler 54). As mentioned in the introductory chapter of this study, root and relational identity are coined by Edouard Glissant in his *Poetics of Relation* (1990) and they refer to two varieties of identity (143). Root identity alludes to the myth of origin in the context of violent reterritorialization (Glissant 1990, 143). It privileges genealogy in claims to territory (Glissant 1990, 143). Relational identity pertains to cultural exchange, it does not privilege entitlement over territory (Glissant 1990, 143). In the following paragraphs I offer two readings of the character of Piet and the ways in which Andrew represents him via a root identity as well as relational identity.

[29] The colonial Europeans who settled in the Karoo regarded the Khoi as "Bushmen" because of their nomadic lifestyle. This is the term that is used in the book. It not a widely accepted term by people who are descended from the Khoisan.

Through the representations of Piet as rooted in the ecology, Andrew recovers and incorporates intergenerational embodied knowledges. Piet's embodied knowledge of the land is a "recipe" inherited from his forebears that works alongside the crime-solving skills of others. This autochthonous representation does underplay the colonial genocide that Khoisan people experienced and the historical transformations this led to such as the destruction of indigenous subjectivity and material culture as well as the assimilation of the Khoisan into colonial society where they were later categorised as Coloured (see Jethro 2017; Penn 2005; Adhikari 2010; Verbuyst 2020). Scholars have observed how the colonial genocide against the Khoisan and the disregard by colonialists for the Khoisan nomadic lifestyle generated fantasies of virgin territory devoid of people and in need of cultivation to colonialists (Adhikari 2010; Veracini 2007; Boisen 2017). These processes of land dispossession in the context of violent conquest ask that we problematise autochthonous representations especially as they relate to land, indigeneity, heritage and national belonging in the neocolonial state. For example, when Khoisan history was subsumed into the Coloured identity in the nineteenth century, its associations with indigeneity were disregarded by colonialists (Wolfe 1999; Cavanagh 2013). In the post-apartheid context, there is an emergence of what Rafael Verbuyst (2022) and Duane Jethro (2017) theorise as Khoisan revivalism. According to Verbuyst, Khoisan revivalism is the "increasing affinity towards, and politicisation of, the Khoisan in post-apartheid South Africa, deriving mostly from a critical interrogation of the identity label Coloured, especially among those currently classified as such, whereby some (re)claim Khoisan identities, indigenous status and/or land and leadership titles" (8). Khoisan revivalism reveals the contentions in contemporary Khoisan identity and heritage particularly how these relate to "senses of belonging, land restitution and justice, constitutional accommodation, knowledge systems, occupying sacred and ancestral spaces and indigenous self-identification" (Bam-Hutchison 2014, 123). Khoisan revivalism signals a Khoisan identity (as well as a Coloured identity) that is not static but constantly in flux. The representation of Piet as autochthonous in *Recipes for Love and Murder* is also relational. Piet's ability to track his surroundings as a precolonial Khoisan hunter is generative to crime writing and solving crimes in the book; an activity which is occasioned across racial and gendered lines.

Constable Piet Kleinbooi's relationship with nature in the novel is reminiscent of the Southern African hunter-gatherer, and this is especially apparent when he and Tannie Maria investigate a site that is linked to the two murders as well as the disappearance of a colleague. In the scene, Piet and Tannie Maria are on the lookout for pomegranate trees, seeing as one of the murder

victims had been drinking pomegranate juice before she was murdered. At the time the fruit was not in season. In the scene Constable Piet interacts with a gwarrie tree, one of the most common succulent trees in the area, "as if he were greeting an old woman […]. He rested his hand gently on one of its branches. His pale brown skin was rough and dry like the dark skin of the gwarrie bark, and his face was wrinkled like its leaves" (Andrew 227). Tannie Maria continues by narrating that:

> Piet's people, the Bushmen, had been around many thousands of years. He said something I couldn't hear to the tree before we stepped out again into the patchy shade of the riverbed. Piet tapped his ear, and I stood and listened. Baboons were barking from inside the kloof. Soon we were in the shade of the mountain – close to the ravine. Piet pointed up at a giant fig tree in the kloof, its grey roots wrapped around big stones. (Andrew 227 – 228)

Piet's connection with the gwarrie tree in the novel can be read as imparting Glissant's conceptions of "root identity" and "relation identity" (143). Within the parameters of root identity, an individual's cultural identity is "determined by a root, and [the displaced subject] is condemned to being split and flattened" (143). Root identity is a form of identity meaning making displaced people (displaced via voyage or land dispossession) create based on notions of a disrupted distant past that is remembered either through myths of a creation world that was impeded upon through violent contact between differing peoples (Glissant 143). This leads to either claims of legitimacy over territory or projected claims on other territories which opens space for discursive knowledge and creates as well as roots a thought of self and of territory against thoughts of an Other (Glissant 143-144). In *Recipes for Love and Murder* Piet represents a root identity in that he is represented as having a metaphysical connection with the gwarrie tree in ways Tannie Maria does not. In the above excerpt, Piet says something to the tree that Tannie Maria does not hear. He is described as resembling the tree's brown bark and wrinkled leaves. These are markers of delineation and division between Piet and Tannie Maria, who is white, and they are constructed through the ecology. The tree is represented as a part of the ecology that bore witness to the violent episodes of displacement between Piet's ancestors and white settlers. As he speaks to the tree, Piet commemorates an ecological relation that has become an ecological archive, empowering his organic knowledge of the territory. Piet's body is alert to and affiliated with the land through his ears, hands and speech. This suggests that Piet keeps an embodied knowledge of the land, which has probably been passed on through oral and embodied methods in his community. Through Piet's character, Andrew calls attention

to the body as a text whereby specific histories cannot disappear or be suppressed.

Even as it celebrates embodied modes of knowledge transferal and storytelling, we cannot overlook the dangers of this sort of representation. It is not entirely a positive rendition of Piet's indigeneity by Andrew, especially considering that in the text Piet is described as existing within the Coloured identity because he is a descendant from Khoisan/Bushmen ancestry. The manner of framing in the above extract recounts an ethnic essentialism from which a place-based identity-making is taking place. Piet is being "temporally incarcerated into a state of primitivism or even extinction" (Ives 21). The notion of Piet as a descendant of the Khoisan who were dispossessed of land and co-opted into slave classes as exploited labourers spatially incarcerates Piet in a heritage rooted in the past whereby he will forever search or need to legitimate his cultural authenticity instead of accepting the Coloured heritage as one that is constantly changing—also read creolising— as well futuristic (Ives 31-32; see Appadurai 1998). To root Piet in the environment is also to make him ecologically immobile (see Malkki 1992). This ecological immobility and spatial confinement "pathologizes mobility and rootlessness and thus can render indigenous displacement as affliction" (Ives 30). The danger of representations of a root identity or even a territorially rooted indigeneity suggests that an African past is without dynamisms. Writing on narratives of modernization, creolisation and the early postcolonial style in Thomas Mofolo's *Chaka,* Kirk Sides also observes the dangers of a "historical vision of the southern African ethno-scape [as a] tableau of autochthonous stability" (161). Sides suggests that creolisation offers a "recuperation of an African history [that] mediates notions of cultural and racial statis, notions that not only form the basis of colonial ideology, but also inform much anti- and postcolonial writing" (161). I have suggested in the second chapter that constructions of Coloured identity at the Cape—*Recipes for Love and Murder* is set in the Klein Karoo which is a semi-desert region in the Western Cape province of South Africa—call attention to the Coloured identity as an identity of ongoing relation, of creolisation (see Glissant 1989). Coloured identities as creolised identities are ambiguous, and this has much to do with their fluidity rather than their immutability (Erasmus 2001, 14). I suggest a reading of Piet in the text as one that makes us attentive to the sedimented devastation of settler colonialism at the Cape even as it is a dangerous inference that makes Piet seem as if he is a native informant who makes the Klein Karoo legible to Tannie Maria and to readers. I would also suggest that within this representational dilemma it is still possible to see the productiveness of Piet as a cultural translator, especially if we read the text as one that is working within a generic multiplicity.

Relationality in the novel is extended via the genre of crime fiction. Relational identity, according to Glissant, is not linked to creation myths and is based on "continuous and contradictory experience of contacts among cultures and is produced in the chaotic network of Relation and not in the hidden violence of affiliation." (1990, 144). Relational identity does not claim entitlement over territory but instead circulates a belonging to land that is "newly-extended [whereby] land is not territory to be grasped but territory to give on-and-with" (Glissant 1990, 144). Piet is entangled in the process of relationality as his embodied skills in detection work alongside other characters. For example, in the next section I write about Tannie Maria stemming from a heritage of written recipes and the ways in which this tradition in her family helps solve the crime. The embodied and the written here work alongside each other for the benefit of all.

Piet's embodied knowledge in the text is generative to the genre of crime fiction as it represents what Christine Matzke and Susanne Mühleisen in their *Postcolonial Postmortems* (2006) write of as the "ethnic investigator" (7). The ethnic investigator is a cultural arbitrator, someone who operates in a "contact literature" (reminiscent of Mary L. Pratt's 'contact zones') 'which express[es] the contact between cultural spheres' and mediates its inherent tensions" (Matzke and Mühleisen 7). As an ethnic investigator, Piet is utilized by Andrew to subvert the Eurocentric ideological and literary expectations within the crime fiction genre by fraternising these with surviving indigenous African modes of detection (Matzke and Mühleisen 7). Within this relationality both African and Eurocentric modes of detection in the crime writing genre "play an important role in the constitution of a community's identities" (Matzke and Mühleisen 7). Piet and Tannie Maria have differing positionalities where the land and belonging are concerned. Piet's closeness to nature and his ability to read nature as well as Tannie Maria's love and understanding of the Klein Karoo landscape through food all point us towards the ways in which "connections between people, plants, and place [are] inextricably tied to the racial histories mapped onto and still existent in the ecosystem" (Ives 7). In the narrative, we see the ways in which Tannie Maria is enveloped within a white settler African identity and the ways in which this identity is put in relation to others, like Piet. Even as these identities are unequally recognised and represented in the nation-state through the crime fiction genre, Andrew can map the contact zones between them. Piet is also an arbitrator, a contact zone, between South African indigenous/precolonial and contemporary history. In the novel, Piet coalesces present discourses on race and ethnicity in South Africa as they pertain to land-

related altercations. This coalescing is impeded as well as foreshadowed by his cultural indigenous identity. Constable Piet Kleeinboi's tracking skills are helpful in the investigation of the crime and they are also representative of "the reconstruction of social stability that is so typical to the genre of crime fiction" (Matzke and Mühleisen 4). Piet, Tannie Maria and others in the text are all able to solve the crime through a group effort, and in this way, the social order is restored in the Klein Karoo (see Matzke and Mühleisen, 5). Piet's embodied knowledge of the Klein Karoo exists within reciprocal modes of exchange where it is shared for the betterment of society and the solving of crimes.

Through the character of Piet, Sally Andrew re-explores the territorialization of power in South African society and how "imposed divisions open up the possibility of new communities, new identities, new affiliations" (Barnard 8). These new affiliations in *Recipes for Love and Murder* can also be seen through the hybrid use of genres, themes, and forms. The use of recipes in the novel is integral to discussions on space and we can read Piet's embodied knowledge as a recipe passed down to him from his ancestors, and even as this representation incarcerates Piet—Coloured people generally—it also shows that "social space implies a great diversity of knowledge" (Lefebvre 73). Piet's root identity is also a relational identity. This is because it exists within a social space whereby knowledge is produced and subsumed through interrelationships that survive due to coexistence (Lefebvre 73). Through the representation of Piet's root as well as relational identity, Andrew brings to the forefront the nervousness that accompanies discourse on cultural diversity and belonging in South African society and literature. In the narrative we are made to understand that some skills cannot be passed on beyond genealogical parameters. Piet and the gwarrie tree seem to be rooted into the ecosystem in ways Tannie Maria is not, even though we are told that her "veldksoene knows how to walk on the sand and stones" (Andrew 228). The narrative transcends and even invalidates the boundaries that are provoked via notions of belonging through performances of interconnectedness that do not shy away from historical truths, as painful as these may be (Matzke and Mühleisen 8).

Constable Piet Kleinbooi's professional position works in adherence to his position as the ethnic investigator who, in the narrative, can communicate with his environmental surrounds; this also happens for Tannie Maria regarding her relationship with food and her profession as an agony aunt. Neil van Heerden writes that for Tannie Maria "food holds the same kind of magical power [as the magical power Piet yields over the environment]. It can comfort, heal,

provide companionship, and even help to facilitate the solving of a crime and the restoration of justice and even acts as a counter-narrative to the violent masculine narratives of dominance and subjugation" (50). The magical power of food and the magical power Tannie Maria possesses through food are also a part of the ecological cosmology that Piet is tied to. In the narrative we engage a chronotopic multiplicity that complicates and goes against notions of racial and cultural dominance in any one group. Food and the environment are very important to this arrangement. This leads me to my discussion of food and the notion of home in *Recipes for Love and Murder*.

The novel is invested in South Africa's creole food cultures. In the book, food is a tool of syncretism and separation. Using food and recipes, Andrew also attends to questions of gender and domesticity in post-apartheid South Africa. In the following section of the chapter, I look at food and the constructions of the domestic and the national homes in *Recipes for Love and Murder.*

*Food, Home and Gender in Recipes for Love and Murder*

In South Africa, separationism and creolisation survive parallel to each other. Recipes and food have been integral to the ways in which relations between people and cultures are bolstered and even fractured (see Cusack 2000; Shimahara 2016; Sellick 2010; Nyamnjoh 2018; Baderoon 2009). *Recipes for Love and Murder* engages with the creolised as well as the separationist role of recipes and food in South Africa, most notably the impact these have in constructions of home and gender in the country. Food and food cultures allow Sally Andrew to address post-apartheid political and cultural transition in South Africa. This is because food is one of the materials that "alludes to the dead weight of the past that is inevitably carried over into the transition, and the effects of which are palpable both in individual psyches and in social space" (Barnard 93). Through food, the space of the home both within the domestic and the national, can be scrutinised, and scholars can examine the gendered nature of homemaking and national belonging (see Meintjes 1998; McClintock 1991 and 1993; Samuelson 2005; Noble 2002). Food is personal, and it is social, via recipes, scholars can access the sociality of food. Recipes are a teleological form and genre, and as a result, they allow for ongoing constructions of food as a source of connection as well as severance within the public and the personal, as well as assessments of how these are carried over generational and geographical lines. In this section, I think about food and recipes within domestic and national constructions of home in

*Recipes for Love and Murder*. I also evaluate the ways in which Andrew uses food and recipes to represent the gendered and racialised social order in South Africa.

Food and recipes are at the centre of this crime and detection narrative. Food and recipes are centred in the commitment of crimes, their investigation, the breaking of women's silences, and the journeys to healing (especially for the women) in the novel. When Tannie Maria is made the agony aunt of the local gazette, she shares recipes that will comfort her distressed readers and letter writers, some of whom are depressed by the insularity of their small town. Whilst I have shown the centrality of the recipe in the text, I have yet to sketch the significance of food in *Recipes for Love and Murder,* as well as the ways food surrounds discourses of social disintegration and relation in the text. Food in the novel not only sustains and transforms, but it is also a companion. This is evident from the opening of the novel when Tannie Maria says that:

> My mother gave me a love of cooking, but it was only when I discovered what bad company my husband was that I realised what good company food can be. Some might think food is too important to me, but let them think that. Without food, I would be very lonely. In fact, without food, I would be dead. (Andrew, 9)

Tannie Maria's devotion to food emanates from her mother's teaching and this devotion was further augmented by the bad treatment she received from her abusive husband (Andrew 30). Tannie Maria feels that food saved her life. It is because of this that she relies on food in almost all her societal and personal engagements. In her capacity as the agony aunt for the local gazette, Tannie Maria endeavours to comfort others through food (Andrew 21). In the novel Tannie Maria also becomes an amateur detective, and, in that role, she uses food to cajole secrets and the truth surrounding the murder of Martine from those who are at the core of her investigation:

> "I have a piece of that chocolate cake,' I said, 'and a lamb sandwich. With mustard and gherkins. That could make him talk.'
> 'I don't think we should be giving that bastard cake and lamb,' Jessie said. 'He deserves a sharp kick in the balls.'
> 'The man has a gun, you know,' said Hattie. 'But I agree he's more likely to talk to a tannie

with food than a pair of Gazette investigators." (Andrew, 84)

In the narrative, food is also an important signifier of the ways people socialise. Under the aegis of food, it becomes apparent that the characters are linked by choice as well as involuntarily (see Probyn 33). As a signifier in the text, food has particular meanings to characters and their contexts. Food usually highlights the fears and anxieties characters have. These anxieties in the book are linked to broader concerns within the national home. An example of this from the novel is when Mandela is freed from prison and Tannie Maria relates that her mother "along with other whites was [so] terrified" (39) that "[s]he bought boxes of tin food and put bolts on all the doors and windows" (Andrew 39). Tannie Maria adds that even after the political tensions following Mandela's release had relaxed her mother "kept two big sacks of flour in the pantry" (40). These scenes reveal the extent to which the space of the domestic home is contaminated by the social space. They show how the national home is, as Meg Samuelson puts it, "a theatre of intimate lives [demonstrating] the home as the site of intimate violations, home under siege, home as a space of stultifying domesticity, home as the source of sociality, home as refuge and retreat and home as a marker of both belonging and exclusion" (2008, 134). The home does indeed reflect national structures of exclusion and belonging and Tannie Maria's mother's dooms-prepping also has a history within the South African national home. Sally Andrew uses food to make these connections visible.

The sort of doomsday prepping practised by Tannie Maria's mother has a history in South Africa. Large-scale doomsday prepping was implemented by the National Party, which legalised racial segregation in the country in 1948. When first faced with international scrutiny and various suspensions from international economic activity from the 1960s, the National Party "established a local weapons industry and stockpiled reserves, they developed ways of manufacturing and stockpiling oil for energy, invested in agriculture to become self-sufficient in terms of food, etc." (Senekal 15). These efforts to reach pariah status and to remain unaffected by international isolation were transferred onto the people they governed, like Tannie Maria's mother, and have left a lasting impression in South Africa. In post-apartheid South Africa there is a continuance of doomsday prepping from right-wing groups like the Suidlanders, a survivalist group whose sense of belonging in a South Africa that "belongs to all" is muddied by collective fear, uncertainty, nostalgia as well as the misguided belief that there is an ongoing white genocide in the country carried out by the black populace (see Knoetze, 2020, Czerniewicz de Satgé 2021). The Suidlanders, in preparation for doomsday —

operation Uhuru, also dubbed the Night of the Long Knives and Operation White Clean-Up (Suidlanders DVD2) — have stocked water, energy supplies, ammunition and most importantly food in their plot for survival. Food continues to be pivotal in a country where, as Sakiru Adebayo puts it, "the past is not merely present but [that] it remains indigestible and unresolved" (277).

In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* doomsday prepping within the national home is also seen through the Seventh-day Adventists —a religious group of apocalypse anticipators— who do not consume meat or dairy.

> 'These people are Seventh-day Adventists,' Jessie said after she'd swallowed. 'They believe it's the end of the world. Again. They've had a few false alarms over the years, but this time they think it's for real. They've flocked here from all over because the Klein Swartberge are supposed to be a good place to ascend. There's some spot at Dwarsrivier where the rocks look like Jesus.'
>
> The end of the world. It felt like that, just now, when that woman refused my food, and the ground started shaking. I suppose if I couldn't eat meat or dairy it might seem like the end of the world. (94)

The vegan group does not consume meat or dairy, not from the desire to protect animals, but rather in the narrative, their veganism is portrayed as a performance of sanctity. For Sally Andrew, the Adventists characterise uncertainty and delusion in the post-apartheid era in that they mark (notably through their conviction of an impending apocalypse) political, social and environmental confusion writ large (Wright 28). Their diet also marginalises and alienates them. Many of the characters in the novel perceive the Seventh-day Adventists as unrealistic not solely because of their conviction that Armageddon is within striking distance but also because of their diets. The exclusion of the Adventists is further distinguished in the text when Tannie Maria provides us with the recipes for the dishes she prepares throughout the book, and she apologises to the Adventists for the predominance of lamb, eggs, and dairy in her recipes (363). Sally Andrew avoids a radical position where the Adventists and veganism are concerned because she, too, is focused on the aspirational nature of such a diet. Portrayals of veganism as an aspiration in the narrative are concerned with how "becoming vegan is a process rather than an end in itself" (Mwangi 11). This is much like the promise of the attainment of racial, cultural, and political freedom in South Africa at the end of apartheid in

1994. In her probing of the various doomsday episodes, Sally Andrew comments on the segregationist role of food in South Africa before, during, and after the 1994 political transition. Food and the characters' relationship with food in the book represent the ambiguity of political transition for groups and individuals. Food in the text also commemorates South Africa's Indian and Atlantic Ocean foodway histories.

Food in *Recipes for Love and Murder* is also used to address South Africa's history with creolisation. One dish in the text speaks specifically to this; the book is preoccupied with bobotie, South Africa's national dish. In the book, bobotie is a significant dish and Tannie Maria often prepares it to surprise, please, as well as to heal others. Bobotie in the crime narrative is represented as homely, a food that softens relations. It is used by Tannie Maria as well as the author as a form of culinary diplomacy (see Matrozi-Marin, 2017 and 2018). Andrew uses bobotie to remind us that despite the divisions within South Africa's society, as well as amongst readers (regarding the villains, heroes, perpetrators and the victims), we are all part of the diverse national home and the detection narrative. The pluralism is rallied by Andrew through bobotie, which is a dish influenced by differing cultural groups from the time of slavery in South Africa. South Africa's slave past is a difficult one but also one of culinary and cultural fusion. In the text, Bobotie illustrates the links between Atlantic and Indian Ocean food cultures that creolised at the Western Cape from the seventeenth century.

Bobotie is "a kind of meat stew, a traditional Malay dish in which a delicately flavoured curry is topped with a beaten egg and baked to a crust [often] served with stewed fruits and chutney" (Stalcup 18). South Africans have been eating bobotie since the seventeenth century when enslaved Indonesians who were brought to the Cape by the Dutch brought with them food knowledges (particularly knowledge of the use of spices) from their homelands that were subsequently creolised with the food they found at the Cape (see Botes 2020; McCann 2009; Sen 2009; Crais and McClendon 2013). Bobotie emulsifies Indonesian spices like ginger and turmeric with Dutch favourites such as finely ground meat, apricot preserves alongside custard-like egg toppings that also showcase some influence from British dishes. The syncretic nature of the dish is also lingual. The name "bobotie" blends the Betawi language and "Cape Malay" a creole language influenced by Malayan dialects and the various vernaculars the imported slaves encountered at the Cape. In Betawi, a language spoken in Jakarta and its immediate outskirts, a spicy dish is referred to as "bebato" and this dish usually consists of spiced eggs prepared in a banana leaf (Batten qtd in Hoogervorst, 30). The name of the dish and the dish

itself are adapted from Indonesian versions.

The origin of bobotie is a debated subject in South Africa. Some see it as an Afrikaner dish, and others see it as having derived from Malay and Dutch culinary influences (Botes 34).[30] The popularity of the dish is not shared across South Africa's ethnic groups and in terms of *who* consumes bobotie in contemporary South Africa research conducted by Annemarie T. Viljoen and Gertruida J. Gerike published in the *Journal of Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences* indicates that bobotie is not highly favoured or even known to some African ethnic groups (108). The dish, however, is very popular where *Recipes for Love and Murder* is set. The popularity of the dish in the Klein Karoo can be linked to South and Southeast Asian influences brought to the Western Cape by imported enslaved people in the seventeenth century that coalesced with San, Dutch and other European presences and cuisines. The Karoo was first populated by the /Xam Southern San indigenous groups whose collective existence in the semi-desert area was disrupted by colonial expansion and settlement (see Rust and van der Poll, 2012). The settlement of Europeans in the Western Cape's interior led some to the Karoo, where they took up residence, bringing with them property which included enslaved people (Jorritsma 4). The European need for labour at the Karoo overpowered the number of enslaved people they owned, and the Khoisan were relied upon as enserfed labourers (Jorritsma 4). Slave and enserfed San groups at the Karoo creolised both biologically and culturally and their descendants are the Coloured communities in the region today. The Karoo has a rich frontier and creole history as well as an omnifarious population; however, in South Africa, the area is commonly associated with silence and the absence of humans (Jorritsma 13). By eliciting the national dish and its popularity in the Klein Karoo, Andrew also connects the region, which is an isolated part of the country, with a broader South African culture. This reminds readers that nationality or national belonging takes place even from fragmented and obfuscated places and positions. Andrew imbues the bobotie in the local and the national to reflect on the fragmentations as well as the synthesized aspects that make for South African cuisine and culture.

There is no one way to make bobotie, and as a creole dish, it differs depending on where one encounters it because different demographics alter or have the dish with a minced meat/fish of their choice, and in a country as diverse as South Africa, this is of importance. There are no set

[30] https://capemalaycookingdelights.com/2013/06/27/battle-over-bobotie/ (Accessed October 2023)

spices to use as well. Everyone can have a say when it comes to making bobotie. In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* the bobotie is a Karoo lamb bobotie and this is very much connected to Sally Andrew's scripting of connections through place. The "Karoo region is known for its *Karoolam* (Karoo lamb) where the meat is characterised by a distinct herbaceous aroma and flavour owing to the fragrant bushes it consumes" (Eramus and Hoffman citing Erasmus et al 2017, 71). The *Karoolam* bobotie (as well as other meat dishes) in Tannie Maria's recipes are prepared with spices and herbs like turmeric, paprika, coriander, black pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, cinnamon sticks, cayenne pepper, nutmeg, cloves, garlic and fennel seeds. These are symbolic because they signal the oceanic histories of trade that brought spices as well as enslaved people to the Western Cape and have thus altered the culinaryscape of the Karoo and South Africa generally. Bobotie, *Karoolam* bobotie, "translates oceanic routes into territorial roots and it fuses the mobile with the autochthonous" (Samuelson, 2010, 273). The dish is a South African speciality with connections to African, Asian and European foodways, and as both a homely dish as well as the country's national dish [*Karoolam*] bobotie registers the national home and belonging as unsettled as well as transplantable (Samuelson 2010, 273).

In the bobotie recipe provided in the recipe section of *Recipes for Love and Murder,* we are told to prepare the meat dishes 24 hours before so that "the meat becomes tender, and the spices need time to give the best flavour" (366). We are told to "mix all the ground spices [and to] add the seeds and whole spices and stir until the smell fills the kitchen" (366). This is precisely what Sally Andrew does with her narrative, she mixes it all up, and the hybridised use of differing genres and forms, as well as her infusion of multiple themes, represents South Africa's multiculturism. South Africa's societal fragmentation, as well as its creolisation, are expanded upon most especially through food and the culinary recipe. We see how the domestic home and the national home mirror each other.

In the following pages, I continue to look at food, home and gender in *Recipes for Love and Murder*, focusing specifically on how Tannie Maria occupies the national and the domestic homes, as well as the place of recipe writing in her community, which is an Afrikaner community. I focus mainly on the book's invocation of a famous Afrikaner recipe collection, *Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy) and how Andrew subverts its symbolic role in Afrikaner homes.

*Tannie Maria's Domestic and National Home*

Tannie Maria is an Afrikaner woman and the qualifying criteria for this identity in South Africa today is that one be white and Afrikaans speaking (Cloete 42). The Afrikaner cultural identity was consciously created in the early twentieth century (Hofmeyr 2014). The Afrikaans language was transformed into an asset for the Afrikaner national culture (Hofmeyr 2014; Louw 2004; Webb and Kriel 2000). The Afrikaans language, a creole language, became the principal source of Afrikaner cultural and national identity. National culture or national identity is a tenet of cultural identity and as Stuart Hall writes: "[The national culture] is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings — *a system of cultural representation*. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture (292, all emphasis his). Hall continues to explain that "national cultures are discourses" (292) and that they need and use five elements to tell the narrative of national identity-making. According to Hall, the five elements of a national culture are: the narrative of a nation, an emphasis on origins, the invention of tradition, a foundational myth and the idea of a pure, original people or folk (294-295).

The Afrikaner *volk* consciousness of the early twentieth century utilized all five; most especially the invention of tradition and the idea of a pure and original volk. One of the ways in which the Afrikaans tradition was invented and the notion of a pure *volk* maintained was through print (Giliomee 2014; Hofmeyr 2014; Louw 2004). Print media was crucial to the legitimisation of Afrikaans as a national language that belonged solely to Afrikaans white people as well as a mode of commonality and communality that united the white "Afrikaans national family". Women were central to the making of the Afrikaner national culture, and as natural homemakers, women were tasked with ensuring the health of the intimate as well as the national homes (Kruger 1991; du Toit 1996; van Niekerk 1996). The Afrikaner print media of the twentieth century oriented itself to the home and women's role in the home. Women's media perpetuated ideas of the national family and women's role in it and recipes as well as food were indispensable to the health and nourishment of the bodily as well as the cultural (Rommelspacher 2017 and 2020). Tannie Maria, as an agony aunt, is attached to these histories of Afrikaans women as nurturers and silent bearers of masculine power. However, Tannie Maria is empowered and empowers through the recipe.

In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* the Afrikaans recipe collection of the mid-twentieth century,

*Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy), published in 1951 by S.J.A de Villiers, is at the core of Tannie Maria's independence as well as her investigation. In the novel *Kook en Geniet* is symbolic of the history of the recipe in the formation of the Afrikaner national family as well as the place of women in it. The cookbook also alludes to the relationships between women, particularly the intergenerational connections women uphold in the domestic sphere. Tannie Maria owns a copy of the famous Afrikaner cookery book that she inherited from her mother. Tannie Maria's faded copy intimates the relationship she had with her mother; in the novel, Tannie Maria's mother is depicted as unloving in many ways. Despite this, the relationship Tannie Maria has with food is passed down from her mother's teaching. *Kook en Geniet* gestures to the connections Tannie Maria has with other women as well. Martine also has an English translation of the recipe collection. As the two women share correspondence, each of them keeps the letters they receive in their copies of *Kook en Geniet*. Martine's copy is not as faded as Tannie Maria's, and this signals the intergenerational relation between the two women. Tannie Maria can impart advice on the basis that she is older than Martine and she too has experienced abuse in her marriage to her late husband. Moreover, both these women are Afrikaner and Tannie Maria's advice is also an exposition of the longstanding challenges women in the community face. Closer to the end of the novel, in Martine's copy, Tannie Maria finds incriminating evidence that links Mr Cornelius van Wyk to Martine's murder. In *Recipes for Love and Murder*, there is a clear connection that is made with earlier histories of print and domestication, as well as the subversion of women as nurturers of others. In the novel, women nurture themselves and each other.

In *Recipes for Love and Murder*, women are central in narrating historical and quotidian events from the kitchen. This relates to the transition and mutability of who gets to tell the story, and, in this process, power is transferred from masculinist depictions of history. Through Tannie Maria, we also see that in South Africa, individuals can sometimes develop identities from historically inherited labels and positions. Tannie describes herself as having "languages mixed up in me" (Andrew 7) because of her English and Afrikaner family heritage as well as her personal struggles with Afrikaner misogyny and the need for freedom. When we meet Tannie Maria in *Recipes for Love and Murder* as readers, we are immediately invited to think of the place of women's pains and pleasures in the domestic and the national homes. We are also encouraged to reflect on the place of white women in South Africa's history and how recipe writing and food for white women underpinned the imperial and apartheid projects. The recipe for Tannie Maria is a genre of knowledge about women's experiences and a way to re-write the

Afrikaner woman into the post-apartheid nation-state.

In this chapter section, I sketch out the development of the Afrikaner *volk* consciousness and culture as well as the importance of print and women's media in these inventions. I then move to Tannie Maria's relationship with *Kook en Geniet,* as well as how the recipe collection represents feminist solidarity in the *Recipes for Love and Murder*. The presence and the usage of *Kook en Geniet* undoes the dominant cultural stereotype of the *volksmoeder* as a silent nurturer via the exposition of the internal pains that come with belonging to the Afrikaner national family and how these play out in the intimate home.

In South Africa, the Afrikaner identity has been racially, linguistically and culturally produced from the idea of Afrikaner homogeneity, a homogeneity that is constructed through an internalising process whereby it is believed that Afrikaners have a God-given, and yet self-defined, *volk*-consciousness (Cloete 42; also see Moodie 1975 and O'Meara 1983). *Volk*-consciousness refers to the linguistic, cultural and ideological conceptions of belonging in the Afrikaner identity (also read family), and even if these were only properly established after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), they are temporally located to the time of Dutch settlement at the Cape in the seventeenth century. The loss of control over African land and labour by the end of the Anglo-Boer War saw a scattered Boer community whose sense of collective identity was fissured from a creole language and culture that was shared with Khoi, Coloured, African and other European groups (Giliomee 1983; Theron 2001; Hofmeyr 2014). This, along with the high levels of poor Afrikaners, became a crisis especially seeing as in the emergent capitalist state cultural and class control were important if the community was to survive (McClintock 1993, 68). Twentieth-century industrialisation saw the need for a solid white Afrikaner working class as well as a dominating and cohesive Afrikaner culture and this was achieved through unified language use and development and a reading culture in the Afrikaner language (Hofmeyr 2014, 96). Despite the associations of Afrikaans with poor and Coloured people, through the growth of a reading culture, Afrikaans was adopted as a professional and written discourse (see Hofmeyr 2014, 104). With the conscious infusion of the Dutch language as well as a growing print and reading culture that was especially encouraged in the rural and semiliterate classes, Afrikaans was not only professionalized but also became a home language. Women were central to this process. Women played a crucial role in the making of Afrikanerdom, and as Isabel Hofmeyr notes, their commitment to fashioning the Afrikaans

language within the domestic home was so profound that "it was not for nothing that Afrikaans was so frequently called 'the mother tongue'" (2014, 113).

Afrikaner women represented the *volksmoeder,* and as mothers of the nation, they became a "symbol of purity and innocence, moral strength and patient suffering" (du Toit 2; also see Gaitskell 1989; McClintock 1993). As members of the Afrikaner family, women were biological reproducers, transmitters of the nationalistic culture, as well as symbolic signifiers of national and racial difference (McClintock 1993, 63). It was not only in the intimate home that the *volksmoeder* was fostered. The maternalistic discourse was embraced and emboldened in the public space through family and women's media. *Die Brandwag* (published until 1922), *Die Huisgenoot* and other magazines targeted women and provided intel on how women should behave themselves and shepherd their families. These magazines focused on the domestic sphere and "'a domestic science ideology' which attempted to permeate housework with a modern, 'scientific' ethos" (Hofmeyr 2014,114). Women's magazines like *Die Huisvrou* and *Huisgenoot* gave women advice on household and marital matters. The magazines also took on the task of transforming almost every aspect of the home into one that was ethnically nationalist by turning language, food, clothing and other cultural artefacts Afrikaner. These magazines show that women in the domestic sphere were political players and were very much aware of their centrality in the invention of Afrikanerdom (Swart 44).

Recipes were an integral part of *Die Huisvrou* and these were accompanied by "fashion-related content and a number of articles on topics ranging from how matters of the day affected women, marriage advice as well as the irregular advice on the management of domestic workers" (Rommelspacher 45). In this magazine, recipes were provided with nutritional tips and, in this regard, women had the preordained task of nurturing the health of the intimate and the public family. Providing women with the preparation methods for tasty and healthy food for their children and husbands, recipes in *Die Huisvrou* also provided information on nutritional food for the sick and invalid and all this was to the benefit of a healthy Afrikaner nation. [31] *Die Huisvrou* and *Die Huisgenoot*, which also provided recipes, utilised recipes as technologies of

[31] Nutritional recipes and instructions on the management of domestic workers were some of the ways the intimate home was professionalised. The professionalisation of the home was necessary at the time because although many Afrikaner women were relegated to the domestic sphere, some of them worked outside of the home as typists and as factory workers due to twentieth century urbanisation and industrialisation. The recipes and advice in *Die Huisvrou* targeted both working and domesticated women; however working women were especially seen as needing domestic guidance.

domesticity. The Afrikaner alimentary order[32] prioritized nutrition and food just as it transformed certain foods, like bobotie, into Afrikaner food. The Afrikaner alimentary order was attendant to both bodily as well as cultural nutrition and it also centralised women in their role as homemakers and nurturers as pivotal to the maintenance of the intimate and the national family's health and prosperity. The published recipes and the agony aunts of early twentieth-century women's media also gave rise to the publication of cookbooks like *Kook en Geniet*, which also associated women with the domestic and especially the kitchen space. In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* Tannie Maria returns to this particular book and this history, but instead of nurturing the Afrikaner national family she nurtures herself and empowers other women. Written and intergenerational recipes are important to Tannie Maria. She articulates in the book how women's private lives can be accessed through their recipe books.

Tannie Maria has a familial history of letters: her father was a journalist, and her mother was a domesticated woman who relied on recipes to cook. Throughout the novel, Tannie Maria attributes her culinary knowledge to her mother and the recipes she passed down to her. Tannie Maria acknowledges the tradition of transcribing and transmitting recipes. She also views this custom as one that benefits the companionship among women. This companionship is also championed by Tannie Maria in her role as a recipe agony aunt. For instance, when she receives a letter from Martine detailing her abusive marriage to Dirk, Tannie Maria responds with a recipe that is meant to "pacify" Dirk. In her advisory role, Tannie Maria also relies on her own mother's recipe books.

> I took the letter to the shelf. To the big recipe book my mother had given me. I opened the pages of *Kook en Geniet*. I folded the duck lady's letter between the pages, and closed the book around her words. Like it was holding her, sending her everything she needed" (36).

The big recipe book her mother bequeathed to her is a famous 1951 cookbook *Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy). The cookbook was published during apartheid. It was an important artefact to Afrikaner food culture and Afrikaner nationalism (van Niekerk 2011; Shaw 2021). The cookbook heralded the sophistication of Afrikaner culinary customs (above others like African and British food customs,) and this was important to the *volk* nationalistic agenda which subverted the home to be a critical space of collective identity formation (Louw 49). *Kook en*

[32] The term is first used by Panama Roy and it contends with the how "appetites, hungers, compulsions, intoxications, aversions, and addictions help to institute, enact, or unsettle one's sense of identities and histories…" (24).

*Geniet*—cookery books in general—for the apartheid government and for Afrikaans people became a pivotal propagandist medium. Through cookbooks like *Kook en Geniet* the Afrikaner community disseminated a collective identity and the idea of this identity as one that was upper middle class and politically empowered (van Niekerk 2011, 70). These cookery books were essentialized as projects of the preservation of a culture that was authentic and unique (van Niekerk 2011, 70). They were also instruments of domestic rule for white women.

The centrality of *Kook en Geniet* as a staple of Afrikaner culture is also exemplified in Marlene van Niekerk's 2004 novel, *Agaat.* The novel shows the influence of *Kook en Geniet* in the construction of female domestic ideals within the Afrikaner home. The novel is set on a farm called Grootmoedersdrift, in Overberg in the Southern Cape. In the novel, the Coloured woman who is first adopted as the daughter of an Afrikaner family is cast off as a housemaid and sent to live in the backyard when the couple conceives their first child (van Niekerk 2004, 52). To facilitate this transition as well as her knowledge of Afrikaner culture she is given a list of books: *FAK-Volksangbundel*, which is a musical anthology of Afrikaans songs, a women's guide to embroidery titled *Borduur só,* a farming guide titled *Hulpboek vir boere in Suid-Afrika* and these are listed alongside the Bible and a copy of *Kook en Geniet* (van Niekerk 2004, 52-55). These books are imparted with the hopes that they equip Agaat (the domestic servant) with the proper know-how of the Afrikaans culture so that she may serve and represent the family well. This process of housetraining and acculturation impacts Agaat in such a way that she wishes sincerely to be Afrikaner, more Afrikaner than her mistress. In the novel, Agaat is so successfully acculturated and assimilated that her mistress, Milla, observes that Agaat's skill in embroidery and farming exceeds even those of the white Afrikaner (van Niekerk 2004, 78). In the novel, van Niekerk broadcasts these books as a part of the Afrikaner national and cultural legacy, and the fact that the list is given to Agaat in the backyard also conveys the racial separation that Afrikaner nationalism encouraged in intimate and public spaces.

In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* the history of *Kook en Geniet* is not detailed; however, Tannie Maria's dependence on the book connects her to cultures of the making of the "super-Afrikaner". I have already shown earlier in the chapter that Tannie Maria's mother was an Afrikaner nationalist, who, when Mandela was freed, hid and kept "kept two big sacks of flour in the pantry" (40). In *Recipes for Love and Murder*, *Kook en Geniet*—as well as its English translation which became popular from the early 90s and made what was then an accomplished Afrikaner cuisine legible to cultural outsiders—connects Tannie Maria with other Afrikaner

women, like Martine. The cookbook connects these two women who have been silenced within the patriarchal structure of super-Afrikanerdom. When she reads Martine's letter Tannie Maria hugs her mother's copy of *Kook en Geniet* and imagines that she is holding Martine and sending her everything she needs (36).

This scene speaks directly to constructions of Afrikaner women as "promoters and guardians of the health of the [Afrikaner] nation expressed in print media in the early [and mid] twentieth century" (Rommelspacher 39). In these roles, Afrikaner women cooked and nurtured their husbands and children. Sally Andrew looks back to the twentieth century and subverts the role of the Afrikaner woman as a maternal powerhouse and nurturer to that of a woman who speaks out about the internal pains of belonging to such a community/family. Andrew and Tannie Maria disclose the realities of Afrikaner women, and *Kook en Geniet*, as a central text of Afrikaner ethnic mobilization, is invited as a witness, as a companion, and as an interpreter.

When Tannie Maria launches a kitchen investigation by breaking into Martine's house, she finds an English translation of the cookbook and in her private investigation is guided by the recipe books and shopping lists Martine kept:

> I went straight for what I had come for. The recipe books. Martine's shopping list with ingredients for my recipe had made me think: I'd remembered the books I had seen on her pantry shelf. A recipe book is just the private place I would keep something important. I put her four recipe books on the kitchen table, and opened them one at a time, carefully shaking them out. […]. The fourth and biggest book was *Cook and Enjoy*. I shook it and a page fluttered out: my reply to her in the *Gazette*, with the lamb curry recipe. It was there in her recipe book, just like I kept her letter to me in my Afrikaans version of the same book: *Kook en Geniet.* It was a spooky feeling. Like our recipe books could talk to each other after she was dead. (301)

The kitchen space and the recipe book in the novel are perceived as a woman's private place where important and secret things are kept and hidden. Tannie Maria relates with Martine as a woman through the organisation of her kitchen and the secret life she leads in that sphere. The fact that the English translation of Kook en Geniet is found also resists dominant cultural memory. The dominant cultural stereotype of the *volksmoeder* is subverted in favour of a self-defined and self-actualised counter-cultural memory. In the copy of the book, Tannie Maria finds her response and recipe to Martine and remarks that she also has Martine's letter in her

copy of the same book. The cookbook, in this instance, functions rhetorically as an object of fellowship and camaraderie between women. The cookbook landmarks a secret place, a secret life, and a secret conversation between Tannie Maria and Martine. In *Cook and Enjoy,* Tannie Maria also finds Martine's evidence against her boss, Mr. Cornelius van Wyk. This implicates van Wyk as the murderer, and thus, the mystery of Martine's murder is concluded. *Kook en Geniet* connects the two Afrikaner women as empowered. This invocation of women's creative agencies through food subverts "women's food work as it is usually prescribed in patriarchal societies [just as it] refutes how women's acquisition of identities can be repressively shaped by beliefs about their 'naturally' needing to nurture others" (Lewis 2016, 7). Instead, Sally Andrew presents Tannie Maria and Martine as nurturers of "relational bonds, generating a sense of security, wellbeing and contentment as cooks" (Lewis 2016, 7). Tannie Maria's discovery of the copy of *Cook and Enjoy* and the evidence hidden by Martine in the book is an instance of feminist solidarity. It can also be read as spectral feminist solidarity considering that she communicates with Martine from the realm of the dead.

The recipe book and the exchange of recipes between the two women (who have both been in abusive marriages and have found it hard to speak about this abuse) is a form of giving testimony about their experience of maltreatment in the domestic home as well as feminist empowerment. It is about nurturing themselves and others like them, in fact, Tannie Maria finds it strange that Martine herself was taking part in the thieving, trying to make sure that workers did not suffer (303).

In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* Andrew evokes the role that food plays in the domain of intimate as well as social relations and asks that we make "the connections between food and pain, as well as food and pleasure" (Mupotsa 2). Food is intimate as well as a social implement, and for South African women, food has been a means to narrate forms of exclusion from domestic as well as structural bodies. This is because in South Africa women have been excluded from the structural bodies that interact with notions of citizenship, nation and development, and as such, "what 'culture' *is"* (McFadden, all emphasis hers, 58). Through food, women are and have been able to encounter both meaning and power as well as influence culture. In *Recipes for Love and Murder,* Andrew shows how food and recipes embolden the relationships women have with each other and their community as well as how women have used private spaces, like kitchens, to dominate public arenas and discourses. For many women in South Africa speaking usually takes place "within everyday lived experience, rather than

nationalist concerns" (Mostemme 909; see Woodward et al. 2002). For a woman like Tannie Maria, who has had to carry the secret and the burden of the abusive relationship with her late husband to end up helping others with their secrets and eventually solving a murder, signals "the formulation of new forms of agency by women in unexpected places under daily conditions of horror [and] women's articulation of their languages of 'pain and grief' through the language of silence" (Motsemme 910). As the culinary agony aunt, Tannie Maria also centres food within personal and communal pains and pleasures discourses.

*Conclusion*

In this chapter, I showed how the recipe as the principle of organisation in *Recipes for Love and Murder* allows for a multi-thematic, multi-generic, multi-temporal as well as a multi-geographical reading of South Africa's entangled culinary, cultural, racial as well as gendered post-apartheid landscape. I showed how *Recipes for Love and Murder* is a transtextual book seeing as literary forms and genres are placed in dialogue with each other. In my analysis of the book's first recipe, the recipe for murder, I showed how in its entanglement with the cookery-book form and the novel-form as well as the fusion of cookery, romance and crime-detection genres, *Recipes for Love and Murder* subverts normative representations in South African writing. I explained that the recipe for murder, in its capacity as a character list, does not racialize characters; instead, it opts for temperatures and proportions as categorisations. This works in accordance with Sally Andrew's representational pursuits, those of privileging gender over race, especially seeing as in post-apartheid South Africa gender-based violence is one way in which women have been excluded as citizens in the national home. The self-referential and liminal literary genre that is the recipe allows Sally Andrew to bring marginalised women and topics in South Africa onto the centre stage. In this chapter I also showed how the recipe for murder and the general use of recipes in the text generate a back-and-forth reading of not only the book itself, but also a back-and-forth reading of South African history. In this back-and-forth reading exercise, I discussed in detail how through the character of Constable Piet Sally Andrew presents a complex view of temporality and territory. I debated how Constable Piet in the novel encompasses both a root as well as a relational identity, as well as how his character is essential to the incorporation of the oral and embodied histories of First Nation communities in the novel. Andrew centralises intergenerational recipes and the precolonial in questions of space and belonging in the post-apartheid national home. We see

that crime writing generates an understanding of knowledge as existing in the social and the relational.

In this chapter, I also focused on representations of home, food, and gender in *Recipes for Love and Murder* and how social relationality (creolisation) and social separationism in the text are parallel. I showed how, through representations of food, Sally Andrew locates the intimate and the national homes in South Africa for the characters in the text. I elaborate on the intimate and the national homes when focusing on Tannia Maria's cultural and national identity. I discussed how through her copy of the famous Afrikaner recipe book, *Kook en Geniet,* Tannie Maria undoes the dominant cultural stereotype of the *volksmoeder* as silent nurturer via the exposition of the internal pains that come with belonging to the Afrikaner national family. I also discussed how such cultural stereotypes play out in the intimate and the public home. Tannie Maria lets us in on the feminist solidarities and pleasures surrounding women and cooking. Through these, women can nurture each other.

In the following chapter, I place South Africa's food writing and cultures alongside Jamaica's. I focus particularly on Jamaica's national dish, ackee and saltfish, and how, through the dish, Jamaica's national language and culture are cultivated both in the republic and in its diaspora.

# Chapter Five:

## Jamaican Creole-Indigeneity and Ackee and Saltfish: National and Diasporic Perspectives

Throughout this thesis, I have discussed recipes and food as well as how they have been utilised to narrativise South African national and cultural identities. I have shown how South Africa's creole culinary culture has survived differing modes of social disintegration and segregation in the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid periods. In South Africa, recipes have been instrumental to the advancement of the ideas people have about their social identities and those of others. Recipe writers in South Africa have approached the recipe as a storytelling genre. In this chapter, I trace the similarities and differences between Jamaica and South Africa's recipe writing history. Jamaica has a history with food and recipe writing, and its culinary vernacular literary practices are best traced in and outside the cookbook. In this chapter, I centralise Jamaica's national dish, ackee and saltfish, in the country's deliberations on creole-indigeneity within the national and diasporic contexts. I discuss food experimentation and the indigenisation of enslaved people in the British West Indies. I then discuss the evolution of Jamaican cookbooks published in colonial and contemporary times. I read a poem by Barbara Zencraft titled "Ackee and Codfish" (1976) alongside some poems in Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* (1912). I close with a discussion on Cecile Emeke's 2014 film *Ackee and Saltfish*. In my reading of these I use Arjun Appadurai's writing on national cuisines and expand on his claim that "a national cuisine [particularly in the ways it features in cookbooks] does not seek to hide its regional or ethnic roots" (1988, 5). I argue that recipes, food and the gastro-poetics of the Caribbean nations and diaspora are central to questions of nativity as well as national/transnational belonging.

Foodways and culinary vernacular literary practices are critical components of the constructions of national cultures and cuisines (Smith 2012; Ichijo et al. 2019; O'Connor 2009). Through these ethnicity and indigeneity are determined and navigated. National, postcolonial and diasporic cuisines are regionally specific and often a national or diasporic cuisine is presented in cookbooks as having "ethnic roots" (Appadurai 1988, 5). "Ethnic roots" and "nativity" in the wake of slavery and indenture in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans are determined by various geographies and movements: of people, of goods, of food, of ideas, and, of time. In the black diaspora, the notion of ethnicity and rootedness is one that is continually

deliberated upon, especially since the dislocation predicated by the Middle Passage and Indian Ocean slave and indenture crossings. As Katherine McKittrick writes in her *Demonic Grounds,* black geographies are:

> located within and outside the boundaries of traditional spaces and places; they expose the limitations of transparent space through black social particularities and knowledges; they locate and speak back to the geographies of modernity, transatlantic slavery, and colonialism; […] they are fragmented, subjective, connective, invisible, visible, unacknowledged, and conspicuously positioned; they have been described as, among other things, rhizomorphic, a piece of the way, diasporic, blues terrains, spiritual, and Manichaean (7).

The fragmentary and rhizomorphic geography of the black diaspora and its particularities and knowledges can also be read through food (Ramírez 2015; Witt 2004; Garth and Reese 2020; Parveen 2016). Ethnic roots and notions of indigeneity are often associated with place and belonging (Merlan 2009; Watson 2014). For many people, the origins of certain foods and the absorption of these foods into specific diets and cultures is one way to determine one's ethnicity and place of belonging (Maiangwa 2017; Spivey 1999; Mays 2021; Craw 2008). The movement of people has always troubled this line of thinking, especially the mass movement of people through the Indian and Atlantic Ocean slave and indenture passages. As people move so do foods and food knowledge, and in this process, indigeneity and nativity are also unsettled (Spivey 1999; Arbarca et al 2017). In the black diaspora ethnic roots are invented and produced through oceanic movement (Kabir 2014; Sharpe 2009; Zeleza 2009; Mintz 2008). This makes belonging in the black diaspora both universal as well as geographically and culturally specific. The gastronomical particularities and the knowledge of the black diaspora are also constantly in flux (Witt 2004; Manning 2010; Ray et al. 2023). People move with food and ideas about food that they transplant onto place. Often, this is also a process of indigenisation (Wynter 52).

The geography of the black diaspora is gastronomical, perhaps more so than it is genealogical. Food, as well as its surrounding vernacular literary practices, show this. In the black diaspora, food, taste, and body memory are used to commemorate the shared histories of slavery, colonialism and transnationalism. In this chapter, I am interested in these phenomena. I am particularly interested in how displaced people creolise and indigenise through food. In this chapter, I look specifically at Jamaica's national dish—ackee and saltfish—from the time of enslavement to the independence era and finally in the diasporic context. I discuss how the dish

is used to address histories of dispossession and dislocation as well as to assimilate to new environments. Ackee and saltfish is crucial to making and fostering the Jamaican creole-indigenous identity, an identity formation critical to Caribbean conceptualisations of indigeneity, belonging, and rootedness. The conceptualisations that take place nationally affect how people rehearse nativity and belonging in the diaspora. My use of diaspora in this chapter refers to Jamaicans living outside of Jamaica.

Food in the Caribbean was an essential part of the ways in which enslaved Africans transplanted themselves onto the landscape. In the Caribbean, the word "indigenous" is now predominantly used to refer to enslaved Africans whose African as well as creole culture is understood to have "become indigenous". Cultural theorist Sylvia Wynter in her "Jonkonnu in Jamaica", writes that: "The more total alienation of the New World Negro has occasioned a cultural response, which had transformed that New World Negro into the indigenous inhabitant of his new land. His cultural resistance to colonialism in this new land was an indigenous resistance. The history of the Caribbean Islands is, in large part, the history of the indigenisation of the black man" (1970, 35). Wynter looks at the Jamaican case and posits that enslaved Africans acculturated with the Indian aboriginal groups under Spanish rule and that when the First Nation communities (the Arawaks) "died out" the maroon slaves who had lived in close proximity to them "humanized their mountains interior into adaptations of their own culture" (1970, 36). Indigeneity leads to questions of land, space, and most especially those of sovereignty and belonging. The conceptualisation of aboriginal disappearance and African indigenisation in the Caribbean is a kind of self-actualization theory; it is one that confounds the debates on settlement and conquest. I say this because in parts of the Caribbean, like Guyana, First Nation communities that did not "die out" have had to fight for their claims to postcolonial national cultures as well as for material resources and land space (see Jackson 2012). For these groups, enslaved Africans in the Caribbean were also settlers like their white counterparts and their dominance over the discourse of "nativity" is one that should be questioned. I am aware of these debates although I do not centre them here (Newton 2013; Jackson 2012; Diaz 2006; Feliciano-Santos; Shields 2011; Forte 2013). I evaluate the ways in which enslaved Africans were indigenised through food. I look at the creolisation of the enslaved groups alongside their subsequent indigenisation as well as the ways in which the discourse of creole-indigeneity surrounds Jamaica's vernacular literary practices in the postcolonial era as well as in the diasporic contexts.

In the Caribbean, the movement of people, foods, as well as cultures was facilitated by transoceanic movement. Neither ackee nor saltfish are indigenous to the Jamaican land or its waters. The ackee fruit was imported from West Africa on slave ships by enslaved people who carried seeds with them, as well as by enslavers who were aware that they had to feed the populations they carried across the waters (Powell et al. 78; Emanuel 2017). Ackee now grows in Jamaica and is a national symbol and premier food associated with slavery and processes of indigenisation (Mitchell and Webster 2008; Gordon 2015; Ashurst 1971; Kean 1989). Ackee is Jamaica's national fruit. Ackee is so rooted in Jamaican culture that the island and even its capital, Kingston, are popularly referred to as the "Big Ackee" (Ulrich 1998). During slavery, the fruit was fused with the codfish. Saltfish (cod) is one of Jamaica's highest imports, and it too was fed to the enslaved people and popularised in Jamaica post-emancipation (Candow 2009; Francis 2022; Bélisle 1984; Houston 2005). When ackee is prepared with saltfish, it is called the national dish.

The dish, ackee and saltfish, was created under brutal slave conditions, and its popularity post-emancipation moved it from a slave food to a food that represents national culture and the working classes. This was further developed during the Jamaican independence era. The ackee and saltfish dish was created via oceanic movement and exchange. The ocean, as a material space of nature and culture, is one of currents above and below water, connecting people, plants, and animal life. During the Middle Passage, the ocean disconnected and connected people to places in various ways, so much so that the ocean and land were conjoined in recreations of home.

In this chapter, I discuss food experimentation and the indigenisation of enslaved people in Jamaica. I then proceed to a discussion of cookbooks in and about Jamaica and the place of ackee and saltfish in the national as well as the diasporic imaginaries to evaluate how discourse on nativity and belonging is fostered via culinary tourism. The term "culinary tourism" refers to the "exploratory participation in and the preparation and consumption of the foodways, meal systems, cuisines or eating styles of an Other" (Long 181). I then look at Jamaica's national dish and connect it to its national language through Barbara Zencraft's poem, which also takes the form of a recipe, "Ackee and Codfish". I read Zencraft's poem alongside some poems in Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* (1912) to see how earlier modes of creole-indigenisation became important to newly independent Jamaica. Finally, reading Cecile Emeke's short film, *Ackee and Saltfish*, I show how creole-indigeneity and Jamaica's national dish are central to

ethnic advocacy in the diasporic context and how in the hyper-globalization era of takeaways and menus, nativity is unsettled.

*As Above So Below: The British West Indies and Food Experimentation*

In the British West Indies, both the upper and enslaved classes conducted experimentation with plants and food crops because the habitat was foreign to both groups (Parry 31; see Carney 181; Dunn 16). The habitat was also not heavily populated, and the indigenous Arawaks who did survive the brutal rule of the Spaniards and the Portuguese who had colonised the region were either syncretised with the newly formed society or disappeared to escape the rule of the English, who then repopulated the area by shipping enslaved Africans to the Caribbean (Lalla and D'Costa 7-9). As Charmaine Nelson writes, the depopulation of the Arawaks "was enacted through the sweeping genocides which exterminated vast populations of indigenous Caribbeans who were re-placed through systematic re-population by Europeans and enslaved Africans" (197). Prior to their extermination, the Arawaks were not necessarily food planters and sustained themselves through fishing, hunting and gathering—although on a limited scale—shellfish, roots and berries (Parry 1955, 5; see DeWolf 1953; Howard 1956; Lewin 2017; Reid 1992 and Tyndale-Boscoe 1962). The Spaniards and the Portuguese played a crucial role in the development of the West Indies environment (Simmonds 1996; Hancock 2022). They introduced a great variety of crops, including bananas and plantain; however, it was under the jurisdiction of the English when sugar plantations were on the rise that the racial, cultural and environmental demographics of the West Indies were to be altered forever. The Spaniards and the Portuguese had planted sugarcane (see Greenfield 1997). However, it was at the end of the seventeenth century under the English that sugar was planted and produced at a large scale, resulting in sugar being the island's primary export (see Mintz 1986; McDonald 1993 and Reid 2016). By the time the English and enslaved Africans had repopulated the region, there was very little food heritage to inherit and food networks, as well as cultures, had to be created from scratch. This was especially so for the enslaved Africans who had been moved unwillingly to an alien environment and at first "refused to eat a plant which bore no resemblance to anything they had known in Africa or Jamaica" (Parry 1955, 19). The master classes survived mainly from imported food. They did not run the plantations from the West Indies, and often, experimentation with plants was for profit-making and not necessarily linked to sustenance. One of the first scholars to pay attention to food experimentation in the West Indies is John Parry, who in his 'Salt Fish and Ackee' (1952), notes that the "most striking fact

about the food plants of Jamaica is that — they were nearly all exotics. They were introduced by man to serve his own needs. Prehistoric Jamaica was remarkably deficient in local food plants" (31). Parry also writes that:

> Throughout much of their history the West India colonies were run as estates from which a profit was to be drawn and they were run with the short-sightedness usually associated with purely economic motives. The proprietors and settlers concerned themselves with producing tropical crops which commanded a ready-made sale in Europe or — later — in North America. After experiments with tobacco, indigo and cacao, they fixed upon sugar as the most profitable crop, and sugar became the characteristic West Indian product. (30)

Had it not been for the enslaved, then Jamaica specifically would have been governed through exports of sugar and importations of food for the dominating classes. The enslaved were responsible for their nourishment outside the salt fish and salt pork provided by the master classes (Bickell 9; Lewis 54-55). The balance between crops for export and those for local consumption was bolstered by the enslaved, who experimented with the land to supplement their diet. Experimentation for the enslaved was also a memorial act, and enslaved people carried objects, such as seeds, from their homelands on the slave ships. These proved helpful when and if they took to the new habitat (DeMers 7; Carney and Rosomoff 2009). The enslavers also transported seeds to Jamaica because they were aware that they had to feed the populations they crossed over (Carney and Rosomoff 183). For example, the first ackee slips "were purchased by Dr Clarke, the first island botanist, from the captain of a slaver" (Parry 1955, 16). The ackee fruit, amongst other foods such as yams and breadfruit, was to become a predominant source of sustenance for the enslaved. It has survived into the culinary culture of postcolonial Jamaica. The transportation of seeds by both the enslaved and the enslavers contributed to slave food cultures. As crops were tried and tested, an indigenisation process was also taking place. The transplantation of vegetables on the virgin land also rooted the Africans to the land (Sheller 189; Carney and Rosomoff 2009). By the eighteenth century, the West Indies had a variety of ground provisions produced solely by the slaves (Parry 1952, 33). Creolisation, a term most popularly associated with the making of the New World, was also actively taking form within the environment itself and not solely on the racial or cultural levels. Here I lean into Sylvia Wynter's theorisation of creolisation as an indigenising process in her "Black Metamorphosis".

According to Wynter, the transportation and the subsequent transplantation of the enslaved African groups into the Caribbean—Jamaica is her principal focus—was a process through which the enslaved Africans "became native to the New World" (2). Working with Price Mars' research on Haitian folklore and culture, Wynter, like Mars, thinks of transplantation into stranger soils as indigenisation (17). Wynter theorises "roots" and "rooting" from vegetational roots and cultural roots. Wynter elaborates by noting that enslaved Africans rooted themselves by planting foreign vegetation in their provision grounds, they also re-rooted themselves by "making use of the old cultural patterns which had undergone a true sea-change in order to create the new vocabulary of the new existence" (18). The reinvention of African folklores and their transplantation into the new environment was a:

> cultural response to the geographic and physical disruption implied by the Middle Passage [and it was a response that was] great enough to transform him [the enslaved subject] into the indigenous inhabitant of his new land. His nativity, his rebirth was the result of his cultural self-recreation. […]. His 'ethnic' being was redefined by his cultural resistance to the dehumanization of colonial capitalism. (17)

Environmental and cultural re-rooting was a humanising process and thus a resistance to the hegemonic European logic that relegated the enslaved as non-human. The re-humanization of nature through myth, custom, and tradition somewhat nullified the conception of the enslaved as property. The provision plot, unlike the plantation, was not a labour site but the place from which the enslaved adapted to nature just as he transformed nature (Wynter 53; see Castellano 2021). The provision plots were also the site of an alternative modernity, much like the kitchen and the skilful use of spice for enslaved people in South Africa. In the plots, the enslaved were proprietors who owned and benefited from their labour (Bates 64; Delle 63). On the provision grounds, new cultural and culinary configurations were set up. Some of these resembled the practices already taking place in Africa, such as the Yam festivals of West Africa; these were continued and adapted. As yams were planted on slave plots, they were imbued with the philosophy and rituals of Africa (Wynter 63). The graves of those who died were also of importance (Wynter 85; see Klepp and McDonald 2001). The plot was unlike the plantation for two reasons: the plot was a space whereby belonging could be managed and controlled, an indigenisation space. The plantation was a space of subjugation as well as acculturation and creolisation. These were parallel to each other. As enslaved classes creolised, they also indigenised. The parallelism of creolisation and indigenisation was a means through which

enslaved Africans established and protected material and metaphysical rights. The provision grounds were also fundamental to the peasant classes post-abolishment. As Parry (1952) writes:

> [W]ithout the constant search for crops to stock those grounds, emancipation, in the form which it took in Jamaica, would have been economically and socially very difficult, perhaps impossible. It was the presence of a great variety of productive and easily cultivated food plants which enabled unskilled praedial slave to become the sturdy independent peasantry who inhabit the hills of Jamaica today. (36)

Cultural and material resistance was not entirely an alienated experience. It radically transformed the colonial encounter, and indigenisation contributed to the material cultures of the creole world.

The provision plots of the slaves produced food that was consumed by the dominating classes as well. These crops were not in any way removed from creolisation with other foods (Delle 66). The slaves who laboured in the master kitchens would fuse their produce with the imported foods of the master classes (Delle 66; Mackie 45; Goody 2018; Welsh 2018). The creole slave owners often overindulged on the Islands, and to mark their superiority, wealth and difference from colonial rulers and the British tradition, many of them would enjoy a second breakfast (Higman 2006, 116; Petley 89; see Boa 1993). The ritual of the second breakfast became an indicator of the foods that would become a part of the high culture, and unlike the traditional first breakfast, the second breakfast was one of experimentation with Jamaican creole foods (Higman 2006, 122). Reading Lady Nugent's personal journal, which details everyday life during the period of slavery, Barry Higman details her experiences of the second breakfast (also see Petley 2012). Lady Nugent's husband was to be appointed as the Governor of Jamaica, and she stayed some years in Jamaica (1801-1805). The journal details her stay as well as her horror towards aspects of Jamaican creole culture. The second breakfast was one such horror for her. In his reading of the journal Higman observes that:

> Nugent's experience of second breakfast reflected the eclectic mix of endemic, indigenous, naturalised and imported plants and animals that characterised Jamaican food culture more broadly. The process of naturalisation paralleled the social creolisation that Nugent often associated with these meals. Some of the ingredients, with roots far away across the globe, had already come to be thought of as Jamaican, and their creole status took on a rooted indigeneity.

(122)

The upper classes enjoyed the second breakfast. Its dishes, however, were created by the enslaved—both African and creole born—and this culinary creolisation was an important process to them because it reflected their contributions to the making of Jamaican culture and experience. It affirmed their rooted indigeneity. The second breakfast was an opportunity for the upper classes to experiment with the exotic dishes created by their labourers. It was also an opportunity for the enslaved to experiment with the tastes of their masters, as well as with the provisions they had planted.

It is important to note the fact that the enslaved people were not exempt from the dependence on imports, and their reliance on cod means that they were also susceptible to the comings and goings of the Island. Imported cod was an important and highly regarded feature of the slave diet. It was recorded by Jamaican planter Matthew Lewis in his *Journal of a West India Proprietor* that "it would go near to create a rebellion if they [the enslaved] did not receive a certain portion of salt fish" (54 & 209). Cod also shows the extent to which slave classes not only indigenised but how they also creolised.

It was the English who introduced saltfish to Jamaica. The English had advantages that the Spaniards and the Portuguese did not — "through the Royal African Company they had direct access to the main source of slave labour: and in North America, they possessed colonies which were already producing an exportable surplus of food" (Parry 1952, 32). North America provided two primary food sources to the islands: wheat and codfish. In her book *Congotay! Congotay!* (2014) Candice Goucher writes: "The growth of the Atlantic slave trade paralleled the growth of the trade in cod. New Englanders in North America joined the Newfoundland, French, and Basque fishermen in supplying dried and salted cod to foreign markets" (12). Before the slave trade, cod had already been a prized fish for the Viking sailors and the Basque fishermen who occupied the Atlantic at least half a millennium before Columbus' expeditions (Pringle 1997; Fagan 2019; Townsend 2022). As early as 1492, salted cod entered the culinary landscape of the New World as a staple food, and to this day, it is a part of the Caribbean diet even though the species itself does not swim in the warm Caribbean waters. In the New World, cod fish became a vital import item to feed the slaves who, unlike the slave-owning classes, did not depend entirely on food imports. The quality of cod the slaves received was of inferior quality unlike the luxury food brought in for the upper classes (Nelson 48). Cod was also a part

of Britain's diet; however, in Jamaica, the English preferred salt mackerel or salmon imported from New England or Ireland (Dunn 276). Codfish was creolised by the enslaved Africans with ackee to create the famous Jamaican dish, ackee and saltfish. Ackee and saltfish is indigenous to Jamaica. The dish was invented and developed in Jamaica.

Ackee is indigenous to West Africa where it is not enjoyed as an edible fruit. In Ghana, the ackee trees are "admired as ornaments and planted for provision of shade and wood…" (Mitchell et al 87). The fruit requires some skill to pick and prepare, and without the necessary skill, it can be poisonous. Knowledge of the fruit and how it should be prepared and eaten is knowledge from Africa (Palmie 92). In Jamaica, ackee is so popular that it is grown in almost every backyard, side yard and along fences (Rashford 192). The fruit is beloved in Jamaica even though it is deadly poisonous if it is improperly harvested or prepared (Rashford 190). Outside of Jamaica, the Jamaican Afro-creole diaspora is the sole reason for the worldwide distribution of ackee. The ackee fruit "can be regarded as an indicator species for Jamaican connections" (Mitchell et al 84). The ackee fruit has contributed significantly to the Jamaican economy as a major crop for export. The fruit itself "is a capsule which is green when young becoming yellow or red when mature; the part of the fruit that can be safely eaten is called the aril and is found in the fully opened seed pods" (Mitchell et al 87). To eat the fruit safely, it is believed that the fruit must "smile" or "laugh" from the tree; this means that the fruit is properly harvested and should open naturally. Rashford writes that "this clear association between open ackees, smiling, and well-being is one of the most important ackee themes in Jamaican culture as it reveals what Jamaicans must know about eating ackees safely" (190). For a fruit so laboriously associated with slavery and poisoning, ackee is incongruently affiliated with metaphors of joy and enjoyment.

As for saltfish, it is also widespread throughout the Caribbean, although cod is now served in smaller portions as it is expensive (Goucher 24). Cod, as I've just mentioned, is imported from North America. The cultural creativity and experimentation with foods by the enslaved produced the ackee and saltfish dish. It was a slave dish until the nineteenth century when it entered the food culture of the upper classes. Some scholars attribute the dish to be a post-abolishment dish (Higman 1998 for example, 123). However, both ackee and saltfish were already a part of the slave diet from the seventeenth century. It is improbable that these were only creolised so late; perhaps the formerly enslaved ushered the dish into the broader culinary culture after emancipation. Like the enslaved classes in Cape Town, knowledge for the

Caribbean's enslaved people was also passed on through secretive conventions, and in their alternative modernity, some things were kept within the community (Sheller, 25-36 and 187; Alleyne 2003; Geri 2009). Whereas the slave-owning creoles could mark their status through rituals of over-consumption (most especially through imported foodstuffs) the enslaved had to be discrete despite the quantity of food they managed to grow and develop into dishes that were consumed throughout the region by the upper and the dominated classes (Carney and Rosomoff, 174 and 187; Sheller 207-208; Wilson 1964). The newly liberated slaves may have been more complimentary with their food knowledge and culture after emancipation.

Jamaica's national dish continued to develop, and the nineteenth-century version was probably not the same as the traditional version. As John Rashford (2001) describes: "variations of the traditional ackee and saltfish developed from individual experimentation and from substitutions made necessary by high prices, shortages, and dietary restrictions" (194). Ackee and saltfish holds ample space for invention and experimentation, and as Jamaica's traditional cooking continues to be internationally recognized, "the lowly ackee and saltfish from the days of forced labour now tops the list of the island's favourite dish" (Rashford 196). Ackee and saltfish is an important feature in the culinary and national imaginary of Jamaica. The dish has an enriching vernacular that surrounds it in the national as well as the transnational space. This vernacular can be accessed through and outside of the cookbook. In the following section, I look at Jamaica's culinary literary practices in published cookery books to contemplate culinary tourism and Jamaican diasporic discourse on food and creole-indigeneity. Cookbooks in Jamaica, historically and contemporarily, are used for culinary tourism. In the nineteenth century, when the first cookbook was published, it was for metropolitan readers who explored the world through texts. In the transnational/postcolonial order, the cookbook is predominantly approached by Jamaicans living outside of Jamaica, for whom the form is a way to connect with and enunciate their ethnic roots. For Jamaican Afro-creoles in the diaspora, food and cookbooks on Jamaican food offer opportunities to rehearse belonging to the postcolonial Jamaican state as well as to Africa. Within this transnational discourse on belonging, there is also contention with regard to ethnic and national authenticity for those who write about food away from home.

Cookbooks in Jamaica, as with most colonized societies, emerged as instruments of a "civilised domesticity" and the earliest known English-language cookbook published in the Caribbean is Caroline Sullivan's *Jamaica Cookery Book* of 1893. The *Jamaica Cookery Book*, like the nineteenth-century cookery books published in South Africa by white upper-middle-class women, translates Jamaica to the metropole. In so doing, the recipe collection positions the "exotic" and "native" people as a part of the commodity spectacle that accompanies the gastro-aesthetic (see Valens forthcoming, 2024). The authority of white and upper to middle-class women in cookery book writing was still firmly set in the 1960s when there was another small trickle of cookery writing inspired by Jamaica's independence. Scholar of Caribbean Studies Barry Higman gives attention to Caribbean food cultures and writing (see Higman 1998, 2011 and 2012; Mintz on Higman 2010). His "Cookbooks and Caribbean cultural identity" (1998) particularly highlights the importance of recipe books in the culture-history of Caribbean food (77). Higman notes that there have been years in Jamaica where no cookery book was published; this is until 1969, when at least one or two recipe books were produced and printed (1998, 79). Jamaica has had relatively slow progress with cookery writing. It was only in 1989 that there was a noticeable upsurge in cookbooks, and since then, the numbers have been improving (Higman 1998, 78). Today there is a generous output of recipe books as well as other culinary vernacular literary practices emerging from or regarding the region.

The slow development of recipe books in Jamaica is unexpected, especially considering that the region has a far-reaching history of food experimentation and production. Despite the exponential food production and cuisine development during the slave period, only manuals relegated to the agricultural and labour sectors were published at the time and cookery books were sidelined (Higman 79). Higman attributes this to the "absentee proprietorship and male domination in the Jamaican slave and early post-independence period which meant that there was no one to provide cookbooks for seeing as there were very few high tables as well supervisory white women in the kitchens" (80). The English cookbooks that were published, like the *Jamaica Cookery Book* and the others that followed, concerned themselves with readers who were not in Jamaica. These cookbooks did attempt to distinguish between a high and a low Jamaican cuisine. In their earlier formations, Jamaican cookbooks (and the cookbooks that featured Caribbean food generally) established the difference between "high" and "low" cuisine, and these books often presented themselves as a piece of specialist culinary

knowledge. The upper classes were not experimental outside of their want of profit and relied quite excessively on imports; their openness to "newness" was limited and it is improbable that any cooking methods or dishes materialised from them (Carney and Rosomoff 181; Mintz 2010, 10; Ward 1978). For the enslaved it was the opposite. Innovation with crops both indigenised them as well as made them cultural/culinary proprietors (Sheller 189; Carney and Rosomoff 2017). This imbalance meant that Jamaica did not necessarily have a distinguished "high cuisine". A "high cuisine" was regarded as such because it was unavailable to the lower classes. It might have also been hard to distinguish the high from the low in a creole food culture where local foods and imported foods were blended and the food preparation not strongly differentiated.

Food in Jamaica is historically a cultural focus. It is one of the ways in which cultural identity, as well as one's status and wealth, are marked (Sperry 1; Houston 2005; Higman 2007 and 2011; Rashford 2010). However, food during slavery and after emancipation did not inspire a culinary vernacular literary practice because the people who developed the food culture were illiterate and passed on their culinary knowledge through embodied methods (Welsh 2019, 79; see Valens forthcoming 2024; Rousseau and Rousseau 21). The enslaved were, to some extent, in control of their food knowledge. This did change in the nineteenth century when the cookery book became a domestic symbol and a site of travel and exploration for readers in the metropole (Welsh 2018, 440; Bickham 2008; Dallas 1877; Rousseau and Rousseau 24). The rise of international cookery books that guise themselves as possessing localised and specialist knowledge incorporated the embodied knowledge of the enslaved, commodifying them and turning what was a low cuisine into a high cuisine (Higman 1998, 80-81; Cook and Harrison 313; Higman 2007; Harris 1995; Rousseau and Rousseau 294). Before the publication of these cookbooks, the enslaved classes could invent and experiment without much disturbance, especially since, to the dominating classes, whatever they came up with was readily dismissed as a "low cuisine" (Higman 1998). The transformation of the low cuisine into a high cuisine through the cookbook undermined the emancipatory food practices of the enslaved. The presence of the recipe book in Jamaica was one that was whitewashed and approached with distrust even as a historical archive and storytelling genre by "native" Jamaicans (see Rousseau and Rousseau, 294). The fact that an upsurge of sorts in food writing took place in the late 1960s after Jamaica's independence is telling of the slow and conscientious approach to the form; and even then, the native Jamaican cookery books still addressed outsiders.

In the early independence era, international attention was savoured and even cultivated to produce forms of national pride and belonging, even for those who wished to practice belonging in the context of "elsewhere" (see Cook and Harrison 2003). The publication of recipes by Jamaicans for Jamaicans living abroad was inaugurated by Leila Brandon's *A Merry-Go-Round of Recipes from Jamaica* in 1963. This is the year after the island gained independence. The cookbook was aimed at "Jamaicans living away from home and have a nostalgic longing for dishes peculiarly Jamaican, and also visitors to Jamaica who have a flair for cooking and would like to try their hands at dishes they have enjoyed here" (Higman citing Brandon, 83). These audiences were to be important to cookery book writers for the coming thirty years. For writers like Brandon, the recipe book was an opportunity to turn what had been a low cuisine that belonged to the enslaved and the lower classes into a cuisine that could be enjoyed across the world, which ultimately transformed these dishes into a high cuisine (Higman 1998, 83; Valens forthcoming 2024). This transformation placed independent Jamaica on the international stage and discourses of nativity were often abandoned to attract outsiders who were invited to participate in their own versions of Jamaicaness (see Cook and Harrison, 299 and 307). In the recipe book by Brandon, for example, two recipes for ackee and saltfish are published, "the first an overseas version using canned ackee and the second 'a Jamaican speciality'" (Higman 1998, 84). This sort of internationalism is predominant in many other Caribbean cookbooks. In this process the creole-indigenous character of Jamaican food is reinvented so that the boundaries of the nation-state can be transcended to include transnational forms of belonging. The nineteenth-century and post-independence move in Jamaican cookery books that support culinary tourism is inherited in books published more recently.

The cookbook as a culinary tourism genre is a common feature of Jamaica's recipe books. The autobiographical and ethnographic approach is a recent development, and even in this mode, tourists or Jamaicans living outside of Jamaica are the imagined readers. Examples of this are *Cooking Motherland: A Jamaican Cookbook* (2022), *Original Flava* (2019) and *Jamaican Cookbook: Real Jamaican Cooking Done Simply* (2018). These books are transnational. They endeavour to re-create home for Jamaicans in the diaspora as well as redress the culinary history of the region. In her reading of contemporary Caribbean cookbooks Keja Valens writes that home cooking in diasporic and transnational anglophone Caribbean cookbooks "conjure[s] imaginary homelands […] with new and old recipes and dishes" (2022, 109). Because these books are written away from the national home, the domestic space of the family (in the

intimate as well as in the nationalistic arenas) is one that is re-imagined. Even as there is an attentiveness to geography and origin, there is also an awareness of the displacement that comes with movement away from these. The intimate and the national homes for transnational culinary writers, as Valens puts it: "showcase[s] family constructions that are mobile rather than stable, extended and blended rather than nuclear, heterogenous rather than heteronormative" (Valens 2022, 113). In this exercise, there is an interesting play between the indigenous and the creole.

Creole-indigeneity for those in the diaspora is complex. If we think of creolisation in the New World as encompassing an indigenizing process for enslaved Africans, then we must contend with the fact that it was mobility, albeit a forced and cruel one, that gave rise to Afro-creole rooted cultural identities and modes of belonging. As these emerged, they were eventually fixed into place. Diaspora reintroduces another form of de-territorialization, and for the descendants of enslaved Jamaicans "home" means accepting the humanizing and indigenization processes that now make one native to Jamaica as well as the broader debates on diasporic movement and identity-making in the globalized era. The notion of home as both rooted (in Jamaica) and mobile (from Africa to Jamaica and now in the diaspora) means that transnational recipe books constantly have to negotiate and "exemplify an ideological interstate institution ensuring the translation of the conditions of production that reconfigure the state and its power" (Valens 2022, 115). The national imaginary of Jamaica and the broader Caribbean in these cookbooks is one that is preoccupied with origins. An example of this can be seen in the titles of the cookbooks I mention above and their use of "motherland", "real" and "original". In this mode of contouring authenticity there is engagement with temporality on the atavistic as well as the relational (contemporary, modern, global) levels.

This dual temporality approaches notions of displacement and globalised relationality. These take place parallel to questions of nativity and geographical origin. The Caribbean and Jamaica specifically are constituted by older forms of displacement, and cookbook writers in the diaspora must contend with new and old modes of displacement, and this is why "nativity", "creolisation", "original", "authentic" and/or "real" are important markers of home. The need for authenticity is tied to one's roots as well as one's mobile history. These are evoked simultaneously. Creole-indigeneity allows for rootedness and relationality to exist in conjunction. However, the creole-indigeneity of those who are in Jamaica and those who are in the diaspora are not negotiated in the same ways. In what follows, I look at ackee and saltfish

in cookbooks published in or about Jamaica. Ackee and saltfish in recipe books published away from Jamaica is used to approach nativity through rhizomatic understandings of the root. In this process, there is an ethnic advocacy that is transnational and relational, even as culinary authenticity is tied to the national culture and the rooted home.

In the *Jamaica Cookery Book* Caroline Sullivan writes:

> It is surprising to most newcomers, to find that in Jamaica there is hardly a more popular dish among the natives and often among the upper classes than the despised salt fish, eaten at home not from choice, but as a sort of penitential dish. Here, it is the almost daily, and certainly the favourite food of the people generally; and cooked, *as they cook it*, it cannot fail to please the most fastidious. (19)

In the first cookbook ever published from Jamaica, Sullivan has a clear "us" and "them". Sullivan's native is inherently inferior, not like the upper classes. Her use of the word "native" does not refer in any way to the indigenised and cultural native that Sylvia Wynter refers to. In the cookery book, Sullivan dedicates an entire section to ackee and saltfish, and in the section, her outsider position is pronounced. In her first recipe for ackee and saltfish, Sullivan writes:

> Soak the salt-fish overnight. Put it on in cold water to boil, otherwise it hardens: throw off the first water and put it on again to boil. Carefully pick the ackees free from all red inside, which is dangerous, and boil them for about twenty minutes; add them to the saltfish which is then cut in small pieces; add some lard, butter and pepper. (19)

In the recipe, it is clear that Sullivan has a knowledge of saltfish from her English background. However, her inability to explain *why* her readers should avoid the red inside of the ackee fruit, as well as her lack of clarifying where the fruit comes from, show that her interests in the dish are oriented towards a reminiscence on the slave and plantation past and how enslaved people are connected to the dish. Barry Higman opines that the self-consciously Jamaican cookbook "reflected the resurgence of the plantation, particularly through the banana, and the arrival of a new kind of white 'settler' and 'visitor' after the collapse of the sugar industry" (1998, 80). In her solicitation of the new colonial settler, Sullivan introduces the readers to the native other and, in her recipe, enunciates that the dish is tasty if cooked "*as they cook it"* (19, emphasis in original). The *Jamaica Cookery Book*, just like Hildagonda Duckitt's recipes, introduces and

translates the native other. In this process Sullivan becomes the figure of authority over "their" food culture. For Sullivan, the ackee fruit does not in any way reproduce the narrative of enslaved and colonised Africans in Jamaica becoming indigenous to the region.

It is different for contemporary writers in the diaspora with affiliations to the Afro-creole cultural identity. To these writers, the dish and the ackee fruit, particularly, are symbolic of a rhizomatic home. In these books, the ackee is given distinct attention because of its origin in West Africa as well as its place in Jamaica's national imaginary. These two things together conjoin the history of their "origin" as one that is multiplicitous. For example, in *Original Flava* the authors who are brothers explain that the cookbook was a way to "find our roots and family and to get to know more about the food and its history" (23). They write that:

> Ackee and saltfish is Jamaica's national dish and one of our faves. Eat with some fried dumpling pon di side – JEEZ! Our love for ackee and saltfish started at a young age when our mum made it every Christmas morning; we looked forward to it more than the presents! Traditionally this is for the morning, but is so versatile you can eat it any time of the day. Ackee – which has a texture similar to scrambled eggs – is available in UK shops in cans, but in the Caribbean the fruit is picked fresh from the trees. You have to be careful to pick it when it is properly ripe because otherwise it can be poisonous. But be not afraid, the canned ones are perfectly safe! In this dish it's married with boneless saltfish flava'd up with ground Caribbean spices. (29)

In Sullivan's recipe book, the dish is perceived as a popular dish, whereas in *Original Flava,* ackee and saltfish is brandished as traditional. Both these books attempt to translate Jamaica and its culinary culture, albeit for different reasons and in different times. For Sullivan, Jamaica is translated for the late nineteenth-century traveller, explorer or settler, and for the *Original Flava* authors, the cookery book presents an opportunity to enact some form of contemporary culinary tourism. Interestingly, Sullivan, who is writing from Jamaica, assumes an outsider position, and the *Original Flava* brothers are cultural insiders even though they had never lived in Jamaica prior to writing the book. This is certainly linked to the racialisation of the native and the survival of racialised imperial cartographies, especially as these pertain to who can participate in the survival of cultural identities and values. The ackee in *Original Flava* is imbued with narratives of home, belonging as well as those of food sovereignty – we are told the fruit in Jamaica is not sold in cans but is instead picked freely from the trees. This use of idyllic imagery places ackee in a context where it is not a commodity but a part of the ecology

and culture. We are also given a short biography of the fruit, and we learn that it is poisonous. With this information, the reader is galvanized to do their research on the fruit. The metropolitan readers are also told to "not be afraid [because] the canned ones are perfectly safe". In their attempt to find their roots, the authors of *Original Flava* try to make contact with their homeland. In his *Modernity at Large* (1996), Arjun Appadurai explains that in such instances of deterritorialisation and cultural reproduction, the homeland is "partly invented" (49). The McAnuff brothers invite others to make contact with a Jamaica that somewhat "only exists in the imagination" (Appadurai 1996, 49). In this rehearsal, the invention of the homeland is hybridised, and Jamaica is universalised. Belonging and the history of ackee in Jamaica are a hybrid production in which national borders and histories are not impenetrable. The journey of ackee from tree to can is not problematised at all; instead, it is ingrained with the dual meaning of origin as both rooted as well as relational (Valens 2022, 120). For the authors, London is just as much their home, and these two places, as homelands, are put parallel to each other through ackee and saltfish. This engagement with the territory of the home understands the complexity of the Jamaican diasporic culture. It can be aligned with Edouard Glissant's, Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari's ideas about the root (of identity and culture) as rhizomatic. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the rhizome is a root system that branches out into multiple non-hierarchal roots that are enmeshed and interdependent. The rhizome is a relational root system. Ackee and saltfish in *Original Flavour* speaks to the continued displacements of Africans in the diaspora, and here, the "root" is envisioned as constantly moving and connecting. The fluid rootedness also conjures the memory of the enslaved Africans who made Jamaica their native home through transplantation and creolisation. Indigeneity for these writers is not necessarily fixed to any original point; rather, what is original/indigenous can also be achieved through mimesis. Indigeneity is perceived as never fixed, and just like race, it is "a floating signifier" (Hall 2002).

The originality and authenticity purported in *Original Flava* are also commodified in that through the "original" and the "authentic", the writers mark their authority as well as the value of their insider knowledge of Jamaican food. They do this whilst inviting others to participate in the remaking of the authentic; what is authentic has multiple meanings (Valens 2022, 122). This takes us back to Glissant's invocations of root and relational identity and in this instance, they are concurrently mustered. This duality is also salient in the making of the Jamaican creole-indigenous identity which looked back to Africa as well as to Jamaica to take form. *Original Flava* is not an anxious response to displacement. It reinforces a transnational pride

that is in conversation with Jamaica's national pride. Food is not only sustenance to the body but also sustenance to cultural and national belonging. Food is a way to take part in Jamaica's nation language. The ethnic advocacy is rhizomatic and recipes are constructive in establishing Jamaica's cuisine as both national as well as transnational.

In this section, I have shown how cookbooks in and about Jamaica have always enacted forms of culinary tourism for outsiders. I focused on *Original Flava* by the McAnuff brothers as an example of how, in contemporary cookbooks, the root of one's ethnic belonging to a nation is rhizomatic and relational even as it relies on authenticity, national cultures and languages. I move now to looking at Jamaica's culinary vernacular literary practices as they survive outside of the cookbook form and genre. Writing on and around food in Jamaica or cookbooks about Jamaican food is still very much a form of culinary tourism. In my reading of Jamaica's gastro-poetics outside of the cookbook, I ascertain the place of the ackee and saltfish dish in discourses of nativity for those who live in Jamaica and for those Jamaicans who live in the diaspora. I also engage the generational worldviews attached to geographies by thinking alongside the local and the global as well as the national and the transnational. In the next section, I link Jamaica's national dish with its national language to see how, through the dish, the indigenization of enslaved Africans can be accessed and how this is used to engage questions of nativity and belonging during the independence era in Jamaica. I do this by reading Barbara Zencraft's poem, "Ackee and codfish" alongside some poems from Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica*.

*Ackee and Saltfish: National Dish, Language and Culture in Post-Independence Jamaica*

Afro-creole identity and nativity in the Jamaican postcolonial state are influenced by the cultures created and sustained by enslaved Africans who transplanted their African cultural identity into the Jamaican environmental and cultural landscape. They did this just as their Africanness was creolising with surrounding cultural presences. Jamaica's nation language, a term defined by Kamau Braithwaite (1984), is also one that is creole-indigenous in that it is a nation language that has recourse to African linguistic and cultural elements as well as English dialects. Nation language was created in the Caribbean and is thus indigenous to the region. Kamau Braithwaite defines nation language as a Caribbean language which is a "kind of English spoken by the people who were brought to the Caribbean, not the official English now,

but the language of slaves and labourers—the servants who were brought in by the conquistadors. Finally, we have the remnants of ancestral languages still persisting in the Caribbean" (5-6). For Braithwaite, the creole element of nation language is that it consists of both African and English dialects. However, what makes it a nation language is that it has rhythms and syllables and a "body of language" that is "strongly influenced by the African language system and is the African aspect of Caribbean heritage" (Braithwaite 2). Braithwaite and his contemporaries approach nation language as a total expression where organic "meaning truly resides […and writers are encouraged to utilise] the power within themselves, rather than the technology outside of themselves" (Braithwaite 19). Braithwaite coins "nation language" in 1984 in his *History of the Voice*. This is at the time when Jamaica's national independence (Jamaica became independent in 1962) from the British is still taking shape in tandem with deliberations over who has claim over Jamaica's material resources as well as the country's discursive terrain on cultural identity and nativity (see Monteith and Richards 108-109; Mordecai and Mordecai 29-37; Lawson 1998; Thomas 2004). Nation language is a kind of reclamation of language as well as territory. I refer to territory because nation language also aids the claims that enslaved Africans and their descendants have full rights to Jamaica's material resources as well as its cultural heritage because they became indigenous to Jamaica and other Caribbean regions (Thomas 2-8; Devonish and Carpenter 2020). This sort of argumentation is central to the creole-indigenous identity because, as Shona Jackson describes:

> […] the task of the anticolonial Creole is to articulate belonging (discursively) and in so doing, find a way to assert native status in the now borrowed and transformed language of the colonizers: an indigenous status that, again, can support not just belonging but the right to belong and to possess the land and eventual nation-state rather than allow for expropriation of land as with Indigenous Peoples. (85)

Braithwaite's nation language advocates that Afro-creole writers write not in standard English but in creole English, thus embodying the rhythms and the syllables of Jamaica and those of Africa. This, alongside the usage of native forms like Calypso, which is a West Indian music composed in syncopated African rhythm and African improvisatory methods, is recognised by the nation language movement as the apparatus that will make the writer and his readers "conscious of their nationality" (Braithwaite 22). This consciousness of one's nationality is also useful when one has to make claim to territories of land as well as those of the national cultural imaginary. In this section, I look at Barbara Zencraft's usage of the nation language

pentameter as well as the usage of the nation gastro-aesthetic in her poem "Ackee and Codfish". I read closely how the poem's emancipatory eating practice is tied to the sustenance of the creole-indigenous identity in independent Jamaica. I read the poem alongside some poems in Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* (1912). I do this to trace the role of food and food cultures in Jamaica's improvisatory, anticolonial and nation-language poetry.

Barbara Zencraft is a Jamaican poet and playwright who has published in Jamaican print anthologies. Her work is not widely celebrated as she occupies a rather hushed legacy. Her poetry collection titled *Native Soul* was published by Sangster's Book Stores Jamaica in collaboration with the Heinemann Writers Series in 1976. This collaboration afforded several writers, particularly women of colour, the opportunity to write for an international readership. In 1978, Kenneth Ramchand, in his periodical titled *The West Indies,* wrote that:

> The literary awakening in the islands in the last few years has resulted in a growing number of small, privately printed books and booklets, often of little value outside their immediate context where they help to encourage a habit of reading. But in trying to compile this year's list one was struck by the absence of national bibliographies in any of the territories, and by the helplessness of the university libraries in Trinidad, Barbados, and Jamaica when it comes to obtaining, either regularly or within a reasonable period after publication, material from outside the particular island where the library is located. (141)

Zencraft occupies the revitalised and local literary Jamaican space that centralises the usage of nation language in Jamaica as well as the encouragement of a local reading and writing culture. *Native Soul* showcases a locality and a rooted indigeneity in its use of the Jamaican lexicon. Zencraft writes in Jamaican patois about local and everyday Jamaican life. She is published by a local bookstore. Her work features in Caribbean poetry anthologies like *Caribbean Poetry Now,* an annual collection that published and represented the contemporary forms and attitudes to language in the West Indies at the time of independence. Zencraft enters the Jamaican regional scene in the period when there was an upsurge in nation language poetry because of the Independence movements of the sixties that inspired positive feelings towards nationalism. By the time Braithwaite published his *History of Voice,* nation language was already circulating in Jamaica's local literary scene. Braithwaite's principal impetus was to get internationally recognised Caribbean authors to take on nation language writing. At the time, even poets who

were first published in standard English and had an international readership, like Derek Walcott and Kamau Braithwaite himself, were invested in dialectic poetry because they saw it as a means through which they could voice the concerns of the people they represented in their own language (Valerie and Bloom 21-22; note that Braithwaite rejects the term dialect and opts for "nation language" 1984). Using a Caribbean dialect, many authors saw themselves as connecting with their African heritage and how it was transferred to Jamaica. They utilised this to combat the alienation of coloniality through a revaluation of their cultural power, which was also a labour-power. As Sylvia Wynter writes: "The twentieth century movements of negritude and indigenismo saw the vindication of native cultures, and of native peoples, as the first, necessary step in their assertion of the right of the 'native' to the full fruits of his labour power" (13). The transplantation of Africanity as well as the drudgery of slavery were perceived as having birthed the New World, and consequently, this world belonged to the descendants of enslaved Africans. Rooted in Africa's oral traditions and methods, nation language resulted in a vividness of language and images that were entwined with reclamations of physical and discursive terrains (Valerie and Bloom 22). The brevity of this Pan-Africanist and creole-indigenous tradition fed the feeling of a group consciousness amongst both regional and international writers from the West Indies (Valerie and Bloom 24). Barbara Zencraft's writing is somewhat inaccessible; however, through the Pan-Africanist and creole-indigenous writing and the collaborations it gave rise to, her poems managed to manoeuvre beyond Jamaica and into the discourse surrounding what it means to be Jamaican. Her poetry is written in Jamaican patois and is filled with quotidian euphemisms; she, one can say, wrote in the vernacular of the dispossessed.

Her poem "Ackee and Codfish" eulogises the Jamaican national dish and its history. The poem exemplifies a nation language imbued with a gastro-poetic/aesthetic that reflects creole-indigenous emancipatory practices.

> Mi love mi Ackee and Codfish
> It name Jamaica's National Dish
> Mi juss back de fish wid lickle ile
> An fry up eberything eena fi mi style.
> Juss mix it wid a lickle cawmeal dumpling
> An add a couple slices a peel pumpkin
> Di yellow yam is juss as good

Fi help full de pot wid more food.
Sometime mi can't even wait fi di bickle bwile
Mi juss teck pieca a bread an lickle ile
An scrape out all de Ackee and Codfish
An sey to di food: "Bwile if you wish!"
Cause seh Ackee an Codfish
Is wan of di sweetist Dish!

In the poem, the freestyling, cultural remixing and the food sovereign histories of the enslaved classes before and after emancipation are constituted as surviving in the Jamaican postcolonial state. The history of the slave provision grounds is sought, revisited and revised in post-independent Jamaica because it speaks to creole-indigeneity, food sovereignty and cultural freedom (Post 2012; Patterson 2019; Bakan 1990). Zencraft's post-independence ackee and saltfish is bound to the acts of freedom and the alternative modernities forged by enslaved Africans. Empowered by their culinary and environmental knowledge, the previously enslaved classes could sustain their cultural identity and freedom. In Zencraft's "Ackee and Codfish" the gastro-poetic is one of freestyle, remix, freedom as well as enjoyment.

Writing in patois about Jamaica's creole-indigenous dish Barbara Zencraft enacts an emancipatory gastro-poetics. The patois poem speaks to the intimate as well as conspicuous place the ackee and saltfish dish has in the Jamaican kitchen. In the poem, which also acts as a recipe, the dish appears to be a way of life as well. The dish is commonly "dressed" or "fried" and in both cases "the ackee arils are separated from the pods, all traces of the seeds and the red fibre found in the arils are carefully removed, and the arils are boiled. The saltfish is flaked after it has been soaked or boiled to reduce the amount of salt and facilitate the removal of the skin and bones" (Rashford 194). The dish requires skill. Despite this, in the poem the speaker lets us know that they "fry up eberything eena fi mi style" and this leads us to believe that the dish is easy to prepare for those with an insider's knowledge. We also get the sense that there is no one way to make it. Acting as a recipe, the poem advises that you: "back de fish wid lickle ile (oil)", "juss mix it wid a lickle cawmeal (cornmeal) dumpling", "an add a couple slices a peel pumpkin" and "di yellow yam is juss as good". The yellow yam is "juss as good" because it helps to fill the pot. Since ackee and saltfish was invented as a dish of necessity, its capacity for improvisation is vast. In Jamaica, ackee and saltfish can be enjoyed anytime, although it is famously known as a weekend breakfast dish (Rashford 194). Zencraft's freestyled ackee and

saltfish is one of improvisation as well as a learnt skill, and there are no designations in place as to when one can enjoy it. Zencraft's use of the poem as a recipe performs a cultural insiderism that beckons and invites others into an improvisatory and emancipatory eating practice. The poem/recipe is an open invitation to participate "if you wish".

Improvisation and emancipation are paramount to the making of the creole-indigenous identity and the culinary and lingual cultures that it yielded. As Glissant explains, the cultures of the enslaved Africans emerged unconsciously since they were developed in an unknown and unpredictable climate (1990, 7). They were resistance, yes, but unconscious resistance. They were in many ways also improvisatory because survival was the goal and the means to survive intensified as the experience of slavery also worsened. This unconscious and improvisatory way of life is connected to the Caribbean's food cultures.

An example that can be read alongside Zencraft's "Ackee and Codfish" is Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica* (1912). I turn to this collection not only because it is widely underread since McKay is more commonly associated with the Harlem Renaissance literary movement (James 2001; Hunter 2014 and 2021; Cooper 2004; Peppis 2013; Benson 2016), but also because it exemplifies an earlier celebration of the connections between enslaved person/peasant food cultures and nationalism in Jamaica (see James 2001). McKay is one of the first writers to publish in Jamaican dialect. Winston James claims that the publication of *Songs of Jamaica* and McKay's other poems that appeared in Jamaican newspapers inspired others (especially local writers) to publish dialect poetry and publicise the lives of the peasant classes (144). As Sarah Hovet writes "*Songs of Jamaica* exhibits a mastery of Jamaican peasant dialect in combination with extensive allusions to Jamaican folk culture in order to make an anti-colonialist, nationalist assertion about Jamaica, the country McKay so loved" (10; also see James 2001). In the opening poem of the collection "Quashie to Buccra" McKay laments the working conditions of the peasant classes in post-abolition Jamaica. The speaker Quashie tells the Buccra (white man) that:

> You tas'e petater an' you say it sweet
> But you no know how hard we wuk fe it
> You want a basketful fe quattiewut[33]

[33] Quattiworth: quattie, a quarter of sixpence.

‘Cause you know how ‘tiff de bush fe cut. (13)

The collection opens with an overview of the Jamaican social world. The peasant and the oppressor roles are confronted. Quashie is the peasant who condemns the buccra’s lack of knowledge regarding the amount of labour it takes to harvest the sweet potato. Quashie also condemns the buccra’s desire for profit. Quashie reveals that the buccra wants only a quarter of sixpence despite the hard labour it takes to harvest the sweet potato. As the poem continues Quashie enlightens the buccra on the cultivation of the sweet potato. He explains how the peasant planters must deal with “De cowitch[34] under which we hab fe ‘toop/ De shamar[35] lyin’ t’ick like pumpkin soup/ Is killin’ somet’ing for a naygar man…” (McKay, 13). Quashie continues to convey how they must work despite the heat of the sun and the need for rest (McKay 13). In the poem Quashie also expresses the pride that goes into the work: “We wuk de bes’, an den de lan is fat/ We dig de row dem eben in a line/ An’ keep it clean—den so it *mus’* look fine (McKay 14, emphasis his). At the end of the poem Quashie says that: “Yet still de hardship always melt away/ Wheneber it come roun’ to reapin’ day” (McKay 14). Quashie foregrounds the labour power of the peasant classes. The poem's end shows the emancipatory practice permeating the hard work despite exploitation. This is linked to the improvised freedoms of the labouring classes post-abolition and how these endure from the time when the enslaved Africans’ culture was woven from fragmented memories of a life in Africa that was in the past and used to support their new life in the foreign world (Radovic 477). The provision grounds for the peasant classes made a new world possible post-abolition (Parry 1952, 36). The poem also shows what Higman observes when he writes that Jamaicans' connection with their fields “was not only spiritual; the grounds were also containers of stored resources, long-term investments of labour and time” (2008, 60). In *Songs of Jamaica,* food and an emancipatory eating practice are central to independence and indigenous ways of knowing.

Throughout the collection, McKay utilises Jamaican crops such as the Bonavist bean, the banana, and the sweet potato to represent Jamaican food culture and anticolonialism. Poems like “Me Bannabees” (15), “King Banana” (30), “The Biter Bit” (36) and “My Native Land, My Home” (84) especially emphasise nativity, improvisation, indigeneity and anticolonialism. McKay centralises enjoyment and free will. In “Me Bannabees”:

[34] *Macuna pruriens*
[35] Shamebush, a prickly sensitive plant

A mumma plant de root
One day jes' out o' fun;
But now look 'pon de fruit,
See wha' de "mek fun" done. (16)

The poem celebrates improvisation and enjoyment as well as the rewards these come with. The mumma, unlike the capitalist buccra, does not plant for financial reward. The speaker in the poem enjoys the fruit, who eats the banana until "me belly swell" (McKay 16). The speaker in the poem expresses that he has eaten more than a giant's fill "[y]et eben after that/ me nyam[36] it wid a will/ 'Causen it mek me fat/ So I wi' lub it still" (McKay 16). The speaker in the poem eats the banana carelessly. He eats it even when he is full. He eats it even as he knows it will make him fat. Self-will and enjoyment are also coupled with knowledge. The mumma plants the root for fun, and the activity is fruitful, signalling to an intuitive knowledge of the ecology. In "King Banana" the intuitive knowledge of the peasant classes in planting is more focused. The speaker in that poem asks the reader:

Wha lef' fe buccra teach again
Dis time about plantation?
Dere's not'in' dat can beat de plain
Good ole-time cultibation. (30)

"King Banana" centralises indigenous ways of knowing and "makes explicit the gaps in colonial knowledge" (Hovet 13). The buccra's lessons do not compare to "good ole-time cultibation". Good ole-time cultivation is like the intuitive planting of the mother in "Me Bannabees". It is not formulaic in the ways the buccra's teachings are suggested to be. The inherent knowledge of planting in the poem is connected to indigeneity and nationalism. The nationalist stance of the poem is more pronounced at the end when the speaker asserts that banana "mek" the black man and that "[o]ur islan' is banana lan'" (McKay 31). Sarah Hovet accurately observes that the poem conflates the banana with Jamaica's national identity (13). The poem also asserts the material rights that Afro-creoles have in Jamaica. McKay couples his nationalist stance with an appreciation for Jamaica itself. In "My Native Land, My Home" he refers to Jamaica as "de nigger's place/ […]/ Although dem call we 'no-land race'/ I know we home is here" (84). He appreciates Jamaica for "life an' nourishment" (McKay 84).

[36] Eat.

Your fertile soil grow all o' t'ings
To full de naygar's wants,
'Tis seamed wid neber-failing springs
To give dew to de plants. (85)

In the poem Jamaica is represented as having all the nourishment that the Afro-creoles could need (James 92). Jamaica as the site of slavery is represented as showing allegiance to the Afro-creoles in the way it provides, nourishes and protects. The poem explicitly states that the buccra are not a part of the nation of Jamaica, that they spoil the whole thing with governments and the like; only to worry the Afro-creole's soul (McKay 85). Jamaica, the native land, is not complicit in the actions of the buccra. The poem claims Jamaica as the land of the Afro-creole's and praises the ecology for its contribution in nourishment to the struggle for freedom. The territory's contribution is linked to the themes of nativity, indigeneity, anticolonialism and improvisation. These themes are also effected through the use of language. The peasant life in *Songs of Jamaica* is conveyed in Jamaican dialect.

The improvisatory way of life for enslaved and later peasant classes in Jamaica and the Caribbean is perhaps fully realised in the creole language. The enslaved did not come from the same African ethnic groups and had to relate amongst themselves first to create an improvisatory and emancipatory African consciousness in Jamaica and the broader Caribbean (Bryan 642; see Lalla and d'Costa 2009). The "motherland" was understood within rhizomatic parameters and not as just one singular root. African cultures and languages collided to create a new Caribbean dialect and culture (Lalla and d'Costa 2009). This relation did not always appear consciously. African dialects and cultures were freestyled and remixed and what remained was not necessarily authentic to Africa. It was authentic to the Caribbean. Like Zencraft and other Caribbean writers, McKay deals with the nature and the consequence of language contact in the context of slavery in a way that celebrates improvisation and nation-making.

Zencraft's "Ackee and Codfish" also has mixtures, takings, additions and scrapings, and the use of nation language, patois, is one example of this. The usage of the creole Jamaican language reflects and genuflects the earlier improvisations of the enslaved. This language is taken up throughout the *Native Soul* collection; a title that suggests that the broader project

exemplifies Jamaican Afro-creole nativity. The speaker in the poem proclaims that Ackee and Codfish "it name Jamaica's National Dish" and combines the ethnic with the national. The ethnic (Afro creole-indigenous) and the national (Jamaican Afro creole-indigenous) are supplemented by an effeminate subjectivity that inspires liberatory practices within the national and domestic homes for women.

In her "Landscape and Poetic Identity in Contemporary Women's Poetry" Denise deCaires Narain writes that poetry for Caribbean women is "a battle for a Caribbean poetic voice" (44). Because men are seen as naturally occupying the public sphere and women are recognised customarily as belonging to the domestic space, the Caribbean poetic voice—nation language—is gendered thus limiting women's participation in cultural activity (Narain 43). Barbara Zencraft supplants the masculine authority over nation language by epitomising the kitchen as a vital space to contribute to cultural activity and poetic discourse. The speaker in the poem demonstrates a sturdy independence and ravishment of the dish. The speaker: "Sometime can't even wait fi di bickle bwile/ Mi juss teck pieca a bread an lickle ile/ An scrape out all de Ackee and Codfish/ An sey to di food: "Bwile if you wish!". The speaker in the poem takes action and does not wait for the bickle (a Jamaican patois word for food) to boil, instead, the speaker takes a piece of bread and a little oil and some ackee and saltfish to eat whilst the rest of the food continues to cook. Zencraft solicits women to claim the national discourse and the poetic voice freely. The poem as a recipe also speaks to the kitchen as a poetic and literary terrain for women.

In her writing on recipes, Susan Leonardi explains that food and recipes in literature by women are not just about tropes. She suggests the recipe is a recuperative feminist form that delves into the unexplored terrains in women's lives and writing (1989). As Erica Fretwell writes in her essay "Black Power in the Kitchen" (2020), "recipes are a hybrid and democratic genre of writing" (182). We see in Zencraft's poem that the recipe as a mode of narration culminates in a fully realised selfhood sustained by repetitive and revisionist acts. The dish is freestyled, and this revisionist mode also honours the role of enslaved African women in their capacity as cooks in the creation of the creole-indigenous identity. The reproduced dish is also a part of the narrative. Through this practice of freedom by eating the food from the pot, the speaker in the poem insinuates that they do not adhere to the gendered legacy of colonialism over the discourse of nativity and belonging. The dish is taken from the context of necessity and associated with wants that overpower needs. The speaker cannot and does not wait to enjoy the

dish. Zencraft employs an aesthetic of freedom via ongoing clarifications on slave food and history. The poem shifts our perspectives from food as necessity and self-preservation, reflecting on enjoyment as a method to a newfound freedom. Interestingly, by the end of the poem what is essentially a salty dish becomes "di sweetist dish".

This leads me to my conclusion of this section and the final point that kitchen lexicons shift and that they affect national historical processes as they change. The grammar of the kitchen is also a nation language. Through food we can map the contours of history and the various associations of cultures. These associations and changes pose recurring discourses on authenticity and national belonging as well as "how the local and the global meet over kitchen talk" (Kloss et al 19). Jamaican national discourse incessantly proclaims the subversive nature of food and the ackee and saltfish dish is sometimes at the centre of this discourse. In what follows I look into Cecile Emeke's short film *Ackee and Saltfish* to discuss how the ackee and saltfish dish has influenced diasporic discourse on belonging abroad. I associate this with cultures of mourning and nostalgia that persist through food and national identity. This "food nostalgia" stems from generational as well as geographical distance and the emancipatory eating practice takes on a different form in the era of the takeaways and menus.

*Cecile Emeke's Ackee and Saltfish*

Cecile Emeke is a British artist and filmmaker. The biography on her website describes that:

> Her work explores time, epistemology and cultural production, through the prism of the black diasporic experience, often with particular emphasis on black British, Caribbean and London culture, within liminal, interior and intimate spaces of a relational, physical, emotional and/or psychic nature. Her work is preoccupied with subtly foregrounding modern and contemporary acts of ritual that emerge unconsciously within mundane and personal settings, thereby unfolding spheres of life that hide in plain sight. (https://www.cecileemeke.com/about, 2021)

Emeke has showcased her work at the Gallery of Jamaica, the Brooklyn Museum, the Museum of Contemporary Art Chicago, and ICA London; to name a few. *Ackee and Saltfish* was first published as a short film and later became a web series for the BBC. In the short film Emeke explores the culture of the takeaway industry in London. The film is centred around British commercial interests that position various diasporic foods as tourist attractions, subsequently

becoming a performance of cultural authenticity. The film focuses on Jamaican diasporic identity in London through the ackee and saltfish dish. Emeke's interest in "foregrounding modern and contemporary acts of ritual that emerge unconsciously within mundane personal settings, thereby infolding spheres of life that hide in plain sight" dredges up quotidian framings of migratory and emancipatory discourses that are shaped by pre-existing ideas of nation, family and belonging. Using food, Emeke proposes the everyday as a landmark to problematise globalised modernities. The global and modern are linked in that they constitute modern subjectivity. The short film shows how the global and the modern, when placed and performed together, are precisely as Arjun Appadurai describes them. Appadurai writes that the global and the modern are the work of imagination as well as that "neither is purely emancipatory nor entirely disciplined [rather they are a] space of contestation in which individuals and groups seek to annex the global into their own practices of the modern" (2001,4). In her film, Emeke and the subjects (two black British women who have roots in Jamaica) are presented as people who engage critically with their position in the globalised and modern world. The two women in the film critique the global—even as they participate in globalised food cultures—whilst seeking to preserve their version of modern subjectivity, which is complicated by black diasporic, postcolonial and transnational discourse.

The two women in the film, Olivia and Rachel, live in the techno world of contemporary London. They are engaged in various media, like social media, and as descendants of Jamaican immigrants they occupy a globalised postcolonial subjectivity. The global and the postcolonial put together present problems for the two women's practice of their modern subjectivity. Even as both globalisation and postcoloniality seek to transcend social and cultural organisation and flows outside of the boundaries of the nation-state, they cannot easily do this. The mediascapes that present the possibility of a globalised and postcolonial subjectivity tend to create tensions tied to the nation-state and one's rootedness (Gikhandi 628). The racialised space of London requires that their transnationality be located somewhere outside of the metropole. The rhetoric of newness shared between globalisation and postcoloniality, which is perceived as freeing, also presents problems of disjuncture and a crisis of legitimacy. This is mainly because the haunt of imperial cartographies cannot be easily escaped. In this awkward position as second-generation immigrants, Olivia and Rachel's notions of the national family are embedded in the symbolic power of the nation-state and having dual citizenship—between Britain and Jamaica. This leads to a hierarchy of patriotism and citizenship between the two locations. In the context of the short film, the two women identify with a diasporic, postcolonial and globalised

blackness (their use of "they" to refer to white people for instance signals this) as well as a Jamaican nativity (the presence of ackee and saltfish and how it is depicted as essential to their cultural practice shows this). The national and transnational family in the film is represented through ackee and saltfish and the cultural practices surrounding it—for instance, the knowledge that the ackee must smile and that one should soak the saltfish overnight. In this symbolic power, the national/transnational also demonstrates the importance of cultural differences in a unifying globalisation order. Cultural difference is at the heart of this film. The two subjects continuously problematise how globalisation in its rhetoric of newness, hybridity and cultural homogenisation is actually about white hegemonic power and how it attempts to transgress the racialised histories of slavery and colonialism.

As active and critical subjects who resist and subvert white cultural hegemony in London, the two subjects in the film use food and the culinary scene in London to engage legacies of generational trauma caused by the long durée of black diasporic movement from slavery to displacements caused by wilful immigration to Europe. In the film, the development of grammars is shaped by histories of globalisation that have been pre-empted by slavery and colonialism. In the short film, national and transnational belonging are tied to a longing for geographies that can sometimes only exist in the imaginary or be summoned by nostalgic acts such as eating a familiar dish. The film comments on culinary tourism and the dangers of the culinary market for diasporic histories and memories.

*Ackee and Saltfish*[37] opens with a word game between two friends, Rachel and Olivia. The two women play a letter game whereby the one calls up a letter or a category— ranging from boys' names beginning with the letter M to types of condiments—and interchangeably they each must come up with objects or places that begin with that letter or are in the category. Soon enough this game becomes entirely discursive. As they play, the two friends are en route to buy takeaway food on a Sunday morning after Rachel forgets to soak the saltfish. Saltfish (cod) is meant to be soaked up the night before it is prepared to make the fish less salty. The women are black and live in urban London. They look pretty stylish and are dressed in an indie fashion. From their accents it is also clear that they are Caribbean immigrants.

[37] You can watch the film here: https://www.cecileemeke.com/ackeeandsaltfish. (Accessed June 2021).

Their letter game eventually lands on the food category when Olivia calls up the "types of rice you can name" category. Olivia offers couscous as a type of rice, but Rachel dismisses this. Olivia insists that "technically it is a type of rice because you eat it with the things you eat rice with" (*Saltfish and Ackee,* 01:41). She goes on to conjecture that when you buy couscous at the supermarket you buy it from the rice category. Rachel objects to this and claims that when she buys couscous, she buys it from the couscous category at the supermarket. This conversation then moves on to where rice comes from and whether it is a grain. Rachel says she thinks that "rice comes from the ground" to which Olivia responds: "I thought we were educated" (02:31). Obviously, Olivia is asking about the origins of rice, "I never thought about where rice comes from, it's just rice", she lets us know (02:42). This scene in the film opens the discussion around origins of food and how in the globalised world, represented here as the supermarket, foods are homogenised in such a way that there is no one way to distinguish the foods origin. This connects to questions of nativity and where things and people come from, and how in the globalised world these are diffused and exist in the global cultural economy. In this space, the cultural value systems from which foods emerge are erased, thus complicating cultural and national/transnational identity constructions associated with food. In this way roots are, as anthropologist Gordon Matthews puts it, "becoming simply one more consumer choice" (viii). The whole premise of the short film is to problematise this, hence the setting of food shopping and the visits to various supermarkets and restaurants.

When they get to the city centre, the two women take a few minutes to go to different shops, and both agree to meet at the restaurant where Jamaican food is sold. As this happens, we are shown pictures of different cafes and restaurants. One of the shops is called Caribbean Food and Juices. This is the shop they agreed to meet at. Olivia gets there first and by the time Rachel arrives Olivia is already walking out. She's pretty upset. Olivia refuses to eat from the shop because: "What the hell is Bob Marley's Salted Cod with Vegetables, please[...]. Nah! I'm not eating Jamaican food made by English people…" (06:23). She then suggests that they go to a different restaurant called Pepper and Spice whilst complaining about how they could have just called the dish ackee and saltfish, "its proper name", and "did Bob Marley make it?" (06:41). When they get to Pepper and Spice it turns out that has been turned into a coffee shop. This further infuriates Olivia. She complains that it is just another coffee shop where there is already fifty of them, "how original!" (07:35). They try another restaurant, to Rachel's annoyance, she begs Olivia to "just chill" (08:16). Olivia goes on to complain about how she had jerk chicken from the now turned coffee shop just a month ago. Now she's expected to settle for a muffin

and a latte (08:24). When they arrive at the last Jamaican restaurant Olivia proposed, it has also been shut down. She is so annoyed that she wants to go home without any food.

When they get home, Olivia and Rachel start playing a game of cards. This game lacks the energy of their first game, as both are defeated by hunger. “So I’ve been thinking right?”, Olivia opens yet another litany of complaints, “soon enough they’ll make white dominoes with black spots” to which Rachel responds that these already do exist (11:27). “What a coincidence, they take everything! Of course, they’re going to start with the dominoes!” to which Rachel responds: “It’s just food”. Rachel is quickly met with a strained “It’s about more than food and you know it” from Olivia (11:51). Rachel teases Olivia about how she stays “woke” on an empty stomach. By “woke” Rachel refers to a type of popular consciousness garnered by indie millennial intellectuals who do not “sleep” on the ongoing calamities of neo-capitalism. Olivia states that she refuses to be grateful for “meagre crumbs” (12:02) and will not “roll over for a bone” (12:13) because she remembers how “back in the day it used to be like ‘oh but your food smells funny’” (12:21) and what a lie that was because “they” obviously were just staring and wanted some. “They” refers to white British people. She complains about gentrification, dry crosscut sandwiches, Rachel forgetting to soak the saltfish, cultural appropriation, as well as exploitation. Rachel compliments her on the “big words she’s learnt from Black Twitter” (12:53). As the annoyance from hunger aggravates them both, it becomes clear that the world's social ills do not defy the hunger, and they decide to order Chinese food. Olivia settles for Singapore noodles with no pork. When the food arrives, Rachel jokes about how an Englishman delivered the food.

Cecile Emeke’s film comments on the current discourse surrounding globalisation and the contradictions that come with a belonging negotiated through food. In the beginning of the film, Rachel and Olivia, most especially “woke” Olivia, have no idea about the origins of rice or even couscous; in fact, they could care less. Olivia’s disappointment at the lack of proper Jamaican restaurants suddenly turns her into an encyclopaedia of blackness when, like ackee, couscous originates from Africa (North). The contradictions that emerge in the film are resolved around processes of transnationality and the cultural imaginaries people inhabit to either celebrate or mourn a homeland that is broadly conceived through food (see Chapman and Beagan, 2013; Schiller 2005; Abbots et al 2016; Thomas 2007; Wilk 1999). Gentrified and globalised food culture becomes problematic because it is seen as intervening with black diasporic culinary and cultural formations (see Conzo 2019; Twine 2008). Olivia is riled up by

the dish offered by the Caribbean Food and Juices restaurant, named "Bob Marley's Salted Cod with Vegetables," because that is not its proper name. For Olivia, ackee and saltfish is the proper name, and she cannot trust the dish itself if it is not named correctly. The association of naming with originality also speaks to the ideas accompanying discourse on nation language and how organic meaning and total expression are lost when the national is perceived solely through the logic of the universal. Bob Marley even as he represents Jamaica is also a universal cultural figure who symbolises "world love", "world peace" and "world freedom" and not necessarily Jamaican specificity (Roberts 1996; Kato 1999). The changing of the name and the gentrification of the dish to Olivia appears to be an attempt to control the intimate structures of everyday life by the neo-capitalist machinery of the 21st century.

The references to control foreground the origins of ackee and saltfish, seeing as the dish emerged from enslaved Africans who wanted to have some control over their everyday lives by planting their provision grounds with African seeds. In the film, these earlier rituals are undermined by the rhetoric of globalisation that taints black diasporic practices of cultural identity. Ackee and saltfish "embedded evolving systems of kinship and descent in land over which [enslaved Africans] exercised no formal rights" (Palmie 89). In that context kinship was extended and revitalised through food. Centuries later, in Olivia and Rachel's context, the need for belonging seems to emerge from the same stranded attempt to distinguish and assert cultural and culinary difference in a locale that homogenises. Olivia's frustration also arises from the easy access to food cultures and knowledges that were previously inaccessible and unpublished. The rise of online recipes, published cookbooks, restaurant menus, and supermarkets has opened a food commodity market that somewhat diffuses cultural difference. As Siva Vaidhyanathan in her article titled "Dosa: An Elegy for South Indian Food" (2015) puts it:

> Things that were once intimate enough to demand social segregation are now subject to the whims of global commerce and immediate gratification. The oral culture that trained so many for so many centuries in the art of cooking a proper [meal] has been boiled down to a collection of precise recipes rendered in English on searchable web pages. Practices that seemed permanent are now portable. (195)

Olivia's frustration is directed at the types of accessibilities menus, published recipes, restaurants and supermarkets allow and how these give rise to culinary tourism. This is what

Amy Tigner and Allison Carruth refer to as the "global eating or the globetrotting eater" (29). In the world of food as commodity, the restaurant menu and the supermarket represent a type of worldliness wherein one can choose which country, origin or history one will consume. Olivia's major contention seems to be the ways in which national and ethnic culinary and cultural identities are subsumed into broad categorisations. These concerns are also paired with contradictions. Rachel and Olivia are themselves actively engaged in the takeaway culture of global eating as they consume food from other diasporas (like the Asian) with no problem at all. In her advocacy, Olivia prioritises cultural difference. This is often reductive because "[her] claims to authenticity are carefully constructed, rather than 'natural givens', especially in a more distanced, diasporic context…" (Welsh 2014, 155). Whilst she fights against the homogenisation of the Jamaican dish, she also simultaneously participates in the dish (and other dishes that are not Jamaican like the Singapore noodles she gets,) as marketable commodities. Olivia's expressive advocacy thus can also be read as dislocated.

This dislocation signals that food for the Caribbean diaspora in the U.K remains a serpentine symbol of Caribbean identity. There is no unifying experience because the discourse on food is one way in which people claim ethnic and national belonging and cultural authenticity. The abstractions of rooted identities are negotiated within "the fortified frontiers of those discrete ethnic cultures which also happen to coincide with the contours of a sovereign nation state that guarantees their continuity" (Gilroy 31). Globalisation is portrayed in the film as a failed project as well as that "certain forms of globalisation are more compelling than others but that many of the codes we use to explain the global phenomenon can be anterior to the people who live through the transnational experience" (Gikhandi 644). Olivia in her ethnic advocacy refutes the globalised nature of the culinary scene in London. In her advocacy she clearly defines what is authentic to her by marking the differences between the "traditional" and "exotic Otherness" (Welsh 2014, 155). As the ethnic advocate, Olivia represents the ethnic Other. This ethnic Other who advocates for authenticity also substantially becomes knowledgeable by processes dictated by the very authenticity they uphold and "in this pattern the construction of a national cuisine is essentially a postindustrial, postcolonial process" (Appadurai 1998, 5). Because of her advocacy for the national dish, Olivia is trying to uphold her creole-indigenous Jamaicaness while simultaneously rebutting any possibility that she might be an "exotic Other". Food in the film is laden with constraints.

*Conclusion*

Jamaica's slave history and the food cultures generated during the period of enslavement have been like those in South Africa, if not more intense. Whilst in South Africa slavery is remembered in parts of the country (Gqola 2010), Jamaica's entire national culture is connected to slavery and thus slave food cultures. The dual creolisation and indigenisation of enslaved people in South Africa and in Jamaica are, however, very similar. The food cultures and knowledges of enslaved people in both these countries influenced the national culinary cultures drastically and the descendants of the enslaved in both these territories can speak of an indigenisation that was facilitated by water. The snoek and the codfish of Jamaica can be read as showcasing a "slave saltfish diaspora". Interestingly, cookery books in Jamaica and in South Africa were published from the nineteenth century; however, South Africa seems to have a more robust relationship with the genre. In Jamaica, the genre is used even in the postcolonial setting as an avenue for culinary tourism even though there is some autobiographical writing imbued as well. This is both beneficial as well as problematic for Jamaicans living in the diaspora.

In this chapter, I looked at the making of the Jamaican creole-indigenous identity by enslaved Africans through food. I centred the ackee and saltfish dish as a creole indigenous dish. I also discussed cookery books in and about Jamaica and how through culinary tourism as well as ackee and saltfish, Jamaicans living away from Jamaica rehearse a creole-indigeneity that is rhizomatic and relational even as it is entrenched in the national culture. I then moved on to discuss how earlier modes of creole-indigeneity became important to constructions of the Jamaican national language and culture by reading Barbara Zencraft's 1976 poem "Ackee and Codfish". I read this poem alongside selected poems in Claude McKay's *Songs of Jamaica*. Finally, I discussed how in Cecile Emeke's *Ackee and Saltfish* the rhetoric of newness and homogenization in the globalized order is problematized through assertions of cultural difference and ethnic advocacy. I discussed how in the film diasporic identity and belonging are negotiated through the national cuisine and how in this process takeaways, supermarkets and menus are used to unsettle nativity in the diaspora.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

In her "Serpent's Teeth in the Kitchen of Meaning" (2000) Lynn Houston writes that:

> In the study of food history and culinary traditions at least two margins prove central: the epigram, existing on the margins of the text, and food writing (including cookbooks), existing on the margins of several 'serious' programs of academic study, or on the margins of 'serious' genres of writing. (1)

Houston elaborates by noting that in South Africa, specifically, the rhetoric that surrounds food faces the same problems with the added dilemma that in South Africa food targets everyday labour, distribution, and consumption practices (1). Houston also remarks that in South Africa food writing has encouraged the "marginalisation of cultural differences by disavowing a history of oppression and whitewashing history by erasing it of conflict, wounding the cultural psyche by a refusal to remember" (1). Certainly, in South Africa, recipe collections are narratives that prove useful when one is reading the individual and collective lives of people. In South Africa, creolisation and segregation have survived parallel to each other, and recipe collections demonstrate how people from differing racial, cultural and gender backgrounds create and sustain narratives of social identity. In this study I analysed cookbooks as well as individual recipes as they appear in creative writing. I focused on food writing from the Western Cape, especially Cape Town. It was in Cape Town that creole culinary and cultural formations were facilitated from the moment of colonial contact. In my reading of the various ways creolisation and social disintegration are apprehended in South Africa, I looked to colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid food and creative writing that engages with the various understandings from individuals and collectives of cultural entanglements and social divisions since the introduction of slavery in the Western Cape. Like Houston, I was concerned with the marginalisation of food writing, cookbooks particularly, in South African literary and cultural studies. I was also concerned about the whitewashing of South Africa's creole cuisine as well as the epistemic injustices marginalised people, such as women and Coloured people, faced. Added to this, I also focused my attention on the fact that the written and the oral/embodied are interdependent and that published recipe collections or recipes as they are utilised in

creative writing show this. In this chapter, I take a retrospective view of this study's findings, offering conclusions as well as shortcomings.

In the Introduction to this thesis, I shed some light on South Africa's creole food culture by focusing on the historical context in which it was created. I looked to the period of Dutch slavery in South Africa in the seventeenth century and the ways in which this encounter led to social, cultural and environmental creolisation. Cross-cultural and culinary exchanges between enslaved people from African and Southeast Asian regions, European colonisers and indigenous Southern African groups such as the First Nation Khoisan, had a strong influence on the creole food culture in South Africa today. Following from literary and cultural studies scholar Gabeba Baderoon, historians Robert Shell, Nigel Worden, Robert Ross and Nigel Penn (amongst others) and their writing on the domestic and environmental cultures of enslaved and indigenous people in South Africa, I highlighted the agentive and secretive cultures of the enslaved and the indigenous Khoisan as well as the ways these were critical in the creation of what today is known as "Cape Malay" food. The theoretical framework of creolisation proved useful in my endeavour to showcase the ways in which food and food writing in South Africa are sources of knowledge production from dominant as well as dominated groups in slave, colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. It proved even more useful to think with Shona Jackson's theorisation of creolisation alongside processes of indigenization. Zimitri Erasmus (2001, 2011), Mohammed Adhikari (1992), Pumla Gqola (2010), Gabeba Baderoon (2014) and Shamil Jeppie (2001) have all contributed to scholarship on slavery and creolisation in South Africa. These scholars have all argued that slavery in South Africa birthed creole cultures and identities as well as that it was a foundational and historically influential component to the making of Coloured cultural identities. Jeppie, Baderoon and Gqola more specifically indicate that slavery and its creolisation processes embedded the enslaved onto the South African landscape.

In the second chapter of this thesis, the period of slavery in South Africa was critical to my argument that late apartheid and post-apartheid recipe collections written by Coloured authors in Cape Town are imbued with retrospective narrative qualities not only to show that the quotidian is political but also to show how creolisation and slavery in South Africa were integral to the formation of the Coloured cultural identity. Using literary scholar Shona Jackson's theory of creole-indigeneity I argued that *The Cape Malay Cookbook* (1988) by Faldela Williams, *Cass Abrahams Cooks Cape Malay* (2000) and the *District Six Huis Kombuis*

*Cookbook* (2016) showcased some of the ways in which the Coloured cultural identity in Cape Town is an aquacentric creole-indigenous African identity. These cookbooks pay particular attention to the sea, spice and seafood (in my reading, I focused on snoek) to publicise the ways enslaved people became indigenous just as they creolised their food cultures with European and African food and cultural presences. In the second chapter, I took guidance from scholars such as Hugo ka Canham (2023) and Tiffany Lethabo King (2019), who problematise how we think of indigeneity as solely tied to firstness as well as to land and territory. I was also encouraged by scholars in Oceanic Humanities who have called attention to the sea as a material space of culture (Blum 2010; Hofmeyr 2021; DeLoughrey 2010 etc). In this field of scholarship, the sea is highlighted as a site that animates the relations between the human and the other-than-human. The sea is also acknowledged as the place where both colonial and decolonial material histories can be accessed. My reading of Imraan Coovadia's *The Institute for Taxi Poetry* (2012) in the same chapter is an attempt at highlighting how the sea is important to studies on transnationalism as well as those pertaining to postcolonial memory. The second chapter of this thesis confirms that indigeneity cannot solely be accessed through the territorial. The relationship that the authors and participants in these cookbooks have with the sea, with spice and with seafood, particularly snoek, demonstrate food-based identity-making that is tied to the marine environment.

The cookbooks I read in the second chapter of the thesis also address the epistemic injustices of the colonial cookbook by privileging the oral and embodied methods that enslaved people used to preserve knowledge of food as well as culture. In the second chapter, I show how the recipe is entangled with the oral and the written. I pay attention to why this highlights its epistemic uses as well as food as an archival constituent from which cultural grammars and transformations are encoded. The second chapter was pivotal to my thinking about oral and written mediums as co-dependent as well as the fact that cultural and racial wars usually lead to the separation of these mediums for purposes of power, cultural domination and recognition. The recipe collections published by Williams, Abrahams and the District Six Museum in late and post-apartheid Cape Town use longstanding oral/embodied cultural and culinary knowledges to showcase the long-durée of the Coloured cultural identity as an African identity as well as how the formation of this cultural identity coincides with a South African beginning. The chapter also demonstrates the narrative qualities of recipe writing. In the chapter it is clear that cookbooks are creative as well as historical. The writers access the history and the memory of slavery through creative means such as translating the bodily languages of

enslaved and colonised people. The recipes are also not only about instruction on food preparation—in fact they do not give detailed instructions and methods on these—but are personal and collective stories accompanied by images from personal archives. Cooking in these texts appears to be a space whereby secrets and stories can be kept, and the notion of community and kinship maintained. These recipe collections are testimonials of slave history and its creole aspects. In the second chapter, the quotidian (gastropoetics) and the political (gastropolitical) are conjoined.

One of the shortcomings of the second chapter is that in its attention to the narrative qualities of recipe collection in late apartheid and post-apartheid Cape Town it does not sufficiently detail the gendered aspects of food history and slavery in Cape Town. There is still much to say about the role of women in the creole food culture in Cape Town as well as some of the problems they face. Food sovereignty and the emancipatory eating practices highlighted in the second chapter can be extended to women's continued struggle for freedom and recognition in postcolonial South Africa. The issues on gender and race that I focus on more thoroughly in the fourth chapter of the thesis do attend to the gendered aspects of food and food writing for women in South Africa.

In the third chapter, I looked at the ways in which, through cookbooks, the European logic of domesticity was harnessed and racialized in nineteenth and twentieth-century South Africa to circulate domesticating and civilising knowledge. I argued that the recipe books of the nineteenth and twentieth century in South Africa were ethnographic texts that depended on the observation and translation of colonised Others. They enabled performances of how white people were to see themselves and others and this had implications for not only households but for the colonial and apartheid project as well. Within colonial and apartheid South Africa household management books harnessed an imperial logic to remind readers of shared domestic virtues, their moral duties and the ways in which these were tied to the advancement of the Empire and apartheid. The ideology of these two governing bodies was a lived experience and cookery and household management books were central to the upliftment of this relation. Colonial recipe collections such as Hildagonda Duckitt's *Hilda's "Where is it?!" of Recipes* (1899) and *Diary of a Cape Housekeeper* (1902) were literary texts in that they performed acts of white female subjectivity. In her writing, Duckitt uses literary conventions such as characterization, scene setting and verisimilitude. She is the all-knowing, virtuous and hardworking protagonist with an affinity with the Cape landscape that she shares with other

colonists. Duckitt's writing interestingly veers between the real and the fictional. For one, her diary reflects on the Anglo-Boer war and the abolition of slavery in Cape Town in ways that are not entirely historically accurate. We commonly think of recipes and food writing in general as a realist or a non-fictional genre. The lines between real and unreal, true and false, fiction and non-fiction are not as definite as we always make them out to be. In Duckitt's writing, these are blurred consciously, and the performance in her recipe collection and diary upholds her own restricted access to colonial authority as well as imperial power.

Duckitt also disembodies the culinary knowledge of enslaved and colonised women in Cape Town, and this privileges a frontier logic of cultural dominance. The strategy of disembodiment is foregrounded in the over-textualization of culinary knowledge. As I've pointed out, the recipes published in the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras by South Africans encode the tensions between the oral and the written as contested forms. They also show the power contestations between differing social groups. The recipes published in colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa showcase and deal with earlier forms of creolisation in different ways. In the colonial and apartheid contexts a creole South African culture is denied in favour of dominating white and exclusivist narratives. In the post-apartheid period, there is a reckoning with the crucial role of enslaved and previously disadvantaged groups in the creation of a creole South African culture. In all these contexts the recipe form is used to narrate either the creole or segregationist beliefs of the collective and/or the individual.

Duckitt and her contemporaries published collections that had a legacy. I use Johannesburg and apartheid's Bantu Education Act as comparative contexts. In Mphahlele's "Mrs Plum," a black domestic worker encounters written recipes for the first time at her place of employment, a white liberal household. The short story criticises the domestic education of white employers and the apartheid government. The white household and the apartheid classroom in the short story are not separate in the zombification of both maids and madams.

In the Introduction I also focused on recipes as a literary mode as well as an independent literary form and genre. I used examples of some of the ways recipes have been utilised as a literary mode in African literature. In the fourth chapter, I read Sally Andrew's Recipes for Love and Murder (2015), and in my reading, I showcased how the recipe is both a literary mode as well as an independent literary form. *Recipes for Love and Murder* is a transtextual novel: the book is part-cookery and part-novel. The hybridisation of forms is accompanied by a mixture of

genres, particularly the romance genre and the crime mystery genre. There are multiple themes in the novel as well as the incorporation of First Nation oral and embodied histories. In my reading of *Recipes for Love and Murder* I show how Andrew elicits food and recipe writing in both the national and the domestic home(s) for literary and historical engagement. Andrew does this to also address gender-based violence in South Africa. Andrew reflects on South Africa's distortions and occlusions of gendered violence in its quest for truth and reconciliation post-apartheid; and cultural memory, even forceful and unwanted cultural memory, becomes a mode of truth-telling in the novel. Scholars like Desiree Lewis (2016) and Susan Leonardi (1989) had already paved the way for me to think about the recipe form and its capacity for counsel and guidance and in the fourth chapter I showed how recipes function as an emancipatory form and genre for women. They are a mode in which women nurture themselves and each other. The chapter also elucidates the ways in which food as an object of culinary diplomacy is "part of a different historical modality that can accommodate both failure and progress" (Moonsamy 68). Food and the kitchen-sphere lead to an embodied and gendered knowledge, which in South Africa is a useful approach considering that women and their roles in the domestic domain have given rise to perceptions of women as lesser participants in the nationalistic sphere. Food also has a way of connecting past and present and its nostalgic effects allow for embodied histories and knowledges to emerge. Food is useful because of its capacity to trigger intimate as well as public memories.

Another significant takeaway from the fourth chapter is that recipes have a lot to do with the people who read them. The hybridised use of the recipe alongside novelistic conventions allows for a participatory reading experience. The readers of recipes are a part of the narrative, and in *Recipes for Love and Murder,* readers are invited into the crime mystery story as amateur detectives. Readers are invited to also make the dishes presented throughout the text.

In the Introduction, I also pointed out that South Africa's history with published recipe collections cannot be read in isolation. I chose to read from another location that has a shared history with creolisation/segregation, with creole food culture as well as histories of enslavement and indigenization. In the fifth chapter of the thesis, I turned to Jamaica's history with creolisation, food origination and indigenization. In the fifth chapter, I discussed the ways in which enslaved people in Jamaica embedded themselves into the landscape through food. I focused particularly on Jamaica's national dish, ackee and saltfish. This dish was important to me because it also points to food and cultural transplantation, which is both terra and aqua. The

ackee is a poisonous fruit that was transported from Ghana to Jamaica by the enslaved and enslavers. Cod was fish fed to the enslaved in the New World. These two coalesce to form a dish that is central to questions of Jamaican creole-indigeneity. The dish is essential to constructions of national identity both in Jamaica as well as in its diaspora. The culinary literary vernaculars and practices of Jamaica, like those of South Africa, have taken place in the slave, colonial and postcolonial contexts. In these deliberations questions of nativity and belonging are approached. Like in South Africa, enslaved people in Jamaica created food sovereign culinary and cultural practices that remain important to current eating and cultural practices. In my reading of Barbara Zencraft's poem "Ackee and Codfish" and Cecile Emeke's short film *Ackee and Saltfish* I demonstrated how the dish remains critical to ethnic advocacy both within the national and the diasporic homes. This chapter also facilitated a conversation with globalised and postcolonial eating practices by thinking with culinary tourism and how through recipes, menus, takeaways and supermarkets cultural difference and national belonging are problematized.

In the fifth chapter I conclude very broadly on Jamaica in its relation to South Africa from very few texts, and I also do not address other Caribbean or diasporic contexts, for instance, the presence of indentured labourers from South Asian origin who complicate the racial and cultural demographic of the region as well as the argument that slavery is fundamental to creole-indigenous subjectivities. This is one of the future directions that this research will take.

Another avenue for future research is to initiate a conversation between scholarship on the Anthropocene and ecological colonial legacies by thinking about climate change (and collapse) in relation to foodscapes. As Daniel Fargione writes: "the quick worsening of our environments as well as the slowness of people's reaction is visible in contemporary foodscapes" (257). In this thesis I centre the marine environment as a site of cultural entanglements, I plan to expand on this by examining the relations between culinary culture and marine species. Culinary cultures are affected by disappearing life forms. As Fargione suggests: "our understanding of how planetary forces affect our liquid environment may paradoxically be more effective when oceanic life forms are represented as vanishing food more than vanishing living creatures" (258). Through the recipe form and genre there is a chance to access social and interspecies histories. Recipes and cookbooks present us with populations of species that slip in and out of markets. They are carriers of cultures, histories and memories that are often overlooked in ecological studies, especially postcolonial ecological studies. Cookbooks and recipes may be

useful if we seek to understand unexplored or rather unreachable realms like the deep ocean. Because the sea to us is unending, we have eaten from it with little to no regard and often fish recipes gesture to absences and the decline of certain species like Bluefin Tuna whose subsiding numbers in the oceans are associated with the global sushi eating culture. Rafia Zafar (2019) writes that "if elegy and sankofa [Sankofa is a word in the Twi language of Ghana that translates to 'go back and get it'] address death and loss, the cook's tales of once-living flesh and the meals they enabled illuminate modes of mourning or commemoration" (72). As we commemorate our own pasts and histories through recipe writing, we also commemorate the deceased animals/plants that enabled our survival.

To conclude this chapter and this thesis I turn to Roland Barthes who famously wrote that: "Where there is food, there is meaning" (30). In this thesis I have tried to think about food writing and its role in culinary and cultural formation in South Africa and, for comparative purposes, in Jamaica. My biggest takeaway is that food and recipes fill both our literal hunger as well as the figurative hunger for belonging. In South Africa this has implications for literary genealogies because as a shared episteme that relies on both oral and written mediums the recipe form and genre allows writers across racial and gender groups to narrate particular stages of national and culinary history. Recipes also reflect historical periods in very interesting ways and cookbook writers take to the form for historical and personal reasons. The consideration of recipes as a literary form and genre enriches and shifts our understanding of South African literary genealogies that have so far been attentive to novels, poems and other literary forms to access cultural transactions in the past, present as well as in the local and the global. Recipes, like novels and poems, show limitless perceptions on cultural/racial entanglements in South Africa and abroad. They offer alternatives to how we access formations of national culture and identity. As archives recipes are layered and cross-referential. In South Africa recipes have been critical to notions of purity and mixture particularly with regard to people, food and literary practices. The recipe as a literary form is one that is epistemic, embodied as well as imaginative seeing as it has a fictive capacity.

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