

Topic: Questions of authenticity in the Bo-Kaap tourism experience

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This research report is submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Declaration

I, Janine Göpper declare that this research report is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts by coursework and research report at the University of the Witwatersrand and has not been submitted for any degree or examination at another institution.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Background

The Bo-Kaap is a small but densely populated area situated on the slopes of Signal Hill in Cape Town (see appendix for map). Artisans, builders and craftsmen started to build their own homes from 1750 onwards. The steep slope of Signal Hill affected the plan of most of the homes which were built; the back of the house was invariably higher or lower than the front and the façade or main elevation of the building was narrow (Fransen and Cook 1980:64). Over time, the Bo-Kaap came to be viewed as a residential area for the working class.

The Dutch and British colonial government found it hard to classify the Muslims at the Cape because they have had a long and complex history (Mayson 1861; Da Costa 1994; Jeppie 2001). The first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were servants of officials who worked for the Dutch East India Company. They were slaves, political prisoners and exiles from Bengal, the Malabar Coast and the Indonesian archipelago who under Dutch supervision, helped to establish the basic infrastructure of the colony (Davids 1980; Da Costa 1994; Jeppie 2001; Shell 2001; Thompson 2006). African slaves and converts to Islam brought ethnic diversity to the Muslim population which made it difficult for Dutch and British colonialists to classify people on the basis of ethnic groups in the colony (Jeppie 2001; Shell 2001). Muslims were often referred to as “Malay, Mohammedan, Mussulmen and coloured Moslem” in colonial records and traveller’s accounts (Mayson 1861; Jeppie 2001). Mayson (1861:15) noted that the term Malay was “locally applied to all Mohammedans”. Lady Duff-Gordon, an English visitor to the colony in 1927, noted that “Malay here means Mohammedan” (cited by Jeppie 2001:83). By the mid twentieth century being Muslim came to be associated with Malay and was viewed as distinct and separate from the larger coloured population (Jeppie 2001:80, 84). During the 1930’s and 1940’s Afrikaans poet and short story writer I.D. Du Plessis took the Muslim-as-Malay model one step further and attempted to “make the Muslims conform to an imaginary model of the ‘original’ Malays” with cultural roots in the Orient (Jeppie 2001:84). Du Plessis believed that the first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were political prisoners and exiles at best but not slaves. His ideological position dismissed the possibility that a newly formed identity could have been established at the Cape through creolisation or the interaction between different slaves cultures (Jeppie 2001). This background information is important because the master narrative which is presented to tourists, in the Bo-Kaap tourism experience, originates from of this complex issue surrounding identity.

Aim

Since the advent of democracy, there has been a steady influx of tourists who want to see and experience the cultural diversity of the 'New' South Africa (Rassool and Witz 1996). This research report will attempt to show that, in an attempt to cater for tourist tastes for the exotic, a Cape Malay identity has been constructed for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. The aim of my research report is to analyse five sources of popular tourist literature and two of the walking tours currently on offer of the Malay Quarter in terms of Rassool and Witz's argument about the prevalence of exotic tourism. I have found that an ideological position very close to that of Du Plessis' espousing the idea of the 'original' Malays has been adopted and appropriated by popular tourist writers and local tour guides. In addition to evaluating the master narrative which is presented to tourists, my research report will also consider the tourists themselves. Generally speaking, the Bo-Kaap tourism experience is attracting tourists who are, for the most part staying in Cape Town and have chosen Cape Town as their holiday destination. These tourists are not only interested in seeing Table Mountain, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (known as the V & A Waterfront) and Robben Island but are also interested in exploring the townships created by the former apartheid regime. Areas which were previously inaccessible to Europeans are now presented as sites of "living culture" waiting for tourists to explore (Witz, Rassool and Minkley 2001:283).

The Bo-Kaap tourism experience gives these tourists the opportunity to walk through a working class residential area of skilled artisans where 'authentic' goods can be purchased and traditional Cape Malay cuisine can be sampled. MacCannell (1999:57) has argued that the tourists' fascination with what is perceived to be the simpler and more pure lifestyle of 'other' cultures speaks more about *modernity* and *modern* society than it does about the traditional community represented. It is for this reason that my research report will also attempt to redirect some of the attention away from the master narrative which is presented to tourists towards the *modern* society from which these tourists emerge. I concur that the search for authenticity speaks more of the need for moderns to find an escape from the "fragmented, alienating, superficial and inauthentic" nature of *their* world than it does about the traditional community themselves (MacCannell 1999:2, 3). My research report will also suggest that the colonial urban architecture of Cape Town, the Bo-Kaap and its mosques might be an interesting alternative to the flat, bland master narrative which is currently presented to tourists.

Rationale

Through my research I wish to show that the master narrative which is presented to tourists is too simplistic and how it merely serves to reinforce stereotypes of a “quaint group of people wearing colourful costumes and engaged in lively celebrations” (Davids 1980:8). It does not allow for any other alternatives to come to the fore. The built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can also tell a story about the origins of the Cape Muslims and their history which is currently not being shared in the master narrative. I contend that it is because of its link to slavery.

Literature Review

My research report is largely informed by academic writing on South African tourism, the identity of the Muslims at the Cape, Dutch colonial urban architecture, the Bo-Kaap, its mosques and slavery. Dean MacCannell’s The Tourist (1999) and Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings (1973) have also played a central role in my evaluation of tourism with specific reference to the two walking tours of the Malay Quarter.

In South Africa: A World in One Country (1996) Rassool and Witz has noted that different cultural, racial and ethnic identities are carefully packaged for consumption by tourists. These come in various forms ranging from visits to open air museums and cultural villages to township tours. Tourists are given the opportunity to gaze at the “ancient rituals” and “traditions” of Ndebele, Swazi, Xhosa and Zulu people and to sample their cuisine. A safari in the Kruger National Park to see members of the ‘Big Five’ and a visit to Table Mountain, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, also forms part of the packaged tour. The ‘tourist gaze’ is essentially a relationship of power. Photographs are taken and souvenirs are bought which provides the tourist with a portable version of history which can be taken home with him.

In Repackaging the past for South African Tourism (2001) Witz, Rassool and Minkley draw our attention to the fact that many tourists want to move away from the contrived settings of open air museums and cultural villages in favour of a ‘real’ African experience. Tourists want to explore the townships on the outskirts of the cities which were created by the former apartheid regime. Areas which were previously inaccessible to Europeans are now presented as sites of “living culture” for tourists to explore.

In Museums on Cape Town’s Township Tours (2007) Witz contrasts the almost European setting of the city of Cape Town and the African townships situated on its periphery. Most tourists use the city as their base from which to explore the surrounding areas. Witz has noted that the Malay Quarter is

often a starting point for many packaged tours because of its close proximity to the city. Tourists are either taken on a brief walking tour or a drive through the Malay Quarter. However, the Bo-Kaap Museum is not a favoured destination for township tours. Most tour guides merely point to the museum and recommend a visit during free time. Witz criticises the museum for its representation of Muslim weddings, dress and religious practices which merely serves to reinforce the stereotypes closely associated with Du Plessis' construction of the 'original' Malays from the 1930's and 1940's (2007:261, 266). The displays inside the museum focus primarily on the origins of Islam at the Cape and the construction of a Cape Malay identity which is centred on their religion.

John Mayson's The Malays of Cape Town (1861), Shamil Jeppie's Re-classifications: Coloured, Malay, Muslim (2001) and Yusuf Da Costa's Muslims in Greater Cape Town: A Problem of Identity (1994) acknowledges that the identity for the Muslims at the Cape has had a long and complex history. Muslims were often referred to as "Malay, Mohammedan, Mussulmen and coloured Moslem" in colonial records and traveller's accounts (Mayson 1861; Jeppie 2001). During the 1930's and 1940's Afrikaans poet and short story writer I.D. Du Plessis took the Muslim-as-Malay model one step further and attempted to "make the Muslims conform to an imaginary model of the 'original' Malays" with cultural roots in the Orient (Jeppie 2001:84). I have found that an ideological position very close to that of Du Plessis' espousing the idea of the 'original' Malays has been adopted and appropriated by popular tourist writers and local tour guides. This literature has brought home the complexity of the identity of people who have been lumped together as Malay.

Robert Shell's Children of Bondage (2001) presents an interesting hypothesis on the effects of slavery at the Cape. The effects of slavery on Cape society were not only "political, economical and psychological" but were also visible in the structure of most residential homes and architectural designs (Shell 2001:247). Shell suggests that a unique "creole, vernacular architecture" developed at the Cape; the size of a house, the number of rooms, the shape of the roof and even the width of alleyways between houses expressed some response to slavery (2001:247). I used Hans Fransen and Mary Cooks' The Old Buildings of the Cape: Survey and Description (1980), Lesley and Stephen Townsend's Bo-Kaap: Faces and Facades (1977), Achmat Davids' Mosques of Bo-Kaap (1980) and Merle Huntley's Art in Outline: an introduction to South African art (1999) to test Shell's hypothesis and found that the colonial urban architecture at the Cape and the Bo-Kaap present us with tangible evidence of the effects of slavery on the structure of most residential homes. In terms of evaluating the religious architecture of the mosques in the Bo-Kaap, I used Doğan Kuban's Muslim Religious Architecture Part I and II (1974). The ritual elements of prayer, as prescribed in the Qur'an, determine the basic requirements of all mosque design. All mosques must have a large sanctuary

together with a courtyard. It is worth noting that the Cape Muslims adapted the *langaars* or prayer rooms in their residential homes to adhere to the basic requirements of mosque design (Davids 1980; Huntley 1999).

In order to gain a better understanding of slavery at the Cape I consulted Robert Ross' Cape of Torments slavery and resistance in South Africa (1983), Vivian Bickford-Smith's Meanings of Freedom: Social Position and Identity Among Ex-Slaves and Their Descendants in Cape Town, 1875-1910 (1994), Robert Shell's Children of Bondage (2001) and Leonard Thompson's A History of South Africa (2006). Each author draws our attention to the fact that Jan van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company to establish a refreshment station that would supply ships travelling to and from Batavia with fresh water, fruit and vegetables. The Dutch had no intention of establishing a colony at the Cape nor did they intend on using slave labour. However, as the settlement at the Cape grew so too did the need for a reliable and skilled labour force. Van Riebeeck requested permission to adopt the same model as the Company's settlement at Batavia. His request was granted and the first shipload of slaves was imported from Batavia soon afterwards. The first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were servants of officials who worked for the Dutch East India Company.

Although a rich scholarship exists on South African slavery, Nigel Worden and Kerry Ward draw our attention to the fact that many South Africans have "constructed amnesia" surrounding a slave ancestry in their article entitled Commemorating, suppressing and invoking Cape slavery (2007). South African historians suppressed slavery in the school curricula during the apartheid era. It has been suggested that the absence of information in textbooks stems from the need to portray the Dutch colonialists in an almost favourable light. If slavery was mentioned, it was usually in the context of how well the Dutch colonialists treated their slaves and a paternalistic relationship between master and slave was often emphasised (Worden and Ward 2007:203,212). What is even more astonishing is the continuation of this trend in the displays in public museums. For example, although the Bo-Kaap Museum prides itself in providing a broad overview of the history of the Cape Muslims, their settlement in the Bo-Kaap and the consolidation of Islam in the region, no mention is made about any form of slave ancestry. The motionless display of a typical Cape Malay house inside the museum conceals the truth about a past which wealthy Muslim elites do not want anyone to know about (Worden and Ward 2007:202). Worden and Ward (2007:207, 208) have also suggested that the suppression of a slave ancestry by Muslims themselves can be traced back to the Segregation Era in South Africa (1910-1948). Under the new Union of South Africa legal discrimination against

Africans was extended to include Coloured people as well. The Muslims distanced themselves from the larger Coloured population in order to gain a more privileged position for themselves in the colony. This distancing between the Muslim elite and the larger Coloured population was further entrenched during the Apartheid Era (1948-1991) with the Group Areas Act of 1950. Whilst members of the Coloured population were being forcibly removed from District Six to the Cape Flats, the Bo-Kaap District was declared a Malay Group Area and saved from destruction.

Methodology

I began my research by carefully looking at what has been written about the Bo-Kaap in popular tourist literature, in an attempt to cater for tourist tastes for the exotic. I analysed two books; Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town (2006) and Mix It! Voices of the Bo-Kaap (2008), and three travel guides; Lonely Planet Travel Guide (2012), Globetrotter Travel Guide and Cape Town Official Visitors Guide (2011) by examining the language which has been used by each author, the information conveyed and the various sources which have been quoted in each source. I wanted to see how a Cape Malay identity continues to be constructed for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community today which is made to date back to the 17th Century. I also wanted to evaluate how much of Du Plessis' ideological position of the 'original' Malays had been adopted and appropriated by each author. My analysis of five sources of popular tourist literature was followed by my own fieldwork observation of two walking tours of the Malay Quarter. Various claims to authenticity were made by each tour guide on the basis that the Bo-Kaap is Cape Town's oldest residential area and that it boasts the first mosque and first Muslim cemetery in South Africa. I was given the opportunity to walk through the streets of the Malay Quarter and see the brightly coloured residential homes, mosques and *kramats* for myself as I listened to each tour guide regale the master narrative to me. In retrospect, I should have participated in more tours of the Bo-Kaap *with other tourists*. This would have given me the opportunity to talk to other tourists and to find out how the walking tours on offer of the Malay Quarter were actually received by them. Have other tourists noticed how a Cape Malay identity continues to be constructed for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community today which is made to date back to the 17th Century? Were other tourists concerned about the absence of slavery from the master narrative as I was? This oversight on my part does present the possibility for further exploration into the topic. My methodological approach was largely informed by the writing of Witz, Rassool and Minkley (1996; 2001; 2007). Their interest into the way in which township tours are marketed and presented to tourists was my starting point. Witz, Rassool and Minkley (2001:283) note that tourists want to explore the townships on the outskirts of the cities which were created by the former apartheid regime. Areas which were previously inaccessible to Europeans are

now presented as sites of “living culture” waiting for tourists to explore. My methodology is primarily textually based. My own fieldwork observations simply led me to look more closely at the academic literature on slavery at the Cape. Shell’s hypothesis; that the structure of most residential homes expressed some response to slavery, led me to look at the colonial urban architecture of the Cape, Bo-Kaap and its mosques (2001:247). Through my research I wish to demonstrate how the built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can provide us with a much more nuanced narrative than the one which is currently being presented to tourists.

Chapter Two: Popular Tourist Literature

The proliferation of popular tourist literature available on Cape Town is staggering. One only needs to peruse the shelves of any popular book store to see the vast amount of information available. We can surmise that tourists will purchase these books and travel guides to assist them in planning a holiday to Cape Town as I did. Many forms of popular tourist literature on Cape Town devote a section to the Bo-Kaap; Cape Town’s oldest residential area. For example; The Lonely Planet Travel Guide (2012) has rated the Bo-Kaap one of Cape Town’s “top 10 must-see sites” and “one of the most photographed sections of the city” (Richmond 2012:11, 57). A selection of photographs of the Bo-Kaap Museum and the Rose Corner Café (in Wale Street) and the brightly coloured residential homes (in Chiappini Street, in the Malay Quarter) always accompany a description of the region. The strategy which is more often than not used to promote the Bo-Kaap in books and travel guides is primarily concerned with marketing an authentic Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap which is made to date back to the 17th Century.

Popular tourist writers begin by introducing the Bo-Kaap to their readers by contrasting the modernity of Cape Town’s city centre with its antiquated setting:

Along the slopes of Signal Hill to the west of the central area is a dense cluster of dainty little single-storey, flat roofed houses built during the 18th Century for Cape Town’s cosmopolitan artisan class. The streets are narrow and steep; many of the buildings are brightly painted; the minarets of the mosques rise above the low skyline, and the call of the *muezzin* charms the evening air

(Joyce 2011:34)

Cultural markers such as the architecture, the street patterns and the dominant religion of the area are used to market an authentic Cape Malay identity untainted and untouched by the force of

urbanisation; “dainty little single-storey houses, streets are narrow and steep, buildings are brightly painted, the *muezzin* charms the evening air”. It is probable that this marketing strategy would appeal to overseas tourists because the Bo-Kaap appears to offer a glimpse into the inner workings of a ‘traditional’ culture which is deemed more authentic than the “fragmented, alienating, superficial and inauthentic” nature of modernity (MacCannell 1999:2, 3). It has been noted that the need to revisit traditional cultures and their origins forms an important part of the search for authentic cultural experiences by moderns (Taylor 2001; Wang 1999). After the antiquated setting has been introduced, popular tourist writers usually provide some background information pertaining to the residents of the Bo-Kaap community. The extracts below have been taken from two different sources:

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck established Cape Town as a refreshment station for vessels of the Dutch East India Company, trading in silk and spices with the East. Interracial mixing between the Khoi-San and the Dutch settlers was the beginning of the ethnic group that is today called Cape Coloured.

(Greenwood *et al* 2011:41)

The Cape Malay people built many mosques in the Bo-Kaap including the Auwal Mosque in 1789.

(Richmond 2012:57)

The extracts above illustrate how the information which is currently in circulation is for the most part difficult to follow, contradictory in nature and even incorrect on the basic details. For example; ‘Khoi-San’ is a lazy term because it is used to represent a lot of different groups of people and the phrase ‘interracial mixing’ conceals the history of coercion and rape which took place in the colony between Dutch and British colonialists and their slaves (Greenwood *et al* 2011). Furthermore, the Auwal Mosque was established in 1798 and not 1789 as indicated by Richmond (2012). These inaccuracies reveal that each author does not place much importance on historical accuracy and would prefer to gloss over uncomfortable aspects of South Africa’s violent history. The over simplification of information and the use of cultural stereotypes is therefore the end result.

The following section presents an analysis of five sources of popular tourist literature purchased from a popular book store in Cape Town. These sources are grouped together under ‘mass tourism’ and ‘alternative tourism’. The term ‘mass tourism’ refers specifically to material which caters for a broad target market (Richards 2007; Silver 1993). Silver (1993:306) notes that mass

tourists typically emerge from Western European countries and although these tourists realise that developing countries have undergone social, economic and political change, they ignore the extent to which it has occurred. These tourists still hope to see traditional cultures in their original setting, untainted and untouched by the forces of urbanisation. Popular tourist literature which caters for mass tourists tries to promote an authentic cultural experience without compromising on the comforts of western style amenities such as accommodation, food and transport (Silver 1993:306). Mass tourists are more than likely to purchase popular tourist literature and will often go into an authentic cultural experience 'blind' (Richards 2007; Taylor 2001; Silver 1993). Silver (1993:306) notes the authentic cultural experience which tourists have must fulfil *their* idea of authenticity and be the same as that which they have read about in the books they have purchased. Under this category, the Bo-Kaap is marketed as an escape from modernity which cannot be too remote or too touristy. The popular tourist literature under this category promotes the Bo-Kaap as a stone's throw away from Cape Town.

'Alternative tourism' on the other hand refers to overseas tourists who define themselves in contrast to mass tourists (Richards 2007; Silver 1993). They resent how mass tourism has spoilt traditional cultures by commercialising relationships. The material found under this category is marketed differently. This form of travelling takes tourists off the beaten track. Travel guides are used in alternative tourism and are generally written for younger travellers who want an inexpensive encounter with authentic culture (Silver 1993:313). This type of cultural experience is marketed as the antithesis of mass tourism. Alternative tourism claims to be more authentic because each experience is unique and the tour guides, who have an intimate knowledge of the culture and region, will point out some of the lesser known attractions of the region. Survival guides form a crucial part of the popular tourist literature found under this category. The marketing strategy used tries to convey the Bo-Kaap more objectively. Alternative tourism acknowledges the influence which urbanisation has had on the Bo-Kaap but draws the reader's attention to the steps which have been taken by the community to preserve its culture and heritage. Although the target market of all five sources is essentially the same (overseas tourists) both are marketed slightly differently as the examples below will illustrate.

2.1 Mass Tourist Literature

a) Hutchinson, Michael (2006) Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town (David Philip Publishers)

Hutchinson presents us with a highly romanticised view of what life must have been like for the first generation of Muslims who settled at the Cape during the 17th Century. His discussion does not mention the harsh realities of slavery and ensuing emancipation which formed such an integral part of Cape Muslim history. Instead, the history of the rapidly developing spice route is used to explain the need for a halfway station at the Cape which, according to Hutchinson, ultimately led to the trade in human beings (of which the Muslim community did not form part of). Dutch colonialists are portrayed in an almost favourable light and a paternalistic relationship between master and slave is emphasised. The title of his book Colourful Heart of Cape Town is taken from a poem with the same name and forms a prelude to the introduction:

For generations we have come
From far-off lands,
Where Malaysian and Indonesian shores
Whisper of our ancient ancestral sands,
Which we perchance could emulate
On this Tana Baru, our 'new ground'
As artisans we worked to mould
The buildings of the Cape,
Our destiny to fashion,
A new community to make
Throughout, the call to prayer is heard
From minarets of mosques around

Though centuries have passed
Our forebears long since gone,
We stand united
And call as one.
In Bo-Kaap- the Colourful Heart of Cape Town
A new identity we have found

(Dila 2006)

The language used is obsolete, "perchance", and intended more for poetic effect. The adjectival phrases used in the poem; "far off lands" and "ancient ancestral sands" allude to the forebears of the

Cape Muslims with nostalgia. The Cape has become *their* Tana Baru (new ground) and *their* artisans and religious leaders worked hard to mould it whilst still managing to establish a new identity. The poem sets the tone for the entire book which reads like a travelogue or journal entry at times and is primarily aimed at Western European tourists who are visiting Cape Town and are interested in experiencing the cultural diversity of the New South Africa. In Chapter 1, Hutchinson begins with a brief description of the Bo-Kaap region and the organised walking tours which are on offer to visitors and tourists by Shereen Habib, local tour guide and resident of the area. The author contrasts the modernity of Cape Town's city centre with the quaintness of the Bo-Kaap region:

For visitors to Cape Town, entering the Bo-Kaap is like stepping into another world. The modern setting of the city centre suddenly changes and you become much more aware of the cobbled streets, mosques and brightly coloured houses. A rainbow burst of orange, yellow, pink, blue and green comes into view and stretches towards Signal Hill. This surreal splash of colour gives the Bo-Kaap a fantastical feel

(Hutchinson 2006:3)

The adjectives “surreal” and “fantastical” help to evoke the feeling that the Bo-Kaap is an exotic holiday destination where strange food, cultures and customs can be sampled at one's leisure and where one can be transported out of the everyday – the monotony and pace of the modern world. This would certainly appeal to the sensibility of most Western European tourists who is always searching for new authentic experiences which he believes can only be found in the simpler and more pure lifestyle associated with ‘other’ cultures. MacCannell has noted that the “fragmented, alienating, superficial and inauthentic” nature of modernity has served as a primary motivation for the search for authenticity by moderns (1999:2, 3). The introduction in Chapter 1 is followed by a brief discussion of the various points of interest in the Bo-Kaap which include; the Bo-Kaap Museum, the Heritage Mural, the Rose Corner Café, the Atlas Trading Company and the Noon Gun Tea Room and Restaurant. The author uses these points of interest as a way of establishing a degree of authenticity for the region as many of the mentioned sites, such as the Auwal Mosque, has become national monuments (Davids 1980).

In Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5, Hutchinson discusses the culture, cuisine and various religious festivals which are practised by the residents of the Bo-Kaap community. It is at this stage in the book that Hutchinson's classification of the Bo-Kaap residents becomes increasingly difficult to follow. He uses the term Cape Muslim when he discusses religion and Cape Malay when he discusses cuisine

and various forms of artistic expression. Both terms are used interchangeably by the author to represent the Bo-Kaap community as a whole. Hutchinson begins his discussion of the ‘Cape Muslims’ with a brief outline of the five pillars of Islam, the Qur’an and the five daily prayers practised before discussing the various *kramats* or tombs of Holy men and the mosques in the Bo-Kaap. This is followed by a brief discussion of the religious festivals which are practised at the Cape such as; *Ramadan*, *Eid-ul-fitr* and *Tamat*. Hutchinson emphasises the fact that the religious leaders who were brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company during the 17th Century were political exiles at best but not slaves (Hutchinson 2006:21).

I have attempted to show that the information is simplistic and primarily aimed at most Western European tourists who are not familiar with the Islamic faith and will therefore not question the information which is given. Hutchinson’s discussion of the Cape Malays focuses primarily on their cuisine. He suggests that the “opulence and fine dining” of European settlers during the 17th Century resulted in the need for exotic spices which were brought to the Cape Colony (Hutchinson 2006:20). These spices together with the traditional recipes of the Muslim slaves ultimately resulted in the development of an authentic Cape Malay cuisine. A number of Cape Malay recipes have been included with Hutchinson’s discussion. Each recipe is accompanied by a short preamble and a photograph of a ‘typical’ Muslim family enjoying a meal together or a table laden with bowls of rice, various curries, dates, mint tea and candles. The example below illustrates how the author has romanticised the food of the Cape Malays in an effort to authenticate their cuisine:

Meat and rice form the staple diet for many living in the Bo-Kaap. Some may view rice as rather bland, but this Malay recipe proves that with a little flair, rice can be turned into something magical and exotic

(Hutchinson 2006:40)

Adjectives like “magical” and “exotic” are intended to appeal to overseas tourists who are always looking for new experiences and taste sensations and who would no doubt consult the directory of restaurants and cafés at the back of the book to prepare to sample the authentic Cape Malay cuisine themselves. The author also makes use of gender stereotyping as a means of reinforcing the cultural identity for the Cape Malays. The example below accompanies a recipe for fish curry:

In yesteryear, the Malays were the fish vendors of Cape Town. Traders walking with a pole balanced on their shoulders, carrying a bucket or basket of fish hanging off either end, were a

typical sight. When a trader blew on his ‘fish horn’, the local housewives would come running to see the catch of the day

(Hutchinson 2006:42)

The archaic language used by the author (yesteryear) and the gender defined roles of Cape Malay men (fish vendors and traders) and women (housewives) reinforce certain stereotypes. Although Hutchinson’s description presents a ‘typical’ representation of the Cape Malay, dating back to the 17th Century, it could lead visitors and tourists to believe that all residents of the Bo-Kaap still live a more traditional way of life and embrace outdated methods with which to earn a living. It is unfortunate that the perpetuation of such stereotypes will merely serve to reinforce these misconceptions. MacCannell has noted that tourists are often criticised for being satisfied with such superficial descriptions and experiences of “other people and places” (1999:10).

In Chapters 6 and 7 Hutchinson discusses the various forms of artistic expression of the Cape Malays with particular emphasis on music and song. He makes a clear distinction between the ‘Malay’ choirs of the Bo-Kaap community; *Ghoemaliedjies*, *Moppies*, *Nagtroepe* and *Nederlandseliedjies* and the ‘coon troupes’ (note ‘coon’ is now thought to be derogatory) of the *Kaapse Klopse*, celebrated on *Tweede Nuwe Jaar*. The Malay choirs would sing Old Dutch songs or ditties and always wore a uniform when they performed in competitions (each performer was required to wear a blazer and trousers, a tie and a red or white *fez*). This is in stark contrast to the ‘coon troupes’ of the city, who performed songs in a less controlled fashion, wore cheap, brightly coloured satin outfits and painted their faces black in true minstrel fashion (Jeppie 2001). Hutchinson’s distinction between Malay choirs and ‘coon troupes’ adopts the same position as that held by Afrikaans poet and short story writer I.D. Du Plessis. Du Plessis championed the cause for an authentic Cape Malay identity with cultural roots in the Orient (Jeppie 2001). This ideological position served as a primary motivation for the establishment of choral clubs and the Cape Malay Choir Board in 1939 as a means of promoting an authentic cultural identity for the Cape Malays through music and song (Jeppie 2001:90).

Any notion of a newly formed identity at the Cape colony or possible creolisation with other cultures of slave ancestry was firmly rejected by Du Plessis (Jeppie 2001). It is interesting to note that the cultural and religious identity of the Cape Malays provided Du Plessis with a source of inspiration for his own work. The poem illustrated below pays tribute to Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar, a political exile from Batavia, who was instrumental in establishing a settlement on the Zandvliet farm for fugitive slaves where he also began teaching them the Qur’an:

Kramat

Sjeg Joesoef van Makassar

Het vir sy volk gestry:

By Sandvliet in die duine

Moes hy as balling bly.

Hier waar die dof-geel kruine

Sy graf skei van die see,

Het Joesoef, in sy drome,

Skielik voor hom gestaan:

Loop tussen daardie bome-

Neem hierdie ring as pand;

En môre sal jy hulle vind

Daar aan jou regterkant.

Hier moes die dood jou bind

By sagte seegeluide,

Sodat jou graf kon word

Die Mekka van die suide:

Gebed-omringde fort.

Sjeg Joesoef, jy moes ly

Vir daardie ergste misdaad:

Jy't vir jou volk gestry.

(Du Plessis 1970)

Sheikh Yusuf died in 1699 and was buried on a hill overlooking Macassar at Faure. A *kramat* was built over his grave and has become an important pilgrimage site for Cape Muslims. Du Plessis' poem entitled *Kramat* pays tribute to a religious leader who, in Du Plessis' opinion, struggled for his people. The poem is highly romanticised and does much to explain Hutchinson's position. His book promotes the construction of a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap; a community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. It can also be said that his book is highly romanticised because it does not mention the harsh reality of slavery which formed such an integral part of Cape Muslim history. Hutchinson, like Du Plessis, claims that the origins of the Cape Malays

stems from the political exiles and religious leaders that were brought to the Cape colony by the Dutch East India Company from Batavia.

b) Hutchinson, Michael & Habib, Shereen (2008) Mix It! Voices of the Bo-Kaap (Shuter & Shooter Publishers)

This book offers tourists an insider's perspective of the Bo-Kaap. The diverse voices of the people living in the area are that of co-author Shereen Habib, her extended family and members of the local community. It would appear as if the voice of co-author Hutchinson is absent from the overall narrative but his influence is still evident. There appears to be certain similarities between this book and Hutchinson's Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town in terms of the presentation, layout and the various illustrations which have been used. The co-author Shereen Habib begins by providing a brief account of her life story. She was born in the Bo-Kaap in 1952 and grew up in the area. Her extended family all live in a house purchased by her grandparents at the top of Longmarket Street. In 1994 a section of this house was converted into the Noon Gun Restaurant and Tea Room by her parents where authentic Cape Malay cuisine is now served. Habib still lives in the Bo-Kaap in Morris Street with her children and offers walking tours of the Malay Quarter for visitors and tourists. Yet, it is the recollection of her childhood memories that forms the basis of most of the book. For example, when Habib was eleven years old, she recalls how she used to run errands to the shops with her dog Chola after she had finished at *madrassah*:

Chola and I would run errands to the local shops and the butcher for some of the housewives in the neighbourhood. I would carry my shopping bag made of hessian and Chola had a special basket tied to his collar... Chola's tail wagged all the way to Dada's butcher because he knew what treats were waiting for him there

(Habib 2008:3)

Habib refers time and again to a simpler way of life where children played in the streets and all the residents of the Bo-Kaap community knew each another; "For me, living in the Bo-Kaap today is very different to the farm-like lifestyle I knew in days gone by" (Habib 2008:62). This nostalgia for a bygone era would appeal to the sensibility of the overseas tourist whose concern for authenticity lies at the heart of their preoccupation with "destroyed cultures and dead epochs" (MacCannell 1999; Taylor 2001). This form of storytelling for a culture and an era which no longer exists, adds to the charm which the Bo-Kaap holds with tourists. In addition to her childhood memories, Habib also discusses her ancestral heritage for example; "my grandmother and her brother were both

dressmakers and tailors. They worked well together and received sewing work for the glamorous weddings given by the Malay community” (2008:10).

Photographs of the bride and groom in traditional wedding attire and a drawing of an old Cape Malay tailor plying his trade accompany a lengthily description of the family business. The significance of Habib’s grandparents’ occupation should not be undervalued since it fits into the broader master narrative which is being constructed. As stated earlier, the Cape Malays were a sophisticated people group whose varying skills were useful in establishing the basic infrastructure of the Cape colony (Davids 1980; Jeppie 2001; Shell 2001; Thompson 2006). By emphasising her ancestral heritage, Habib not only gives her recollection of childhood stories a greater sense of credibility but she has also successfully positioned herself and her extended family within a broader Cape Malay master narrative. In terms of promoting urban tourism in the area, her voice is useful because it does establish a link with the past. However, it does also reinforce certain stereotypes associated with the Cape Malays which many Cape Muslim residents have taken exception to (Davids 1980). One could also argue that her voice is no different from any of the other books and travel guides which have been written with a Western European tourist in mind.

Habib’s childhood memories and the discussion of her ancestral heritage illustrate that she has worked hard to position herself and her extended family within a broader Cape Malay narrative. However, it is the inclusion of contemporary voices from the Bo-Kaap which creates a confusing and contradictory dimension to the book. The extract below illustrates how Habib has used actor, singer and song writer Taliep Peterson as a way of promoting the creative impetus of the Bo-Kaap community:

The Bo-Kaap has provided the inspiration for one of South Africa’s great artists... one of South Africa’s best known theatre personalities, a devoutly religious man and practising Muslim. His link with the Bo-Kaap stems back to his childhood when he would go to the Bo-Kaap to visit friends and relatives. One of his sisters still lives in the Bo-Kaap

(Habib 2008:72)

The apparent contradiction of this statement lies in the fact that Taliep Peterson lived in District Six for most of his life. As a boy, he participated in the ‘coon troupes’ of the *Kaapse Klopse* or Cape Minstrel Carnivals, which has always been associated with the Coloured community of District Six.

The musicals which Taliep Peterson later produced, such as *Kat and the Kings* and *Carnival a la District Six*, were both inspired by the lowlier of the two residential areas. Historically, the Cape Malays have always been viewed as distinct and separate from the larger Coloured community of District Six which is why the link between Taliep Peterson and the Bo-Kaap is not accurate. Furthermore, the groundwork which Habib has worked so hard to establish, by positioning herself and her extended family within a broader Cape Malay master narrative, is largely undermined by her own efforts.

In addition to the contemporary voice of Taliep Peterson, Habib has also included the voices of expatriates and refugees who are now living in the Bo-Kaap. Habib acknowledges that the Bo-Kaap is no longer exclusively a residential area for the Cape Malays and that many people from different cultures and places of origin have moved into the area. It is interesting to note that her view of gentrification has changed from the position which she first held in Hutchinson's book Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town; "We don't mind if people buy and then come and live with us, but if they keep buying and selling overnight, the area will lose its identity. There will be no vibe here anymore... it will be silent" (cited by Hutchinson 2006:2). The sense of community, which Habib feared would be lost forever if foreigners moved in, is spoken of with fondness and admiration by Neil Franks, an expatriate from the United Kingdom, who is now living in the Bo-Kaap:

Whilst living in the Bo-Kaap my understanding of community and neighbourliness has been positively shaped by those who live nearby and who have received me into their community. It has been a privilege to share in the richness of the heritage and culture of the Bo-Kaap and to get to know its residents

(Cited by Habib 2008:22)

The inclusion of expatriate voices like Neil Franks creates yet another confusing and contradictory dimension to the book which largely undermines the author's attempt to maintain the construction of an authentic Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century.

2.2 Alternative Tourist Literature

a) Lonely Planet Travel Guide (2012) Ed. Simon Richmond and Lucy Corne 7th Ed. (Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd)

This 7th edition of the Lonely Planet Travel Guide provides concise and fairly accurate information pertaining to Cape Town and the Garden Route. This pocket size book is primarily aimed at the overseas tourists who are looking to explore the city of Cape Town and its surrounding areas. The travel guide is interspersed with information, pictures, interesting anecdotes, a survival guide for first time visitors to the Mother City and various street maps. A photograph of the brightly coloured residential homes in the Bo-Kaap with a view of Lion's Head, forms the front cover of the travel guide which does much to entice the potential visitor or tourist to purchase the travel guide. This travel guide has also rated the Bo-Kaap one of Cape Town's "top 10 must-see sites" and "one of the most photographed sections of the city" (Richmond 2012:11, 57). The author presents a balance between contemporary issues and historical information as illustrated in the example below:

Painted in vivid colours straight out of a packet of liquorice allsorts, the jumble of crumbling and restored heritage houses and mosques along the cobblestone streets of the Bo-Kaap are both visually captivating and a storybook of inner city gentrification. A stop at the Bo-Kaap Museum is recommended to gain an understanding of the history of this former slave quarter; also try Cape Malay dishes at one of the areas several restaurants, or stay in the homes turned into guesthouses and hotels, including the lovely antique filled Dutch Manor

(Richmond 2012:11)

The "jumble of crumbling and restored houses and mosques" encapsulates the complex issue of gentrification which has gripped the residents of the Bo-Kaap community in recent years. Visser (2002:420) has defined gentrification as "a unit-by-unit acquisition of housing which displaces low income residents by high income residents". The low income residents in this case are the Cape Malays who settled in the Bo-Kaap shortly after their emancipation from slavery in 1830. Their settlement in the area was further entrenched by the apartheid government's Group Areas Act of 1950 which declared the Bo-Kaap an exclusive residential area for the Cape Malays. However, since the advent of democracy in 1994 there has been a steady acquisition of houses in the Bo-Kaap by high income residents, many of whom are foreign investors. The sudden influx of high income residents has not only changed the demographics of the area but has also resulted in an increase in property value. Consequently, many low income residents have had to move out of the area. This sudden displacement of the working class reached boiling point in 2001 when members of the Bo-Kaap community held a protest march against what they have referred to as the "gentrification and commercialisation of the area" (Visser 2002:420). Richmond (2012) has highlighted this complex

issue for which there is no easy solution. In an effort to attract overseas tourists to the city of Cape Town, a number of “inner city redevelopment initiatives” have taken place (Visser 2002:419). This has resulted in the gentrification of the Bo-Kaap area which means that its residents are no longer exclusively of Malay ancestry. This raises a number of questions pertaining to the authenticity of the Bo-Kaap tourism experience as a whole. Perhaps in the near future, the only remnant of the Cape Malays will be the photographs and various artefacts on display in the Bo-Kaap museum. In addition to gentrification, the author has also highlighted issues of poverty, crime and safety in the Bo-Kaap. Richmond urges visitors to use common sense and caution when exploring the picturesque streets of the region and “not to walk around at night” (2012:57). This information seems to suggest that the author has sought to be as objective as possible in his representation of the region. The author has not romanticised the region in the same way that Hutchinson (2006) and Habib (2008) have done which does suggest that the travel guide has been written with an overseas tourist in mind who is not familiar with the region.

The classification of people groups in the travel guide is at times difficult to follow. Richmond constructs the Muslim-as-Malay against the Christian-as-Coloured in his classification. The term Muslim-as-Malay is used when the author discusses the cultural and religious identity of the people living in the Bo-Kaap community; “a predominantly Muslim area where time is measured by the regular calls to prayer from the suburbs many mosques” (2012:53). Elsewhere in the travel guide Richmond states; “The Cape Malay people built many mosques in the Bo-Kaap including the Auwal Mosque” (2012:57). The term Christian-as-Coloured is used by the author when he discusses the people living on the Cape Flats and the *Kaapse Klopse* or Cape Minstrel Carnival, as illustrated in the example below:

The most public secular expression of coloured culture today is the riotous Cape Town Minstrel Carnival. Also known in Afrikaans as the *Kaapse Klopse*, the Mother City’s equivalent of Rio’s Mardi gras parade is a noisy, joyous and disorganised affair with practically every colour of satin, sequin and glitter used in the costumes of the marching troupes, which can number over 1000 members. Although the festival dates back to the early colonial times when slaves enjoyed a day of freedom the day after New Year, the look of today’s carnival was inspired by visiting American minstrels in the late 19th Century, hence the face make up, colourful costumes and ribald song and dance routines. The vast majority of participants come from the coloured community... and has been a demonstration of coloured people power. Whites who came to watch the parade in apartheid times would risk having their

faces blackened up with boot polish. Today it still feels like the community of the Cape Flats is coming to take over the city

(Richmond 2012:214)

Richmond (2012:214) is the only popular author to acknowledge the historical roots of the *Kaapse Klopse* or Cape Minstrel Carnival as a festival which dates back to early colonial times. More accurately, the celebrations not only marked a day of freedom but were meant to commemorate the abolition of slavery in the early 1880's (Worden and Ward 2007:203). These parties were characterised by music, dancing and feasting and the former colonial masters were often satirised (Worden and Ward 2007:203). It was only in the 20th Century that the commemoration of the abolition of slavery was replaced by New Year celebrations (Worden and Ward 2007:204). Richmond (2012) correctly acknowledges that most of the participants of the *Kaapse Klopse* or Cape Minstrel Carnival come from the Coloured community of Cape Town. This is important because many overseas tourists mistakenly associate these celebrations with the Bo-Kaap community. The reason for this could be that once the procession of 'coon troupes' have made their way through the city of Cape Town, they march down Adderley and Wale Streets into the Bo-Kaap (Richmond 2012:20). Jeppie (2001:90) has also noted that the songs sung by the various 'coon troupes' are similar in range to the songs sung by the Malay choirs with the exception that they are far less controlled. The Malay choirs are not mentioned at all by Richmond (2012) in this travel guide.

b) Joyce, Peter (2011) Globetrotter Travel Guide Cape Town. (New Holland Publishers Ltd)

This travel guide is similar to the 7th edition of the Lonely Planet Travel Guide in the sense that it is also interspersed with information, pictures, interesting facts and various street maps. It is also a pocket size book primarily aimed at overseas tourists who are looking to explore Cape Town and its surrounding areas. However, the author adopts a different position to Richmond in terms of the way in which various population groups are classified. Joyce classifies the Coloured population as one of the largest people groups in Cape Town who are of "mixed descent" and "diverse roots" and who are primarily Afrikaans speaking (2011:17). The author does not view the Cape Muslims as a distinct and separate group from the larger Coloured community but rather a prominent subgroup of slave ancestry who originated from Indonesia and its archipelago. This in itself is interesting because he is the only popular author to hold such a position.

It is at this stage in the travel guide that Joyce begins using the terms Cape Muslim and Cape Malay interchangeably to represent the Bo-Kaap community as a whole. According to the author the Cape Muslims were valued for their skills which they brought with them to the colony. They settled in the Bo-Kaap after their emancipation from slavery in the 1830s and were devout Muslims who regularly attended mosque and would regularly make a pilgrimage to the local *kramats* or tombs of Holy men situated around Cape Town (Joyce 2011:18). A brief description of the Malay Quarter is accompanied by a photograph of Mosque Shafee in Chiappini Street and a picture of the brightly coloured residential homes in Wale Street (Joyce 2011:35). The term Cape Malay is used by the author to discuss cuisine which was introduced by the early slaves from Indonesia. Joyce is the only author to acknowledge Dutch, French Huguenot and Indian influences in the establishment of ‘Cape Malay’ cuisine. A photograph of a table laden with Cape Malay dishes, surrounded by a group of Muslim women in traditional dress celebrating what appears to be the Mouloud Festival, accompanies the author’s brief description.

Joyce associates the *Kaapse Klopse* or Cape Minstrel Carnival with the Coloured population of Cape Town. He states that the festival, which is celebrated on New Year’s Day, is merely a celebration of cultural identity. According to the author, the procession begins at the Grand Parade and ends in Green Point (Joyce 2011:17). Joyce does not acknowledge the historical significance of this festival nor does he make a connection to the commemoration of the abolishment of slavery in the early 1880’s. In fact the only acknowledgment made by the author to slavery is in the context of his discussion of the Cape Muslims. A slave ancestry is not mentioned at all in the context of the Coloured population of Cape Town.

c) Cape Town Official Visitors Guide (2011) Ed. Tracy Greenwood *et al* (Media Nova Publishers Pty Ltd)

This travel guide provides a brief summary of the history of Cape Town and is accompanied by a list of different museums and their respective contact details. Greenwood *et al* (2011:41) state that Jan van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to establish a “refreshment station for ships of the Dutch East India Company trading in silk and spices with the East”. The “inter-racial mixing between the Khoi-San and the Dutch settlers” established what is now known as the Coloured community (Greenwood *et al* 2011:41). The Cape Malays of the Bo-Kaap are not mentioned at all. Instead, a reference is made to slavery in the context of adding ‘further diversity to the ethnic groups of the Cape’ (Greenwood *et al* 2011:41). This statement is problematic because it places slavery and

the Dutch settlers in an almost favourable light and credits the trade in human beings for the rich cultural diversity of the city of Cape Town which exists today.

Greenwood *et al* (2011:41) state that Afrikaans was “a unique form of the Dutch language” which was developed in the “early 18th Century from other languages such as Malay and Portuguese”. This is the most accurate piece of information given in this visitors guide. Shell (2001:61) has noted that a slave lingua franca did emerge at the Cape during the late 19th Century and was both a “simplification and creolisation” of the Dutch language. The Dutch learnt to speak Malay-Portuguese so that they could effectively communicate with their slaves (Shell 2001:62). Afrikaans is often referred to a ‘kitchen Dutch’ because it was a language primarily spoken in the kitchen of the colonial master’s home between free and slave women (Shell 2001:63). Greenwood *et al* (2011:41) state that the slaves which were brought to the Cape from “Indonesia and Malaysia brought with them the Islamic faith”. This statement is very misleading because one could surmise that *all* the slaves that were brought to the Cape colony were Muslim when in actual fact it was only a small percentage of the population. Cape slaves did not originate from Malaysia, as stated in the travel guide, but rather from “Mozambique, Madagascar, Indonesia, India and Ceylon” (Thompson 2006:35).

The travel guide does not mention the Bo-Kaap at all in this brief summary which is strange given the fact that a picture of the brightly coloured residential homes of the Malay Quarter accompanies this description. Visitors and tourists are merely encouraged to visit the Bo-Kaap Museum situated in the Malay Quarter. There are far more inconsistencies in this travel guide than in any other due to the oversimplification of historical information. This is a cause for concern given the fact that the potential visitor and tourist is far more likely to use this travel guide than any of the others because it is widely distributed at Cape Town’s International Airport.

2.3 Conclusion

It is clear from the information which is presented in each of the five literary sources; two books and three travel guides, that what has been written about the residents of the Bo-Kaap community is at times difficult to follow and historically inaccurate. Each author uses different terminology when discussing the residents of the Bo-Kaap community; “Cape Malay, Cape Muslim, Muslim-as-Malay, Coloured etc.” which makes the cross referencing of information difficult. Irrespective of the terminology which is used by each author, the master narrative which is presented to tourists continues to construct a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap which is made to date

back to the 17th Century. The absence of slavery from the overall narrative is evident throughout each literary source, with the exception of Joyce (2011).

Each literary source appears to have its own agenda which has resulted in the selection and omission of certain information. Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town and Mix It! Voices of the Bo-Kaap try to offer an insider's perspective of the Bo-Kaap from the viewpoint of Shereen Habib, local tour guide and resident of the area, her extended family and members of the local community. Both books go to great lengths to construct a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. The information is highly romanticised and does much to illustrate how the master narrative continues to be reinforced in all of its complexity and apparent contradictions. Both books are primarily orientated towards mass tourism which caters for a broad target market.

The Lonely Planet Travel Guide, Globetrotter Travel Guide and Official Visitors Travel Guide are three travel guides which have been written primarily with overseas tourists in mind who are travelling in and around Cape Town on a modest budget. A great deal of emphasis has been placed on experiencing authentic Cape Malay cuisine, hospitality and various points of interest in the Bo-Kaap. Historical accuracy is largely compromised in favour of practical guidelines for travelling. All three travel guides are primarily orientated towards alternative tourism which caters for younger travellers who want to have an inexpensive encounter with authentic culture. Perhaps the most problematic of all three travel guides is The Cape Town Official Visitors Guide because of the oversimplification of historical information. This can pose the greatest threat of all to the preservation of culture, heritage and the promotion of urban tourism in the area. The Bo-Kaap and its community are not mentioned at all in this travel guide even though a picture of the brightly coloured residential homes in Chiappini Street has been included. At best, the potential visitor or tourist is encouraged to visit the Bo-Kaap Museum situated in the Malay Quarter.

MacCannell (1999:10) notes that tourists are often criticised for being satisfied with such superficial descriptions and experiences of other people and places in popular tourist literature. To a lesser or greater extent, I think MacCannell's assertion is true. One only needs to look at what has been written about the residents of the Bo-Kaap community to see that it is at times difficult to follow and historically inaccurate. Perhaps if tourists scrutinised the information which was given to them, the status quo would change? However, it could also be argued that the popular tourist literature which is currently in circulation is merely meeting a need which has been identified. The construction of a

Cape Malay identity for residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century speaks more about the need of moderns to escape the “fragmented, alienating, superficial and inauthentic” nature of *modernity* and *modern* society than it does about the residents of the Bo-Kaap community themselves (MacCannell 1999:2, 3). Moderns are presumably looking for authentic cultural experiences as a way of escaping from the inauthentic nature of *their* world. Perhaps the construction of a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which features in popular tourist literature is precisely what tourists want to read? Stories of a traditional community, living a simpler and more pure lifestyle than one’s own would appeal to moderns and entice them to visit the city of Cape Town so that they can explore the cultural diversity of the New South Africa.

Chapter Three: Two walking tours of the Malay Quarter

There are a number of walking tours on offer of the Malay Quarter which give tourists the opportunity to have an authentic Cape Malay cultural experience. Wang (1999:350) has noted that the term ‘authenticity’ was first used in the museum. Art historians would evaluate various art objects to see if they were worthy of the appreciation and monetary value which they had been given. This museum-linked usage of the word has been extended to include tourism as well. Products of tourism such as artefacts, traditional dress and cuisine, cultural and religious festivals are often described as ‘authentic’ and ‘inauthentic’ depending on whether or not they were made or performed by the local community (Wang 1999:350). Various claims to authenticity have been made on the basis that the Bo-Kaap is Cape Town’s oldest residential area and that it boasts the first mosque (Auwal Mosque) and first Muslim cemetery (Tana Baru) to have been established in South Africa. The need to revisit traditional cultures and their origins forms an important part of the search for authentic cultural experiences by moderns (Taylor 2001; Wang 1999). This could serve to explain why tour guides place so much emphasis on the construction of a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. By doing so the origins of a traditional culture are established because it is fixed in a specific time period.

The following section presents an analysis of two walking tours of the Malay Quarter which are currently on offer. Tour guides Shereen Habib of *Tana Baru Tours* and Yayga Arend, a local resident of the community who conducts private walking tours, both use an ‘authenticity of experience’ and an ‘authenticity of toured objects’ as a way of establishing an authentic cultural experience of the Malay Quarter for tourists (Wang 1999:350). By ‘authenticity of experience’, I am specifically referring to first-hand experience of the Malay Quarter where tourists can walk through the streets and see the brightly coloured residential homes, mosques and *kramats* for themselves as they listen

to the master narrative which is being told by the tour guide. By ‘authenticity of toured objects’, I am specifically referring to original artefacts which can be viewed by tourists. For example; an original *Toding* or pointed straw hat which was worn by Cape Muslim men during the 17th Century can be viewed in the Bo-Kaap Museum (see appendix Figure 9). The intention of this analysis will be to illustrate how an authenticity of experience and an authenticity of toured objects have been used by both tour guides in the construction of a Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community.

3.1 Authenticity of Experience

a) *Tana Baru Tours* provides a two hour walking tour of the Malay Quarter; the oldest residential area of the Bo-Kaap. The tour departs from the Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street and ends in the private home of tour guide Shereen Habib with traditional Cape Malay cakes and tea. I was the only ‘tourist’ present on the walking tour since I had arranged to meet with Habib by appointment. The walking tour began with a brief visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum (located in one of the oldest residential homes in the Malay Quarter). The photographic exhibition, written information and various artefacts on display provided a broad overview of the cultural history of the region; the origin of the ‘Cape Malays’, their settlement in the Bo-Kaap and the consolidation of Islam in the region. It was difficult for me to scrutinise the information on display in the Bo-Kaap Museum because of the brevity of our visit. I was however able to peruse the photographic exhibition on display entitled ‘*Mapping Bo-Kaap: History, Memories and Spaces*’, situated on the second floor of the museum, before leaving.

Upon leaving the Bo-Kaap Museum, tour guide Habib and I walked towards an arched passageway leading onto Wale Street where the Heritage Mural is situated (see appendix Figure 2, 3, 4 and 5). The Heritage Mural is made up of an array of figurative images which are meant to represent the first generation of Muslims who arrived at the Cape in the 17th Century. These images have been painted inside the arched passageway; a teacher at *madrassah*, a craftsman, a bride and groom at a traditional Muslim wedding, a horse drawn cart, the first mosque established in the area and the *kramat* of Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar. The images look as if they have been painted onto old scrolls and opened up against a white background. The fact that the images are monochromatic suggests a desire to make them look old. At the entrance to the arched passageway are two life sized figurative images of Muslim children in colour, wearing modern clothing. They appear to be looking into the arched passageway where the rest of the mural is situated. These children seem to represent the present generation looking into the past. Although the images have been executed in a naturalistic way, the subject matter of the mural is stereotypical and clichéd. The mural buys into the construction of a

Cape Malay identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. Habib told me that the mural was designed by Iranian artist Nasser Palangi and executed by a group of local artists. According to the tour guide, the artist was so moved by the welcoming spirit of the residents of the Bo-Kaap that he wanted to give something back to the community in return. From this we can deduce that the Heritage Mural was a gift and not a community initiative to begin with. It could also serve to explain why the subject matter of the mural is so romanticised.

After viewing the Heritage Mural, Habib and I walked down Chiappini Street; the most photographed street in the Bo-Kaap and used in all forms of popular tourist literature to promote the region (see appendix Figure 6). As I walked down the street, I recalled what I had read in Hutchinson's book Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town prior to my walking tour of the Malay Quarter:

For visitors to Cape Town, entering the Bo-Kaap is like stepping into another world. The modern setting of the city centre suddenly changes and you become much more aware of cobbled streets, mosques and brightly coloured houses. A rainbow burst of orange, yellow, pink, blue and green comes into view and stretches towards Signal Hill. This surreal splash of colour gives the Bo-Kaap a fantastical feel

(Hutchinson 2006:3)

The aroma of spices from the Rose Corner Café and the sweet smell of 'Cape Malay' cuisine filled the air as we walked down the street (see appendix Figure 8). I saw the brightly coloured residential homes (lime green, orange, turquoise, purple etc.), Mosque Shafee, a horse drawn cart in a narrow walkway and the cobbled streets connecting with the main road which created the illusion that I had stepped into another world far removed from the modernity of Cape Town's city centre (see appendix Figure 7). Chiappini Street provides a backdrop for the antiquated setting which *Tana Baru Tours* has sought to promote.

As we reached the end of Chiappini Street we turned left and began the steep ascent up Longmarket Street. We passed the Boorhaanol Islaam Mosque before reaching the Tana Baru Cemetery where three *kramats* are situated (our visit to the Tana Baru was not originally part of the tour. The only reason why we went into the cemetery was because I requested to do so). Habib informed me that these *kramats* play an important role in the religious life of the community. According to her, devout

Muslims come to the Tana Baru Cemetery to pray in the belief that by visiting the *kramat* of a former religious leader, they will be blessed. Habib was not able to provide me with any further information. I sensed that she wanted to move on with the walking tour, so we left. We continued our ascent of Longmarket Street and finally reached the top of Signal Hill. As I admired the spectacular view of Table Mountain, Shereen Habib told me her story. She told me that she was born in the Bo-Kaap in 1952 and grew up in the area. Her grandmother bought a house in Longmarket Street for her extended family to live in and that the Noon Gun Tea Room and Restaurant (situated at the top of Longmarket Street), which serves authentic Cape Malay cuisine, is managed by her mother. Habib took me inside the restaurant so that I could peruse a menu. She suggested that I return to the restaurant in my own time so that I could sample authentic Cape Malay cuisine.

We then descended Signal Hill and walked down August Street and Yusuf Drive towards Dorp Street where the Auwal mosque is situated. As we walked towards the Auwal mosque I could hear the *muezzin* calling the faithful to prayer from the mosques minaret and saw a number of Muslim men and women making their way into the mosque. I witnessed the rush of devout Muslims entering the mosque in time for midday prayers and wondered where they had come from given the fact that Habib had told me earlier that there are only a handful of Cape Malays still living in the Bo-Kaap today. By having me witness the Muslim call to prayer, Habib was establishing a degree of authenticity for the tour. The religious identity of the community was, in a manner of speaking, being displayed for me. We did not go into the mosque but merely observed this sight from a respectful distance. The brevity of our stay did not enable me to view the façade of the mosque in much detail except to say that the entrance is flanked by two large palm trees and that the structure of the building looked more like a residential home than a place of worship.

We then walked towards Morris Street where the private home of Shereen Habib is situated. Habib invited me into her home for traditional ‘Malay’ cakes and tea. I reclined on a cushion at a low rising table in the salon of her home and sampled an array of different samoosas, meat balls, coconut cakes, small donuts and mint tea as I asked her more questions pertaining to the Bo-Kaap. By inviting me into her home, the tour guide was once again establishing a degree of authenticity for the tour. Her salon offered me a glimpse of what a typical Cape Malay home would have looked like during the 17th Century and I was able to enjoy authentic Cape Malay hospitality. It is worth noting that Habib answered all of my questions except those pertaining to a slave ancestry. She told me that if slavery was a topic of interest to me that I should go and visit the Slave Lodge in my own time.

b) Yayga Arend is a local resident of the area who conducts private walking tours of the Malay Quarter. He does not work for any tourist group or organisation but rather seeks to educate visitors and tourists about his culture and heritage. Yayga Arend's two hour walking tour departs from the Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street and ends with a view of the permanent exhibition on display in the Bo-Kaap Museum entitled '*Patterns of Beauty*'. I was the only 'tourist' present on the walking tour since I had arranged to meet with Arend by appointment. The walking tour began with a private viewing of the Auwal Mosque, believed to be the oldest mosque in South Africa. Arend told me that the mosque was built in 1798 on land purchased by a manumitted slave. Whilst I was taking photographs of its interior, Arend briefly explained the belief system of Islam to me with particular emphasis on the religious rituals practised inside the mosque and where the men and women are expected to stand. After viewing the Auwal Mosque, we walked through some of the lesser known streets of the Malay Quarter which gave Arend the opportunity to share his story with me. He spoke with fondness about what it was like for him growing up in the Bo-Kaap and spoke about the sense of community he remembered (parents, family and friends used to visit on the *stoep* of residential homes in the late afternoon whilst children played in the streets). He emphasised the fact that the Cape Muslims were a close knit community who looked out for each other. Neighbours could borrow a cup of sugar or an egg if they needed to. There was an open door policy. If someone in the community came to visit they were always welcomed into the family home and invited to stay for a meal. Arend attributes this hospitality to Islam.

Arend spoke openly about some of the negative aspects which have gripped the Bo-Kaap in recent years. He drew my attention to the burglar bars which residents have had to install in the Malay Quarter because of the increase in crime in the area. Arend attributes these changes to the 'foreign' businesses which have moved into the area. By 'foreign' he was specifically referring to international businesses which have bought property opposite the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street. According to Arend, this has led to an increase in property value and resulted in many local residents having to move out of the area. Arend also told me that the owners of these businesses have not only changed the architecture of the buildings which they have purchased but have also complained about the 'noise' of the Imam's call to prayer from the Auwal mosque. He said that the 'charm' and 'appeal' of the Bo-Kaap, which attracted 'foreign' businesses to the region in the first place, is now the very thing which they are trying to change. He also spoke about the need to preserve the culture and heritage of the region for future generations to appreciate which is why he has bought another house in the Malay Quarter and conducts walking tours of the area.

Arend and I began the steep ascent up Longmarket Street to the Tana Baru Cemetery to view the three *kramats* of Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam or Tuan Guru, Tuan Sayeed Alawie of Mocca from Yemen and Tuan Nuruman. Whilst I was viewing the *kramats*, Arend told me that approximately 250 years ago a prophecy was made that there would be a ‘circle of Islam’ around the Cape. Like many Muslims, Arend believes that this prophecy has been fulfilled and that the *kramats* housed in the Tana Baru Cemetery provide the supporting evidence for this belief. After viewing the *kramats*, Arend pointed out the informal settlement below Signal Hill which has recently been established. He understood that although it was bad for tourism, he emphasised the fact that the people living there have nowhere else to go. We then began our descent of Signal Hill and finally made our way back to the Bo-Kaap Museum. Arend and I went into the museum where he encouraged me to look at the permanent exhibition on display entitled ‘*Patterns of Beauty*’ which displays various religious artefacts. It is worth noting that Arend does not mention slavery in his master narrative. When I asked him about a slave ancestry he suggested that I go and visit the Slave Lodge in my own time.

3.2 Authenticity of toured objects

Shereen Habib and Yayga Arend both promote an ‘authenticity of toured objects’ by incorporating a visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum into their walking tours. Shereen Habib took me into the Bo-Kaap Museum at the beginning of her walking tour to view two specific exhibitions; ‘*Who Built Cape Town?*’ and ‘*Mapping Bo-Kaap: History, Memories and Spaces*’. The brevity of our stay did not enable me to scrutinise the information on display but I was able to view some of the original artefacts in the museum such as; a pair of open toed wooden sandals known as *Karapang* and a *Toding* or pointed straw hat worn by Cape Muslim men at the Cape during the 17th Century. The *Toding* was eventually replaced by the *Fez*, a maroon hat introduced by Turkish missionaries during the 18th Century, which is also on display in the museum together with the brass equipment used to make it. Shereen Habib used the visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum as an introduction to her walking tour of the Malay Quarter and the above mentioned artefacts were used to establish a degree of authenticity for the walking tour which she presented afterwards.

By contrast, Yayga Arend concluded his walking tour with a visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum to view one specific exhibition; ‘*Patterns of Beauty*’. This exhibition primarily displays Islamic artefacts which were brought to the Cape colony during the 17th and 18th Centuries. For example; an incense burner made from silver believed to derive from India. The decision to visit the Bo-Kaap Museum at the end of the walking tour was far better because it was less rushed and gave me the opportunity to

look at each artefact in my own time. Yayga Arend also tried to incorporate an ‘authenticity of toured objects’ into his walking tour. For example; I was able to view hand painted Islamic artworks inside the Auwal Mosque and various pieces of pottery which had been placed at the base of the three *kramats* in the Tana Baru Cemetery.

3.3 Evaluation of both walking tours

The need to revisit traditional cultures and their origins forms an important part of the search for ‘authentic’ cultural experiences by moderns (Taylor 2001; Wang 1999). For the most part, both tour guides focus primarily on constructing an identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. Shereen Habib used the term ‘Cape Malay’ and Yayga Arend used the term ‘Cape Muslim’ to represent the Bo-Kaap community as a whole. There was however dissimilarities in this master narrative because of the way in which the story was told by each tour guide. Shereen Habib’s walking tour focused primarily on highlighting cultural markers that would appeal to ‘mass tourists’ such as; the Bo-Kaap Museum, the Heritage Mural, the Rose Corner Café, Chiappini Street and the Noon Gun Tea Room and Restaurant. The authentic cultural experience which her walking tour claims to provide adopts the same master narrative as that in Hutchinson’s book entitled Bo-Kaap Colourful Heart of Cape Town. Her description is highly romanticised and does much to reinforce the construction of a ‘Cape Malay’ identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community.

Yayga Arend’s walking tour focuses primarily on establishing a religious identity for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is why his tour would appeal to ‘alternative tourists’. A private viewing of the Auwal Mosque and a visit to the Tana Baru Cemetery to view the three *kramats* or tombs of Holy men would appeal to tourists who have a particular interest in Islam (Rinschede 1992). In terms of establishing an ‘authenticity of experience’, both walking tours gave me the opportunity to walk through the streets of the Malay Quarter and see the brightly coloured residential homes and mosques for myself as I listened to both tour guides regale the master narrative to me. Each tour guide told me their personal story about what it was like for them growing up in the Bo-Kaap which gave a certain measure of credibility to the master narrative. In terms of establishing an ‘authenticity of toured objects’, both tour guides gave me the opportunity to view original artefacts in the Bo-Kaap Museum dating back to the 17th and 18th Centuries. Shereen Habib pointed out cultural artefacts such as the *Karapang*, *Toding* and the *Fez* and Yayga Arend pointed out religious artefacts such as the incense burner from India. Yayga Arend’s walking tour also gave me the opportunity to

view hand painted Islamic artworks inside the Auwal Mosque and various pieces of pottery which had been placed at the base of the three *kramats* in the Tana Baru Cemetery.

Slavery is firmly suppressed from the master narrative which is presented to tourists. Both tour guides were dismissive of my questions pertaining to slavery and encouraged me to visit the Slave Lodge in my own time, if it was a topic of interest to me.

Erving Goffman's theory that social establishments are divided into 'front' and 'back' regions is useful in evaluating the failure and/or success of an 'authenticity of experience' in both walking tours of the Malay Quarter (cited by MacCannell 1973:590). Goffman's hypothesis states that a performance, such as the walking tour of the Malay Quarter, is made up of three principal role players: those who perform (tour guides Shereen Habib and Yayga Arend); those performed to (tourists); and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it (a shop assistant in the Rose Corner Café). A 'front' region is the meeting place for tourists. Both walking tours departed from the Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street and could thus be classified as a 'front' region. A 'back' region is the place where tour guides rest between performances. The residential home of each tour guide could be classified as a 'back' region because it is not open to audiences and outsiders. Other examples of 'back' regions could include; the kitchen in the Noon Gun Restaurant and Tea Room or the store room in the Bo-Kaap Museum. It is interesting to note that although 'back' regions are not open to the public, tourists try to gain access to them. 'Back' regions are often viewed as being more authentic than the performances which are being presented to tourists. Tourists' believe that 'back' regions contain secrets which are waiting to be discovered. Both walking tours did however present some exceptions to Goffman's front-back dichotomy. Both tour guides arranged access to 'back' regions which would normally have been closed off to outsiders. Shereen Habib's walking tour ended in the salon of her home with traditional Malay cakes and tea and Yayga Arend's walking tour began with a private viewing of the Auwal Mosque. Accesses to these 'back' regions made each walking tour feel more authentic because I was able to see and experience what life really is like in the Bo-Kaap, even if it was only for a moment. Although it was not apparent to me initially, there was a staged quality to these proceedings. As I entered the salon of Shereen Habib's home everything was already prepared and set out for my arrival. The finger snacks were already on the table and the pot of tea had been made. All we had to do was sit down and eat. This staged quality does lend itself to a feeling of superficiality which raises questions pertaining to authenticity yet again. Goffman warns us that under certain circumstances it is very difficult to tell for sure if the experience is authentic or not (cited by MacCannell 1973:597). What is taken to be entry into a 'back' region could actually be entry into a 'front' region that has been set up for tourists in advance.

MacCannell (1973:598) has identified six possible stages to Goffman's front-back dichotomy believing that tourist attractions are presented in such a way that they deliberately lead tourists from 'front' to 'back' regions. The following section presents a summary of MacCannell's hypothesis in relation to both walking tours of the Malay Quarter (1973:598):

Stage 1: This is Goffman's 'front' region; the meeting place for tourists. Both walking tours departed from the Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street and could thus be classified as a 'front' region. MacCannell (1973) has suggested that it is also a social space which tourists try to get behind or see beyond in their search for the real thing.

Stage 2: This is a 'front' region which has been staged to look like a 'back' region. Yayga Arend's walking tour began with a private viewing of the Auwal Mosque. Outsiders are not usually allowed inside a mosque. Therefore, I automatically assumed this to be a 'back' region. However, the tour guide had fetched the key from the Imam prior to our departure from the Bo-Kaap Museum. All we had to do was unlock the front door and go inside. The timing of our visit to the mosque did not clash with the midday prayer which also seems to suggest that it was a 'front' region which had been staged to look like a 'back' region.

Stage 3: This is a 'front' region that is arranged to look like a 'back' region. MacCannell (1973) associates this stage with simulations. Shereen Habib's walking tour began with a brief visit to the Bo-Kaap Museum. The static display of furniture inside the museum was meant to represent a typical Cape Malay house dating back to the 17th Century. This could be classified as a simulation of the real thing.

Stage 4: This is a 'back' region that is open to outsiders. After viewing the Auwal Mosque, Yayga Arend and I walked down some of the lesser known streets of the Malay Quarter which are open to outsiders but are not generally known to tourists.

Stage 5: This is a 'back' region which allows tourists an occasional glimpse inside. The Rose Corner Café on the corner of Wale and Chiappini Streets allows tourists the occasional glimpse inside the kitchen to see how authentic 'Cape Malay' cuisine is prepared.

Stage 6: This is Goffman's 'back' region; an unintentional glimpse into a 'back' region which is strictly off limits to tourists. Yayga Arend was fifteen minutes late for our appointment on the day of

the walking tour. In order to make up for lost time we walked down a narrow walkway towards the Auwal Mosque, which he explained was a quicker route. Unfortunately, this narrow walkway is used by the residents of the community to store their rubbish on Pikitup day, which the tour guide did not realise at the time. This was an unintentional glimpse into a 'back' region which would, under normal circumstances, be strictly off limits to tourists.

MacCannell (1973:598) asserts that tourist attractions are presented in such a way that they deliberately lead tourists from 'front' to 'back' regions. As my analysis of MacCannell's six possible stages has indicated, this assertion holds credibility. However, I do find the sequence of these stages problematic because each guided tour is different. The stages which MacCannell tries to impose on touristy experience are too systematic and too rigid. It would appear as if extenuating circumstances pertaining to a guided tour have not been taken into consideration. Circumstances beyond one's control will have a profound effect on the sequencing of events as was the case with Yayga Arend arriving fifteen minutes late for our appointment. It changed the sequence of events which resulted in the unintentional glimpse into a 'back' region right at the beginning of my walking tour.

In summing up my evaluation of both walking tours, I can begin by saying I came to the Bo-Kaap in search of an authentic cultural experience and to make sense of the Cape Malay identity which has been constructed for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community. However, both walking tours of the Malay Quarter revealed more about me (the tourist) and the very act of 'sight-seeing' than it did about the residents of the Bo-Kaap community themselves. The staged settings which were masqueraded as truth exposed the inauthentic nature of the Bo-Kaap tourism experience as a whole. Both walking tours were not intellectually satisfying because it offered me an indirect cultural experience with the very people I wanted to meet. The fact that I was walking around with a camera and a tour guide created a measure of distance between me and the residents of the Bo-Kaap community who I wanted to meet. My movements were strictly controlled to designated areas in the Malay Quarter. In my search for authenticity and truth I was offered a tacky substitute. Daniel Boorstin's concept of the 'pseudo-event' is worth noting at this point:

These tourist attractions offer an elaborately contrived indirect experience, an artificial product to be consumed in the very places where the real thing is as free as air. They are ways for the traveller to remain out of contact with foreign peoples in the very act of 'sight-seeing' them

(Cited by MacCannell 1973:599)

The question of ‘who is watching whom and who is responding to whom’ is worth considering (MacCannell 1973:601). Generally speaking, the Bo-Kaap tourism experience is attracting overseas tourists who are for the most part visiting Cape Town. These tourists are not only interested in seeing Table Mountain, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront and Robben Island but are also interested in experiencing the cultural diversity of the ‘New’ South Africa (Rassool and Witz 1996). Cape Town is the place where ‘European civilisation’ supposedly took root in Africa. The foot of Table Mountain is surrounded by European history, monuments and Dutch colonial architecture which bear witness to this fact. Cape Town offers tourists a safe haven to return to each evening after a day of exploring the cultural diversity of the New South Africa (Rassool and Witz 1996:262). The townships created by apartheid on the fringes of the city are now presented as sites of ‘living culture’ for tourists to explore. Areas which were previously inaccessible to Europeans are now opened up and waiting to be discovered (Witz, Rassool and Minkley 2001:283). It could be argued that although tourists visit Cape Town to see the cultural diversity of the New South Africa that the local people are equally as intrigued by this spectacle of European tourists descending upon their residential areas to look at them. It is from this vantage point that the walking tours of the Malay Quarter need to be understood. The tour guides and residents of the Bo-Kaap community are merely responding to them.

Chapter Four: Architecture and slavery

The analysis of five sources of popular tourist literature and two of the walking tours currently on offer of the Malay Quarter illustrates how Du Plessis’ ideological position of the ‘original’ Malays continues to be adopted and appropriated by popular tourist writers and local tour guides. The information which is presented to tourists is too simplistic and merely serves to reinforce stereotypes. However, there is information available to us which could help to create a much more nuanced narrative. The rich scholarship that exists on South African slavery can help us think of the variations in relationships between master and slave and the way in which these relationships have influenced the colonial urban architecture of Cape Town and the Bo-Kaap. The built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can also tell a story about the origins of the Cape Muslims which has largely been suppressed from the master narrative because of its link to slavery. The following section will present a brief historical overview of the introduction to slavery at the Cape with the intention of highlighting the unusual relationship which developed between master and slave. This will be followed by a brief survey of the colonial urban architecture of Cape Town, the Bo-Kaap and its mosques with the intention of emphasising on how its structure has been influenced by slavery.

4.1 Historical Overview

In 1652 Jan van Riebeeck was sent to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company to establish a refreshment station that would supply ships travelling to and from Batavia with fresh water, fruit and vegetables. The Dutch had no intention of establishing a colony at the Cape nor did they intend on using slave labour. However, as the settlement at the Cape grew so too did the need for a reliable and skilled labour force. Van Riebeeck requested permission to adopt the same model as the Company's settlement at Batavia. His request was granted and the first shipload of slaves was imported from Batavia soon afterwards.

The first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were servants of officials who worked for the Dutch East India Company. According to Davids (1980) they were slaves, political prisoners and exiles from Bengal, the Malabar Coast and the Indonesian archipelago who under Dutch supervision, helped to establish the basic infrastructure of the colony. These slaves also brought with them the religion of Islam; which had recently been adopted by the indigenous people of Indonesia from the mid 1500's onwards.

The occupation of slaves at the Cape depended largely on whom they were owned by and where they lived. The slaves owned by burghers and officials of the Dutch East India Company, for example, lived in the Company's Lodge in Cape Town and provided the basic labour force for public works. They were employed as artisans, fisherman, market gardeners and fetchers of wood and water. Slaves who lived in rural areas were by contrast, domestic servants of settled and semi-nomadic farmers. Shell (2001:36) notes that slavery at the Cape was different in many respects from the American South, the Caribbean and the rest of the African continent because it began in an urban and semi-urban context; nearly 90% of all slaves lived in the Company's Lodge in Cape Town.

Shell (2001:27) also noted that another unique characteristic of slavery at the Cape was the incorporation of slaves into the family unit; similarities can be drawn between Dutch colonial families and the Roman *Familia* where the husband was the head of the social organism and ruled over wife, children and slaves. Shell (2001:206-220) has identified 3 types of family structures used within colonial families which were used to maintain a measure of control over the slaves incorporated into the household; patriarchal, paternalistic and patrician. The following section is a summary of Shell's hypothesis:

a) Patriarchal

The patriarchal slave owner stressed obedience and order and was quick to resort to violence if that authority was questioned. Punishments were cruel and could even result in the death of the slave.

Patriarchal power was chauvinistic and women and children were viewed on the same level as the servants and slaves of the household. Farmers and frontier bound trekboers used a form of patriarchal control with their slaves. They were second, third and fourth generation settlers who had no intention of leaving the colony.

b) Paternalistic

Paternalists were immigrants from Europe who arrived with their own ideas of paternalism from their mother country. In paternalistic families, the father was in control but the mother did have some measure of authority and influence. Slaves were treated better in paternalistic families but were expected to show a measure of love and gratitude towards their colonial masters. According to Shell, the paternalistic family model was perhaps the cruellest form of tyranny. Although the settler family provided the slave (who had been uprooted from his country of origin) with a 'home' he would always remain an outsider. The physical and emotional benefits which the slave enjoyed did not diminish the fact that he would never be an equal member of the household. The slave was often viewed as a child and a dependant of the settler family and a false sense of intimacy developed from this peculiar relationship. As Eugene Genovese notes; "the slaves acceptance of paternalism allowed him, even in so unjust a relationship, to perceive that he had rights, which could be trampled on at any time if the slave was seen to be committing an act of injustice" (cited by Shell 2001:212). Nearly all female slaves accepted the paternalistic model imposed upon them. The reason for this could rest with the sheer will to survive and the fact that running away presented its own set of challenges; inhospitable terrain, few secure hiding places and even death.

There was however some male slaves who refused to accept the paternalistic model imposed upon them by their colonial masters. These slaves ran away and joined maroon societies at Faure, Hanglip and on Table Mountain. Some of these slaves also joined the Griquas; a frontier group of Africans, renegade settlers and slaves (Shell 2001:212). It is interesting to note that the first cohesive Muslim community in South Africa was established from one of these maroon societies. In 1693 Sheikh Yusuf and a group of his followers was sent by Governor Simon van der Stel to live on the remote farm of Zandvliet (present day Faure), some distance from Cape Town (a policy of isolating influential political exiles was introduced at the Cape to ensure a measure of safety for the colonialists). The farm had originally been owned by Petrus Kalden; a Dutch East India Company official (Shell 2001:115). Sheikh Yusuf established a settlement on the Zandvliet farm for fugitive slaves and began teaching them the Qur'an (Jaffer *et al* 2010:18). There is evidence to suggest that this settlement of slaves lived in the Cape vernacular 'longhouse' which was abandoned by the

owner (Shell 2001:257). This community was however short lived. After Sheikh Yusuf died in 1699, the entire settlement was shipped back to Batavia in Java (with the exception of the Sheikh's daughter). Sheikh Yusuf was buried on a hill overlooking Macassar at Faure. A *kramat* was constructed over his grave and has become an important pilgrimage site for many Muslim believers (Jaffer *et al* 2010:18).

c) Patrician

Patrician families were intergenerational dynastic alliances; families which ruled the Cape in a conservative father-and-son governorship. According to Shell (2001:28) the patrician 'golden age' was symbolised by the van der Stel dynasty; a family which ruled the Cape from 1680 to 1706. The patricians introduced cadastral slavery to the Cape colony and managed the slave trade until 1795 (Shell 2001:27). Cadastral slavery was the transfer of slaves with property if it was sold. Like feudal serfs, these slaves remained on the land after a sale was made (Shell 2001:115). Cadastral slave transfers were sometimes recorded within the land property transfer record itself since slaves became part-and-parcel of the estate (Shell 2001:117). Although cadastral slavery deepened the bond between the colonial master and his slaves; it did result in an increased dependency on slave labour. Patricians were usually company officials who had previous colonial experience in the East. Some of the wealthiest burghers and settler families were patricians.

This brief historical overview is useful in terms of gaining a better understanding of slavery at the Cape which began in an urban and semi-urban context. Slaves who did not live in the Company's Lodge in Cape Town were incorporated into the Dutch colonial family unit. It stands to reason that a unique relationship would have developed between master and slave from this unusual arrangement. We will now consider the impact which the relationship between master and slave had on colonial urban architecture at the Cape, the Bo-Kaap and its mosques.

4.2 Architectural Survey

a) The Company's Lodge in Cape Town

The Company's Lodge in Cape Town was the largest slave holding at the Cape. All Company slaves began their careers in the Lodge. Shell notes (2001:172) that the slave community which developed in the Lodge closely resembled the Roman *Familia Caesaris* or the emperor's slaves who were given administrative and labour-intensive tasks to do in ancient Rome. Like their Roman counterparts, the slaves in the Lodge were also in an urban setting and had a fair degree of autonomy. Originally, the

Lodge was a two storey high windowless building situated across the street from the Company hospital. The building underwent several architectural modifications as a result of the need for more space and from damage to property. The following section is a summary of Shell's hypothesis (2001:248-249):

The first Lodge was built in 1650 from wood and thatch to house Angolan slaves. In 1669 the Lodge was rebuilt to accommodate more slaves using baked bricks and had a steeply pitched thatched roof. In 1679 this Lodge was destroyed in a fire believed to have been started by slaves. In 1716 the old and new buildings were enlarged and combined to form a quadrangular building which enclosed a covered courtyard. A curved portico and classical pediments were also added. In 1732 the Lodge was expanded again and a flat roof design was introduced. In 1753 the Lodge was lengthened and broadened. This was the final enlargement to the Lodge. The internal architecture was based on the age, race, sex, origin and health of the slaves. Young bachelor slaves lived in the east wing and young spinster slaves lived on the west wing. Married slaves had their own living quarters. African slaves were housed in the damp cellars which were prone to flooding. A 170 rooms were added for the mentally ill (not only Lodge slaves but also free Europeans). The courtyard in the centre of the Lodge contained a well for drinking water.

The Company's Lodge in Cape Town is believed to be the oldest surviving building in South Africa and the first example devoted entirely too high density housing (Shell 2001). The Company's Lodge survived until 1828 when all the slaves in the Lodge were set free shortly before emancipation.

b) Colonial Urban Architecture

Slavery at the Cape also had a profound effect on the colonial urban architecture of Dutch colonial homes. Slaves who did not live in the Company's Lodge in Cape Town were incorporated into the Dutch colonial family unit. The size of a house, the number of rooms, the shape of the roof and even the width of alleyways between houses expressed some response to slavery (Shell 2001:247). The early Cape house was a simple rectangular room with an entrance at one end, windows along the sides and a chimney on the opposite side of the entrance. This simple rectangular room became the prototype for the Cape vernacular 'longhouse' and was symbolised by the letter 'I' for its shape. Once the settler family had the financial means to do so, this model was eventually enlarged; 2 or more rooms would be joined together resulting in an 'L' or 'U' shaped house in urban areas (which allowed for a courtyard) and a 'T' and 'H' shaped house in rural areas. Whatever the architectural form, living space was scarce and residential homes were cramped. During the early period of

slavery at the Cape settler families and slaves lived together in a single room. The inclusion of slaves in the home was a matter of economy and not preference. As soon as the slave owner could afford to do so, male slaves were moved out of the house and lived in separate slave quarters adjacent to the house of the owner. According to Shell (2001:256) the *Jongenhuijs* on the Groot Constantia farmstead housed at least 25 male slaves by 1799. Slave women remained in the house. The management of the household was profoundly influenced by the women slaves who lived and worked in the kitchen. The importance of the kitchen arose from the importance of the fire and the desire to separate the slaves who lived inside the home from the family. The kitchen was the space where mistress and slave met most often since slave women were responsible for the cooking. Creole or Malay slaves were the preferred live-in house servants. The interaction between mistress and slave resulted in two things. Firstly, a slave lingua franca developed at the Cape. This language was a creolisation of the Malay, Portuguese and Dutch languages. By the late 19th Century this slave lingua franca was known as 'kitchen Dutch' because it emerged from the household and the place where mistress and slave met most often. Secondly, a new style of cooking emerged from the creolisation of Malay and Dutch culinary traditions as mistress and slave shared methods, tastes and culinary customs with each other.

c) Bo-Kaap architecture

The architecture of the Bo-Kaap is remarkably similar to the colonial urban architecture at the Cape. The width of the plot of land and the limited amount of building space available resulted in the adoption of an L or U shaped plan (Fransen and Cook 1980:37). Behind the house was a courtyard or garden. Courtyards were usually paved with stone or cobbles. Most houses in the Bo-Kaap had a narrow frontage. The façade or main elevation of the building was narrow and would end at the top of the parapet with a moulded plaster cornice. The parapet was usually straight although some houses do still have the curvilinear parapet such as the oldest residential home in Wale Street which was converted into the Bo-Kaap Museum in 1978 (see appendix Figure 1). The Malay Quarter is the oldest residential area of the Bo-Kaap and roughly incorporates Strand, Dorp, Buitengracht and Chiappini Streets in Cape Town. According to Davids (1980:12) the *Vryezwarten* or Free Blacks (manumitted slaves) were the first to settle in the Malay Quarter. Artisans, builders and craftsmen started to build their own homes in the Malay Quarter from 1750 onwards. Townsend (1977:7) notes that some of the residents in the Malay Quarter rented houses from property developer Jan de Waal. These houses were half the size of an average house, flat roofed and were built in continuous rows. The steep slope of Signal Hill affected the plan of most of the houses which were built. The back of the house was invariably higher or lower than the front (Fransen and Cook 1980:63). All houses built

from 1780 onwards were flat roofed, single storeyed and contained small paned sash windows. Spoke fanlights over vertically divided doors were characteristic of the houses built after 1810 (Fransen and Cook 1980:64). The *stoep* was an important element of Bo-Kaap architecture. It was built in front of the house and was usually raised one metre above the road (Fransen and Cook 1980:64). It was paved with irregular stone and its height depended upon the slope of the street. The *stoep* could be reached by a flight of steps from the street. Solid brick seats were at both ends of the *stoep*. High *stoeps* had simple wrought iron railings.

d) Mosques of the Bo-Kaap

The concentration of mosques in the Bo-Kaap is primarily situated in the Malay Quarter. The first buildings in which the Muslims assembled for prayer were *langaars* or prayer rooms in residential homes that were converted into places of worship (Huntley 1992:120). The need for secrecy was the direct result of an official Company ordinance known as a *Placaat* which was issued by Dutch colonialists in 1657 which prevented Muslims from practising their religion openly and from proselytising heathens and Christians (Davids 1980; Shell 2001). This ordinance also prevented the building of mosques. Consequently, some Muslims who owned property in the Bo-Kaap converted rooms in their residential homes into places of worship (Davids 1980; Huntley 1999). For example; The Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street, is believed to be the first *langaar* to have been established in the Bo-Kaap and operated from the top storey of Jan van Boughies house (Davids 1980:114). Fransen and Cook (1980:52) have noted that the house was probably single storeyed and flat roofed originally and that the upper storey was added at a later stage. The upper storey would have been used as a *langaar* and the Imam would have lived in the house below (Fransen and Cook 1980:52). All of the mosques in the Bo-Kaap, with the exception of the Queen Victoria Mosque, were originally *langaars* to begin with. It was only after the British granted the Cape Muslims religious freedom in 1804 that these *langaars* or prayer rooms were given official mosque status (Davids 1980). Few alterations were made to the original structure which could serve to explain why all of the mosques in the Bo-Kaap look more like residential homes than places of worship. The only distinguishing architectural feature of each mosque is its minaret which was added later, after religious freedom had been granted. The mosques in the Malay Quarter are a hybrid mix of 17th Century Dutch colonial architecture, Gothic Revival (synonymous with ecclesiastical forms of architecture) and Islamic architectural features such as the minaret and the pointed arch. These mosques closely resemble the residential homes built from 1780 onwards.

The Auwal Mosque

The Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street is the most well known mosque in the Malay Quarter. It was built in 1798 on property owned by Coridon van Ceylon, a manumitted slave. Its construction was made possible by General Craig, who gave permission for Islam to be practised in the colony for the first time (Davids 1980:93). Fransen and Cook (1980:67) have noted that the Auwal Mosque was originally a two storey house which underwent several alterations and enlargements to accommodate more people. Apart from its original walls, few of its original architectural features remain. A small courtyard is situated behind the mosque. Between 1804 and 1850 the Auwal Mosque became the main religious institution in the life of the Cape Muslim community in the Bo-Kaap. According to Davids (1980:95) the Auwal mosque is the birth place of many Cape Muslim traditions such as *Rampie-sny* and *merang*. *Rampie-sny* or the Mouloud festival is practised annually by the women of the community on the Prophet Mohammad's birthday. The festival begins once fresh orange and lemon leaves are picked and taken to the Auwal Mosque. The leaves or *rampie* are then cut by the women and placed on huge round trays. Perfume is added to the leaves before the trays are heated with a Bunsen burner. According to Hajee Raghmat, a Muslim cleric, the aroma which fills the air inside the mosque is meant to be a reminder of the beautifully scented smell which exudes from the Prophet Mohammad's body. The orange and lemon leaves are then put into sachets and placed over the *kramats* of Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam or Tuan Guru, Tuan Sayeed Alawie of Mocca from Yemen and Tuan Nuruman situated in the Tana Baru cemetery. The festival ends with the eating of food and cakes. According to Davids (1980:95) *Rampie-sny* or the Mouloud festival is believed to be Malay in origin and provided Muslim slaves with some form of association with their ancestral past. *Merang* is a religious ceremony held three times per year in remembrance of deceased family members or friends. Extracts from the Qur'an are read and prayers are performed before food and cakes are served. *Merang* is usually a privately arranged function. The Auwal Mosque plays an important role in the master narrative which is presented to tourists on walking tours of the Malay Quarter. The mosque is highlighted because it is the first and oldest mosque in South Africa and the various religious festivals which are performed within its walls enhance the exoticism of the Cape Malay identity which is being constructed. Fransen and Cook (1980:67) note that this two storey house has been altered and enlarged several times and apart from its original walls, few of its original architectural features remain. A small courtyard is situated at the back of the house.

The Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque

The Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque is the first mosque which was established on land specifically set aside for a Muslim place of worship. The mosque was established in 1850 and is situated on the corner of Chiappini and Castle Streets. The Cape Muslim community was given a land grant by the Municipality in exchange for their military participation in the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806 and the Battle of Axe in 1846 (Davids 1980:147). The Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque is the largest mosque in the Bo-Kaap (Davids 1980:147). Pointed Gothic fanlights above the door and windows and a curved arch leading up to the main entrance characterise the façade of the building (Fransen and Cook 1980:26, 29). The towering minaret in the centre of the building was added in 1932 (Davids 1980:147). The Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque resembles ecclesiastical forms of architecture synonymous with Gothic Revival (Fransen and Cook 1980:27). The façade could easily be mistaken for a church.

4.3 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter was to present information that could help to create a much more nuanced narrative than what is currently being presented to tourists. The rich scholarship that exists on South African slavery can help us think of the variations in relationships between master and slave and the way in which these relationships have influenced the colonial urban architecture of Cape Town, the Bo-Kaap and its mosques. The built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can also tell a story about the origins of the Cape Muslims which has largely been suppressed from the master narrative because of its link to slavery. It can be said that the mosques in the Bo-Kaap closely resemble the residential homes built in the Malay Quarter from 1780 onwards. A hybrid mix of 17th Century Dutch colonial architecture, Gothic Revival (synonymous with ecclesiastical forms of architecture) and Islamic architectural features such as the minaret and pointed arch are evident.

As stated earlier, the first buildings in which the Cape Muslim community assembled for prayer were *langaars* or prayer rooms in residential homes that were converted into places of worship. The reason for this can be traced back to an official Company ordinance which was issued by the Dutch colonialists in 1657 which prevented Muslims from practising their religion openly and from proselytising heathens and Christians. The need for secrecy meant that the upper storey would have been used as a *langaar* and the Imam would have lived in the house below. It is important to note that even after religious freedom was granted to the Cape Muslims in 1804, little of the original architectural structure of these residential homes was changed. The minaret was the only Islamic

architectural feature which was added to a handful of *langaars* once they were given official mosque status. For example; the first minaret which was added to a building in Cape Town was the Masjied Boorhaanol Islaam Mosque in Longmarket Street during the late 1930's. It was made from wood but was later replaced by a concrete structure which, according to Davids (1980:165), looked out of place with the ageing building. A minaret was also added to the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street (when alterations to the building were made in 1930) and to the Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque (Davids 1980:147). The lack of funds could also account for the few alterations made to the original architectural structure of many of the buildings.

The property upon which many of the mosques were established was donated by various individuals of the Cape Muslim community. For example; the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street was built on property owned by Coridon van Ceylon, a manumitted slave and the Palm Tree Mosque operated from the top storey of Jan van Boughies house (Davids 1980:96,114). The mismanagement of funds by the leadership of various congregations could also account for the few alterations made as was the case with Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque. According to Davids (1980:168), the Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque was in need of repair but Imam Shahibo claimed there was no money for any alterations to be made.

According to Kuban (1974:1), the ritual elements of prayer, as prescribed in the Qur'an, determined the basic requirements of all mosque design. All mosques had to have a large sanctuary together with a courtyard. This model was fashioned after the first mosque which was built around the courtyard architecture of the Prophet Mohammad's house in Medina in 622 (Kuban 1974:1). The Imam and members of each respective congregation in the Bo-Kaap sought to adhere to these basic requirements as best they could. One can surmise that curtain walls inside the upper storey of the residential home would have been removed to accommodate more people inside the sanctuary and columns added to support the load bearing walls of the basic architectural structure. A photograph which was taken in July 2013 on the walking tour which I went on of the Malay Quarter clearly illustrates the use of columns inside the sanctuary. Ritual cleansing is a prerequisite for prayer which meant that a basin, fountain or small pool had to be erected outside the sanctuary. One can surmise that the L or U shaped plan utilised for the building of residential homes in the Bo-Kaap would have been useful for the establishment of a courtyard with ablution facilities behind the mosque. Innovative ways were often used by members of a congregation to meet this basic need. For example; the congregation of the Nurul Islam Mosque used the stream which flowed down Buitengracht Street as an ablution before prayer (Davids 1980:127). Prayer is performed inside a prayer hall in parallel rows and worshippers are orientated to face the direction of Mecca (Kuban

1974:3). During prayer worshippers are encouraged to focus on the *mihrab* or niche in the wall facing Mecca (Kuban 1974:3). One can surmise that a *mihrab* or niche would have been inserted into the wall facing Mecca of the residential homes which were converted into a place of worship since it was a prerequisite outlined in the Qur'an (Kuban 1974:3).

The Jamia or Queen Victoria Mosque is the only mosque in the Bo-Kaap that was never a residential home or *langaar* to begin with. The mosque was built on land specifically set aside for a Muslim place of worship. This mosque resembles ecclesiastical forms of architecture synonymous with Gothic Revival (pointed Gothic fanlights above the door and windows). The façade could easily be mistaken for a church. This in itself is important given the fact that this mosque was built after religious freedom was granted in 1804 and yet its builders and artisans used ecclesiastical architectural forms. The deliberate use of Christian forms could have been a way for the Cape Muslim community to distinguish the building as a sacred, religious space. Due to the hybrid mix of architectural styles used it is difficult to differentiate the mosques in the Malay Quarter from the residential homes. The minaret is the only distinguishing Islamic architectural feature of each mosque and in most cases is a small tower or raised area behind the façade of the building. For example; the minaret of the Palm Tree Mosque cannot be seen from the front of the building because it is concealed by two large palm trees which flank the entrance to the building. It is only when the mosque is viewed from a distance, and on a higher plane, that the minaret can actually be seen. The lack of ornamentation on the exterior of the building is also characteristic of the mosques in the Malay Quarter; there is no arabesque or geometric decoration synonymous with many of the mosques in North Africa and the Middle East. This lack of ornamentation has been replaced with a surreal splash of colour; lime green, orange, pink, purple, turquoise etc. The brightly coloured residential homes and mosques seem to form part of the emerging narrative which is being presented to tourists of the Bo-Kaap region. This not only serves to create a carnivalesque atmosphere but also serves to enhance the exoticism of the Cape Malay community. The mosques form a backdrop for establishing a degree of authenticity for the region as a whole.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Since the advent of democracy, there has been a steady influx of tourists who want to see and experience the cultural diversity of the New South Africa (Rassool and Witz 1996). In an effort to cater for tourist tastes for the exotic, a Cape Malay identity continues to be constructed for the residents of the Bo-Kaap community which is made to date back to the 17th Century. The master narrative which is presented to tourists suggests that the Cape Malays formed part of a larger Malay

Diaspora. They are viewed as a sophisticated people group whose skills in carpentry, shoe making, tailoring and cooking were useful in establishing the basic infrastructure of the Cape colony. They established a close knit community in the Bo-Kaap which is centred on Islam and is still in existence to this day. This constructed identity can be traced back to Du Plessis' ideological position of the 'original' Malays from the 1930's and 1940's. He believed that the first Muslims to arrive at the Cape were political prisoners and exiles and dismissed the possibility that a newly formed identity could have been established at the Cape through creolisation or the interaction between different slaves cultures (Jeppie 2001).

The intention of my research report was to present an analysis of five sources of popular tourist literature and two of the walking tours currently on offer of the Malay Quarter so as to illustrate how Du Plessis' construction of an 'original' Malay identity continues to be adopted and appropriated by popular tourist writers and local tour guides. This was followed by a brief historical overview of the introduction to slavery at the Cape and an architectural survey of the colonial urban architecture of Cape Town, the Bo-Kaap and its mosques with the intention of emphasising how structures have been influenced by slavery. The built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can also tell stories about the origins of the Cape Muslims which has largely been suppressed in the master narrative because of its link to slavery.

The suppression of slavery in the master narrative which is presented to tourists is problematic because it disregards the fact that the first Muslims who arrived at the Cape were slaves that were brought from Batavia to the Cape colony to be a reliable labour force for the colony (Davids 1980; Costa 1994; Jeppie 2001; Shell 2001; Thompson 2006). This is an important piece of information which has been left out and it ignores the extent to which slavery would have had an impact on the formulation of an identity at the Cape amongst the most marginalised members of society. Slaves were uprooted from their country of origin, stripped of their identities and made to leave their families, cultural practises and even their language behind with them. The religion of Islam thus played an important role in the formulation of a new identity for slaves, political prisoners and exiles at the Cape. Many slaves, who were not Muslim initially, converted to Islam during this time period because the religion offered them a community and a sense of belonging which had been taken away from them by the Dutch colonialists upon their arrival at the Cape (Shell 2001). This calls into question the firmly held position by Du Plessis who firmly rejected any notion of creolisation or the interaction between different slave cultures.

The master narrative which is presented to tourists does not mention the fact that the Dutch placed severe restrictions on the religious practices of the Muslims at the Cape which had a profound influence on the architecture of the Bo-Kaap. Muslims who were fortunate enough to own property converted rooms in their residential homes into *langaars* or prayer rooms. This gave Muslims a place to worship and meet together. These *langaars* were given official mosque status in 1804 when the British granted Muslims religious freedom. Few alterations were made to the original structure if any which could serve to explain why all the mosques in the Bo-Kaap look more like residential homes than places of worship. Slavery also had a profound influence on the colonial urban architecture at the Cape. Shell suggests that a unique “creole, vernacular architecture” developed at the Cape; the size of a house, the number of rooms, the shape of the roof and even the width of alleyways between houses expressed some response to slavery (2001:247).

The kitchen was perhaps the most important room in the house because it was here a slave lingua franca developed between mistress and slave. By the late 19th Century this slave lingua franca was known as ‘kitchen Dutch’ (Ross 1983; Shell 2001). Although Afrikaans speaking linguists are uncomfortable with the idea, it is widely believed that the origin of the Afrikaans language emerged from ‘kitchen Dutch’ (Shell 2001:61). The interaction between mistress and slave in the kitchen also resulted in a new style of cooking from the creolisation of Malay and Dutch culinary traditions as methods, tastes and customs were shared. It astonishes that given the profound effect which slavery had on architecture, language and culinary traditions that so little is mentioned about its influence.

The use of the term ‘Cape Malay’ is also problematic because it was used to construct a racial identity for the Cape Muslims during the Segregation Era (1910-1948) and the days of apartheid (1948-1991). Afrikaans poet and short story writer I.D. Du Plessis, who championed the cause for an authentic Cape Malay identity with a distinctive past and separate culture from the larger Coloured population of Cape Town, believed that the Cape Malays had their own unique identity and firmly rejected any notion of a possible creolisation with other cultures of slave ancestry (Jeppie 2001). His ideological position and influence in politics were instrumental in procuring an exclusive residential area for the Cape Malays in the Bo-Kaap during the 1950’s Group Areas Act. It stands to reason that given the social and political climate in South Africa during the days of apartheid that members of a Muslim elite sought to distance themselves from the larger slave population in order to obtain a more privileged position.

A number of popular tourist writers have adopted and appropriated Du Plessis’ ideological position (perhaps without even realising it) which has resulted in the simplification of information and the use

of cultural stereotypes (Hutchinson 2006; Joyce 2011; Richmond 2012). This would serve to explain why many tourists mistakenly associate the procession of ‘coon troupes’ through the streets of Cape Town on New Year’s Day for the Cape Muslim residents of the Bo-Kaap community. The Bo-Kaap tourism experience has also taken Du Plessis’ construction of a Cape Malay identity and sought to use it to its advantage. The demand for authentic cultural experiences in the New South Africa has given residents of the Bo-Kaap community an opportunity to make some money. Although the residents of the Bo-Kaap see themselves as Cape Muslim, they realise that the construction of a Cape Malay identity will attract tourists who are looking for an authentic cultural experience.

The popular tourist literature and the walking tours which are on offer of the Malay Quarter merely serve to reinforce a story which moderns want to hear. The search for authenticity speaks more about the need for moderns to escape from the “fragmented, alienating, superficial and inauthentic” nature of *their* world (MacCannell 1999:2, 3). Most moderns believe that authenticity can only be found in the simpler and more pure lifestyles of traditional cultures. This would serve to explain why the construction of a Cape Malay identity remains fixed in a specific time period and is promoted as unchanged by the force of modernity. The question of “who is watching whom and who is responding to whom” posed by MacCannell (1973:601) is worthy of consideration. Tourists think they are coming to observe traditional Cape Malay culture. They go on a walking tour of the Malay Quarter with their camera and tour guide and bring money to spend on souvenirs and to sample traditional Cape Malay cuisine. But in actual fact the residents of the Bo-Kaap community are merely ‘responding to them’. The joke is in actual fact on ‘us’, the tourists.

The intention of my research report was to present information about architecture in order to offer a more nuanced narrative than the one currently being presented to tourists. The built environment of the city and its surrounding areas can also tell stories about the origins of the Cape Muslims which has largely been suppressed in the master narrative which is currently being presented to tourists because of its link to slavery. The Bo-Kaap tourism experience could be more interesting if *all* the stories were told and nothing was hidden from the tourist’s gaze.

Appendix

Pictures of the Malay Quarter



Figure 1: The Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street

Left: The Bo-Kaap Museum in Wale Street is situated in one of the oldest residential homes in the Malay Quarter. It was converted into a cultural history museum in 1978. The curvilinear parapet is one of the most distinguishing features of the façade or main elevation of the building. Both walking tours of the Malay Quarter departed from the Bo-Kaap Museum.



Figure 2: The Heritage Mural is situated in an arched passageway leading onto Wale Street

Left: The images look as if they have been painted onto old scrolls and opened up against a white background. The images include; the first mosque established in the area, a group of Muslim women in traditional dress, an Imam teaching a group of boys the Qur'an, a group of Muslim men playing music, a tailor and a horse drawn cart. The images are monochromatic suggesting a desire to make the mural look old.

Details from the Heritage Mural



Figure 3: An Imam teaching a group of boys the Qur'an (part of the Heritage Mural)

Left: This figurative image shows a group of boys at *madrasah* being taught the Qur'an. They are all wearing turbans with the exception of one boy who is wearing a *Toding* which is a pointed straw hat worn by Muslim men during the 17th Century.



Figure 5: Young Muslim boy admiring the Heritage Mural with his mother



Figure 4: Young Muslim girl admiring the Heritage Mural

Above & Left: At the entrance to the arched passageway are two life sized figurative images of Muslim children in colour, wearing modern clothing. These children seem to represent the present generation looking into the past. They are admiring their own cultural heritage.

Pictures of the Malay Quarter



Figure 6: The brightly coloured residential homes in Chiappini Street



Figure 7: A cobblestone street leading onto Wale Street



Figure 8: The Rose Corner Café situated on the corner of Wale and Chiappini Streets



Figure 9: Mural painting of a Cape Muslim man wearing a *Toding* situated on a wall of the Rose Corner Café

The brightly coloured residential homes of the Malay Quarter, the cobblestone streets leading onto main roads and the mural painting situated on a wall of the Rose Corner Café facilitate in catering for tourists taste for the exotic.

Map



Figure 10: Map of the Bo-Kaap

Above: The Bo-Kaap is a small but densely populated area situated on the slopes of Signal Hill in Cape Town. Artisans, builders and craftsmen started to build their own homes from 1750 onwards. The steep slope of Signal Hill affected the plan of most of the homes which were built; the back of the house was invariably higher or lower than the front and the façade or main elevation of the building was narrow (Fransen and Cook 1980:64). Over time, the Bo-Kaap came to be viewed as a residential area for the working class.

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