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Transvaal Romantic: an exploration of Romantic elements in the landscape paintings of Moses Tladi

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Little comprehensive literature is available on Romantic expressions by black artists in South Africa. The work of Moses Tladi, a recently re-discovered Pedi artist, offers a unique perspective on the iconic landscape genre that found its origins in this era. The artist, recently researched by Angela Read Lloyd, was born in 1897 and made a living as a gardener for a prosperous English family in Johannesburg. His landscapes adopt the language of the Romantic sublime, expressing a fascination with nature and one's being-in-nature as it exchanges a mimetic representation of reality for one imbued with the spiritual and imaginative. By comparing and discussing his work in relation to seminal Romantic artists such as J.M.W. Turner and David Caspar Friedrich, I hope to commemorate Tladi's work, as well as draw attention to how his unique South African setting influenced his painting methods and Romantic inclinations. Intertwined with (and problematised by) the social and political currents of his time, Tladi's paintings become the interpretation of nature's forces.
Keywords: Tladi, nature romanticism, sublime, political

Romantiese kunstenaar van die Transvaal: 'n ondersoek na Romantiese elemente in die landskapskilderye van Moses Tladi
Byna geen literatuur bestaan tans oor Romantiese skilderwerk deur swart kunstenaars binne die Suid-Afrikaanse kunsversameling nie. In die werk van Moses Tladi, 'n Pedi kunstenaar wat onlangs herontdek is, word daar 'n unieke perspektief op die ikoniese landskap genre gewerp, 'n genre wat sy oorsprong in die Romantiek vind. Die kunstenaar, nagevors deur Angela Read Lloyd, is gebore in 1897 en het as tuinier gewerk by 'n gegoede Engelse huisgesin in Johannesbug. Tladi se landskappe gebruik die taal van die Romantiese sublieme en druk 'n fassinasie met die natuur en die mens in die natuur uit, eerder as 'n wêreld-getroue uitbeelding daarvan. Deur sy werk te vergelyk met dié van belangrike Romantiese kunstenaars soos J.M.W. Turner en David Caspar Friedrich, hoop ek om Tladi se werk te herdenk, asook om aandag te vestig op die manier wat sy unieke Suid-Afrikaanse omstandighede sy tegniek en Romantiese temperament beïnvloed. Verweef met (en gekompliseer deur) die sosiale en politieke strominge van sy tyd, word Tladi se skilderye 'n vertolking van die natuur se mag.
Sleutelwoorde: Tladi, natuur, romantiek, subliem, polities

The work of Moses Tladi, an early landscape painter from the former Transvaal province, reveals a unique interpretation of South African art heritage. Unlike his peer, Gerard Sekoto, his paintings unfold not as extensive civil and social illustrations, but rather as meditations on nature. By engaging in this genre and exhibiting among mainly white artists in a Romantic realist style popular in the 1930's in South Africa, I believe the artist makes a statement of assertion. Tladi uses the subtle yet powerful language of beauty to express (as equal to others') his encounter with the world – an intricate world of man and nature, craftsmanship and patronage, ancestry and policy, labour and transcendence.

The journalist Angela Read Lloyd, following the recollections of family members and acquaintances and exploring gallery archives, made Moses Tladi's oeuvre accessible for the first time in the biography, *The Artist in the Garden - the Quest for Moses Tladi*. Lloyd is the granddaughter of Tladi's employer, Herbert Read, who was the owner of the family estate Lokshoek, in Johannesburg where Tladi worked, and she relates how her life and family history overlapped with that of the artist. Angela Read Lloyd however admits (2009:18), "[m]emory is capricious" and the familiar and professional relations revealing aspects of Tladi's character and

life, not unbiased. The archival discourse surrounding Tladi's career was published by Lloyd in 2009, presented as a personal quest and narrative. This remains as the most extensive text on Tladi's life and work, and includes media extracts, interviews, and an account of her journey to Sekhukuneland where Tladi grew up. Lloyd's approach is generous, but Moses Tladi remains elusive.

As a landscape painter myself, Tladi's work struck me in its painterly sophistication and atmospheric character. His work, which reveals a characteristic brushstroke and relentless attention to detail, seldom features figures and landmarks, but focuses rather on the natural world itself. He worked *in situ* and often alone, carrying the mark of someone who painted as one would write poetry; privately and meditatively. Tladi's work received some acclaim in his time and he exhibited often, albeit usually in the 'native' or 'naturelle' section[1]. In the political and social turmoil of the century his traces were lost however and his work concealed for almost forty years. Found in the possession of family members and intimate friends, it now exposes a meaningful and personal interpretation of his era.

In an attempt to write a more art historically centered piece on Tladi, I studied his work alongside the 19th century Romantic movement in Europe, proposing that Tladi's specific use of landscape engages the notion of the sublime landscape and transcendence. Although some of the political implications of his 'assimilated style' are expressed[2], a much more comprehensive study could be undertaken with regards to this, as well as attention given to Tladi's relationship to other South African Romantic Realist painters (for instance Volschenk, Roworth and Coetzer)[3]. The focus of this study falls predominantly on Tladi's paintings and the emotional credence and sense of conviction with which Tladi transcends his (assimilated) landscape painting tradition. This focus, both in Tladi's relationship to the land and in the manifestation thereof in the painting medium, celebrates the artist as he approaches the Romantic painting tradition from his unique socio-political position.

Disparate definitions

Romanticism remains a dynamic and controversial yet enduring set of beliefs and expressions. As an art-historical Movement, it was one of the earliest *avant garde* movements in the sense that it placed renewed focus on subjectivity, expressive agency, creative genius and the artist's role as philosopher and lyricist. In this new autonomous state, the Romantic artists proposed quite unconventional ways of thinking about traditional painting. It was the Romantics who first asserted what Vaughan calls the 'supreme importance of landscape'. In the painting tradition that was until then concerned with the historical and narrative, Vaughan explains that it was by asserting that the "forms of nature could in itself have such deep significance" that Constable and the other landscape painters established this new form of art. (Vaughan 1978: 132).

Isaiah Berlin, an influential Romantic scholar, explains that the Romantics were sceptical of the popular empiricism of intellectuals like Lock and Wolff and believed that "there was a flow of life, and that the attempt to cut this flow into segments killed it" (1999: 42). The Romantics would view 'life' or 'nature' not as pieces of matter in an observable world, but as a 'forward-thrusting' of energy, a malleable life force. Eric Newman describes the Romantic rejection of Enlightenment ideas best as a rebellion against law. "Obedience to laws produces conformity, and conformity produces recognizable patterns of behaviour" (Newman 1962: 125). With its rebellious character and focus on anti-rationalism, Romanticism was tied to a deep sense of pessimism. The earlier German *Sturm und Drang* movement, for instance, translated

the disbelief of universal truth with a defeatism which claimed nothing could essentially be done to improve life on earth, and that "conflict, collision, tragedy, death – all kind of horrors - are inevitably involved in the nature of the universe" (Berlin 1999: 56). Other Romantic thinkers were more aware of agency and will, and proposed that instead of finding answers to life and the universe's questions, we have the ability to create them. Schiller, Fichte and especially Kant wrote extensively on the power of the human will and yearning to create. Berlin sums up this new idealism: "[I]deals are not to be discovered at all, they are to be invented; not to be found, but to be generated, generated as art is generated" (1999: 87).

Amidst their attempt to generate a harmonious ideal, the early Romantics' confrontation with modernisation and industrialisation as well as the increasing study of the observed world were imperative in forming their ideas. Some 17th century critics and artists such as Reynolds believed that the natural world tends towards beauty, perfection, harmony and symmetry (Berlin 1999: 28). Others like Schiller, viewed nature as elemental, capricious, causal and chance-directed. The latter is a dualist view of nature, and essentially patriarchal: in contrast to man "who has morality, who distinguishes between desire and will, duty and interest, the right and the wrong, and acts accordingly" nature is the feminine other, who is herself amoral and ruthless (Berlin 1999: 80-81). Kant was especially resolute that man is at his noblest when dominating Nature and imposing himself upon her (Berlin 1999: 76). Schelling, on the contrary, believed that we too are fundamentally part of nature, owing to the fact that everything in nature is echoed in our human behaviour and conflicts; we are simply nature's "most self-conscious representatives".[4] The relationship (and struggle) between man and nature became a popular subject in art. Dramatic scenes of conflict in nature could be used to convey the power of creation or the vulnerability of man (for instance in the work of Johan Christian Dahl) while the uncommon stillness of a mountain landscape might also convey a kind of mystic admiration (Rosenblum 1988: 14).

Synonymous with the "mystic" forces which stand outside of and opposed to man, the term 'nature' is useful in understanding the works of Turner and Friedrich for instance, although I am critical of its binary opposition to the term 'culture'. The conception of 'landscape' was also used differently than the iconic historical and ornamental status that 'paintings of nature' have attained today; the genre for the Romantics had a foundation of rebellion, mysticism and radical philosophical enquiry.

Being one of the few early black artist working and exhibiting in this genre, Moses Tladi, I believe, shared their rebellious and individualistic character. His connection to them can also be grounded in two related historic theoretical observations, from which I wil argue my point; firstly that his portrayal of nature is "self-sufficient", no longer needing to "justify herself by being regarded as an 'environment'" (Newman 1962: 63), and secondly, that Tladi depicts nature as transcendent.

Newman explains that the Romantic painter "disregards the physical world in so far as it provides a set of symbols for the spiritual or emotional life of the individual" (1962: 29). The subject matter of the great German Romantic landscape painter, David Caspar Friedrich, was not necessarily different from popular 17th century Dutch themes; the sea, landscape, church views, figures in the landscape. Yet, through the use of light, colour and especially composition he generates what Rosenblum calls a platform for spiritual meditation, rather than of mimetic representation (Rosenblum 1999: 7). Vaughan explains that in Friedrich's organization of composition, he had found a way to "heighten the drama of a landscape so that it no longer requires the presence of some human event to make its meaning explicit." The forms in nature

become the protagonists (1978:146) as the observable world is translated into expressions of the ineffable, infinite, mysterious and enchanted.

Fertile ground

Angela Read Lloyd writes that Moses Tladi was born in 1897 and grew up in a rural part of what is today Limpopo Province. The area, Sekhukuneland, was named after the Pedi ruler Sekhukune, and was bordered on the east by the Drakensberg Mountain range. Moses herded cattle as a child and attended school, but as a young man he left the homestead in Ga Phaala for the city, and found work as an estate gardener for a prosperous British settler Herbert Read on his estate in Federation Road, Johannesburg. In the early 1930s, he also married his wife, Sekhubami More. They had four children. Moses and his family first lived in Evaton, later in Sophiatown, and then settled in the more rustic area Kensington B in Randburg.

Herbert Read, an Englishman having grown up in London, came to South Africa in the early 1890s with the Gold Rush and found a job as an administrative officer at the Rand Mines. Read seemed unmindful of political tension between Afrikaner and English South Africans and married an Afrikaans girl, Lily Visser, in the midst of the Anglo Boer War. They set up home in Federation Road in Johannesburg, where they were at the centre of economic and cultural activity, rubbing shoulders with the Oppenheimers, Howard Pim and many influential artists such as Pierneef en Pilkington. Tladi stayed in the loft of the Read home and partnered with Herbert Read in the design and upkeep of the family's elaborate garden.

Moses' talent was admired by the family and he drew immense advantage from the artistic and affluent circles of Herbert Read. He also had an active family life and usually went home over weekends; his wife and children were familiar with the Lokshoek estate. Some of his children later acquired tertiary education. Over weekends, he tended to his own home and garden, something he was passionate about. His daughter Rekiloe explains that he did not like Sophiatown, he wanted to raise his children in the country. It was the plot in Kensington B, North of Johannesburg, that the family seemed most attached to. After many years working for the Reads, Tladi was called for army service. By this time, however, he was already ill with tuberculosis. In 1956, to the shock of the family, their home in Kensington was expropriated and the family was forced to move to Soweto, leaving the garden demolished and their belongings reduced. The trauma of this move, as well as his illness, could have caused Tladi's death not long thereafter at the age of 65 (Read Lloyd 2009: 143-145, 182), yet there are also accounts that suggest an accidental overdose on medication may have caused his death.

Tladi received no formal training in painting, yet was increasingly exposed to artworks done in Western art methods and styles - an influential but contentious part in his development as painter. Colin Allen, a neighbour of the Reads and artistic companion to Tladi, says that Moses initially "use[d] burned sticks with material tied to the front as brush and old house paints he collected from here and there" (Read Lloyd 2009: 76). The children mentioned this to Herbert Read, who undertook to give Tladi materials and develop his skill for the rest of his employment there. Also over weekends, Rekiloe remembers, her father would go out into the countryside, sometimes with his friend and pupil John Mohl, to draw and paint (Lloyd 2009: 46). Howard Pim, who was an influential friend of Herbert Read, organised a special visit for Tladi to the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1928. Works by many of the Romantics and Pre-Raphaelites were exhibited, including Henry Harpignies, Buxton Knight, Mark Fisher, Edward

Millais and Wilson Steer. Howard Pim remembers that Tladi showed no interest in works that were not landscapes.

Patronage problematizes the discussion and understanding of Tladi's work. Although according to Angela Read Lloyd, Tladi and Herbert Read had a "benign, creative partnership", and her father "a certain awe and affection of the artist" (2009: 29), the late colonial mentality present in South Africa at the time surfaced in most of Tladi's encounters. A 1928 newspaper, *Umteteli wa Bantu*, describes Howard Pim as having discovered a "[n]ative genius" (Read Lloyd 2009: 24). Journalists often referred to Tladi's "international" or "European" style of painting and in a 1931 article in The Star entitled "Bantu art drifts from the symbols of spirituality", a reporter writes that "the last few years have seen the rise of outstanding Bantu men, whose contributions have shown that Bantu art is rushing away from the symbols of spirituality". Tladi, who is here referred to as "Moses Tladi, the garden boy" is said to "paint […] in oils and watercolours […] without any training". Furthermore, "[p]ainting in the European technique among the Bantu is an original phase. Moses Tladi has established a reputation in landscape […] Moses Tladi is a revelation of a new felicity in native painting" (Read Lloyd 2009: 103). In most cases, Tladi's inclination to realism was regarded with interest. A 1938 Newspaper clipping reads, "sekhukuniland" (sic) is a well-composed oil of mountain scenery. The drawing and colours of the mountains and vegetation in the background are done with realism and yet imagination. The artist gives an effect of his home scenery that is more convincing than the facile painting of more sophisticated artists" (Read Lloyd 2009: 65). In another; "a gardener by profession, Moses Tladi has carried a love of nature into his work. There is naturally a good deal of the primitive about some of his pictures. But drawing, perspective, composition and even colour denote a measure of technique that compels the visitor (and critic) to take his art seriously" (Read Lloyd 2009: 65).

Enwezor, an important critic in postcolonial writing and theorist on black subjectivity in Apartheid South Africa, claims that: "nowhere is the ideology of this racial fundamentalism in the shaping of national identity more potently manifested than in the arena of sports and visual arts" (quoted in Pinder 2002: 373). Enwezor explains that the us-them separation, (in this case the appraisal of Tladi's work as 'European') works on the premise of two assumptions: "one, the ontological description of the native as devoid of history, and two, the epistemological description of the native as devoid of knowledge and subjectivity" (quoted in Pinder 2002: 375). Ascribing the quality of Tladi's painting to a mimicking of European styles implies the native as a 'blank' subject to which European artistic styles are directed and developed.

Power-struggles over artistic autonomy (as well as for land and land-ownership) fashioned the conception of the South Africa landscape and landscape painting as primarily political, even though such a reading was not given of Tladi's work during his lifetime. Michael Godby explains in *The Lie of the Land*, that it was the Dutch lowland peoples who invented the landscape genre, partly because they did not have a landscape of their own. "The Dutch liberation of their land from political and religious oppression – and indeed, fighting the encroachment of the North Sea itself […] imbued their new 'tradition' of landscape painting with a sense of significance, pride and, indeed, nationalism" (Godby 2011: 9). In South Africa, according to Godby, similar ideas and sentiments have been important. The contentious character of landscape painting found its greatest derivation in the struggles over land between the country's "ascendant white-settlers minority and a defensive black indigenous majority" (Walker 2011: 12). In the forty years of Apartheid rule following 1948, division and separation was enforced through vigorous legislation, creating as result a white core, comprising 87% of the land, and the black periphery in the remaining 13%. The latter was later divided into the independent homelands or so-called

'bantustans' (Walker 2011: 12). After 1994, and even today, restoration to victims of land dispossession is a challenging topic in the country's historical climate.

Artists reacted to the South African landscape and its segregation in different ways, and one might argue that nationalist ideas were but one part of its vocabulary. For some artists, Godby explains, the landscape remained 'exotic'. The work of Reginald Turvey, for instance, with its recurrent use of animals, seemed to depict a kind of "African Golden Age" (Godby 2011: 68). Artists like Erich Mayer and Gerard Benghu chose to ignore the evidence of history and represented the landscape nostalgically, as the home for a 'vanished way of life' and 'traditional values' (ibid.). The 'alien' and 'hostile' in the environment is embraced in the works of Jane Alexander and Jo Radcliff, using metaphorical vocabulary (Godby 2011: 82), and a quasi-religious quality or spiritual presence can be identified in the work of Maud Sumner and Mduduzi Xakaza (Godby 2011: 72) among others. Godby believes that until the middle of the nineteenth century "the discourse around art concerned mainly its likeness to nature and there were no academic institutions that could accommodate more philosophical issues" (2011: 74). It was in this artistic context that Tladi's works were publicly assessed, and even though (or especially as) he had no institutional training, his realist technique was admired.

I believe, however, that Tladi's work is much more philosophically motivated than was perceived in his time, and that this stems from a Romantic temperament. The landscape genre has merely surfaced as most effective in expressing his personal vision. *Morning at the Magaliesberg Mountains* (figure 1) is said to be Tladi's last work (Read Lloyd 2009: 191), and apart from its sophistication in painterly skill and use of colour, a sense of the transcendental and sublime is evoked by its use of light, where, as in Turner, the physical environment becomes imbued with the fantastical and imaginative. Rosenblum explains that this "capacity to translate the natural to the supernatural" is the most important feature of the Romantics. This is also what separated them from the vision of the Impressionist painters later in the century, who were equally preoccupied with the representation of light (1977: 25). The Romantics were "convinced that, though visible things are the instruments by which we find this reality, they […] have indeed little significance unless they are related to some embracing and sustaining power" (Bowra 1950: 9). In the same way, works such as *Morning at the Magaliesberg Mountains, River Scene* and *Flowering Tree,* which will be shortly discussed, aim not merely at a realistic representation of the perceivable landscape, but present moments of 'spiritual' reflection, something Vaughan describes as the human individual's 'response to nature', his 'encounter with the world', its 'awareness of the infinite and divine' (1978: 153).

Figure 1
Moses Tladi, *Morning at the Magaliesberg Mountains* (undated), oil on Bristol board, 47 x 73.5cm, private collection (Read Lloyd 2009: 191).

Morning at Magaliesberg Mountains stands out as one of Tladi's most visibly transcendent works (Lloyd 2009: 143), and could, apart from presenting the artist's rapture with the landscape before him, also symbolise a personal (and political) ideal or vision. In a work by Friedrich, *Meadows near Greifswald*, a feeling of the visionary is evoked by the morning light illuminating a landscape with a city in the distance. Rosenblum explains that this creates a mood "so hushed and meditative that the topographical facts of the distant architecture – the tiny houses and church spires whose diminutive silhouettes are just visible through the haze on the remote horizon – become almost visionary in character, the apparition of some Heavenly City of Jerusalem viewed across a plain radiant with a quietly glowing sunlight" (1977: 20-21). Perhaps Tladi's work meditates such a visionary ideal. And it is not impossible that the language of pastoral beauty that Tladi implements here is imbued with a political awareness of its contrast to Sophiatown and Soweto.

Figure 2
Moses Tladi, *Flowering Tree* (undated), oil on cardboard, 25.5 x 31.5, private collection (Read Lloyd 2009: 230).

Although not as atmospheric, a work such as *Flowering Tree* (figure 2) suggests the use of anthropomorphism or the 'pathetic fallacy', typical of the Romantics and especially Friedrich's work. Rosenblum explains that often, in the landscape painting of the early nineteenth century, there emerges an intense empathy with the life of an individual tree, causing the inanimate landscape component to "suddenly become a sentient, almost human presence" (1977: 36). The artist Thomas Cole also recognised this resemblance in claiming rather poetically that "[t]here is an expression of affection in intertwining branches" (1977: 39) The oeuvre of Moses Tladi includes many reflections on trees, including *Sekhukuniland* (sic.), *Blue Gum Tree by Water*, *Tree with Hamerkop's Nest, Winter - Trees, Driefontein*. The work *Flowering Tree* reminds especially of the mulberry, olive and cherry trees painted by the Dutch post-impressionist artist Vincent van Gogh. Perhaps Tladi experienced the same intense associations with trees as Van Gogh, who described them as if "clinging to the earth in the same convulsive and passionate manner" as humans do (Rosenblum 1977: 40). In his *Flowering Tree,* the obsessive burst of flowers in an open landscape seems restless under the unforgiving Transvaal sun. In a similar but more atmospheric work by Friedrich, *The Solitary Tree*, the artist paints his subject from a strong frontal position and, unlike in a conventional picturesque landscape composition, forces the gaze of the spectator on the subject. Rather than leading the viewer further into the landscape, the landscape becomes a portrait in which the viewer encounters some characteristic of the

artist, or perhaps some attribute of him or herself as if in a mirror. By centering the composition, Rosenblum explains, "the randomness of nature has been replaced by a fixed, emblematic order that may elucidate an eternal truth" (Rosenblum 1977: 31-32).

In contrast to this 'order', the irrational and volatile side of nature is equally important to the Romantics and finds expression in dramatic representations of the sublime and treacherous. Edmund Burke contemplates famously in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) that the key features to the sublime are predominantly negative, including elements of terror, obscurity, fear and privation. The Romantic expression of the confrontation with these elements is especially expressed in the work**s** of Goya, Delacroix and Gericault, and is echoed in a few examples of Tladi's 'darker' works. Instead of reverting to a sentimentalised and vaguely picturesque style (which, one may argue, some of his paintings do in fact revert to), works like *River Scene*, *Cloudy Evening (at Kroonstad, OFS), Landscape With Trees and Landscape Two Trees*, all reveal elements of mystery, conflict and Burke**'** 'sublime'.

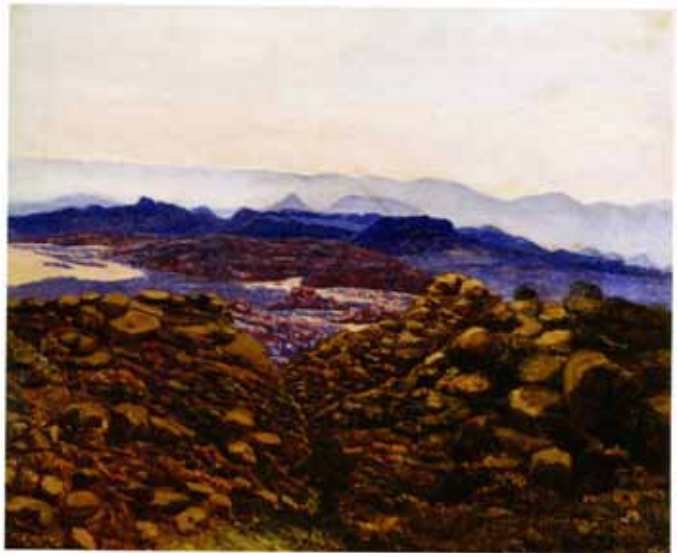

Figure 3
Moses Tladi, *River Scene* (date unknown), oil on canvas, 51 x 61, private collection (Read Lloyd 2009: 25).

River Scene (figure3)*,* one of the works mentioned above, depicts a strange mass of brown rocks daubed against a lavender middle ground and mountainous background. It lacks figures, trees or a metaphorical protagonist, except for the rocks themselves which are craftily and purposefully painted, and altogether offers an almost disquieting emptiness. Like Friedrich's seminal *Monk by the Sea*, one might say: "[T]he picture is daringly empty, devoid of objects, devoid of the narrative incident that might perhaps qualify it as a genre painting" (Rosenblum 1977: 13). Especially in the South African context, Michael Godby explains (2011: 77), human activity and deprivation "become one with the expression of desolation of the Landscape". Qualities of nature are used either narratively, or as an existential condition to show some social turmoil, often finding expression in storms, fire, floods or other disasters for example. This 'hostility' is based on the premise that the landscape, and nature in general, is "alien and essentially unknowable", an important appeal to South Africa's history of agricultural and social control (Godby 2011: 62).

Moments of seriousness in Tladi's representation of the landscape counters the pastoral sentimentalism of especially the later Romantics. Vaughan recounts how it was easy to upset the "delicate balance between observation and expression" on which landscape painting relied

(1978: 182). In *The Iconography of Landscape*, John Lucas writes that the 'picturesque' is characteristic of artworks that aim at pathos but have a distanced viewpoint and offer vague emotions (1988:83). The anti-picturesque, instead, offers a more original concern with place, more detail, has a gravity of vision and interpretation, and is known by human association with place (1988: 83-84). Tladi's depictions of his surroundings are always very particular. *River scene* speaks of a geographical setting that would barely incite the imagination unless painted *in situ.* Perhaps the artist "fell in love with certain aspects of Nature" as Newman describes in *The Romantic Rebellion* (1962: 100). Tladi's *River Scene* might contemplate the Ngwaritsi River flowing through Tladi's ancestral Ga Phaala, or the Jukskei River near Kensington, which is now sadly polluted and unappealing.

Expression is power

The slightly exaggerated emphasis on the inner life and experience of the artist genius is typical of the somewhat controversial view of the Romantic subject. In its philosophic origins, the increased importance of human will manifests in the Romantic Movement most significantly through its focus on artistic expression. In most of Western history, Isaiah Berlin explains, critics and artists alike would agree that the value of the work lies in its properties; for being beautiful, shapely or symmetrical (1999: 58). For Romantic scholars like Hamann and Herder this was not the case; they believed that the artwork, in essence, is always an expression of someone, "a voice speaking," a manifestation of its maker's attitude to life (Berlin 1999: 59). Romantics tended to loath art that was mimetic, that was a 'scientific copy' achieved through observation. Instead they proposed that the same qualities perceived in nature, namely energy, force, vitality and life, should be present in art (Berlin 1999: 98) to the extent that such a work captures something as dynamic as the inner life of the person who created it. For the Romantic genius, this often leads to a kind of agonizing paradox. Berlin explains this conflict: "To express your nature is to express your relation to the universe. Your relation to the universe is inexpressive but you must nevertheless express it. This is the agony, this is the problem. This is the unending Sehnsucht" (1999: 105).

Tladi's character seemed typical of this sentiment. The Allen brothers were children when Tladi still worked for the Reads and he is remembered as an 'exploring' artist, "always striving for something" (Read Lloyd 2009: 153). Keith Allen remembers that "[i]n personality he was very quiet, humble and reticent", "[h]e had no confidence, he couldn't measure himself." Mahlako, Tladi's younger sister, remembers that he liked solitude when he painted: "once he had started work, and to paint, he didn't want anyone around, no animals, no people" (Read Lloyd 2009: 236). He used to draw the mountains, she explains, as well as small bushes and flowers, but was sure to be careful and very precise when painting. Keith explains, "[h]e was very quiet, and dignified. He had a quiet poise. And a sense about him that he was unique. Even as a child, I recognised this drive in him. To do something higher. I instinctively respected him" (Read Lloyd 2009: 78). Although controversial, I find these mythologies around the artist genius valuable, both in the discussion and formation of the artist's subjectivity.

An artist such as Moses Tladi raises interesting questions on subjectivity and the incentive for self-expression. And although the discussion of early South African painting has made space for more contemporary concerns, his heritage remains a rich source of historical and social exploration. For me, questions of landscape painting and Romantic philosophy in South Africa remain unsolved although much has been written about the genre: If the focus of Romantic painting falls largely on the contemplation of nature, is the act of landscape painting then not

itself a romantic act, or conversely, from a cultural studies approach, always a political one? In which ways do African 'traditional' beliefs or religion change the appropriation and effect of Romanticism as a series of beliefs or values? Rosenblum describes the Romantic artist as "in search of overwhelming and fear-inspiring experiences" (1977: 17) How would the involuntary confrontation with these experiences (as in the case of the disadvantaged or destitute) affect the artist's interpretation of these experiences? Especially since there is little literature on Romanticism that deals specifically with the political, and even less with the South African context, a more investigative venture into these questions would be insightful; exploring the notion of 'African Romanticism' and how Western art-historical concepts compare to notions and beliefs originating in Africa. These are some of the questions explored in my current Masters project.

Starting with artists such as Moses Tladi, we see the Romantic and political function together in a poignant way. I believe the strong sense of connection between Tladi's personhood and his paintings of nature, combined with an aethetic language that affects the viewer, makes a powerful political statement about reclaimed subjectivity. And his re-enchantment of a very particular landscape renewed insight into the intricate character of this genre in South Africa; it is not Romantic because of the 'emotiveness' contained in the subject matter itself, as Eric Newman points out, but rather on the premise that the artist transcends the thing which it portrays; it is "the finite standing for the infinite", as Isaiah Berlin explains, "the material standing for the immaterial" (1999: 104). In romanticising the landscape around him, Tladi translated his finite environment into a symbol of himself and his empowered selfhood.

Notes

1 Tladi exhibited for the first time in 1929 at the Tenth Annual Exhibition of the Johannesburg Academy. He was the only non-white exhibitor in the catalogue. He also showed works in 1931 at the 'First annual exhibition of contemporary national art' at the National Gallery (Read Lloyd 2009:65), in March 1939 at the South African Academy for the Twentieth Annual Exhibition of the Academy, and in May of the same year at the Gainsborough Galleries in Johannesburg. (Lloyd 2009:202).

2 Discussing Moses Tladi's work within a Western framework is in itself a political act, and further explored in my current research; in this thesis I will juxtapose universalist Romantic ideas with indigenous philosophies in Pedi art and culture.

3 Jeanne van Eeden's research done on Martin du Toit and the 1930's Pretoria art collection (published 2008) could potentially be helpful in such a venture.

4 Schelling believed that volcanic eruptions and phenomenon such as magnetism and electricity could be interpreted as a struggle between the same mysterious forces that also manifest in our inner struggles as humans (Berlin 1999:59).

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The waning of socio-political relevance in the graphic design associated with popular alternative music among Afrikaans-speaking youths

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Graphic design often influences and reflects the subcultures of society. This was evident in graphic design associated with popular music during the 1960s and 1970s which captured the spirit of its time. The album covers of the Beatles and the Sex Pistols are some examples of design that captured the essence of their music and culture. A similar trend occurred in South Africa with the band Fokofpolisiekar in 2003 where the band's visuals represented the music and youth culture at the time. This spawned an awakening in South African graphic design associated with music and has led to a miasma of unique graphic design styles. The designs were originally representative of youth culture as well as socio-politically relevant but have since reached a point where their purpose is to attract attention through simulated relevance. This study reports on an analysis of 1101 design artefacts associated with popular alternative South African music and the identification of fifteen distinct styles of music-related graphic design. The study indicated that the collection of design styles, although varied in their aesthetics, share many similar roots and approaches and forms part of a subculture that in its own right captures the spirit of our time.
Key words: popular music, album covers, South African design, counterculture, design styles

Die afname van die sosio-politieke relevansie met betrekking tot die grafiese ontwerp wat met gewilde populêre alternatiewe musiek onder Afrikaanssprekende jeugdiges vereenselwig word
Grafiese ontwerp beïnvloed en weerspieël dikwels die subkulture binne die samelewing. Dit was duidelik in die grafiese ontwerp geassosieer met populêre musiek gedurende die 1960's en 1970's wat die gees van die tyd weergegee het. Die plaatomslae van die Beatles en die Sex Pistols is voorbeelde wat hiervan spreek. 'n Soortgelyke tendens het in 2003 in Suid-Afrika plaasgevind met die groep Fokofpolisiekar. Dit het 'n ontwaking gestig binne Suid-Afrikaanse grafiese ontwerp geassosieer met populêre musiek en het sedertdien aanleiding gegee tot 'n miasma van unieke grafiese ontwerpstyle. Dié ontwerpe was oorspronklik beide verteenwoordigend van jeugkultuur asook sosiaal-polities relevant, maar het intussen daarop aangekom dat die doel is om aandag te trek met behulp van gesimuleerde relevansie. Die onderhawige studie lewer verslag van 'n ontleding van 1101 ontwerpstukke geassosieer met populêre alternatiewe Suid-Afrikaanse musiek en 'n identifisering van vyftien onderskeibare musiekverwante grafiese ontwerpstyle. Die studie het aangedui dat alhoewel die versameling van ontwerpstyle gevarieerd is sover dit hul estetiese waarde aangaan, hulle soortgelyke ontstaanbronne en benaderings deel en deel vorm van 'n subkultuur wat op sigself die gees van ons tyd weergee.
Sleutelwoorde: Populêre musiek, Plaatomslae, Suid-Afrikaanse ontwerp, Teenkultuur, Ontwerpstyle

Counterculture is often synonymous with music as well as the visual media thereof and thus vicariously synonymous with socio-political commentary. Artistic mediums like concert posters have been around for centuries and album art as we know it today can trace its lineage back to 1939 when Alex Steinweiss (1917-2011) invented the 33⅓ rpm Long-Play cover (Heller & Fili 2006: 267; Heller 2011). Representative music packaging, however, dates back to 1896 with engraved wax cylinders played on a phonograph. These wax cylinders were sold in cylindrical brown packaging and the labels were merely used to brand the recordings in

reference to their producer and content (Jones & Sorger 1999: 70-72). Most Long-Play albums (or LPs) were initially also sold in brown covers, with the covers merely affording protection, but it was Steinweiss' approach that gave designers the square canvas that has since become canon. It was not until twenty years after Steinweiss' approach to the design of album covers that album and poster art were used to encapsulate a certain culture's zeitgeist as effectively as the cathartic 1960s.

The 1960s were a tumultuous time in the western world. With anti-war and cultural protests occurring in the United States and the advent of the hippie subculture revolving around free love and a virtually ubiquitous receptiveness to drug use occurring in the US, the United Kingdom and Europe. The spirit of this uncertain time was being sonically captured by musicians like the Grateful Dead, Big Brother and Quicksilver with their rock protest songs and visually by designers like Stanley Mouse through album covers and concert posters. The concert posters became the face of this psychedelic movement taking place in the US and spread a visual representation thereof throughout Europe and the UK. The movement originated out of the Haight-Ashbury, a district of San Francisco, with concerts taking place at the Fillmore Auditorium and the Avalon Ballroom (Moist 2010: 1244). The concert posters conveyed the essence of the movement even more successfully than the later recorded LPs that did not as aptly capture the aura of these bands' live shows. Mickey Hart, drummer of the Grateful Dead, remarked: "the posters looked like what we were playing [...They] [*sic*] didn't just announce the concerts, they resonated with the styles of the times and described visually what the Grateful Dead, Big Brother, Quicksilver and the Airplane were doing at the Fillmore and the Avalon the following nights" (Moist 2010: 1245).

The posters often incorporated found imagery and in some cases focused heavily on visual representations of experiences resulting from the use of Lysergic Acid Diethylamide (LSD), colloquially referred to as "acid trips". The posters captured the transient, dreamlike state of "good trips" as well as the nightmarish and scary state of "bad trips". The designers of the posters, for the most part, ignored legibility of information and focused on a purely visceral semiotic representation. The design of the posters was not handled by advertising agencies or by highly trained professionals, but by the product of this counterculture: artists and designers within the community (Moist 2010: 1244-1246).

At the time of the Haight-Ashbury explosion in the US, bands like the Beatles in the UK made use of art school friends to design their album covers, revolutionising album design with covers like *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* and the self-titled album often referred to as "The White Album" (McGuire 2005: 22-28; Inglis 2001: 89). This symbiotic relationship between musician and designer was akin to the same relationship found in the Haight-Ashbury community in the US. During this time of cultural revolution in the US and UK, South Africa was at the height of Apartheid. With the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the imposition of some archaic values upon the Afrikaner populace, it seemed too much to believe that any counterculture may emerge from the strife. Though this was the case among Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, the English community had their own counterculture in the form of the rock and roll obsessed "Ducktails" that seemed a South African revival of the "Greasers" found in the USA in the 1950s (Grundlingh 2004: 488).

During the 1970s in the UK, the Sex Pistols epitomised the graphic representation of the punk movement through their album covers designed by graphic artist and anarchist Jamie Reid (Mahoney 2001). The band realised the need for an effective means of visual representation to the extent that their frontman, Johnny Rotten, claimed that "if people bought the records for the

music, this thing would have died a death long ago" (Jones & Sorger 1999: 68). Reid captured the visceral nature of the visual aesthetic through use of ransom note lettering, fluorescent colours and pop-barbs which made it possible for one to "... almost hear the song when you saw the sleeve" (Nickas 1998). At this time punk was introduced in South Africa through the underground live shows of virtually unknown bands and musicians (or at least unknown to adherents of mainstream culture) like Suck and Wild Youth (Maas 2012). These, however, were overshadowed in the Afrikaans communities by labels like *Springbok Records* who pandered to the masses with pop hits and friendly, inviting record sleeves often displaying pin-up girls and simple, popular designs.

The late 1980s saw the introduction of the post-punk, despondent grunge music genre. It originated in Seattle, Washington, with bands like Alice in Chains and Nirvana and encapsulated the, then dominant, apathetic "burnout" generation (Marin 1992). The popular grunge design style that remains to this day was pioneered by graphic designer David Carson (Carson 2010; Heller & Fili 2006: 149). The style is a graphic amalgam of alternative beach and skateboarding culture and was first widely implemented during the mid 1980s in the form of *Beach Culture* magazine and later *Ray Gun* magazine in the early 1990s (Heller & Fili 2006: 149, 264). Although the design style and music genre developed at around the same time and reflected the same culture, the original grunge bands did not incorporate the design style into their album covers. During the late 1980s, Afrikaans rock and the *Voëlvry* movement emerged out of the Black Sun theatre in Yeoville, Johannesburg (Grundlingh 2004: 486). The air was rife with dissent and a "radical non-acceptance of Afrikaner nationalist ideology" (Jury 1996: 1) was born among the Afrikaner youth. A group of mainly young, Afrikaans (and a few English) men led the musical rebellion which culminated in the nationwide *Voëlvry* tour of 1989 (Pienaar 2012: 5). *Voëlvry* was the corpulent mother of Afrikaner countercultures. They covered nearly all the bases. From anti-Apartheid to anti-government mandated military service (Grundlingh 2004: 490). Their songs, monikers, clothing and onstage performances surreptitiously screamed of dissent with ironic re-appropriations of old Afrikaner symbols like the motorised "ossewa" used for travel between venues (Hopkins 2006: 6-14).

During the 1990s and early 2000s Afrikaans rock diminished greatly, leaving nothing to contest the mainstream Afrikaans pop industry. Among the post-*Voëlvry* Afrikaner generation, too young to have experienced Apartheid and the subsequent rebellion first hand and too old to have grown up unaware of its effects, Afrikaans punk rock was unheard of. There was a sense that Afrikaans was only meant for "sokkie", a style of music and dance unique to Southern Africa and popular mostly with Afrikaners, and anything bordering on an alternative genre had to be in English (Little 2008). During the early 2000s the most successful Afrikaans musicians were Steve Hofmeyr, whose then latest album had sold over 150 000 copies, Theuns Jordaan, whose albums had sold over 240 000 copies, and Kurt Darren and Juanita du Plessis, all practising genres far removed from punk rock (Haskins 2004). The visuals displayed on these artists' record covers were entirely used as a marketing tool. Jan Solms, one of the designers interviewed during this study, had been hired to design an album cover for a popular Afrikaans pop singer. According to him, the brief stipulated that at least 75% of the cover's real estate should comprise of a photograph of the singer (Solms 2012).

In 2003 the Afrikaans punk band Fokofpolisiekar rose to prominence. Fokofpolisiekar did not differ immensely from the English punk bands of the 1970s and the Afrikaans rock bands of the 1980s in terms of content and approach (Kahn 2009: 6-8). Although this was the case, the band still sparked vastly polar media interest and thus gained widespread popularity. The main differences between Fokofpolisiekar and its rock predecessors are its well polished punk

sound and its lyrics focusing more on apathy and the state of being in modern South Africa, yet still flooded with angst and political commentary. The lyrics and cultural standing of the band have been admired by fellow musicians and graphic artists including Chris Chameleon and Peet Pienaar (Little 2008). Another defining factor of the band was their early attention to detail concerning graphic design and their strong will to convey a professional image (Little 2008), much like the rock and punk musicians in the US and UK during the 1960s and 1970s. Their visual aesthetic was developed by Matthew Edwards, a graphic designer and friend of the band who was treated as an additional member of the group (Klopper 2011: 59&79). Early examples of their artwork incorporated ironic implementation of old Afrikaner artefacts like the *Jeugsang-bundel*.

There is a wealth of information to be gained from this section of human history. Graphic designer and journalist Stephen Heller compiled analyses of a few music-related as well as other design styles in two books (Heller & Fili 2006; Heller & Chwast 2008). A few articles and dissertations have been written on album covers (mostly on rock music of the 1960s), rock posters and the history of both (Jones & Sorger 1999; Inglis 2001; McGuire 2005; Moist 2010) and exhibits on 1960s rock posters have been held that garnered some academic attention (Boyd-Smith 2010). However, no scholarly record of South African music-related graphic design exists.

In all the above-mentioned cases of analyses in the field of music-related graphic design, the analysts' focus seems to be on either the artistic form, the semiotic content or the history of the analysed style and designers who incorporate it. Where the focus was on the artistic form, the analysis may be said to have followed guidelines set out by genre theory which, as a whole, essentially suggests that anything may be classified according to any intrinsic and extrinsic criteria (Chandler 2000: 1-2). This is a very broad interpretation of genre and there are of course various ways to go about classifying works, at least six according to Newsom (2010). Genre theory is most readily applied to classification in literary works (Chandler 2000, Biber & Conrad 2009, Newsom 2010) and when used in reference to graphic art often focuses on medium rather than content or style. Thus, as the study aimed to classify design styles according to inherent stylistic elements whilst using the suggestion of a simple model of genre theory, the focus was primarily on the artistic form of the designs as was seen in the work by Heller and Fili (2006) and Heller and Chwast (2008).

The aim of this study was to analyse and classify design styles associated with selected South African music genres, determine the inspirational factors behind these styles and explore some of the socio-political and cultural implications thereof. The music genres selected were punk, rock, metal, electro, rap and their subgenres. These genres were selected based on both the saturation and availability of designs associated with them and their popularity among Afrikaans-speaking youths. In addition to the classification and exploration of these styles, the study aimed to discover if music-related graphics in South Africa still holds the socio-political value of the early Fokofpolisiekar visuals and if the symbiotic relationship between designer and musician found with Fokofpolisiekar is responsible for the rise in interest and quality in music-related design in South Africa.

The methodology

This study followed a qualitative approach and utilised summative and directed content analysis and interview techniques. The aim of the interviews was to discover the origins of the analysed graphic design styles, to possibly plot their development and to determine the involvement of

Fokofpolisiekar and Matthew Edwards in the increased awareness and practice of music-related graphic design in South Africa. To most successfully achieve this, qualitative, semi-personalised interviews were carried out in relaxed, informal settings. The subjects of the interviews were prominent designers of some of the analysed artworks as well as well-known figures in the music industry. Some of the questions differed depending on the professions and possible unique insights of the individual subjects.

The designers interviewed were Stuart Ponton, Brent Swart, MJ du Preez, Arno Kruger, Jan Solms, Rohan Estebeth, Merwe Marchand le Roux, Nathan Fourie, Louis Minnaar, André Pereira, Brendon Groenewald, Gerhard van Wyk and Philip Erasmus. The prominent figures in the music and entertainment industry interviewed include Henk van der Schyf, Johan Auriacombe, Deon Maas and Hunter Kennedy. The interviews revealed that at least nine of the designers were into skateboarding and involved in high school/post-school rock/punk bands. All the designers and other persons interviewed agreed that the briefs and meetings concerning music-related graphic design were highly informal and open and granted the designers a creative freedom lacking in more corporate work. The designers also agreed that before designing anything for a client, they would listen to their music first to both draw inspiration from it and frame a visual representation. In some cases the formulation of the visual representation is also aided by consulting past work done for the client as well as designs relating to the client's specific music genre. None of the designers felt that they were ever implored to conform to certain norms and although they accounted for the proper target market, still felt free and enjoyed the work they had thus far undertaken for the musicians concerned. They would often work harder for less money when designing for musicians because of this creative freedom. All but two of the designers were aware of Matt Edwards' work for Fokofpolisiekar and all agreed that the work, along with the music, had at the very least some effect on the current rise in popularity and quality of music-related graphic design in South Africa. Among the less convinced, Johan Auriacombe believes that although Fokofpolisiekar and Matt Edwards had a profound effect on the music and design community among Afrikaans-speaking people, this symbiotic approach to music and visuals had been around since the early to mid 1990s, practised by bands like The Narrow and ATFN who both had designers as members of their bands (Auriacombe 2012).

The content analysis focused on the artistic form whilst keeping in mind the background information gathered from the interviews to demystify any possible commentary or semiotic properties found within the designs. One thousand one hundred and one design artefacts were collected from public domains, band-related websites and the designers themselves. The method used to analyse and classify the designs was similar to the process used by Roberts and Pettigrew (2007). An approach rooted in genre theory, enabled the development of descriptive names for the classification through references to popular culture and historic designs. The analysis identified fifteen main design styles. A description and illustrated examples of these design styles along with the etymology behind their naming are subsequently presented below.

Classic punk

The name derives from the graphic design style pioneered by Jaime Reid during the 1970s. This style is described as Classic Punk instead of merely Punk as to avoid confusion arising from the three subgenres it has produced. Much like the work of graphic designer Jaime Reid, Classic Punk has above all a "do-it-yourself" air to it. Newspaper clippings, torn edges, ransom note lettering, seemingly unplanned layout, uncouth content and loose-handed scribbled line work all contribute to the rebellious and angst-ridden wafts that permeate from this style. Though this is a relatively old and well-established style, the three subgenres that have emerged recently appear to contribute greatly to its overall popularity. The colour usage seems to be divided between either black and white or shockingly colourful with lots of neon greens and pinks. It does not, however, reach the cartoon-like level of line and colour usage found in Candy Punk and contains more photo collage elements than would be found in the other punk subgenres. This style was used by Matt Edwards in the original visual campaign for the band Fokofpolisiekar. Two examples of this style are given below.

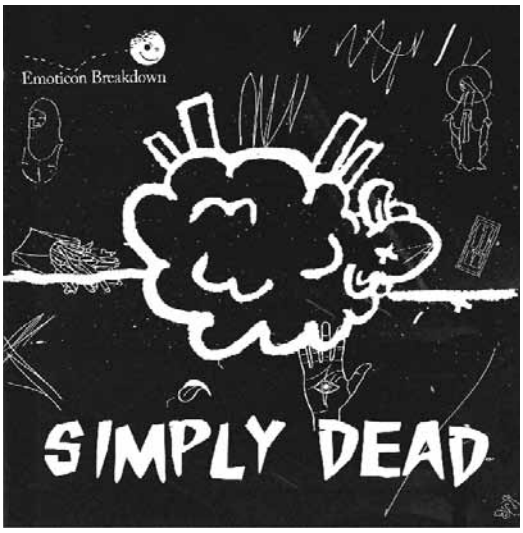

Figure 1 (left)
Simply Dead – Emoticon Breakdown album cover by Arno Kruger
(source: http://www.arnokruger.com/2012/05/simply-dead-album-artwork/).
Figure 2 (right)
***VHS* event poster by Ben Rausch**
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2010/12/).

Candy punk

As with Classic Punk, this name likewise derives from 1960s punk. It is, however, a more colourful and overall friendly variation, hence its description as Candy Punk. This design style is as rough and messy as Classic Punk, but makes use of many bright colours with mostly family-friendly subject matter. Candy Punk is very cartoon-like and often purposefully silly. There are usually characters present built from loose and seemingly faulty child-like line work without apparent attempts at shading or any other form of simulated depth (except for cartoonish perspective). Designers who have used this style include MJ du Preez, Michael dos Ramos and Ben Rausch.

Figure 3 (left)
Pelussje concert poster by MJ du Preez
(source: http://10and5.com/2011/06/14/social-contracts-poster-picks-23/).
Figure 4 (right)
The Plastics concert poster by Ben Rausch
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/08/).

Sophistipunk

A compound noun derived from "Sophisticated" and "Punk", the name of this style is an indication of the lack of severe crudeness found in Classic and Candy Punk. There is a rough "do-it-yourself" sense to this style as with Classic Punk, though it is flanked by a greater apparent attention to detail. The loose pen and ink style of illustration is still predominant with a more realistic sense of depth granted through the use of shading techniques. The loose pen and ink style is not found throughout, though, and is not a prerequisite for a design to qualify. The design only needs to have the overall feeling of punk softened by a greater sense of attention to detail and a more apparently professional finish. The content of these designs −as with most of the designs analysed − has no direct bearing on the style itself, though it does give the impression to be much more thoughtful and thought-provoking than the arguably blunt anger found in Classic Punk. Designers who have used this style include Michael Dos Ramos, Adam Hill, Merwe Marchand le Roux and Arno Kruger.

Figure 5 (left)
The Sleepers concert poster by Adam Hill
(source: http://10and5.com/2011/10/11/social-contracts-poster-picks-39/)
Figure 6 (right)
Die Heuwels Fantasties T-shirt by Arno Kruger
(source: http://www.arnokruger.com/category/design/)

Wire punk 3-D

This style derives its name from the wire mesh style of line work similar to but more messy (or in some cases more controlled) than Candy and Sophistipunk and from anaglyph 3-D imaging because of the cyan and red overlays similar to this found in the analysed designs. The only prerequisite for this style is that red and cyan copies of the same image are laid over each other in the same fashion as anaglyph 3-D imaging. Designers who have used this style include André Pereira, Jaco Haasbroek, MJ du Preez, Doug Gass and Brent Swart.

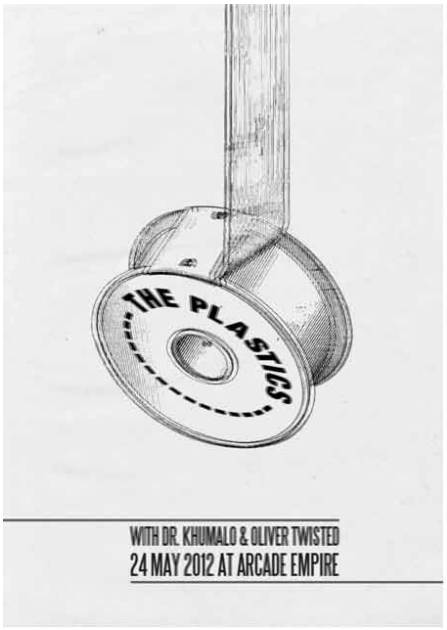

Figure 7 (left)
The Plastics concert poster by André Pereira
(source: http://10and5.com/2012/05/23/featured-andre-pereira/)
Figure 8 (right)
Ondier Kom! remix EP cover by Brent Swart
(source: http://10and5.com/2012/05/08/featured-new-work-from-brentblack-studios/)

Sick 'n creamy

The name is a perversion of the often spoke phrase "thick and creamy" in a reference to ice cream, milkshakes or mashed potatoes. This style is most often typographic in nature with seemingly smelly, furry, stubbly, infected, shiny, wet, sticky and squishy lettering. It also often incorporates clouds, teardrop-like droplets and spiky shapes. Any design with an abundance of overly disgusting content that may be described by using the above-mentioned adjectives qualifies. Designers who have used this style include Jean Lombard, Hanno van Zyl and Andrew Ringrose.

Figure 9 (left)
Jack Parow concert poster by Hanno van Zyl
(source: http://www.hannovanzyl.com/jackparow.html)
Figure 10 (right)
The Assembly event poster by Andrew Ringrose
(source: http://www.residentadvisor.net/event.aspx?83254)

Fancy clip art

The name of this style is a direct reference to the clip art used in Microsoft Office suites. It was chosen because of a similarity in vector-based line work and shading with sometimes greater detail and arguably less boring themes, hence the name Fancy Clip Art. The most notable aspects and in fact only prerequisites for this style is that it contains vector graphics with spiky or stripy shading, similar to that found in Microsoft Clip Art and certain comic books. If a design exerts an overall comic book feel (modern or retro), that would also qualify. Designers who have used this style include Jade Klara, Simon Berndt, Michael Dos Ramos and Kronk.

Figure 11 (left)
Day of the Dead event poster by One Horse Town
(source: http://10and5.com/2011/10/25/social-contracts-poster-picks-41/)
Figure 12 (right)
Debuts & Experiments event poster by Kronk
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2012/02/14/kronk-andrew-ringrose-adriaan-louw-and-graham-kennedy-for-the-assembly/)

8-Bit theatre

The name is a reference to the comic and flash animation series of the same name (authored by Brian Clevinger and available from www.nuklearpower.com since 2001) because of the similar use of 8-bit sprite characters and penny arcade paraphernalia. Designs in this style comprise mostly of 8-bit pixel art but sometimes only contain non-direct references to arcade games. Thus, any pixel art or pixel art-themed designs qualify. Designers who have used this style include André Pereira, Andrew Ringrose and Philip Erasmus.

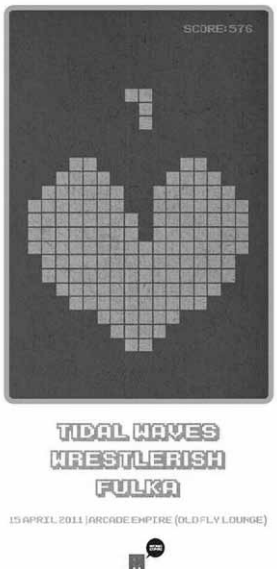

Figure 13 (left)
Tidal Waves concert poster by André Pereira
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/04/)
Figure 14 (right)
YS!MM X Beach Party event poster by Karl Schuschenk
(source: http://www.coroflot.com/karlschulschenk/FlyerPoster-Design)

Supercamp

The word Supercamp is an amalgam of the name of the British rock band Supertramp and the word camp, referring to television shows and movies that are wilfully saturated with tackiness or, if you will, cheesiness, like the original live action Batman series that ran from 1966 to 1968. The original name for this style was Cheap Rag in reference to ads and article pictures found in low-priced magazines. The most notable trait these designs have in common is that they look purposefully outdated and tacky to a comedic effect. They often contain photographs with either bad or supremely cheesy lighting and techniques adding to an overtly ironic flavour. Designers who have used this style include Stuart Ponton, Ben Rausch, Philip Erasmus and Arno Kruger.

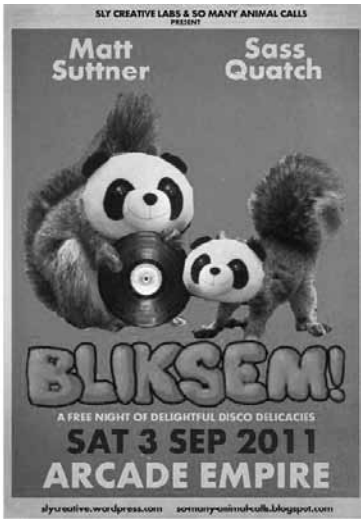

Figure 15 (left)
Die Heuwels Fantasties - Alles wat mal is album cover by Philip Erasmus
(source: http://lwmag.co.za/die-heuwels-fantasties-alles-wat-mal-is)
Figure 16 (Right)
Bliksem! event poster by Ben Rausch
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/08/)

Cut and paste

The original name of this style was Cardboard Cut Out in reference to the similarities between the designs and cardboard cut-out pictures made for scrapbooking. Because of the slightly knotty ring to Cardboard Cut Out, the name was changed to Cut and Paste. As the name suggests, the designs resemble art projects that were assembled through the cutting and pasting of paper shapes. The shapes are usually vector images with paper textures and drop shadows applied. There are varieties of the style, however, that incorporate photographs blended with vector images. Though sometimes similar to collages found with Classic Punk, Cut and Paste has a definite scrapbook or stick-puppet feel. Designers who have used this style include MJ du Preez and Arno Kruger.

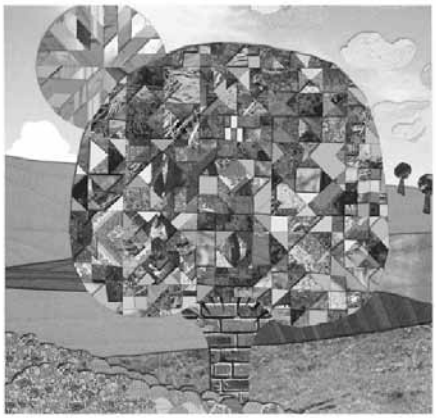

Figure 17 (left)
Halloween event poster by MJ du Preez
(source http://10and5.com/2011/10/28/win-tickets-to-halloween-the-haunting-of-city-hall-from-your-friends/)
Figure 18 (right)
Die Heuwels Fantasties - Lekker Luister Liedjies vir die Lang Pad lyrics card illustration by Arno Kruger
(source http://www.arnokruger.com/2011/08/die-heuwels-deluxe-edition/)

Hard candy

The name was chosen because of the colour and overall appearance of the designs resembling hard candy. Illustrations done in this style consist of images built up out of flat, rounded and angular shapes, often with white sheens around the edges. Bright, candy colours are frequently used but oftentimes designs will incorporate large sections of black with small accents of colour (pinks, greens, blues and reds). Many elements found in indigenous Mexican art are present (skulls, flowers and barbs). Hard Candy also often incorporates elements found in Mickey Mouse (see below), albeit much flatter. Designs may also include wallpaper-like patterns in the background. Designers who have used this style include Peet Pienaar, Matt Edwards and Johann Botha.

Figure 19 (left)
Discotequé event poster by Andrew Ringrose
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/01/)
Figure 20 (right)
Oppikoppi Smoorverlief promotional art by Matt Edwards
(source: http://www.behance.net/gallery/Oppikoppi-Smoorverlief-Campaign/1087503)

Mickey mouse

The name of this style is a reference to old Disney cartoons. The designs analysed are stylistically similar to old Walt Disney and, to a certain degree, Tex Avery cartoons with the same general feel. Users of this style often incorporate characters and regular, stylistically relevant objects. The characters are spindly and contorted, teardrop-shaped, round-bottomed with black oval eyes and a squeaky-clean rubber-like shininess. The stylistic objects may include crossbones, spaghetti/liquorice arms and legs, xxx booze bottles, skeletons, top hats, fat lips and striped white gloves. The colours used for the characters and surroundings are usually limited to black and white (occasionally with a substitute colour for white), though there are examples of full-colour use of this style. Designers incorporating this style sometimes blend it with other styles (commonly Classic Punk) and do not generally rely on it alone for all their work as users of Mickey Mouse Plus seem to do. Designers and design collectives who have made use of this style include I am Shikari, Michael Dos Ramos, Merwe Marchand le Roux and MJ du Preez.

Figure 21 (left)
aKING T-shirt by Merwe Marchand le Roux
(source: http://www.marchand.co.za/64831/515088/work/aking-t-shirt)
Figure 22 (right)
aKING concert poster by Michael Dos Ramos
(source: http://10and5.com/2011/04/26/social-contracts-poster-picks-16/)

Mickey mouse plus

As with Mickey Mouse, the name of this style is likewise a reference to old Disney cartoons, but because it seems to be an evolved version with its own intrinsic traits not found in Mickey Mouse, the style was labelled as Mickey Mouse Plus. Like Mickey Mouse, this style features characters with long spindly limbs with the main difference being texture and noticeable variety in characters. There is an omnipresent use of stripy shading and texturing resulting in an almost wooden feel. In many cases the limbs are also much more elongated than the ones found in Mickey Mouse and for the most part, the stylistic objects found in Mickey Mouse are absent. There are no strict rules for colour usage as anything seems to go. This style has been used by designers and design collectives such as Gerhard van Wyk, Brent Swart, Louis Minnaar, Christi du Toit and Says Who.

Figure 23 (Left)
Rub-A-Dub concert poster by Christi du Toit
(source: http://10and5.com/2012/05/08/social-contracts-poster-picks-63/)
Figure 24 (Right)
Vinyl Junkie exhibit record cover by Gerhard van Wyk
(source: http://10and5.com/2010/10/25/featured-gerhard-van-wyk/)

Pseudo surrealism

The design style referred to as Pseudo Surrealism is a reference to the surrealist movement and surrealistic science fiction films of the 1920s to 1970s like *Metropolis* and *Fantastic Planet*. The surrealistic elements present in the style are nonetheless merely rhetorical and mostly devoid of hidden metaphors and other meanings commonly associated with the art movement, hence the use of the qualifier "pseudo". This style often places geometric planes and dreamscape-esque figures on top of vapid landscapes and in blank *voidscapes*. One often gets the sense of a bleak, Orwellian future when looking at these designs. The artworks are mostly devoid of character illustrations (and even photographs of the performers) and relies more on psychedelic mysticism for familiarity. Because it is not truly character-based, the landscapes and *voidscapes* become the main vessel with dots of character scattered throughout. Some photography may nonetheless sometimes be present. Common visual cues may include prisms, conical shapes, triangles, pyramids, geometric planes, dreamscapes, psychedelic imagery, mysticism, dark distinct shading (much like the shading found in paintings by Salvador Dali). This style may be seen as a modern equivalent of the LSD-inspired, or "trip-inspired", psychedelic rock posters of the 1960s, but with a more mathematical approach. Designers who have used this style include Merwe Marchand le Roux, Louis Minnaar, Adele van Heerden, Adam Hill, Bruno Morphet, Christopher Bisset and Baden Moir.

Figure 25 (left)
The Sleepers concert poster by Adam Hill
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/08/)
Figure 26 (right)
Moses Metro Man – Konstellasies album cover by MJ du Preez
(source: http://www.behance.net/gallery/Moses-Metro-Man/2683865)

Macabre

As the name suggests, this style incorporates eerie, obscure, uncanny and scary imagery and themes. Usually dark colours with black and white overtones are used to create the effect of a psychologically thrilling horror movie-esque feel. The style can range from horror movie-like to tribal, cannibalistic levels of discomfort and scariness. Designers who have used this style include Johann Botha, Simon Berndt, Adam Hill and Louis Minnaar.

Figure 27 (left)
Andy Lund & the Mission Men concert poster by Adam Hill
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/06/22/adam-hill-studio-visit/)
Figure 28 (right)
Lark – Vampire single cover by Louis Minnaar
(source: http://www.louismminnaar.com/?page_id=89)

Arthouse

The name of this style derives from its pseudo-artistic and seemingly pretentious nature. Designs of this style often contain overexposed, washed out colour photographs (generally flash photography) of apparently disinterested subjects with occasional Photoshop filters and added textures. The filters and effects present in these designs are comparable to those found in the quick photo editing software Instagram. The photographs are also similar to those often found in *Vice* magazine. Designers who have used this style include Louis Minnaar and MJ du Preez.

Figure 29 (left)
Richard the Third concert poster by MJ du Preez
(source: http://www.socialcontract.co.za/2011/06/01/1-5-june-2011/)
Figure 30 (right)
Yesterday's Pupil – Formative Years album cover by Louis Minnaar
(source: http://www.louismminnaar.com/?page_id=87)

Conclusion

In accordance with the musicians of the 1960s and 1970s who felt that their music and their collective zeitgeist were encapsulated in their representative visual media brought forth by art school friends, the South African designers today rely on the music itself to inspire their music-related designs. There are, however, no wholly independent ideas or intentional symbolism found in the designs. The different flavours of the different artists may be identified through their unique styles or unique (yet seemingly unaware) interpretations of the classified styles. Some designers, like Merwe Marchand le Roux, may sneak in a signature graphic or two (Marchand often uses his trademark crossbones visible in Figure 21) into their designs but other than that, no additional commentary from the designer is present. These are not art school friends fresh out of college trying to push buttons, these are professional, business-oriented designers who know their target market and product. In some ways even better than the musicians themselves.

In the recent documentary *Punk in Africa* (Maas 2012), Prof. Andries Bezuidenhoud was quoted saying "After Irony comes fuck you". In response one might say that after "fuck you" comes conformity. Countercultures peter out or the causes resolve themselves. We are left with misfit pieces of dissent and all that is left is conformity as popular culture assimilates counterculture. As you move further away from dissent and irony and "fuck you" and closer to conformity, the artwork loses its secularity, it enters the realm of non-corporeal archetypes, distant remnants of something someone felt once as a direct result of something that actually happened. Now we have fragments of distantly relevant simulacra with very good finishing and mass appeal.

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Clocks for Seeing: Time and the photography of Ruins

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We read on the surfaces of buildings the accretions of time. The photographic portrayal of ruins offers a way to reflect on the ravages of time, and show the imprint of time. Once buildings lose their original purpose they become subject to the influence of obsolescence, invasions, re-appropriations, renovations and economic transformations, forces of nature, neglect and gentrification. Invasions by nature once formed the aesthetic of early photography of ruins. Today photographers are more concerned with changing economic fortunes, re-appropriations and the marks made by political violence. In depicting this broad terrain, contemporary photographers have offered new insights into our understandings of the forces that have shaped our built environment, and of the subtleties of photographic representation itself. Tracing the history of photographs of ruins, this article sketches the aesthetics of early architectural photographs of ruins and the changing context and approaches adopted by photographers in relation to them.
Keywords: architecture, photography, time, ruins

Uhren für das Sehen: Zeit und die Fotografie von Ruinen
Photographien von Gebäuderelikten messen immer auch die Zeit; in den äußeren Umrissen der Gebäude betrachten wir das Vergehen der Zeit. Sie reflektieren das Wüten derselben und zeigen den Abdruck, den die Zeit hinterlässt. Sobald Gebäude ihren eigentlichen Zweck verlieren werden sie zu Opfern vielfältiger Einflüsse: Opfer von Obsoleszenz, von Übergriffen, Wiederaneignungen, Erneuerungen und ökonomischen Umgestaltungen. Opfer von Naturgesetzen, von Verleugnung oder Gentrifizierung. Die Ästhetik der frühen Photographie von Relikten fusste auf deren Umgestaltung durch die Kräfte der Natur. Das hat sich im Laufe der Zeit gründlich gewandelt. In der zeitgenössischen Photographie werden die wechselhaften wirtschaftlichen Geschicke, die Wiederaneignungen und die Spuren, die politische Gewalt hinterlassen hat, thematisiert. Damit hat sich ein ganz neues Feld aufgetan, die zeitgenössischen Photographen ermöglichen uns damit eine neue Sichtweise auf unser Verständnis jener Kräfte, die unsere Architektur maßgeblich beeinflussen. Und damit deuten sie ebenso auf wichtige inhärente Feinheiten photographischer Repräsentanz. Dieser Text betrachtet die Geschichte der Photographie von Relikten, umreißt die Ästhetik früher Architekturphotographie und stellt die unterschiedlichen Herangehensweisen und Parameter da, die Photographen dabei entwickelt haben.
Schüsselwörter: architektur, fotografie, zeit und ruinen

This article reflects on photography and the depiction of time. It explores the changing use of photographs of buildings and of architectural ruins, and the ambiguous nature of time in the photography of ruins. The marks of time and nature on the built environment and how these are read by photography are explored. A discussion of the early photography of ruins is located in the vision of photography as an art, akin to painting, and points to the aesthetics of early photographic techniques. The themes time and the photographic reading of time in architectural ruins are developed in more detail in the sections on photography and the ruins of war, photography's industrial images, and the ruins of modernity.

The photography of war is a theme that has concerned photographers since the invention of the medium. War's visible effects on the built environment depict the ruins of war, but also convey metaphorically the horrors of war. Accordingly, how the aesthetic of this canon of photography has altered is due in part to the shifting emphasis in photography from a straight documentary reading to promoting a polemical or allegorical reading. In depicting this broad terrain, contemporary photographers have offered new insights into our understandings of the

forces that have shaped our built environment, and of the subtleties of photographic representation itself.

The photographers and teachers, Bernd and Hilla Becher, were instrumental in changing our perceptions of defunct industrial structures. Their work drew attention to the unpretentious clarity that characterised the design of industrial buildings. Presently new uses are being sought for many of these empty husks. By using a systematic approach to photography their work changed our perception of these previously overlooked structures and their aesthetic. But, their methodology also opened up a new conceptual framework for photographic practice; one that was to have far reaching consequences in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Johannesburg's industrial structures are discussed in the light of the Becher's oeuvre. In addition, the author's photography of the Gas Works in Johannesburg provides a commentary on the changing use and economic decline of these buildings and thereby the complex interplay between architecture and time.

In the final part of this paper, the photography of modernism is discussed. Modernist buildings were famously photographed at the moment of completion, without the marks of age, and the wear and tear of nature. This image of modernity has persisted. Many original photographs of modernist buildings were published and republished creating an impression that the buildings themselves have remained the same. The reality is quite different. When modern buildings age, their materials - glass, steel and concrete - weather in ways that is at variance with the aesthetic of the ruin. The story of the Volkskas Bank Building in Roodepoort provides a case study of this aspect of ruins in South Africa. This case study reveals that indeed it is change that is essential to the endurance of modern buildings.

Photography and the depiction of time

Photographs of ruins reflect the expression of change, and simultaneously invoke an awareness of slow reclamation by nature. This was something Fox Talbot recognised early when, in his first published picture, *Queen's College, Oxford* (1843), he drew attention to the capacity of the new medium to capture, "the injuries of time...the abraded state of the stone…" (Jammes 1972: 12). Photographs of ruins share with the aging human body, the visible marks of time. When we look at photographs of ourselves we are struck by how we have aged or changed since the picture was taken. Through photographs we follow, Susan Sontag (1979: 70) observes, "in the most intimate, troubling way, the reality of how people age. To look at a photograph of oneself, of anyone one has known or of a much photographed public person is to feel, first of all: how much *younger* I (she he) was then. Photography is the inventory of mortality".

Photography was sometimes simply used to record, and sometimes as the basis for restoration. Viollet-le-Duc's (1814-1879) images of Notre Dame were made as reference material before restoration commenced (ibid: 76). The *Commission des Monuments Historiques* in France established its pioneering *Mission Heliographique* in 1851 to create an inventory of its monuments (Elwall 2004: 15). In India, the Archaeological Survey had a dual function, "accurate delineation and preservation", as Maria Antonella Pelizzari (2003: 33) puts it.

Apart from preserving a past that threatened to disappear, the depiction of the ephemeral, the transient, the fleeting, became a core objective of modern photography and formed a substantial theme in the praxis of photography throughout the 20th century. When we look at pictures of South Africa by Ernest Cole (1940-1990) or David Goldblatt, (born 1930) a striking

feature of their images lies in "what has been"[1]: of a past that has disappeared. Likewise, Eugène Atget (1857-1927) and Walker Evans, (1903-1975) Craig Owens (in Campany 2003: 262) wrote, "preserve that which threatens to disappear".

Attempts to depict time in the image lie at the core of this expression. Geoff Dyer (2007: 224) explains that Walker Evans "was… interested in what any present time will look like as the past. Or, to put it another way, what new buildings will look like when they are tinged with ruination, like old plantation houses". In referring to time in an image by André Kertész, (1894-1985) he observes: "What is striking is that from the start – before long ago became long ago – … Kertész's vision was touched by the loss that was to come" (Ibid 29). Most notably, Roland Barthes (1984: 15) referred to cameras as "clocks for seeing". The invention of the camera Regis Durand (in Campany 2003: 242-44) wrote, belonged to a moment in history when rapid change began to characterise modern life, and became synonymous with Modernity itself. Consequently, depicting the transitory and momentary, in contradistinction to the permanent became a theme that has endured throughout the 20th century.

In 1990, contemporary artist Thomas Struth (in Campany 2003: 251) spoke about his work in relation to Eugène Atget, and Bernd (1931-2007) and Hilla Becher, (b1934) saying, "it's always at that time when important phenomena disappear… therein lies the task of the photographer, practically like a surgeon, to reveal and to preserve the essential structure and type of these historical phenomena". Observe for instance Struth's streets of New York, (1978) in which the depiction of one-way streets and diverse styles of architecture point to the irreversible and inexorable pace of development. Moreover, the medium of photography itself was seen to arrest time, forever preserving a moment for eternity. As such, photography is often considered "as a point in time", as Norman Bryson (2000: 54) evocatively puts it, a moment with no before or after, but rather, "a world captured in an instant of its unfolding". The highpoint of which was represented in the photojournalism of the 1950s, famously demonstrated by Henri Cartier Bresson's term the "decisive moment".

However, the picture of a ruined building would seem to resist this reading, offering up the visible effects of time that have caused its surfaces to become worn, weathered and abraded. As Geoff Dyer (2004: 185) asserts, "the experience of ruins is not so much a physical space as a force field, a place where time has stood its ground". But it is Brian Dillon's (2011: 11) words that best describe the ambiguous nature of time in the photography of ruins,

> "ruins embody a set of temporal and historical paradoxes. The ruined building is a remnant of and portal into the past, its decay is a concrete reminder of the passage of time. At the same time the ruin casts us forward in time, it predicts a future in which our present will slump into similar disrepair or fall victim to some unforeseeable calamity. The ruin, despite its state of decay, somehow outlives us. Ruins are part of the long history of the fragment, but the ruin is a fragment with a future, it will live on after us despite the fact that it reminds us too of a lost wholeness or perfection".

The notion that the photography of ruins is based on a romantic view of the past, antiquarian and outmoded is countered, not only by contemporary photographic practice, South African and global, but also by the events of the modern era itself. Our present century began with a moment of complete devastation that fateful September morning in 2001 and in its wake, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Later political turmoil in Libya and Yemen, coupled with economic collapse in the latter part of the decade are prime examples of present catastrophe. Indeed, Brian Dillon's (ibid 10) assertion that "we live now, though we might say we have always lived in a time of ruination", points not only to the conflict that characterises the present age, but of constant cycles of building and destruction to which our cities are subject.

The forces that shape the growth, renewal and destruction of cities are tropes that have interested South African photographers. For example, Jo Ractliffe's (b 1960) *Terreno Occupado,* focuses on Luanda five years after civil war. Guy Tillim's (b 1962) images of the built environment in downtown Johannesburg, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, and Angola convey the ghostly effect of the changing occupation of African cities, and shift our gaze away from the imprint of colonialism. Mikhael Subotzsky and Michael Waterhouse's *Ponte City,* which they referred to as a "highrise ghetto"[2] illustrates the tension between the ruin and the derelict building. David Goldblatt's ongoing concern with aspects of ruin in Johannesburg, from his pictures of forced removals in Fietas, to the more contemporary "Ruins of Shareworld" express a dimension of the ruins of modernity.

Early photography of ruins

The subject of ruins forms a theme in photography that virtually dates from the time of its invention. One explanation for this is that the discipline saw itself akin to art, and sought the same subject matter as painters. Robert Elwall (2004: 14) observes, "underlying photography's early vision was an unquenchable belief that the true aim of photography was to imitate paintings and engravings—which dictated that their subject matter be chosen in accordance with picturesque conventions, such as the elegant relics of ancient architecture, the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles and abbeys".

Therefore, the subject of buildings formed a dominant trope in early photography. Although the pictorial appeal of buildings was considerable, another reason for their appearance is that they were especially suited to the apparatus of early photography; buildings were well illuminated by the sun and above all, they did not move. Indeed, the scarcity of images of interiors at this time is attributed to the limitations of technique (Pare 1982: 15). However, the results of these early efforts must surely have impressed even the most skeptical, not just for the beauty depicted in their textures and surfaces, but also for their technical accomplishment, which was considerable. [3] In early photography making a single image was no mean feat. For example, a picture such as Notre Dame (C1841) by the Bissons Frères (Bissons brothers) (1814-1876) and (1826-1900) bears mute testimony to this. First they had to carry a heavy camera, tripod and chemicals onto the roof of the cathedral along with glass plates for the exposure. Then they had to erect a dark tent in situ, and coat the glass plates with collodian for the exposure. Once this was done, the plate had to be inserted into the camera, exposed, and thereafter, developed and fixed in the dark chamber on the roof before the collodian could dry (Pare 1982: 15).

The beauty of these images is twofold - the scene depicted and the physical properties of the print. Early salt prints contain a subtle grain that is a hallmark of that technique, and offers a vibrant surface quality rarely equalled later. Salt printing, one of the earliest printing techniques in photography dating from 1839-1860, uses a mixture of Sodium Chloride (salt) and Silver nitrate. In collodian and albumen prints the tonal range is vast and subtle, displaying a depth of delicate variation. Water in early photographs is depicted with a silky limpidity that is seldom paralleled today. The paper itself had a weight and materiality that modern resin coated papers lack. JM Coetzee (2001: 350) seems to endorse these observations about the visual power of early photographs when he asked, "why is it that a photograph of a street scene from the Cape Town of 1902, has a subtlety of gradation of blacks that one no longer sees in today's photographic prints?".

Consequently, surface luminosity and the subject matter of photography have had a major influence on what we now consider beautiful. The very name under which Fox Talbot (1800-1877) patented the photograph in 1841 was the calotype, from the Greek, kalos, meaning beautiful, magnificent (Jammes 1973: 11). Moreover, as Susan Sontag (1979: 28) states, "photography has succeeded in somewhat revising, for everybody, the definition of what is beautiful and ugly. Bleak factory buildings and billboard-cluttered avenues look as beautiful, through the camera's eye, as churches and pastoral landscapes. More beautiful, by modern taste". Indeed she makes the claim that photographs are "aesthetically indestructible", comparing their visual impact to the surfaces of weathered buildings, which she asserts increases rather than lessens over time. As she states,

> "when they [photographs] get scrofulous, tarnished, stained, cracked, faded, they still look good;… they resemble architecture whose works are subject to the same inexorable promotion through the passage of time; many buildings and not only the Parthenon, probably look better as ruins"(1979: 79). "Indeed", she continues, "photography has served to enlarge vastly our notion of what is aesthetically pleasing" (1979: 105).

Photography and the ruins of war

War is a theme that has concerned photographers since the invention of the medium. Moving away from the depiction of armed conflict, and particularly overt violence that reached its zenith in photographs of the Vietnam War, the traces of conflict on the built environment and the landscape concerned photographers such as Gabriele Basilico,(b 1944) Sophie Ristelhueber, (born 1949) and Guy Tillim, testifying to the allegorical shift in this area of photography.

Looking back from today's perspective at photography's early achievements, we recognise the power and ambiguity of their fragmentary character, and their ability to convey allegorical meaning. For example, Roger Fenton's (1819-1869) photograph 'Valley of the shadow of death' (1853-56) taken during the Crimean war, is considered particularly remarkable for its use of metaphor to convey the horrors of war.[4] Absent of people, it depicts a stark and bleak landscape that betokens the inevitability of death. This approach to photography influenced contemporary French photographer, Sophie Ristelhueber whose work is concerned with traces of conflict. For example, her body of work titled *Fait* (*Aftermath*) depicts the scars left on the desert floor during the first Iraq war, and *Beyrouth (Beirut)* is a meditation on the ruins of war in that country.[5]

In looking back at Fenton's pictures today we see them as modern. David Mellor (2009: 218) points out that, "Fenton had come to be symptomatic of a certain modernist documentary approach; flattened, disconsolate, and seeking aggregations of standing reserves of material. Ristelhueber follows his trajectory of documentarism: it was 'modern' and 'classical', and part of a distinctive kind of topographic impulse in the early and mid 1980s in the north of England".

Michael Baxandall (1985: 59-60) suggests that although an older artist may exert an influence on a younger one, influence may ratchet the other way. That is to say, the older artist ends up in a new relation to the younger one. This is also the case with much early photography. As the field of contemporary photography is extended and expanded, we look back at early photographs from a different perspective. We recognize in the works of Roger Fenton (1819-1869) Felice Beato (1832-1909) or Samuel Bourne, (1834-1912) not only technical and aesthetic achievement, but also how they resonate with contemporary concerns. Fenton's 'Valley of the shadow of death', or 'Queen's target' for instance, eschew mere representation or documentation making possible a polemical or allegorical reading of the image. This is key to the way in which

we see early photography today; it is becoming repositioned by contemporary photographic practice. In part this has been precipitated by the massive increase in contemporary photographic production, by digital technology, and by the increase in critical writing on photography.

Photography's industrial images

The photographers and teachers, Bernd and Hilla Becher, had a major influence on the art of photography from the 1960s. Their influence continues in the work of their students who are amongst the foremost photographers practicing today.[6] They photographed industrial structures ironically, at the moment when they were beginning to become obsolete, which they organised as typographic studies and presented with laconic simplicity. Their insistence on objectivity became the organising principle in their work, and together with subjects from heavy industry, which they termed, "anonymous architecture", they "set new standards of perceptual aesthetics", Suzanne Lange (2004: 7) observes.

Their work today is celebrated for two reasons: first, for the wealth of technological and historical information contained in these erstwhile functional structures, and second as art (Campany 2003:24). Their rigorous approach to photography is akin to the scientific descriptions and classifications attributable to engineering (compare, the Bechers photographs to those from the album, Head, Wrightson and Co (SA) Ltd, Steel Headgears and Ore Bins, from the Barlow Rand Archive in South Africa). (Figure 1) See for example Mine Heads by Bernd and Hilla Becher, taken in South Wales, Belgium, Germany and the United States between 1961 and 1983[7]. The former, produced about 1925, presumably by a South African mining engineer, appear to be for the purposes of documentation. However, the Becher's objective and strictly systematic approach is strikingly complementary.[8] Thus, although these images were made with vastly different objectives in mind they suggest an analogous approach in the recording of the structures.

The austere evenly lit structures, which make up the Becher's oeuvre, appear comparatively less inflected and artful than those from the Barlow Rand archive. Beyond that, the Becher's approach is remarkable for ascribing to the subject of functional engineered industrial structures the status of 'art', and for highlighting photography's properties of objectivity, which in this instance actually resist allegorical interpretation. In so doing they offered a new avenue of photographic expression—emphasising surface rather than depth. Their approach to photography eschews attempts to show either specific locales or a particular moment in time. Rather time in these images resides in the historic moment of their construction; structures built for and as a result of industrialisation. Little or no discernable difference is perceptible in a picture taken in the Siegerland in Germany in 1961 and one taken in West Virginia (US) in 1983. The consistency of their methodological approach renders these images both placeless and timeless, a property now being explored by contemporary photographers such as their former student Thomas Ruff, (b1958) and acclaimed Japanese photographer Hiroshi Sugimoto[9], (b1948) among others. Furthermore, the Becher's work has greatly influenced the way in which we view the aesthetic of these structures.

Since 1989, the Ruhr area of Germany, where much of the Becher's work was undertaken, has attempted to find new uses for its defunct industrial architecture. It is likely that renewed interest in industrial heritage is attributable to the Becher's images, which fostered attention on subject matter that had previously been overlooked. However, their images are also important as

a testament to history, referred to above. Photographer Gabriele Basilico (2011: 28) perceptively remarked on this aspect of their work in these words:

> "I understood that the work of the Becher's also tackled the representation of Germans under the influence of the manufacturing world. Their photos were products of the culture which shaped industry, and the Bechers knew how to transform industrial remains into heroic objects which formed part of their history, encompassing their drawbacks and the negative effects passed on to the environment, but which also acted as testimony of a history which changed the face of the world".

Johannesburg's mining town beginnings are likewise testament to a rich industrial history that had profound effects on the world, but are similarly overlooked.

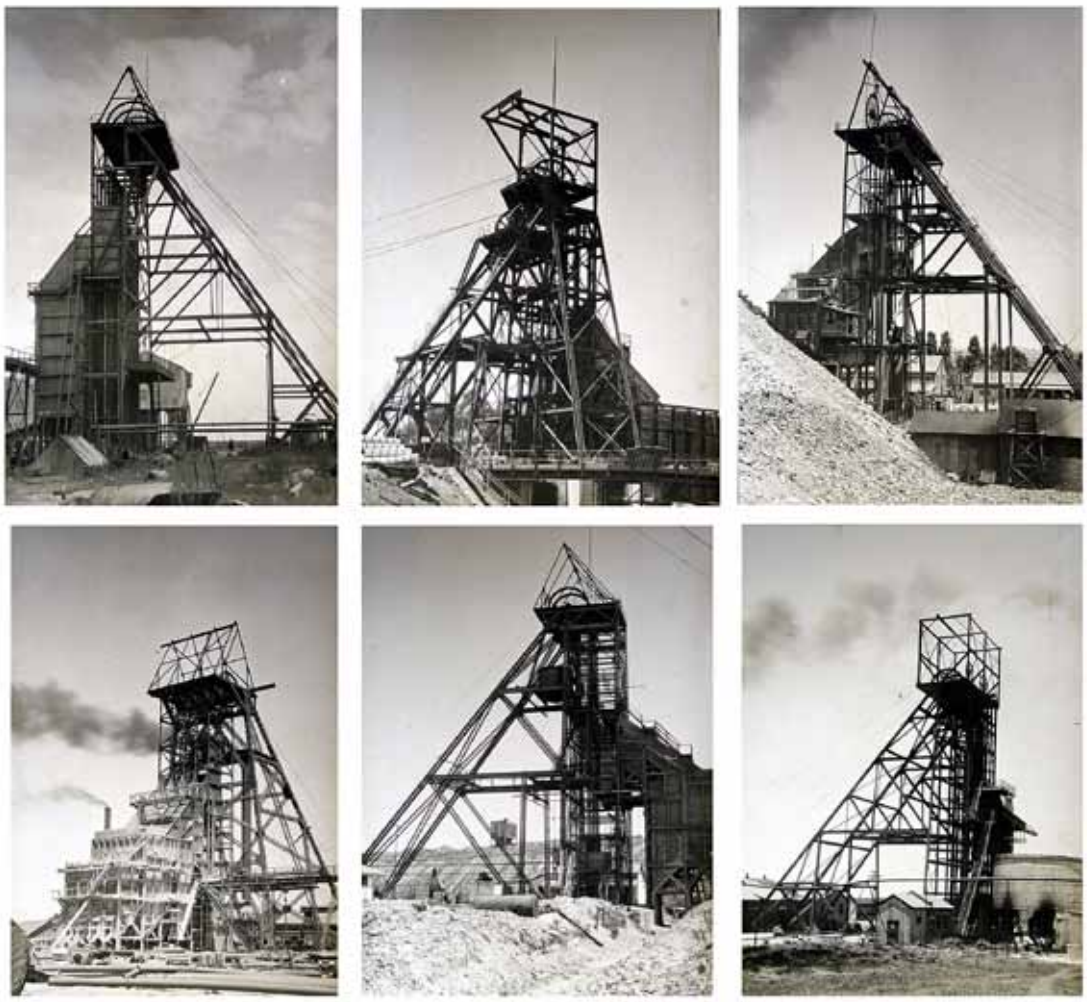

Figure 1
Head, Wrightson and Co (SA) Ltd, Steel Headgears and Ore Bins, from the Barlow Rand Archive in South Africa. From top left to bottom right:
1 Apex Benoni GM Com, 2 Brakpan Mines, No 3 Shaft, 3 Government GM areas Ltd, No 3 Shaft, 4 Consolidated Langlaagte Mines Ltd, East Shaft, 5 Consolidated Main Reef GM co, No 4 Shaft, 6 Springs Mine Ltd, No 4 shaft
With kind permission of Barlow Rand Archive.

Johannesburg's industrial ruins

The ruin and the derelict building are similar in many respects, yet they are perceived differently. Key to this perception, Gilda Williams points out, is how the ruin calls for preservation while the

derelict building calls for demolition (Williams 2011: 94). Neither function as viable structures within the urban fabric. The former is associated with romantic notions of a glorious past, and of slow reclamation by nature, and above all, beauty. The latter is allied to vagrancy, homelessness, detritus, and excrement, and is frequently considered ugly. As empty husks they are perceived in contradictory ways. But, it is their very emptiness that is attractive, alluring, romantic. When we look at old buildings we do not merely see them as neutral objects, we invest our looking with imagination, creating in our mind, an alternative conceptual vision while simultaneously being mindful of what is there.

Since its beginnings Johannesburg has had an aversion to old buildings preferring to demolish or implode its old structures only to rebuild new ones in the latest style. Rarely in Johannesburg are buildings left to the dignity of gradual decay. By contrast, the manufactured pseudo ruins of Monte Casino in the north of Johannesburg represent a further contradiction - we eschew the old and derelict yet construct new buildings that emulate them. In Newtown a litany of plans for the redevelopment of Newtown appeared and reappeared in rapid succession. Almost thirty schemes existed for the renewal of its old Turbine Hall and Boiler Houses. Among the proposals were shopping malls, a health and racquet club, cinemas, and the relocation of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, a clothing chain called Edgars and a headquarters for AngloGold Ashanti. Despite all this interest, Newtown confounded city planners over this time, and none of the schemes actually managed to get beyond the proposal stage (Gaule 2005). By the same token, Bankside power station in London stood empty for two decades before it was transformed into Tate Modern, in 2000 (Williams 2011: 94). In the case of the Johannesburg Gas Works, new economically viable uses for the buildings are being sought by heritage initiatives. But, in Johannesburg, an obsession with newness has countered desires to preserve its older structures.

The Johannesburg Gas Works

The Johannesburg Gas Works is an iconic building and is one of the few remaining industrial buildings in the city. Remnants of the mining industry, including the mine dumps themselves, have virtually disappeared from the landscape of the Witwatersrand. But the Gas Works remains a visible part of the city: visible yet inaccessible since entry is prohibited. When the opportunity arose to photograph it for the heritage architects Laüferts and Mazvingudze careful consideration had to be given to how it was captured. When it was decommissioned the preservation of key elements of its workings were retained, with the idea of using these fragments to explain the process of gas production at a later stage. Photographs seemed an apt form for depicting the structure since they are by their nature fragments, and also complemented some of the ideas put forward in Brian Dillon's argument, mentioned earlier. With this in mind heritage architects, Laüferts and Mazvingudze sought to create a Gas Works museum on the site that would show early industrial processes no longer extant and of methods of gas production that are in danger of being forgotten. The photography of ruins and the Becher's oeuvre were important precedents. But above all, the photographer sought to create images that would meaningfully portray the structure and what it stood for. Photographing it meant connecting theoretical issues of photography of ruins, referred to in the preceding part of this paper, and practical aspects of photography that the author faced. In this particular building the two issues would meet.

The building itself speaks to many of the debates discussed earlier in this paper: how the buildings stand for a now obsolete past, how they could be adapted for a new purpose; how the scale, structure and form of buildings were built in the functional tradition, designed for the purpose of housing machinery which was itself shaped by uses dictated by industry rather than

the creative inspiration of an architect; and lastly, how the buildings hover between dereliction and ruins. Moreover, the increasing dominance of sustainable energies/buildings/ practices offer opportunities for imaginative rethinking and reuse of extant structures. Economic constraints themselves form the foundation for innovation.

Gas was first produced in Johannesburg in Newtown in 1892, in the complex of buildings in President Street that generated electricity and gas. When demand for gas outstripped supply a new building was erected in Cottesloe that began operating in December, 1928, the year Johannesburg acquired city status. Over the decades, additional retort houses were constructed on the site, their dates, 1948, and 1952, still visible upon their facades. Production ceased in 1992 when the retorts had to be shut down because of intense heat, and blockage of the pipes that caused the gas to leak out of the windows. From that time on, only its massive cylindrical gas tanks, that silently rise and fall as demand and supply dictate, continued to be used on the site. From that time on, no capital was invested in the buildings. Since then a number of proposals for their renewal have been put forward. An objective of one of the proposed renewal programmes was to increase public awareness of the significance of these buildings, to draw attention to their industrial beauty, the detailing of their bricks, and their former utilitarian purpose.

The Cottesloe Gas Works in Johannesburg is an emblematic building. Visible from Bunting and Solomon streets the building is by-passed daily by thousands of commuters. Few photographs of it exist. On the perimeter the words, "Danger, No Entry, Keep Out", are emblazoned on the walls warning us that the site and the buildings are unsound. Yet, for architects and artists alike, its sculptural quality, the textures of its materials, and its quiet unpretentious brickwork, offer a space of imagination or reimagining; a place of opportunity.

Although the buildings are visible from the road, remarkably few people have had the opportunity to see beyond the confines of the perimeter wall. Fewer still have been inside its vast industrial spaces. Photographing the site was an opportunity to explore what had previously been occluded, and also to think about how photography could act as a commentary on its changing use and economic decline. Pigeons flew through the empty shells, the weeds grew up, and only the swishing sound of gas passing through its pipes could be heard in its halls. These sounds, and above all, the silence were to be suggested in the photographs. In addition, the author hoped to convey something of the experiential quality that walking through these multi volume spaces gave. By photographing in the rain and on cloudy, misty, foggy days, as well as in sun, an ethereal aspect of gas could be suggested (see for example figures 2 and 3).

A property of enduring photography is to sensitise us visually to things that we only glance at. Photographs can only offer a fragment, a partial view, and as such, cannot convey everything about a building. This is its strength. With a partial view, there is the possibility to see more. The photographs are intended to reflect the buildings' previous vital economic and social purpose, and to offer the spectator alternative views, presenting a *space for imagination*. Industrial architecture, with its insistence on functionalism, offers the photographer of architecture an opportunity to compose and order its elements in ways that evokes both aesthetics and function (see for example figures 4 and 5). A building such as the Johannesburg Gas Works offers this precisely because the building is no longer useful, and as such the images do not have to promote the work of its architects and designers, as is the case with much contemporary architectural photography.

Figure 2
Gas Works 2011.

Figure 3
Gasworks Interior, 2011.

Figure 4
Interior, Gas Works 2011.

Figure 5
Gas Works from Solomon Street 2011.

Although mindful of the Becher's pictures of gas tanks, alternatives to their approach had to be sought. The scale of the gas tanks makes them, along with the buildings themselves, a landmark in the area. As JM Richards (1958: 20) remarks, "one of the most important effects aesthetically of the industrial revolution was the introduction into the landscape of structures which had nothing to do with the human scale, but reflected rather, the superhuman nature of the new industrial activities". Consequently, the scale of the structures and the sublime quality of surfaces were a key component of the photography. By placing the camera within relative proximity of the tanks and having it fill the frame, the scale of these structures could be emphasized (see for example, figure 6). In addition, the green and yellow boxes in the foreground of figure 7 are old gas meters, themselves part of a now obsolete technology and economy, whose inclusion in the image was an attempt to make visible this issue. Photography was used, not simply as a tool to illustrate the buildings, but to offer musings on the interplay between architecture and time.

Figure 6
Gas Tanks 2011.

Figure 7
Gas Tank with old gas meters 2011.

The ruins of modernity

What is striking about photography's early decades is how few contemporary buildings were photographed (Elwall 2004: 10). It was only in the 20th century that modern buildings began to attract photographers as subject matter. As the Pictorialism of the 1920s gave way to the New Objectivity of the 1930s attempts to define photography's standpoint as separate and at variance with painting got underway. Photography's concerns at this time began to coincide with contemporary architecture's insistence on directness of expression and truth to materials (Ibid 120). A straightforward approach was adopted by these photographers who sought to highlight shape, structure and geometry of form that matched the crisp clear lines of the architecture of the time. See for example the photographs of Lázló Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) and Albert Renger- Patzsch (1897-1966) who brought a sharply focused documentary quality to the depiction of the built environment. Abstract images mirrored the architectural design of the period. Such images are attributable not only to the rise of smaller easier to use cameras, but also to architecture's preference for smooth industrial materials such as glass, steel, concrete and marble, and, above all, of designs that were "resolutely aloof from the landscape" notes Robert Elwall (2004: 124). Indeed the absence of context in much architectural photography of the 20th century would seem to be attributable to architectures insistence on the tabula rasa. These images, produced in the service of publicising modern architecture are now considered the acme of architectural photography. Moreover, by perpetuating and reproducing the same images over and over again, the perception accorded was that the buildings themselves appeared not to have aged. Consequently they seem eternally timeless and perfect. The photographs preserved an image of modernity untouched by time. Julius Shulman's (1910-2009) (2007: 8) images are an example; the night time shot of Pierre Koenig's Stahl House (1960) apparently being the most reproduced architectural photograph in the world.

Time and timelessness

What images of ruins subtly point to is the notion of the photographic trace - traces of life, the grime from wear and damage from use and misuse that denote human presence, and the marks made over time. The ruin in early photography is testament to time, while in photography of the modern era the absence of time is a feature of the photograph. Rents on the surface of buildings are testament to the accretions of time. Like monuments themselves, photographs bear the traces of age: they are fragile and perishable, and this is part of their aura. Aura lies not only in the visible effects of age of the building, but also in the materiality of the print itself, which may change over time. The silver in the print rises to the surface, it cracks, it fades, and marks from fixer and casts made from exposure to light may be evident on the surface. This too is an aesthetic of photography.

In his essay "Short Shadows", Walter Benjamin (1999: 701) contrasts the traces left on possessions by the individual living in the 19th century, to their absence in modern architecture of the 20th century.

> "…living in these plush compartments was nothing more than leaving traces made by habits, ….for there is no spot on which the owner has not left his mark—the ornaments on the mantelpiece, the monogrammed antimacassars on the armchairs, the transparencies in the windows, the screen in the front of the fire…. This is what has now been achieved by the new architects, with their glass and steel: they have created rooms in which it is hard to leave traces".

Benjamin associates the absence of the trace in the modern era with sanitised materials and a concomitant poverty of experience, as he states:

> "Glass has no aura; it is a hard, smooth material to which nothing can be fixed. A cold and sober material into the bargain. Glass is, in general, the enemy of secrets. It is also the enemy of possession. Do people like Scheerbart (author of Glass Architecture) dream of glass buildings because they are the spokesmen of a new poverty?" (ibid 734).

In actuality these materials do age. Steel rusts, glass cracks, its joints discolour, it streaks and stains, it loses its transparency, and concrete is subject to water marks. However, the effect of this is not aesthetic, or rather, it is not an aesthetic we value. As time passes, a rift has opened up between the images of perfection perpetuated by the modern photograph, and the reality of stained, weathered surfaces, and structural defects to which these buildings were subject (Elwall 2004: 124). Is this the reason, perhaps, why we fail to value old modernist buildings in Johannesburg? It is to this question that this paper now turns.

Volkskas Bank

Johannesburg is home to many significant modernist buildings, and the city boasts many fine examples of the period of modernity, but few of these demonstrate any real engagement with particular local conditions. The South African architect, Gabriel Fagan (b 1925) was one architect whose work arose out of a responsiveness to local conditions and therefore sets it apart from mainstream modernist architecture in Johannesburg. Pretoria University's architecture programme where the young Fagan qualified, championed European-style modernism coupled with an awareness for local materials and, as Roger Fisher observes, it fostered, 'a will to achieve a distinct cultural identity in all its manifestations' (1998:126). After graduating, he worked for Volkskas Bank, during which time he designed a number of buildings for their branches, including Belfast Bank, 1954, Hartwater Bank, 1959 and Roodepoort Bank 1959.

The Volkskas Bank building in Roodepoort was an iconic building, and its structure and style arose out of a direct response to the regional styles that the architect saw and admired in rural areas such as the Karoo. Moreover, few if any studies have been undertaken about the fate of his bank buildings since Volkskas was bought out by Absa in 1997. The opportunity arose when the author interviewed him in December 2010 in Cape Town, when he made mention of the Roodepoort Bank building.

On the corner of Van Wyk Street in Roodepoort stands the former Roodepoort branch of Volkskas Bank[10], designed by Gabriel Fagan (b 1925) and completed in 1959. Its sleek glass structure formed a landmark in the city. Its glass façade became symbolic of the 'transparency' that Volkskas hoped to promote. At the time of its completion it embodied Johannesburg's sense of modernity and progress and represented the modernity of the Highveld. At the time, the city fathers were keen to establish an identity for the city of Roodepoort which was only to acquire city status in 1977, and with it relative autonomy from Johannesburg, situated only 15 kilometers away. Gabriel Fagan's bank was one prime result. After 1991 however, the fortunes of Volkskas declined, and the bank was taken over by Absa, which found no need for a branch in Roodepoort and hence the building was sold to a general dealer. In 2002 Mr. Mahomed Suliman bought it from Absa. Apparently he offered the bank R450 000.00 prior to the public auction, which they refused. Sometime later that year, when it went up for public auction, Mr Suliman was the only person to bid for it. He paid R79 000.00. As the previous owner had used it as a grocery store, and had stocked the entire building, including its glass staircase, with perishable goods, rats became a problem, so that when it went to auction it was a rat infested building. Mr. Suliman indicated that this may have been the reason no one else appeared to bid for it. He spent months cleaning it and removed all the goods left behind by the previous tenant.[11] It is now let in sections, a cell phone shop at the former entrance to the bank, a general dealer where the ground floor banking hall used to be. The upstairs offices, accessible from the glass spiral staircase, have been subdivided into living spaces (rooms) with communal toilets. Inside the general dealers they sell generators, clothing, shoes, suitcases, curtains, umbrellas, hi fi's wigs and televisions. It is run by a Chinese family who have a satellite link to Chinese TV.

Archival photographs in the holdings of Absa Bank show the building in a pristine state, (figure 8), depicting few trees, cars, and people. The image the building conveys in the photograph is not only of impeccability, but an image unobstructed by signage, people and traffic. A visit to the site in December 2010 to see the building came as something of a shock. The photographs that I took during 2010/11 show a very different picture, not quite a ruin perhaps, but a ruined building. Corrugated iron shutters and security gates now secure the entrances, MTN cellphone signage adorns the façade, and newly constructed walls can be seen through the glass façade, once so prized as a clear skin that sparkled in the highveld light (figure 9, and figure 10). Adhesive tinting on the north and south façades has mottled, and the constant cleaning that glass requires no longer occurs[12] (compare figures 11 and 12). Washing is now strung across the glass staircase that once gave access to the manager's office (compare figures 13 and 14). The architect's intentions once embodied in the ideal image of the building and depicted in the photographic archive, now gives way to an image of adaptations, new circumstances, and uses, unimagined by the architect, and unpredictable when the building was originally designed.

Timelessness is a characteristic that is valued, above all in architecture, signifying both the building's ability to endure over time and of an unchanging quality that would liken it to a monument. Yet the reality is usually quite different. Buildings do change, so clearly demonstrated by the Volkskas building. As Aldo Rossi once observed about his own Northern Italian locale, "there are large palaces, building complexes, or agglomerations that constitute

whole pieces of the city and whose function now is no longer the original one. When one visits a monument of this type…one is struck by multiplicity of different functions that a building of this type can contain over time and how these functions are completely independent of form" (in Hollis 2010: 9).

Figure 8
Roodepoort Branch, courtesy of Absa Bank Archives.

Figure 9
Roodepoort Bank, December 2010.

Figure 10
Roodepoort Bank, South Façade, 2011.

Figure 11
Roodepoort Branch, Reproduced with kind permission of Absa Bank archives.

Figure 12
Roodepoort Bank, North Façade, 2011.

Figure 13
Branch Roodepoort, reproduced with kind permission of Absa Archives.

Figure 14
Roodepoort Bank, December 2010.

Even though the Volkskas building is no longer in pristine condition, and may not be valued as an architectural masterpiece by its inhabitants, what is noteworthy is how it has lent itself to being adapted to present circumstances. Although its materials may not have been maintained in the way that the architect envisaged, the design has endured, lending itself to adaptations that bear testimony to the changing needs of its users. Despite the renovations that have taken place, some of the building's original use and function are still evident. The columns in the banking hall permeate the space of the general dealer, a walk-in safe is used to secure valuables, and above all, its modernist aesthetic is a marker of time. In contemporary photographs the opportunity exists to depict an expanded temporal field. The building's past is still clearly visible in the present not as a time capsule, but rather as duration. The photograph is not timeless, but rather 'timefilled'[13].

Conclusion

In the photography of architecture, there is, as Richard Pare (1982: 12) puts it,

> "An intention of space …portrayed through the intention of time. The photographer seeks to reveal aspects of space through his understanding of the effects of time. Time past, in the cumulative age of the building, time present in the photographer's moment, and time future in our present, all are interwoven, becoming an inseparable unit in the perception of each image".

The issue of time in photography is a complex one: and arguments about how time is perceived in photography is one that contemporary photographers are attempting to problematise. Indeed the

experience of photography not just as a point in time, but as duration forms a significant aspect of contemporary photography. Although much photography has celebrated the momentary impulse, most notably perhaps in the work of photojournalism, mentioned earlier, now it would seem, photography attempts to subvert the momentariness of photographic representation.

In the case study of the Johannesburg Gas Works Geoff Dyer's statement about the ruin as a 'forcefield' is evoked, since it is here that time has stood ground. The building stands as a monument to the industrial age, obsolete in its present form, yet awaiting an imaginative proposal to find a new use for the structure. The Roodepoort Bank on the other hand shows the converse: its adaptations have eschewed the original purpose of the building. Although its modernist beginnings have been overshadowed by subsequent changes to the building, it endures in a way that the Gas Works has not, because it was adaptable to the changing needs of its new owner. The challenge of documenting these structures was to depict meaningfully a sense of both time past and time present in these pictures, and also to yield elements of their former beauty, which have been somewhat overlooked over time.

Nearly all photography contains an element of time travel. In our mind we remember what was there and simultaneously view the scene or building from our present perspective. The ruined building itself is a metaphor for time, and offers the photographer a subject in which the passing of time is made manifest. In the case of architecture, the alluring visible effects of time may be read on the surfaces of buildings while changing economic and cultural forces, aesthetics, and functions of buildings are mute testimony to the passing of time. The power of photography in depicting the built environment is such that it is a window onto the past that may offer a polemical reading both of the architecture and photography.

Notes

1 A phrase coined by Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida, Reflections on Photography* Fontana Paperbacks: London 1984: 85.

2 They called it the 'highrise ghetto',.. juxtapoz. com. Evan Pricco: ponte city, jhb, Friday 8 dec, 2011, http://www.subotzkystudio.com/accessed 20.6.12.

3 Perhaps today we are more difficult to impress, as André Jammes points out, 'Our modern eyes have become so used to the photographic image that we find it difficult to imagine the astonishment and incredulity of the first subscribers to the Pencil of Nature'. See Jammes, A (1972). William H. Fox Talbot: 12.

4 See Roger Fenton, *Photographer of the Crimean War,* Secker and Warburg: London, 1954.

5 Significantly, these images by Fenton are considered be among the first photographs of war, taken at a moment when armed conflict was changing, and the Crimean war particularly was considered 'the last of the old wars, by some, and the first of the modern wars by others'. See, Roger Fenton, 1954, 3. Likewise, Ristelhueber's *Aftermath*, also records images made of the effects of another shift in conflict: that of a war managed largely by technology and smart bombs. See Ian Walker, 'Desert Stories or Faith in Facts', in Martin Lister (1995) (Ed) *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture,* Routledge: London and New York: 236-252.

6 Thomas Struth, Candida Höfer, Andreas Gursky, are among the most celebrated photographers working in this field. All studied under the Becher's at the Dusseldorf Academy.

7 Unfortunately permission to reproduce the Becher's images for this paper was not granted. However, the reader is directed to look at images from their publication, Becher, B and H. (1985). *Forderturme, Chevalements, Mineheads*. Essen: Museum Folkwang.

8 Susanne Lange notes that they searched industrial archives in the Rurh and Siegerland looking for commonalities and differences to their own intended programme, 2004, 17.

9 See for example, Sugimoto's Seascapes.

10 Volkskas Bank was launched in April 1934 as a co-operative to serve the Afrikaner community who were experiencing difficulty in obtaining credit from established banks. In 1940 it became a fully fledged commercial bank and by 1950 had 100 branch agencies and a forex division with shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. It became part of Absa Bank in 1991. Absa Museum, Johannesburg.

11 Sally Gaule and Mahomed Suliman, personal communication.

12 The issue of constant maintenance and cleaning that modernist buildings require is made evident in Jeff Wall's photograph, 'Morning Cleaning', (1999) see Michael Newman, 2007.

13 Douglas Huebler refers to this in his 1977 'Statement', arguing that "the most compelling images produced by 'modern art' are those which are 'timefilled' rather than 'timeless'", in Campany 2003: 248.

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Cultural landscapes as a model for natural and human systems integration

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Cultural landscapes are dynamic systems and expressions of the interaction between the industrial and cultural activities of societies with the physical world. Historic societies that developed independently from fossil fuel driven industry, had less impact on the natural environment. As a matter of course past cultural landscapes involved greater dialogue between nature, human modifications, and the value given by humans to the landscape. This nurtured a symbiotic relationship between human and natural systems. Today remnants of these previous cultural landscapes are degraded and threatened by urban development. With looming predictions of exponential urbanization in African cities in the near future, the research explored how a degraded cultural landscape can be re-engaged with the physical world to establish social and ecological health through landscape design. A forgotten and distressed cultural landscape situated in Pretoria West was chosen. This site is the former leprosy colony called Fort West, which through the study revealed a rich history of identity and significance. The aim was to develop a design methodology for the regeneration seeking to bring together the site's cultural, natural and economic 'capital' or latent potential. The integration of these three capitals into a well functioning anthropogenic system was proposed in two ways: through applying principles of ecological design; and by raising levels of awareness and knowledge in the community. The hypothetical design indicates that re-connecting systems is indeed possible but engaging with past and current narratives of meaning is central to re-establishing the lost dialogue between the landscape and human values.
Key words: cultural landscapes, ecological design, landscape architecture, Fort West, leprosy

Paisajes culturales como modelos de integración humano-ambiental
Los paisajes culturales representan sistemas dinámicos y expresiones de la interacción entre las actividades industriales y culturales de las sociedades con su medio ambiente. Las culturas que en el pasado se desarrollaron sin depender del petróleo y de su implicancia en la industria, han tenido consecuentemente menor impacto en el medio natural. En su desarrollo estos paisajes culturales del pasado gozaron de un mayor diálogo entre la naturaleza, las transformaciones humanas, y el valor dado por la gente a estos paisajes. Estos hechos promovieron una relación simbiótica entre el hombre y la naturaleza. Hoy en día, los restos de estos paisajes culturales pasados se presentan degradados, acosados y en riesgo por el desarrollo urbano. Teniendo en cuenta el pronóstico de crecimiento demográfico extraordinario predecido para las ciudades Africanas en el futuro inmediato, la presente investigación se enfoca en como un paisaje cultural degradado puede ser reconsiderado en el medio físico para así promover el bienestar social y ecológico a través del diseño del paisaje. Para el caso en cuestión, un paisaje cultural localizado en Pretoria West ha sido elegido. El lugar es la original colonia de leprosos llamada Fort West, que en su estudio reveló una rica histórica de identidad y significado. El objetivo se centró en desarrollar una metodología que congregue el potencial cultural, natural y económico del sitio. La integración de estos tres potenciales en un sistema funcional antropogénico fue propuesta de dos maneras: aplicando principios del diseño ecológico; e incrementando la conciencia colectiva y el conocimiento por parte de la comunidad. La propuesta hipotética indica que reconectar estos sistemas es de hecho posible, pero que comprometerse con el pasado y con las posturas de hoy en día es fundamental para restablecer el diálogo entre el paisaje y los valores humanos.
Palabras claves: Paisaje cultural, diseño ecológico, arquitectura del paisaje, Fort West, lepra

Over the centuries man has used signs that have varied, from pyramids, to the construction of mighty cathedrals, from citadels and castles to palaces and cities with their defensive walls. From the earliest times, man has confronted nature with these signs, to define

his place, to create community, to establish an order that makes 'world' into something he can understand (Boberg, 2004: 7).

However, in the past these defined places created by man, were always small in comparison with nature or the 'natural' land around it. In recent times this has been reversed (Boberg, 2004:7). The World Wildlife Foundation's (2012) Living Planet Report, reveals that human activities are putting such strain on the environment that the planetary systems required to sustain life on earth (i.e. clean air and water) can no longer be taken for granted as they have been for centuries. The disastrous consequences of human activities are being witnessed around the world (Twill, Batker, Cowan, & Chappel, 2011: 6). The paradox of our modern age is that at the same time as natural resources are disappearing, our demand for them is increasing due to our numbers. The consequence of living beyond the planet's means is that the physical environment is being run-down. The well-being and development of all nations are at risk, with the biggest impact being felt by the world's poorest people who rely most directly on this resource to survive (Twill *et al.*, 2011: 6). Human cultural activities and natural processes are the two main forces that have shaped the landscape as we see it today. It is these same human activities that have played a critical role in the decline of natural environments around the globe. Therefore, the challenge today is to curb this environmental decline by once again connecting people with natural systems through design in the built environment. However, cities are huge contributors to the ecological footprint of all nations. In Africa, populations are rapidly becoming increasingly urbanized. It is predicted that by 2050 Africa will have a higher number of people living in cities than Europe, Latin America or North America (WWF & AfDB, 2012). Furthermore according to the UN Habitat 2003 in sub-Sahara Africa about 190 million people are living in informal dwellings, this being the highest proportion in the world at the time (Martin & Mathema, 2010: 3). This raises intimidating questions on how an improved physical environment for all will be achieved.

In the opening years of the twenty-first century there has been a raised awareness on sustainable practice due to environmental decline that is scientifically linked to bad design practice (Corner, 2006: 23). Yet as we enter into this new age of the need for sustainable living, we may begin to shift our understanding of the built environment from something that the natural world has to be protected from, to seeing it as humanity's greatest tool by which to restore the world (Twill *et al.*, 2011: 7). Research have shown that urban dwellers who do not have contact with nature early in life and regularly are less likely to have motivations towards stewardship of the environment, for this reason it is essential that places where people live and work provide for this contact (Barthel, Folke &Colding, 2010: 263). This in turn has led to the seemingly old-fashioned term 'landscape' curiously coming back into vogue. Perhaps it is through new approaches to the design of these 'landscapes' in our cities that the built environment can be transformed from a source of environmental and social stress to a restorative fabric that can support a more resilient physical world. Landscape architecture is a design discipline concerned with the design, planning and management of (urban) open space and is in the position to facilitate this process of change.

Cultural landscapes

Pre-industrial societies developed within the constraints and opportunities of their natural environments. This harmonic relationship between man and nature resulted in the development of places which historians termed "cultural landscapes". The concept of cultural landscapes has over the years emerged as a significant way of looking at historic places that do not focus on

monuments but rather on the relationship between human activity and the natural environment (Breedlove, 2002: 162).

In 1992 the World Heritage Centre (WHC, 2011) defined cultural landscapes as follows:

> Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the 'combined works of nature and of man'. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.

O'Hare (1997: 47) offers his own definition for cultural landscapes by stating that:

> The cultural landscape consists of a dialogue between the natural physical setting, the human modifications to that setting, and the meanings of the resulting landscape to insiders and outsiders. The continuous interaction between these three elements takes place over time, (in a continuous state of becoming). The concept of 'cultural landscape' therefore embodies a dynamic understanding of history, in which the past, present and future are seamlessly connected.

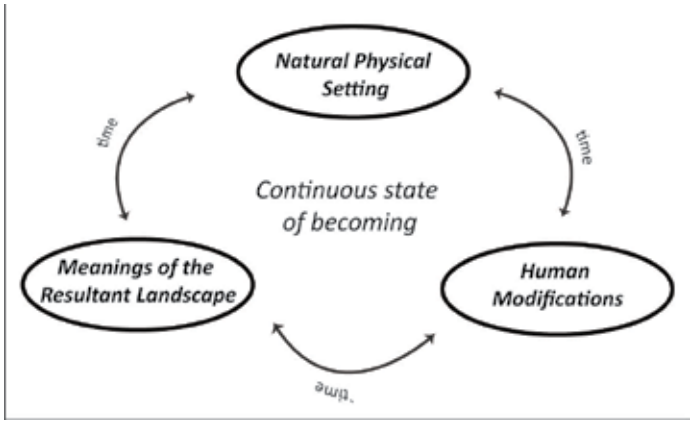

Figure 1
Illustrating O'Hare's definition of cultural landscapes (illustration: Grunewald, 2012).

While, individual definitions vary, their direction focuses consistently on the inter-relatedness between human society and the natural environment (figure 1). This reveals the important ecological functions and social values that can be found in cultural landscapes. The reviving of these functions and values is particularly valuable in curbing environmental decline in our urban environments. Fisher (1993: 31) in his research on architectural style, points out that artefacts (which can include architecture or landscape design), are encoded with values and meanings of a specific time and place and therefore they have the power to transmit past meanings into the present. This paper argues that the importance of cultural landscapes lies in their abilities to connect people with natural systems in urban environments through the encoded meanings and values embedded in and exhibited through them as artefacts.

However, many of these past cultural landscapes are under threat of being destroyed by the practices of modern society. As a result of this threat and through the growing concern about the state of the planet, the ecological functions and social values of cultural landscapes have been brought to the fore (Farina, 2000: 313). Through the acknowledgement of the physical worth and cultural values attached to cultural landscapes an approach has been developed where we can use these qualities as a basis for the development and regeneration of current and future landscapes.

This paper will explore the possibilities and potential of how a degraded cultural landscape can be regenerated to establish social and ecological health through landscape design. A forgotten and distressed cultural landscape called Fort West, situated in Pretoria West, served as a case study for the research. The research, historic and theoretical findings will be discussed. The aim was however to develop a design methodology for the regeneration seeking to bring together the site's latent potential and to explore the practical implication of these guidelines in a theoretical landscape application. The outcome was an open space framework, master plan and sketch plan design proposal for Fort West that will be briefly touched on to illustrate the implementation of this methodology.

Fort West – leprosy in South Africa

Fort West is a historic settlement that is situated at the foot of the Witwatersberg Ridge, near Danville in Pretoria West. It was formerly known as the Pretoria Leper Asylum, Daspoort Hospital, Westfort Leper Institution or simply Westfort. As a point of departure historic research of Fort West, as well as of leprosy in South Africa, were done in order to gain a better understanding of the social, economic and cultural forces that shaped the development and demise of this cultural landscape.

Throughout its history, leprosy has been a feared and misunderstood disease. According to Stanford University's History of Leprosy (2009), leprosy was thought for a long time to be hereditary, a curse, or a punishment from God. Leprosy patients were stigmatized and shunned by society before and even after the discovery of its biological cause in 1873. During the Middle Ages leprosy sufferers in Europe, had to wear special clothing, ring bells to warn others that they were close (figure 2), and even walk on a particular side of the road, depending on the direction of the wind due to the fear of this misunderstood disease (History of Leprosy, 2009). Even in South Africa there were accounts of people inflicted with leprosy having to suffer the cruelty of society, as demonstrated by this quote from Le Roux (1953: 10): "A woman and two children afflicted with leprosy were conveyed in a scotch cart through the streets of Pretoria yesterday. Many spectators viewed the gruesome sight."

Figure 2
A 14th Century manuscript depicting a leper with his warning bell
(image from Richards, 2000: 52).

Leprosy, also known as Hansen's disease, is a chronic, infectious disease involving the skin and nerves of individuals. In the past, nerve damage and other complications occurred as the disease progressed, this resulted in numbness and lack of feeling in the limbs which often led to

festering wounds on the hands and feet of patients, and then to the characteristic deformities of the face and limbs (ILEP, 2009). The discovery of the leprosy bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae* by the Norwegian Gerhard Henrik Armauer Hansen in 1873 was the first strong evidence to support the theory that leprosy had a contagious or infectious origin (Horwitz 2006: 275). In South Africa this led to the belief that strict control and segregation were the only means that would lead to a halting of new infections and thus the eventual eradication of the disease. As such in 1897 the Leprosy Segregation Law was signed into effect.

While the details of isolation varied over time, those living with leprosy in South Africa were by law strictly and forcefully segregated from the outside world into what became known as leprosy institutions or colonies. In many communities this led to an already terrible and unwarranted stigma towards those affected and their families, to escalate, causing them to be shunned and even further excluded from everyday life, in order to prevent the spread of the disease (Lawson 1957: 12). The people sent to these institutions lived, ate, worked and very often died and were buried in the confines of the institution grounds (Horwitz 2006: 271-75).

Figure 3
A view of the patient accommodation at Fort West
(photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

In 1898, the Kruger government opened the institution that was to become known as Westfort Hospital (figure 3). Westfort was just one of many leprosy institutions established in South Africa; however it was one of only two multiracial leprosaria in the country. According to Horwitz (2006) with the closure of the leprosy wards on Robben Island in 1931, Westfort remained as the only multiracial leprosarium. The physical construction of Westfort, the fence, guard towers, location and prison comparisons were symbolic of more than just the treatment of patients at Westfort. They highlight one of the themes that have run through the history of leprosy treatment and control – isolation and segregation (Horwitz 2006: 74-80).

In 1913 the Public Health Act 36, declared leprosy a notifiable disease throughout South Africa. This Act made further attempts to set up uniformed methods of dealing with the disease. As a notifiable disease, compulsory institutional segregation could be enforced for life. Teams were set up to round up leprosy patients (Horwitz 2006: 276). Therefore, it seems that life-long segregation was a public health measure and not essentially for the treatment of the patient, which was seen as secondary (Horwitz 2006: 276). This ultimately resulted in a social ignorance that had taken the word “leper” and twisted it, so that no longer did it simply mean a person suffering from a disease called leprosy, but had come to be descriptive of anything that is foul, or horrible, or unclean, or to be avoided (Lawson 1957: 71).

The first effective treatment for leprosy only appeared later, in the 1950s, with the introduction of Dapsone and its derivatives. These were exciting times for leprosy patients

around the globe resulting in some patients being released after rigorous testing. However, once released many patients found it very difficult to overcome the stigma associated with leprosy within their communities. This proved to be very stressful times in the lives of leprosy patients, resulting in many of the released patients reluctantly returning to the institutions, which were, for some, the only homes they really knew. In his book, *No More Unclean!* which relays the story of leprosy patients in Fort West during this time, E.T. Lawson (1957) describes one such situation: A lady suffering from leprosy since early childhood, is released after 45 years, spent in both Robben Island and Westfort institutions, and was, together with her family the focus of such cruelty in her community that she decided to go back to Westfort. This is the letter she wrote:

> I stand at the gates of Westfort and knock. Let me enter, O you keepers of the gates that I may hide from the peoples of the world. The song that was in my heart is dead, and the sun no longer shines in the heavens. There is a cloud that covers the face of the sun, and where I stand there is a shadow. The name of the cloud is Ignorance, and the name of the shadow is Fear; and Ignorance and Fear begat Cruelty, who drove me back here to knock. Open quickly, you keepers, let me enter, for Cruelty stands close behind me. She has lashed me with the whip that is in her hand; and she has lashed those whom I love because they took me into their house that I might be happy. Now I come back, O Westfort, that I may hide in the shelter of your mighty trees. The world shall see me no longer, and the lash will not fall on my loved ones because I am near. And here with my garden and my memories, and the songs of the birds to comfort me, will I end my days (Lawson, 1957:174).

Owing to the overuse of the drug, the leprosy bacilli became resistant to Dapsone resulting in an ineffective treatment method. It was not until the introduction of multidrug therapy (MDT) in the early 1970s that the disease could be diagnosed and treated successfully within the community (News-medical, 2012). Owing to the realization that though contagious, leprosy is fully treatable and the discovery that most people have a natural immunity to the disease; it was no longer seen as a highly infectious disease. This resulted in the laws governing compulsory segregation of patients in South Africa being revoked in 1977 (Horwitz 2006: 291). Isolation was then seen as an outdated form of control, therefore those affected were no longer institutionalized. Institutionalization for sufferers of leprosy ended in 1997 when Fort West, the last institution specializing in care of people affected by leprosy, was closed.

Fort West - celebrating 114 years

According to Dr. A. van Zyl (1989:75), who was a superintendent of Westfort, a hospital for research into the treatment of smallpox was established in the late 1880s on the outskirts of the city of Pretoria, now known as the City of Tshwane. However, this facility was never used for smallpox; instead it was used as a leprosarium from the time it was completed, due to the need for a place to treat leprosy patients.

The earliest reference to Fort West is in 1888 by the official architect of the ZAR government, Zytse Wierda (1839-1911). In 1896 he designed and, by 1898, erected the "leprozen-inrichting". His guidelines to his staff were that the place should provide "in the most humane way" a pleasant and attractive residence for those "unfortunates" who through an incurable disease would be tied to it as long as they lived. He designed the complex of buildings like a small village (Meiring 1980: 15). It was situated on the outskirts of Pretoria, away from society, surrounded by farmlands and plantations (figure 4).

Figure 4
Aerial photograph of Fort West from 1968 showing how it was situated on the outskirts of Pretoria (source: courtesy of the National Spatial Information Framework, 2012. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform. South Africa).

The first buildings erected consisted of an administration block, clinic and staff accommodation. The structures built during the ZAR period are characteristic of the type of building erected by the Department of Public Works under Wierda: elegantly proportioned, substantially built brick structures with corrugated iron roofs, stone plinths and sandstone detailing. Examples of these are the administration building, the post office, dispensary, two staff residences and South Africa's only octagonal Dutch Reformed Church (1899) (figure 5). Some of the buildings from this period have been finished in stucco, such as the dispensary, certain dormitories for patients and the first hospital buildings (Van Zyl 1989: 75).

Figure 5
Administration (left) and dispensary (right) buildings are characteristic of the type of building erected by the Department of Public Works under Zytse Wierda (photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

In its first year of existence 99 patients were transferred from the Daspoort Hospital, one hundred from Pankop and six from Rietfontein. Initially lay people were appointed to manage the hospital, but in 1900 for the first time a Dr. Von Gernet was appointed on a part-time basis as medical officer in charge (Van Zyl 1989: 75).

In the early 1900s the institution functioned as a totally independent farm and village, complete with shops, post office, police station, jail, churches and school. According to Davison (1953) agricultural land was made available to patients who desired to work the land for their own profit. Schools, staffed by qualified teachers, were provided for child patients. In addition to physical training, which formed an important part of the curriculum, boys were taught gardening and girls sewing and basket-making. He further states that the spiritual needs of the patients were met by the provision of places of worship for the adherents of the Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Swiss Mission and Roman Catholic churches.

By 1902, 328 patients were housed at the institution. At this stage the Pretoria Leprosy Asylum was divided into four compounds, namely; the European section, the Native male and female sections and the Asian section. The first full-time medical superintendent Dr. George Turner was appointed from 1901 to 1906. Remarkable landscape features of the period 1900 - 1918 are the low brick and sandstone walls that enclose a number of wards (figure 6), as well as the water furrow system for the complex. In February 1906 roads, a wall around the institution and other site works, such as the drainage and water furrow systems were completed. By 1917 the following facilities and buildings had been added: an Anglican Church (1914), Roman Catholic Church (1916), carpenter shop, smithy, bookbinding shop, laundry, dairy, orchards, produce farm, recreational facilities such as bioscope, concert hall, and library. Eight watch towers were erected and policed day and night in order to prevent patients from escaping (van Zyl 1989: 76).

Figure 6
Low brick walls dividing housing complexes are characteristic of the Fort West landscape (photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

By 1918, all leprosy patients in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State had been transferred to Westfort. It housed a total of 892 patients. In 1927 the Pretoria Leprosy Asylum was renamed Westfort Leper Institution. After the closure of the leprosy wards on Robben Island in 1931, patients were transferred to Westfort, pushing the patient numbers up to 2000. Under the auspices of the Department of Public Works, a number of substantial face-brick buildings were erected during this period (van Zyl 1989: 75). The most prominent buildings dating back from this time are the kitchen complex, theatre and store. As leprosy was a highly contagious, and at the time, untreatable disease, the original pattern of constructing isolated rooms was followed. A new structural typology was a concrete roofed rondavel, which was an attempt at making native patients from traditional areas feel more at home. This constitutes a vernacular being created for the user to familiarize himself with his surroundings (van Zyl 1989: 76).

Since 1931, as treatment for leprosy became more effective, the number of patients gradually decreased. Some patient and staff accommodation was built after 1931, including hostel accommodation for nurses. In 1979, the patients requested that the word ‘leper’ be removed and it was once again renamed to Westfort Institution (van Zyl 1989: 76).

The Fort West cultural landscape

Throughout Fort West's existence the landscape played an important role in the lives of the patients, which is evident in the account E.T. Lawson (1957: 28-30) who writes:

> Clusters of little cottages where the patients live; gardens, beautiful always – in summer, roses and all the lesser flowers that magnify the beauty of the rose; in winter, sweet-peas, stocks and Iceland poppies; gardens reflecting in their beauty the loving care of those who tend them.

Working the land was seen as both physically and mentally therapeutic. As mentioned previously, patients, if they so wished, could get a piece of agricultural land allocated to them in order that they might produce food for themselves and sell the surplus back to the institution at the store. The gardens surrounding the houses were just as important; grapevines stretched along the front of the little cottages, they had vegetable gardens at the back of their rooms, roses, and other flowers grew in abundance, all this topped off with mighty trees to provide shade (figure 7) (Lawson 1957: 80-100).

Figure 7
Avenue of eucalyptus trees planted along the entrance road to Fort West (photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

The gardens and especially the trees were seen as more for the patients than just a physical beautification; this was something that they prided themselves in, it was an expression of the freedom they no longer had. The site has over the years been heavily planted with exotic trees, especially around the eastern perimeter near the cemetery, e.g. eucalyptus, jacarandas and palms (figure 8). These trees have great significance; more than just being old and part of a cultural landscape; they were and still are an intangible sense of both confinement, as well as freedom.

Figure 8
Exotic jacaranda trees planted on the eastern perimeter of Fort West (photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

Westfort Institution was finally closed down in 1997, after a government investigation found that it was unsuitable for patients. Policy regarding the treatment of leprosy patients had changed. Leprosy had become a treatable disease and it was found that the best treatment for sufferers was to be in their own communities.

Fort West today

Over the years the City of Tshwane has grown exponentially, which has resulted in development extending far to the west. This means that Fort West, which once was considered to be on the outskirts of town, is now located in the western sector of the City of Tshwane.

After its closure in 1997 Fort West was abandoned and left to fall into ruin. Today it houses a new kind of 'colony', inhabitants society sees as outcasts. At present there are approximately 2 000 multi-racial families who have settled here illegally. These informal settlers have one common denominator though, unemployment, which according to Fraser (2007), is estimated at 90%. Phillip Williams (as quoted in Fraser, 2007) finds that there is no electricity, no running water, and no sewerage facilities. He further states that you can have up to nine people living in a small room, sometimes even with people living in what used to be the toilets. The people are living in buildings over 100 years old which are in a serious state of disrepair. These people are the new community of Fort West.

In order to address the immediate needs of the community the Tshwane Metro Municipality has installed five water tanks, which are filled daily and ten Porta-loos. Even though the addition of these amenities slightly improves the lives of the community they are not nearly enough. It was also mentioned that the community has taken ownership of these amenities and therefore keep them clean (interview with van Vuuren 2012).

The current conditions of Fort West are harsh. After many years of neglect, vandalism and greed, buildings have been gutted until just a shell remains. These are in serious need of restoration. In terms of the landscape, fragments of this once self-sustaining community can still be seen today. However, the grandeur gardens are no longer; instead they have been replaced by areas overgrown with weeds. As previously stated, many exotic trees were planted on the site; yet, even these majestic giants are under threat. According to a resident (interview with Breedt 2012), a private company has been appointed, through the Department of Water Affairs - Working for Wetlands, to cut these trees down for wood needed in the mines. Even though these trees are considered invasive exotics none of them are listed under Category 1 of the Conservation of Agricultural Resources Act of 1983 (which requires plants to be removed and destroyed). Although true that invasive exotics can be a threat to biodiversity, mere exotics do not, while they can fulfil valuable environmental and social services. Therefore this action seems harsh and without consideration of the cultural landscape. The National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 classifies "landscapes and natural features of cultural significance" as part of national estate and protects structures older than 60 years and their surrounds that: "are of cultural significance, form landmarks or express specific design intent". Yet there is no historic community to contest the cultural significance or protect the landmarks of Fort West.

Other landscape elements that can still be seen today, and which stand as testimony to the importance of the historical landscape of Fort West, are the water furrows, which formed part of the drainage and stormwater system in days past, the low walls surrounding some complexes, and lastly stone terraces and carved stone steps situated on a northern slope found just below the nurses' quarters.

The changing cultural landscape

Cultural landscapes are an expression of past human attitudes and values. However, many of these cultural landscapes today are under threat of being destroyed by the practices of modern society. As a result of this threat and through the growing concern about the state of the planet a new approach has been developed. This approach developed by Farina (2000: 313-20) uses past values as a basis for the regenerative development of future cultural landscapes. In order to understand Farina's final approach, one must first understand the evolution of cultural landscapes over time – past and present scenarios (figure 9).

In the past, cultural landscapes were created as the result of the interactions between cultural capital, natural capital and economic capital. Cultural capital refers to non-financial social assets, such as the ways of life, forms of knowledge, skills and patterns of consumption that make the places people are associated with distinct. Natural capital is the stock of a particular place's natural resources and ecological systems that provide vital life-support services to its society and all associated living things. Lastly, economic capital deals with how a community can sustain themselves through the diversified use of local resources found on the landscape. Only once this has been achieved does economic capital extend to the possible monetary value that can be gained (Farina 2000: 314-17).

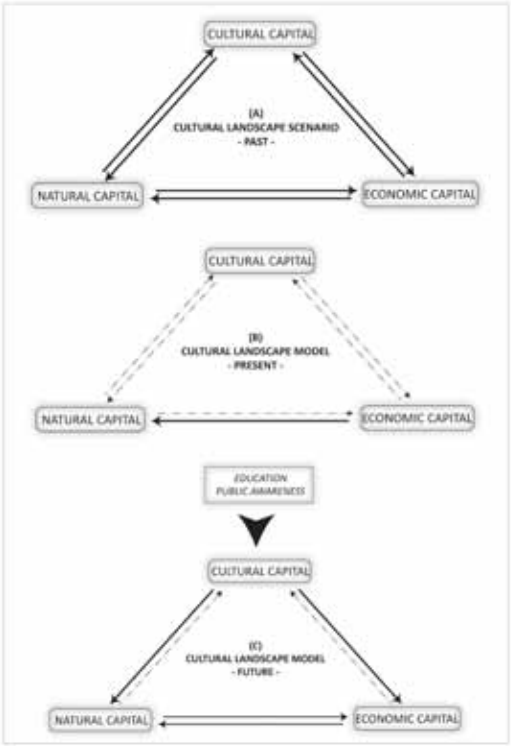

Figure 9
Relationships between natural, cultural and economic capital according to past (A), present (B) and future (C) scenarios. The dashed arrows indicated weak connections (image from Farina, 2000:314).

In the past cultural landscape scenario (see fig 9 diagram A), each type of capital interacted with the other by feedback mechanisms (Farina 2000: 319). These feedback mechanisms nurtured healthy interaction and connections between people and the natural environment. Over the years, due to the changes in the global environment, this past cultural landscape scenario has not been considered important. Owing to this, the abandonment, simplification and destruction of many past cultural landscapes has occurred (Farina 2000: 317). This has resulted in the creation of the present cultural landscape scenario.

The present cultural landscape scenario (figure 9, diagram B) differs from past cultural landscapes in many respects. Present cultural landscapes are dominated by economic capital and only consider natural capital as a source of energy or as a resource. As a result economic decisions are generally not balanced by an equal consideration for ecological processes. Instead they focus on the economic components while largely ignoring the ecological components. This has created landscapes that are ecologically and socially vulnerable (Farina 2000: 319).

Fort West can be used to illustrate these two scenarios. The past cultural landscape of Fort West in the early 1990s functioned as an independent village and farm, which sustained the needs of the resident community (figure 10). The people sustained themselves through the diversified use of local resources found on the landscape, all the while never depleting the stock of natural capital. In contrast, the present landscape of Fort West illustrates diagram B in figure 9. The natural capital, the historic trees for example, are seen as a source of energy or biomass and the environmental and cultural roles they fulfil are not valued (figure 11). The stock of natural capital is left without any sort of ecological considerations or remediation e.g. soil erosion protection (seeding of veld grass) where large clumps of trees have been removed to leave the earth bare and exposed.

Figure 10
Illustrating the past cultural landscape scenario at Fort West where it functioned as an independent village and farm, sustaining the need of the community
(source: courtesy of the Leprosy Mission &Moller, 2012).

Figure 11
Illustrating the present cultural landscape scenario at Fort West where historic tree (natural capital) is been cut down as a source of energy or biomass
(photograph: Grunewald, 2012).

It is this understanding of the evolution of cultural landscapes that led Farina to develop the future cultural landscape model (figure 9, diagram C). In this model Farina argues that the past cultural landscapes scenario can provide a powerful basis for future regenerative development, by understanding the integration and value of nature and culture. In other words, once people are made aware of and understand the unsustainable practices of the present day scenario of development and comprehend the services that the environment provides for human wellbeing, the relationship between the 'capitals' can start to be regenerated. Applying the future cultural landscape model will help reduce the formation of a random landscape mosaic that has a mono-function and has lost its capacity to sustain a healthy society.

In comparison to the present scenario, economic choices in future cultural landscapes are strengthened by a feedback loop that is based on the responses of natural systems. In future cultural landscapes, local conditions determine the mosaic of productive lands at a scale that is many times smaller than in the present cultural landscape scenario of the global economy. Cultural landscapes are based not on massive production but on the production of items in quantities sufficient to satisfy the local market. In that sense local residents are physically reconnected to the landscape that surrounds them, enabling them to also start giving value to that landscape in a spiritual and cultural sense. A true economic balance in the future cultural landscape, therefore considers not only crude income from food products but also the ecological costs and benefits of the processes involved (Farina 2000: 315-16).

However, the application of this model alone (figure 9, diagram C) will not improve social and ecological health. To face the challenges of resource depletion and the abrupt degradation of the quality of human life, it is imperative that the relationships between the three 'capitals' be strengthened. It is through the realization of these relationships between the three 'capitals' that the regenerative development of a site will take place. Therefore, the integration of these

three ‘capitals’ into a well functioning anthropogenic system was proposed in two ways: through applying principles of ecological design; and by raising levels of awareness and knowledge in the community.

Ecological design

Rottle and Yocom (2010: 13-14) explain ecological design as the process of actively shaping the form and functions of complex environments, in such a way that the composition and processes, in these environments, help to increase the integrity of the ecological and social relationships. It aims to improve ecological functioning, preserve and generate resources for human use, and foster a more resilient approach to the design and management of our built environments.

The principles developed by Van der Ryn and Cowan (1996: 51) two decades ago were found to be relevant for this study as blended with recent interpretation from Rottle and Yocom (2010). There are five principles of ecological design that are used to ensure a social and ecological healthy approach to design. They are: 1) Make nature visible, 2) Solution grown from place, 3) Community participation, 4) Design with nature and, 5) Ecological accounting informs design. Simply stated and connected to human action, the design principles of Van der Ryn and Cowan became potential connections to enable the linking of the three ‘capitals’. Implying human action, they can facilitate emotional buy-in that can enable connection to everyday value systems.

As populations become increasingly urbanized, opportunities for people to be in contact with nature become more elusive, thus eroding cultural appreciation of the services nature provides. Taking an ecologically grounded approach to the design of degraded cultural landscapes in urban areas, enables communities to re-form and develop in ways that minimize environmental impact while increasing social equality. It serves people’s needs while connecting people with nature in ways that reveal processes, promote stewardship and benefits both human and natural systems (Rottle & Yocom 2010: 16, 180). As an interactive approach, ecological design thus combines human and natural systems, in order to create resilient landscapes. Therefore, the five ecological design principles should be implemented in a manner that is responsive to both human needs as well as the natural systems operating in the landscape. Ways of achieving this are discussed in the next section.

Landscape design guidelines

The aim of the research can be summarized by the Recommendation concerning the protection, at a national level, of the Cultural and Biophysical Heritage as written and adopted by the UNESCO (1972) General Conference:

> Considering that, in society where living conditions are changed at an accelerated pace, it is essential for man’s equilibrium and development to preserve for him a fitting setting in which to live, where he will remain in contact with nature and the evidences of civilization bequeathed by past generations, and that, to this end, it is appropriate to give the cultural and biophysical heritage an active function in community life and to integrate into an overall policy the achievements of our time, the values of the past and the beauty of nature (UNESCO, 1972).

To enable this, the design of degraded cultural landscapes, should be organized according to an integrated approach that brings together ecological, cultural and economic understanding that relates back to different scales of implication. This integrated approach has been achieved in

Farina's model as discussed in a previous section. However in order to ensure the regenerative development of a site the five ecological design principles (Van der Ryn & Cowan 1996: 51) together with the ICOMOS Ename Charter's (2007) heritage approach (for more detailed discussion of the heritage approach, see Grunewald 2012) have been combined to formulate design guidelines that can connect the different capitals and latent potential found on site.

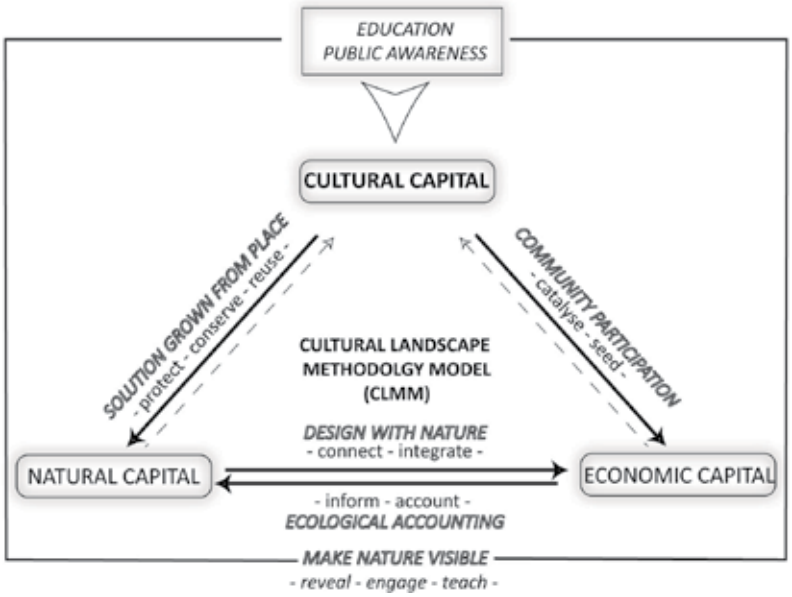

Figure 12
The Cultural Landscape Methodology Model (CLMM) developed in this research to illustrate the application of the ecological design principles to Farina's (2000) future scenario. Relationships between natural, cultural and economic capital are strengthened (illustration: Grunewald, 2012).

The application of the ecological design principles to the Future Cultural Landscape Model as proposed by Farina (2000), results in the development of a methodological approach to the regenerative development of degraded cultural landscapes (figure 12). In the Cultural Landscape Methodology Model (CLMM), developed in this research, the existing cultural, natural and economic capital available on the site needs to be established through a site analysis (see Grunewald, 2012 for detailed site analysis and design explanation). Once this has been done the Ecological Design Principles (EDP) can be applied to use the existing scenario to inform not only the "capitals" but also ways of connecting them. This understanding should guide the design decisions taken and will be elaborated on in the subsection to follow.

Make nature visible

As discussed by Farina (2000) the CLMM approaches the three "capitals" through the main avenue of education and public awareness. The landscape has to contain and tap into society's potential for knowing and learning, but more than that it has to tap into their value systems. In order to connect with this powerful resource the first step is awareness: we must make nature visible again. Therefore the over-arching element of education and public awareness will be driven by the EDP to "make nature visible".

This will be done by emphasizing natural cycles and processes involved in all three capitals, essentially bringing the designed environment back to life. Seeing and understanding natural cycles and processes will help inform the community, and other visitors to the site, of the

services nature provide and how they affect us. The design realization of this can be achieved through revealing, engaging and teaching.

Natural systems and processes occurring in a landscape should be made explicit in order to tap into nature's powerful resources as a teacher. In the case of Fort West that has a historic connection with water flow on site, this can be achieved in the form of: rehabilitating the historic water furrows; bio-filtration swales; stormwater planters; retention dams and stormwater squares. These hydraulic system components may also provide habitats for plants, pollinators and seed dispersers while enhancing the condition and psychological healing power of public open space (Rottle & Yocom 2010: 114). Figures 13 and 14 show the functioning and final vision for this aspect of the design.

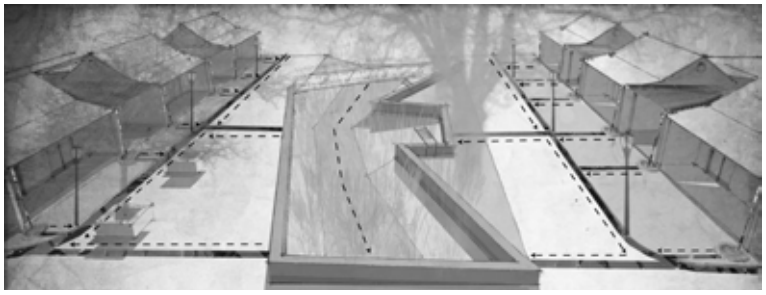

Figure 13
Illustration of a proposed catalytic intervention where education and public awareness can be facilitated in public space through the revealing of natural processes such as storm water. This stormwater collection system is proposed for Fort West's retail promenade
(illustration: Grunewald, 2012).

Figure 14
An illustration showing the proposed addition of a bio-swale in Fort West's retail promenade that can also provide habitats while making nature visible
(illustration: Grunewald, 2012).

Scientific studies overwhelmingly document the benefits of contact with nature, including recovery from illness, mental health, relaxation and concentration and lowered crime rates (Rottle & Yocom 2010: 59, Van der Walt & Breed 2012). Therefore the design accommodates a diverse public open space system and recreation activities. In the case of Fort West these spaces are proposed to include community parks, craft and farmers markets, multifunctional spaces such as squares (figure 15), rehabilitated natural areas, children's playgrounds, community food gardens and the public realm of the street. Recreation activities proposed include hiking, nature trails, bird watching, nature education, picnicking, and an information centre. Such spaces contribute to the physical, mental and social health of an area (Rottle & Yocom 2010: 49).

Figure 15
The proposed 'Fort West's square' offers a robust multifunctional space that can be used for recreational activities such as farmers markets, community meetings, weddings or music festivals (illustration: Grunewald, 2012).

The proposed design of Fort West's degraded cultural landscape strives to articulate new values and make people aware of the importance of restoring and rehabilitating the site's ecological support functions. This can be achieved through the removal of existing invasive plants and replanting with appropriate indigenous plant species that will support desired ecological processes and provide food and habitat for local species (Rottle and Yocom 2010: 86). Being so close to a rich habitat ridge environment that can also serve as a green corridor, the site can play a major role in maintaining high levels of seed dispersal and pollination in the urban environment. This will provide opportunities for the addition of design elements to draw attention to these temporary visitors (birds, insects, small mammals etc.), such as integrated hiking trails and pathways, lookout points, information markers and even an environmental education centre. Such markings and features for human interaction foster awareness of human care and place attachment, which in turn can attract additional public appreciation and stewardship of a site.

Solutions grown from place

This principle will allow for the established intimate knowledge of a particular place to be utilized in a small-scale and direct design initiative that is both responsive to local conditions (both cultural and ecological) and the community. It will allow the design to inhabit the site without destroying either the cultural or the natural capital (figure 16). It begins with the particularities of place. The task is to integrate the design with these conditions in a way that respects the health of the place (Van der Ryn and Cowan 1996: 72). The design realization of this can be achieved through protecting, conserving and reusing.

Every landscape contains a narrative of meaning related to its past and present use and function (Potteiger and Purrington, in Swaffield 2002). Yet, knowledge of its past meaning is required in order to protect a historically significant site. At Fort West the link between the past and present narrative is proposed to be reconnected by means of a visitor/ tourism enterprise that can establish and promote interpretive trails, lookout points, information boards, and local

community guides. The establishment of an information centre or living museum may also be appropriate for the last example of its kind in South Africa: once multicultural leprosaria.

In order to protect the existing 'sense of place' and former spatial composition, all historic trees that have been removed should be replaced with indigenous trees similar in spatial structure and design intent. Remaining avenues and other landmarks (including those in the form of trees and vegetation) should be retained (figure 16). A planting strategy that reintroduces a multi-layered savannah habitat (of canopy trees, small trees, shrubs, native grasses and ground covers) is also proposed in areas where invaders have been removed in order to prevent soil erosion and increase the site's biodiversity. (More details on specific species selected can be found in Grunewald 2012).

Figure 16
The existing jacaranda trees in Fort West's proposed retail promenade have been incorporated into the new design in order to protect the existing 'sense of place' and former spatial composition. Proposed small-scale farming activities that provide local produce for subsistence have been investigated through precedent studies (illustration: Grunewald 2012).

With the introduction of a potential tourism initiative, levels of privacy and exposure need to be distinguished by the landscape. This can be achieved by ensuring private and semi-private areas are lined by edges and boundaries (figure 17). These boundaries should preferably be soft and align with what historically occurred on the site.

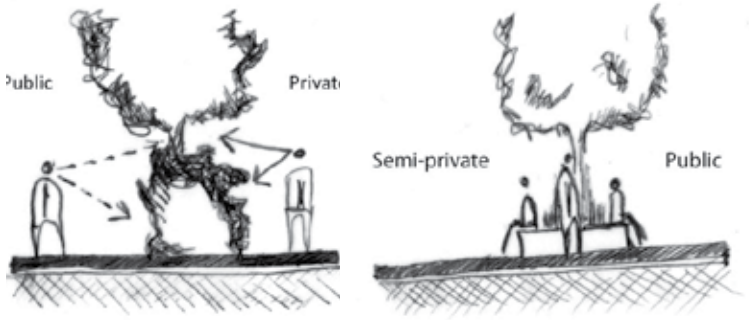

Figure 17
Edges such as hedges (left) and low seating walls (right) are proposed in order to act as visual screens as well as create opportunity for social behaviour
(illustration: Grunewald 2012 from van der Walt 2009).

Compact multi-purpose communities should be encouraged, where shops and services, such as clinics, are provided for in close proximity to where people reside and work. Circulation often

forms the structure of an area both spatially and operationally (Rottle and Yocom 2010: 136). In these compact communities walking and bicycling become viable when facilities such as primary and secondary routes, trails, sidewalks, bicycle tracks and stands, traffic calming and pedestrian-priority crossings are provided (figure 18). Amenities such as benches and lighting also encourage walking. These human scaled systems of circulation, in connection with public transport nodes, generate resilience through less reliance on external resources while supporting healthy conditions in urban areas (figures 19 and 20).

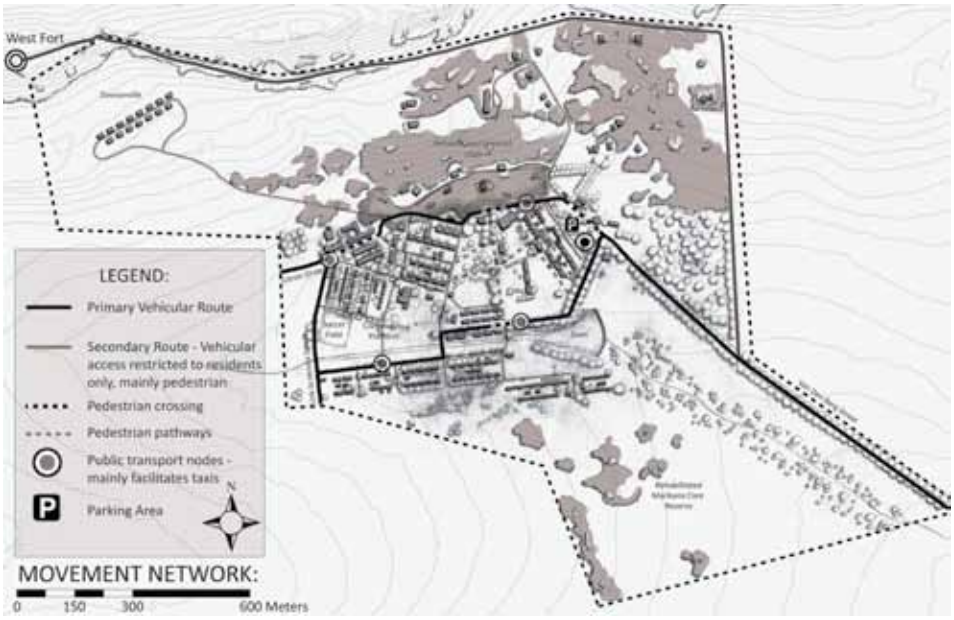

Figure 18
Framework map indicating the location of proposed primary and secondary movement network (framework: Grunewald 2012).

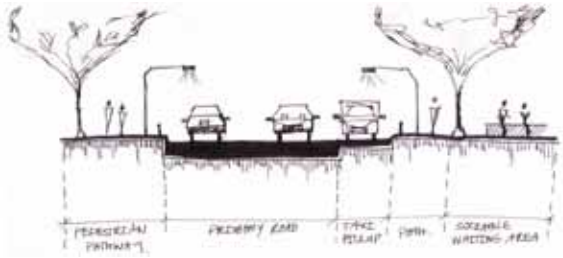

Figure 19
Typical cross section through primary route at Fort West indicating pedestrian and public transport routes (illustration: Grunewald 2012).

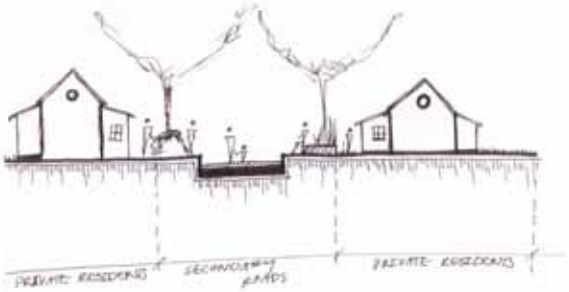

Figure 20
Typical cross section through secondary route at Fort West, the scale and character of these routes are primarily focussed on pedestrians
(illustration: Grunewald 2012).

Reuse of a site's available resources or 'capitals' can reduce the demand for off-site resources (Rottle and Yocom 2010: 106). Reuse at Fort West can take form in the following ways: adaptive reuse of existing buildings and structures, collection and reuse of stormwater in retention dams for irrigation, recycling enterprises (already existing on site), and by reusing materials collected on or available on site, such as compost from waste vegetables or garden clippings.

Community participation

In order to establish a successful economic capital on the site, it is important to listen to the community. The real needs and values of the community along with special knowledge they bring can make a design initiative practical (within the community's scope), both economically and culturally. If the economic capital established on the site is compatible with the community of people, then as people work together to heal the land, they also heal themselves. The design realization of this can be achieved through catalysing of actions that will initiate sustainable economic activities and provide seed for the community's initiative and willingness to engage.

Public participation should go beyond just the design and planning phase of a project, it should act as a catalyst for increased community interest. Participation in the construction process should also be taken into account, in order to provide some useful training, improve the likelihood of ownership and long-term stewardship of the landscape and infrastructure (Rottle and Yocom 2010: 98). Short-term projects and associated catalytic workshop training programmes are proposed to be set up in the construction phase to teach skills such as mosaic work for community art installations (figure 21).

While our societies are becoming increasingly reliant upon external resources (regionally and globally) to sustain themselves, communities should rather be attempting to become more self-sufficient and resilient through conservation and local production (Rottle and Yocom, 2010: 134). In order to cultivate opportunities for social processes that inspire human activism, community building and long term stewardship that will be required to maintain a landscape, it is proposed that community enterprises are implemented at Fort West (Rottle and Yocom 2010: 110). The appropriate enterprises were revealed through a participation process, precedent studies and through consultation with an agricultural economist. There was an effort to remain in keeping with the historic example of Fort West, while taking into consideration the natural capital of the site as a resource that should also be maintained as such. Enterprises proposed for Fort West are a dairy, bee keeping, an indigenous nursery, community food gardens and a recycling station. Although mainly aimed at subsistence these small-scale, low input cost projects have the potential to, over time, extend beyond self-sufficiency into generating income. Successful case studies around the world are discussed in more detail in Grunewald 2012. This approach is quite low key and different to other proposals that have been made in the past (see section on Hope for Fort West). Though in the past the community was self sufficient, this concept within urban areas is not the norm. To allow integration (as opposed to past segregation) it may be argued that this approach is exclusionary. The aim was not to isolate but rather to optimise the use of the land in accordance with the cultural landscape model of Fort West.

Figure 21
Illustration showing the proposed community mosaic art installations that will highlight the entrance to Fort West's retail promenade and tourism information centre (illustration: Grunewald 2012).

Design with nature

In order to make sure that the natural capital is utilized effectively and not inhibited or destroyed in the production of economic capital on the site, the design is proposed to work with the living processes found on the site (the natural capital). The goal is to provide support for all species while also meeting the socio-cultural needs of the community. By engaging the economic capital in the processes that regenerate rather than deplete, the designed landscape and the community will become more alive. The design realization of this can be achieved through connecting and integrating.

The provision of ecological corridors in urban areas not only insures greater biophysical diversity (due to movement of pollinators and seed dispersers) but also creates opportunities for regenerating a larger, connected network of healthy public open space (Rottle and Yocom, 2010: 66). By connecting isolated landscape patches with these corridors it will not only facilitate movement of insects, birds and small mammals but also people and water.

In order to integrate everyday life of a community with nature, sustainable practices should be encouraged. These practices should also better the lives of the community and offer more economic alternatives. Sustainable systems such as biogas converters, solar power geysers, permeable paving and rainwater harvesting are proposed to be used in Fort West. These systems not only save energy costs, but again make processes visible that can have an educational and value system influence on an everyday basis.

Ecological accounting

Tracing the environmental impacts of a proposed design will ensure that the economic capital (productive landscape) established on the site will not adversely affect the natural capital. The design realization of this can be achieved through informing and accounting.

In order to make good design decisions that reflect the overall ecological costs and ultimately informing the design process, a material comparison table was done. This provides an understanding of the impacts incurred during a material's entire life-cycle, from extraction

through to manufacturing, use and eventual recycling or discard. Materials that are sensitive to the character of the site, easily available, could be sourced locally, potentially recyclable or made from recycled materials and have a low embodied energy, were chosen. The maintenance requirement of each material was also taken into account. Therefore the main materials chosen were exposed glass aggregate concrete paving, clay brick pavers, precast concrete grass blocks, red clay bricks, reclaimed eucalyptus timber and gravel.

Sustainable Sites Initiative (SSI) is an interdisciplinary effort by the American Society of Landscape Architects, the Lady Bird Johnson Wildflower Centre at University of Texas, Austin, and the United States Botanic Garden, to develop a sustainability rating system for landscapes (similar to Green Star for buildings) that works to transform land development and management practices (SSI 2009). An SSI was done in order to account for the design's environmental implications (figure 22). The SSI was an ongoing process that was used to test the acceptability and impact of a design decision. According to this way of rating ecological accounting, the project achieved a four star rating, which is the highest rating.

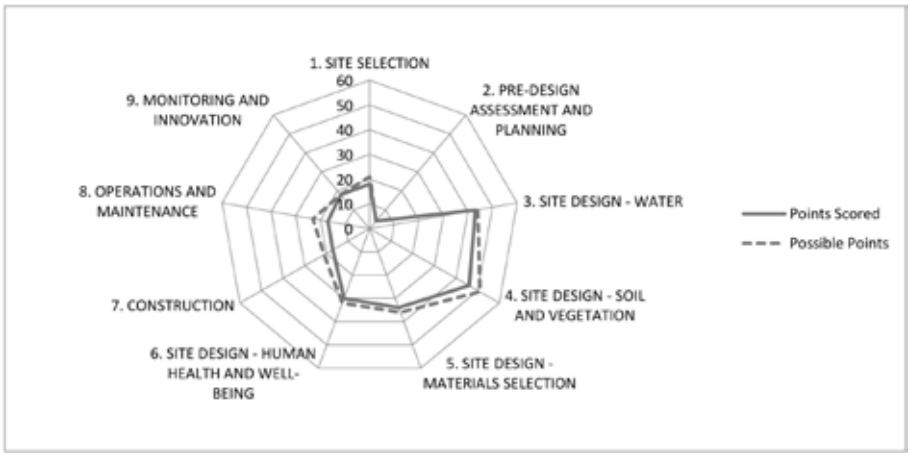

Figure 22
Sustainable Sites Initiative graph for Fort West
(illustration graph: Grunewald, 2012).

In conclusion the approach, as seen in the CLMM, matches biological diversity with cultural diversity rather than compromising both the way conventional solutions do. It now appears clear that the maintenance of a healthy society requires not only a healthy economy but also a well-conserved natural system. The CLMM could be used to create new strategies for achieving healthy societies and economies. An intensive site analysis of Fort West (see Grunewald 2012) indicated that the site has the potential to be re-engaged with the degraded cultural landscape in order to establish social and ecological health through the application of the above mentioned guidelines.

Hope for Fort West

Over the years proposals have been put forward for the development of this degraded cultural landscape. Some have wanted to develop the land for estate housing, others to turn it into a museum, while one even wanted to turn it into a Hollywood set. However, all these development proposals have fallen through either due to lack of finances, fraud or more commonly lack of involvement with the community (past and present). Fortunately there are positive prospects for the future of the area. The development of the greater "Fort West self-sustainable urban village"

has been identified as a Special Mayoral Development. The idea is to redevelop the historical Fort West village, into a new residential, self-sustainable township (SEC 2012: 27). Therefore the Tshwane Metro commissioned the Fort West Urban Development Framework for Phase 1 of the project, completed 2010, it will mainly contain new housing opportunities (see Grunewald 2012). This paper dealt specifically with the development of Phase 2 which contains the historic village premises.

The situation at Fort West village might seem too challenging and the design guidelines proposed by this paper idealistic, yet they were formulated in response to potential found on site that can be tapped into in order to regenerate this cultural landscape (solutions grown from place). Through an interview with the non-profit organization, the NEA Foundation, much more potential was discovered (*nea* is a Swahili word meaning 'purpose'). The NEA Foundation is the only organization currently involved with the community of Fort West. They first got involved with a small existing crèche at Fort West, that was started by a Fort West resident to address the lack of preschool education (interview with van Vuuren 2012). The former stables have been converted to house the children who are cared for by women of the Fort West community. Through their involvement with the crèche the NEA Foundation has slowly but surely got involved in other aspects of community life. In 2011 the NEA Foundation was approached by the women of Fort West who asked if they would help them set up a skills development workshop. The first workshop was held early in 2012. The ladies were taught how to print material. Through the success of this workshop the ladies have been employed by a local designer to print material for her. This then also led to another workshop that was held to teach the ladies how to sew. The profits from the sales of both the material printing and sewing work are then divided amongst these women. These profits are mainly used to pay for their children's school fees (interview with van Vuuren 2012).

Community life at Fort West is regulated by the Fort West Community Forum (FWCF), which was set up by the community for the protection of the commune as well as the heritage of Fort West. The FWCF holds monthly meetings in the octagonal Dutch Reformed Church (NG Kerk) which functions as both a church and a community centre. The FWCF also limits the addition of structures to the existing historic buildings (interview with van Vuuren 2012). In the community's limited capacity they are already trying to take control of their own future, as well as the future of Fort West. A small informal retail sector already exists in Fort West; these include small tuck shops, a fresh fruit and vegetable store, a car wash, and a basic *chesa nyama* (local meat shop and eatery). There is also a group of men who collect recyclable materials and a small group of ladies that weave mats from the recycled plastic bags collected. The NEA Foundation is looking at expanding both of these sectors (interview with van Vuuren 2012).

Concluding thoughts

Fort West and the leprosy community have experienced a painful history of rejection and isolation. Communities were created through the common bond of this history. However, through the advancement of medical knowledge these communities suddenly ceased to exist, or did they? The current informal settler community illustrates how even though leprosy is no longer an issue there are other social concerns that have resulted in the formation of a new kind of segregated community. Both the historical and the current narrative of the site, lends it meaning as a place of refuge and hope.

The human needs for cultural belonging, contact with nature and connection with place are often not met by basic infrastructural projects. In the case of Fort West, this need not be the case. The past can be a possible way to aid social and ecological healing for the future community. We would thus like to speculate with Hull, Lam and Vigo (1993: 118) that place identity can be causally linked to human health, sense of community and a sense of connectedness. Throughout this paper it is accordingly proposed that by acknowledging the past for the development of the future, communities may be connected back to nature through actions that can reveal processes and thereby instil values, ultimately regenerating meaning and identity of place and people. The concepts contained in the model presented in this paper can be used to guide the convergence of environmental, technological and socioeconomic processes to produce liveable and sustainable environments.

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Visual evidence of self-inscriptions of identity by marginalised communities in Mitchell's Plain, South Africa

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This article presents a selection of photographs as evidence of community engagement at the local level, in an area near Cape Town which is heavily stigmatised. Press posters, public signage and linguistically visible domains are analysed in terms of outsider versus insider inscription of identity, raising the issue of the degree to which residents are positioned to break spatial constraints. The images selected for discussion represent four categories: first, those depicting the geographical features of the area, second, neighbourhood signage (constructed by insiders in the community), third, billboards and advertisement (outsiders tapping into stereotypical perceptions of the local community) and lastly, newspaper and tabloid headline posters (reinforcing outsider perceptions of the community). The purpose of the analysis is to reveal how members and groups of the Mitchell's Plain community express ownership and participation through self-inscription. These self-inscriptions are viewed against the background of existing historical and official super-imposed inscriptions. Finally, the paper provides examples of how residents position themselves in terms of the spatial constraints and what forms of agency they exercise under severe socio-economic strains.
Keywords: linguistic landscape, ethnography, South Africa, community identity, self-representation, ownership, appropriation, visual representation

Visuele getuienis van 'n selfingeskrewe identiteit deur samelewings in Mitchell's Plain wat na die rand verskuif is
Hierdie artikel stel 'n reeks foto's as bewys van gemeenskaps betrokkenheid op plaaslike vlak voor in 'n gemeenskap naby Kaapstad wat erg gestigmatiseerd is. Pers-plakkate, publieke naamborde en linguistiek-sigbare areas word in terme van buitestaander- teenoor lidmaat-inskripsie van identiteit geanaliseer. wat die kwessie van die graad waartoe inwoners in staat is om ruimtelike beperkings te verbreek, aanspreek. Die beelde wat vir hierdie bespreking gekies is stel vier kategorieë voor: die eerste stel die geografiese kenmerke van die area voor, die tweede is plaaslike naamborde en tekens (deur lidmate van die gemeenskap geskep), derde, advertensieborde en advertensies (geskep deur buitestaanders wat munt slaan uit stereotipiese persepsies van die plaaslike gemeenskap) en laastens, koerantopskrifte en hoofopskrif-adevertensies (wat die buitestaander se persepsie van die gemeenskap versterk). Die doel van hierdie analise is om te wys hoe lede en groepe van die Mitchell's Plain gemeenskap eienarskap en deelname deur self-inskripsie uitdruk. Hierdie self-inskripsies word beskou teen die agtergrond van bestaande historiese en offisiële inskripsies wat bo-oor die bestaande inskripsies gemaak is. Laastens verskaf hierdie artikel ook voorbeelde van hoe inwoners hulself in terme van ruimtelike beperkings positioneer en watter vorme van ondersteuning hulle onder erge sosio-ekonomiese druk beoefen.
Sleutelwoorde: Linguistieke landskap, etnografie, Suid-Afrika, gemeenskaps-identiteit, self-voorstelling, eienaarskap, besitneming, visuele voorstelling

In 2007, two research assistants were given manual cameras to take photographs along the way on their usual route to Glendale High School in Mitchell's Plain outside of Cape Town. The research assistants visited a school as facilitators one afternoon every week as part of an After School theatre project. Further details of this project are documented in Flockemann, Al Bilali and Vass (2008). Both research assistants were not members of the Mitchell's Plain community (about which more later) but had been working in the area for one afternoon a week over a period of about two years. My decision to give them the cameras stems from remarks made to me about what they had observed while driving through Mitchell's Plain to get to the school each week. They had noted how the youth they were mentoring and training

were exposed to extremely negative representations of their own community. When asked to elaborate further, they referred to signage, billboards and placards they had driven past so many times, with inscriptions which aim to shock and dismay. The visible signage confirms how the community is consistently constructed as separate, different, crime-ridden, and generally problematic in terms of deviance. We began to speculate about the effect this may have on the youth growing into adulthood in this context, in which identity is consistently negatively inscribed.

While travelling to and from the school with my research assistants on a particular occasion, I too, in my capacity as chief researcher on the self-portrait project (Hibbert 2009), took note of the signage and its potential connotations. The brief given to the research assistants was, when taking photographs, to include neighbourhood signage, billboards, placards, advertisements or anything else which portrays the essence and character of the area, as they see it. They were asked to photograph as much written text which would be legible on ordinary snapshots as possible. The assistants took 70 photographs in total. The sample for discussion in this article constitutes a little less than a quarter (13 photographs) of the total set of 70.

The thirteen photographs were selected on the basis of being representational samples of two categories under discussion, namely outsider and insider inscriptions. In summary then, this article seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How have outsider views of the community been inscribed in the environment and for what purposes?

2. How have locals inscribed their mark of identity on the environment and for what purposes?

Theoretical and methodological underpinnings

Broadly speaking, the study falls within the ambit of theories of linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography (e.g., Duranti 1997), linguistic landscape theory (Gorter, 2006) and theories of visual analysis (Mitchell 2005; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2006). Notions of how the physical geography as well as cultural geography of the area, may shape, and be shaped, by the identities of the residents, are salient. A fairly open-ended and loosely structured ethnographic, multiple data method of investigation was used to pick up clues about how the area had been inscribed and by whom. In the search for clues about how the community and environment are labelled and inscribed, it is important to try to identify "relevant material, always in excess, for possible (no guarantees) creative and unprefigured answers to crucial questions, in the reader's as well as the ethnographer's theorising" (Willis 2001: 206). In order to avoid stereotyping and simplistic or false notions of supposed community cohesion and commonalities in characterisation, the interface of social and personal aspects of self-fashioning, within the community, were extracted. As Linger notes (2001: 218):

> Person-centred ethnography reveals the slippage between social category and personal appropriation. It illuminates how people apprehend, reinterpret, and qualify categorical ascriptions, how they navigate among them, and how they sometimes invent new ways of seeing themselves and others.

As mentioned earlier, two amateur photographers (who were also research assistants and youth mentors and theatre trainers on the Theatre Training Project) were drawn in to take photographs. Disposable cameras were used to compile a collection of photographs produced by 'straight photography' (Van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2006: 78), which is customarily defined as photography

by lay photographers done spontaneously. This does not mean that the sampling method was random, but rather spontaneous, produced by disposable cameras, albeit with a premeditated theme and fairly well-formulated ideas of what evidence the photographs should provide. This fits in with the notion of photographs as "history in the making". This links in with the dual characteristic of photographs, that is, the temporality of a photograph on the one hand, with its immediate, spontaneous institutionalised categorisation and meaning making on the other, with the capacity of the photograph to amplify and extend beyond time and space.

The entire collection was produced in the space of 45 minutes, but can be continuously reinterpreted through shifting institutionalised "ways of seeing". The photographs resonate with both clear and commonsensical connotations, but also have less obvious ones signals (Barthes 1977: 18/19) about how citizens shape their lives in an ongoing way. The photographs were analysed on the basis of knowledge gained from personal experience during interaction with the subjects, background research of the geographic area, the community and the school and the subjects/learners at the school, with the view to providing framing for the data of the school-based project. The school-based self-project was aimed at tracing the effects of theatre training on the sense of self-concept and adulthood of the learners attending the youth development project on a regular basis. The photographs were one set of data collected from the learners. Other data consisted of diaries and DVD recorded interviews.

Van Leeuwen (2006: 145) suggests that interactive meanings are reinterpreted within the framework of the narrative and conceptual framework designed for the project. The photographs help define the nature of the relationship which is set up between those targeted by the billboards, advertisements and newspaper posters and those who are visually exposed to them daily. In addition, the objective was to demonstrate how ownership can be inscribed. Collier (1986, in Van Leeuwen 2006: 35-60) suggests five methodological resources for making visual collections. These include, first, to discover connecting and/or contrasting patterns; second, to design an inventory; third, to count and compare the items; fourth, to re-establish the relationship between context and layout and finally, to view the collection as a whole for interpretation with its dominant themes.

In the analysis of the photographs, locally produced perspectives and more structural explanations are combined to produce a "situated perspective" (de Haan and Elbers 2006: 317) on identities in motion. In attempting to describe a 'space' one tries to capture the dynamics between 'being positioned' and how the residents take up various positions. In other words, what tools for self-location (Van Leeuwen 2006: 85) do the residents have at their disposal and put to use, in shaping the 'space' to their own needs, convictions and aspirations?

The main researcher and the two photographers/assistants discussed many questions which arose: How do the people of the Mitchell's Plain community (the insiders) inscribe, appropriate (or resist) spaces from within? What clues do the photographs provide about notions of ownership and control and how space constructs and constrains practices within the community? What do the photographs say about the relationship between those who are targeted by the texts, those who produced the texts and those who view them on a daily basis? The answers are sought by tracing positional and cultural elements (Holland et al. 1998: 127) in the environment which have an impact on identification processes that residents experience.

The photographs displayed in this article, which constitute a final selection for purposes of the main argument here, are photographs displaying the geographical features of the area, photographs displaying outsider inscriptions on the area, and photographs displaying insider

inscriptions of identity, all of which provide clues to the features of the cultural 'landscape' to which the youth on the Theatre Training Project are exposed while approaching adulthood.

Mitchell's Plain

Mitchell's Plain is a predominantly 'coloured' area, especially created in the 1970s to move coloured communities out of the metropole. I, the researcher, became interested in focusing on this specific area when I was visiting Mitchell's Plain every week in order to trace positional and cultural factors which may impact on youth identification processes, that is, of the youth involved in Brown Paper Studio After School Theatre Training Project. Much of the background information to the project was recorded by Evans and September (2004). According to Evans and September (2004: 9), Mitchell's Plain covers an area of 54 km^2 and is divided into nine areas. It lies about 27 km from the Cape Town Central Business District. In 2011 SA Statistics provided an estimate of a population figure of about 310485, although the actual figures may be higher. Mitchell's Plain was originally conceptualised by the apartheid government in 1971, when so-called 'coloured' people were forcibly removed from areas targeted for 'white' development. Construction of the first phase (Westbridge) began in 1974. The first residents moved there in 1976. The quality of housing construction slowly deteriorated as demand for housing grew.

Figure 1
A view of Mitchell's Plain
(All attached photographs were taken by research assistants Althea Trout and Xolani Tembu).

Statistics SA (from the 2011 Census) provides further information on youth statistics, which follow. Youth in the area (those between the ages of 10 and 29 years of age) comprise 35% of the total population of Mitchell's Plain. The main languages used by learners in schools are English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa. However, the medium of instruction is either in Afrikaans or English. Statistical data reveal a community plagued by socio-economic difficulties. In all, 78.80% are unemployed and for those who do find employment, conditions are not much better. Of those included in the Monthly Income Census, 75% earn a monthly salary of between R400 and R3 200 (currently 50-400 US dollars). Unfortunately, updated Census data only started becoming available again in 2012, due to the ANC not allowing statistics to be publicised in the interim period, for various reasons which cannot be discussed in detail here. SA Statistics 2011,

available at the time of writing, however, provide enough detail for any reader to gain a good idea of the circumstances under which youth in this area are growing up.

Figure 2
A view of a bus stop.

Living conditions are of a sub-economic standard. Although many people live in 'proper' brick houses with running water, with electricity and refuse removal services, these houses are overcrowded. Overcrowding is further exacerbated by the influx of people to informal settlements on the outskirts of existing suburbs as well as into properties that are sub-let. Gangs are active in most suburbs of the area. Although they are not solely responsible for the existing crime in the area, they are a major contributing factor to the high crime statistics in Mitchell's Plain. Drug and alcohol abuse are rife in the area. In some cases, whole families are addicted, and many children in the Western Cape wine-growing region and surroundings are known to be born with foetal alcohol syndrome. Public transport into and around Mitchell's Plain is expensive in relation to the generally low incomes generated. It can also be dangerous, unreliable and overcrowded. Images 1 and 2 show how flat and windswept the area is, as well as indicating how far it is from the main city, Cape Town, with the iconic Table Mountain in the distant background. The irony of Cape Town being one of the world's most popular tourist destinations, on the one hand, and, on the other, having the highest HIV/Aids figures in the world, the highest crime rates in the world, and the highest rates of alcoholism in the world, cannot bypass any sensitive viewers of this these two images.

From the signage in the area, four images (figures 3, 4, 5 and 6) were selected as samples to illustrate how the area has been historically inscribed from the 'outside' and how this represents, and thereby perpetuates, stereotypical negative conceptions of the area and its people. These images are discussed in further detail in the next section.

Figure 3
A view of signage indicating directions to the Psychiatric Hospital.

Figure 4
A view of a municipal sign placed inside school premises.

Figure 5
A view of schoolchildren leaving school premises against negative tabloid headlines.

Outsider inscriptions through public signage

In Figure 3, the sign of The Lentegeur Hospital indicates the direction in which to travel to reach this psychiatric hospital. Ironically the word *lentegeur* translates into English as something like "the sweet smell of spring", which jars a bit in the light of the fact that the area is largely treeless and houses people living mainly below the breadline. The hospital is appropriately situated in this area, which has the second highest rate of alcoholism in the world, the second highest rate of chest stab wounds in the world, and is known for the high rate of conditions such as HIV/Aids, foetal alcohol syndrome, and child abuse and malnutrition. The hospital tends mainly to women, as women are more inclined to come forward for help than men are (information conveyed in conversation with a Clinical Psychologist, Mr M. Wright, working at the hospital at the time of data collection). Children are referred to the Red Cross Children's Hospital, some 20 km away, in the affluent suburb of Rondebosch, but often do not get there because of the cost and inconvenience involved in travelling this distance, or because of reluctance of the parents to admit to and expose abuse, illness and poverty-stricken conditions.

The "City of Cape Town" sign (figure 4) shows the barbed wire and reinforced fencing which characterises the area. In the post-apartheid era, municipal activity in the area increased due to municipal rezoning in order to incorporate Mitchell's Plain into a larger, very well-resourced zone, which was previously zoned for "whites only" and managed by "whites". The colourful sign imposes a sense of ownership of the area, and signifies the reclamation of a previously excluded area, albeit with minimal long-term financial government and municipal investment evident. In this instance, the municipal provisions such as hospitals, sports fields and so on, taken for granted in other zones, are constructed as supposed "generous gifts" to the residents in the area, as indicated by the personal pronoun in "brought to you". Besides the tone being patronising, it probably constitutes a ploy to appeal for votes during municipal elections. Figures 3 and 4 represent outsider/public sector/council/municipal inscriptions of ownership and appropriation of the area. These signs signify the historically entrenched and politically perpetuated racial, ethnic as well as spatial and territorial divisions that characterise South African society (Cornelissen and Horstmeier 2002: 63/4). It can be surmised that transformation of territorial divisions and redeployment of real resources is slow or non-existent in economically depressed urban areas where the returns on such investments are predictably very low.

The next section discusses images from newspaper headlines and from the tabloid press. These samples are seen to strongly reinforce negative impressions of stigmatisation of the area by outsiders, which is discussed further the next section.

Outsider inscription through newspapers and the tabloid press

Figure 5 from *Die Son*, a community paper, with the inscription "Flats ou killed for a bus ticket", is an example of outsider appropriation of 'local discourses'/languages on billboards and newspaper posters What is dominant in this photograph is the grey cement and the Vibracrete in the background, which also dominate most of the other photographs. The two posters in this photograph stand in sharp contrast to each other. The top one is from a neighbourhood newspaper, indicating the low value of a human life (reminiscent of Can Temba's line from the Drum/Sophiatown Era "Live fast, die young and leave a good-looking corpse", an ironic utterance which typifies the dangerous lives the rising black middle class were forced to live under pre-apartheid clampdowns on freedom of expression and movement. It depicts the extreme economic desperation of the community. This headline from a working-class tabloid is

in working-class language, while the bottom poster, from a Cape Town mainstream, daily paper, generally for a more middleclass readership, indicates a totally different set of priorities. Here, the focus is on the increasing municipal rates that have the whole city 'up in arms.' In addition, the "Yield" sign, above the other two signs, has been vandalised or damaged by a passing vehicle, also not an unusual sight in the area.

Figure 6
A view of tabloid and daily city newpaper headlines at a traffic crossing.

Figure 6, with the inscription "My pals made me a human torch" depicts a group of boisterous teenager pupils spilling out of the gates of Glendale High School. They are confronted and overshadowed in the photograph, by this grim sign: "My pals made me a human torch". The sign is designed to attract instant newspaper sales. One guesses that, presumably, two people started a fight and one was set alight by the other. Again, the poster is designed to elicit instant interest in order to sell the local tabloid, which trades in such sensationalist stories. This and the previous photograph reflect negative stereotyping of the community, where the normality of interpersonal violence is repetitively and continuously inscribed in such headlines. Furthermore, the street sign above the newspaper poster, showing a human stick figure with head, legs and body blotted out, appears macabre, especially when viewed together with the newspaper poster.

Figures 5 and 6 can also be linked to discourse on youth at risk. A review of the literature on the issue (Hull, Zacher and Hibbert 2009) shows an overriding focus on "risky behaviours" such as unprotected sex, gangsterism, high school drop-out rates, and violence, such as xenophobic attacks by youth against youth perceived to be from 'elsewhere' but living within the same community. However, few studies have addressed the structural factors that have an impact on youth development in such economic conditions. The focus on misbehaviours of groups and

individuals further stigmatises and stereotypes what has been labelled as "marginal youth", in South Africa, referred to as "youth from the previously disadvantaged sector". This study, then, attempts to provide a sketch indicating the lack of official provision of stable community structures, indicated by the visuals displayed. Figures 5 and 6 thus represent outsider media inscription of the local community (newspaper posters aimed at, and about, the local community, characterised by crime, lawlessness, drug abuse and escalating high school 'drop out' rates (as described in Evans and September, 2004).

In conclusion, the analysis of the category of images depicting outsider inscriptions reveals historical as well as on-going layering of inscriptions, appropriation and ownership over time, from the 1970s onwards (a time when a second large sector of the so-called coloured population was forcibly relocated to outside of Cape Town, in order to control and isolate potential resistance to apartheid). An attempt was made to juxtapose structural as well as cultural aspects of community identity, in order to locate instances of agency. In summary, gifures 4, 5, and 6 represent outsiders tapping into stereotypical perceptions of the local community by people who never go there, while the headline posters from the local tabloid press enforce outsider perceptions of the community. The images in this category provide strong visual evidence of self-inscription through which citizens tap into the environment in order to conduct their lives and further their aspirations. These will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The community writes back

Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 were chosen on the basis of their displaying insider appropriation of public and global discourses, 'in-between' spaces, as well as displaying innovative self-inscriptions on the linguistic landscape.

The handmade "good used tyres" sign (figure 7) is wedged onto a walkway, with high visibility for passing cars on a major thoroughfare. The sign is constructed from a piece of plywood, nailed onto wooden beams, and painted with blackboard paint, with the wording in chalk, thus non-permanent, in case of a price change or product switch. The sign is placed so as to be visible to pedestrians and traffic on both sides of the pavement. In keeping with the other images, it is dominated by grey cement and an unpaved, make-shift sidewalk, with sand and stone gravel surfaces instead of suburban tarred paving, as one would find in the metropolitan area.

The hand-painted Rocklands Sports Complex sign (figure 8) shows community inscription and ownership of a municipal facility. A handmade logo in orange and green with information for potential club members is inscribed on the officially provided grey, unpainted raw cement wall. The sign is strategically placed at the curve in the wall facing a wide main traffic intersection. This hand-painted sign on the surrounding wall advertises the facilities inside and signals strong identification with the sports facility. The sign wraps around the street corner of the traffic intersection for a panoramic view and expresses pride in the ownership of a municipal provision, as well as appropriation of the actual wall space.

Figure 7
A view of handmade signage and appropriation of public space.

Figure 8
A view of community/club self-labelling of a sports facility .

Figure 9
A view of graffiti on a shop wall.

Image 10
A view of the modified Coca Cola advertisement.

The graffiti on the unoccupied business site frontage (Figure 9), as well as Figure 10, shows insider appropriation of local commercial spaces. The varied inscriptions on this wall are non-interpretable to outsiders, this presumably being the intention. The 'SHOPS TO LET' sign foregrounds the economic crisis prevailing in the area. The half-painted harsh, nursery-blue wall (the colour is not discernible on the black and white reproduced images) has probably been over-painted repeatedly to cover the graffiti. The graffiti, however, are spilling over the blue area into the top half of the wall. The size of the trading sites (approximately $100m^2$-$1000m^2$) indicates that there is a vast un-demarcated space available for subdivision, depending on vendor needs. Short-term rentals of bits of floor space are often taken by informal community-based traders who cannot afford shop rentals in existing shopping centres which cater for the formal commercial chain-store sector. "Giffies" presumably refers to marijuana. ("gif" in Afrikaans meaning poison). The blue paint halfway up the wall indicates the repeated painting and painting-over of graffiti. The half-wall painting is a cost-cutting exercise. Quite often, unsold, stale wall

paints in unpopular colours end up being sold in bulk at hugely discounted prices in townships. This particular blue looks like one of those colours often seen in economically depressed areas.

In the Coca-Cola advertisement (figure 10), the caption "keep it real, *gooi 'n coke in jou keel*" is written in "*Kaaps*" which is an Afrikaans-English dialect well-entrenched in the Western Cape. The line translates (badly) into English as "Keep it real, pour a coke down your throat". Underneath this line, Coca-Cola appears almost as a formal signature, reinforcing the product brand name. The caption "*Coke met ysies virrie warme meisies*" is overtly sexist and matches the tone of the image of the two girls on the boat swigging back a drink in an assertive/ aggressive fashion. The line translates into "Coke with little blocks of ice for girls who are hot". It would probably work better as "Coke with ice for girls who are nice" to retain the rhyme but the innuendo of the pun on "hot" would be lost. Again, the formal signature brand reference appears just below this. Coke is a soft drink, but these girls are depicted as 'hard core' drinkers, swigging back a drink straight from the bottle. This also has fairly macabre connotations, if seen against the social situatedness of the advertisement in the middle of the area with the second highest alcoholism and stabbing rate in the world. The posture is fairly aggressive and typically a male, macho stance. A half-naked woman covered in chains and draped over a boat perpetuates and reinforces the labelling of youth in the area as displaying "risky behaviours". This applies similarly to the depictions in Figures 5 and 6. These images constitute a resistance mode of sorts, a "writing back", in order to imprint their insert ownership on their home territory.

Regarding multilingualism in commercial signage, Reh (2004: 1) suggests that the number and types of texts in a given area are largely dependent on factors such as the number of languages used in the area, the official language policy "landscape", the status of the speakers, the self-esteem of the speakers, and the reader orientation of the text suppliers. A "linguistic landscape", in research on multilingualism (Gorter 2006: 3) "refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space". Some of these objects are reasonably permanent, while others may change from day to day. Therefore, any analysis of official, non-official, commercial or privately constructed signs needs to consider these collectively as representing both a moment in the history of the community as well as a document of the landscape as historically continuously over-laid in inscription. The area is still inhabited largely by 'coloured' people, because of the strong historically entrenched and politically perpetuated spatial and territorial divisions which continue to characterise South African society (Cornelissen and Horstmeier 2002: 63). At the same time, residents' aspirations are linked to larger trends in the social matrix; in this case, the Americanisation of global urban ghettos, as discussed in the previous example, stands out as a major influence.

In summary then, figures 7, 8, 9 and 10 provide visual evidence of self-inscription of identity and constitute neighbourhood signage constructed by residents themselves. The analysis of the signage, and other visuals constructed by residents, reveals a strong sense of agency, in an area which is conceived of as economically marginal and perceived as, in the popular imagination, "voiceless". The group of images discussed in this section provide some idea of how residents are engaged in what is termed "postcolonial negotiation of identity" (De Boeck and Honwana 2005: 9):

> Looked at from the outside, the worlds of these young people are often shockingly self-referential, their horizons astonishingly limited, and their lives self-contained, despite the global *bricolage* that gives form to these youth universes' local contents (Behrend 2002; Biaya 2000; Hansen 2000; Remes 1999). But, lived from within, this limitation is experienced as a necessary attempt at self-protection. One has to reach deep inside and tap into one's own sources of strength in order to be able to create meaning and transparency amid the opacity of a fragmented world.

Negotiating self-identifications through neighbourhood signage

Aspects of the interplay of positional/structural, as well as cultural elements of identity formation (Holland et al., 1998: 127) were traced through visual data. The aim of the investigation was to point out the potential effects of the signage on the residents in the area for whom they were intended. By "using neighbourhood signage as a window on contested identities" (Hull and James, 2007: 8), one is positioned to speculate how the cultural and physical geography of Mitchell's Plain shapes and reshapes youth identity. The fairly negatively stereotyped area, with its horrific supporting statistics, provided motivation to me to re-interpret the broader, commonsensical frames of interpretation, in order to create a discursive space for highlighting, more positively, the gaps, opportunities and means of self-expression in the given space available to residents. Contested postmodern identities are revealed through viewing identification processes 'from above', as well as 'from within'. A process of defamiliarisation (Marcus and Fischer, 1999: 137), which entails critiquing commonsensical notions regarding specific micro-cultures, has enabled an analysis which maps out how residents recognise the boundaries of space and negotiate those to their own advantage. This is seen by, for instance, the handmade signage on the sports field wall and the advertisement for the sale of used tyres. The residents work within the space provided and shape it in line with their economic needs.

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Art and the dream of self-transcendence

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Given a fundamental ontology that takes materiality to be essentially "no-thingness", I explore the claim that humans create art in response to the dream of self-transcendence. I unpack the paradoxical idea that transcendence is as much materialisation as the dissolution of existing formations. This is elaborated through three echoing "iterations" in which this idea of art as self-transcendence is "repeated differently". I consider art as construction of a "semblance" (Lacan), best understood as an unceasing play between the serious, dynamic economy of self-edification and the ironic aneconomy of self-dissolution (Derrida). I shift attention to art-making as the expression of this dynamic in another body, and consider the difference between "signature" and "factor", the role of Lacan's object "a" and the idea of "the zone". Finally, since there is no self without another self to recognise it as such, I consider art as a declaration of love, and artworks as "love-machines" (Deleuze & Guattari) that function as a call for mirroring repetition in the other's empathic response. This conceptual framework suggests a way to distinguish between art and artifice.
Key words: fundamental ontology, self-transcendence, materialisation, art, love, empathy, artifice

Kunst en het ideaal van zelftranscendentie
In het licht van een fundamentele ontologie die materialiteit in wezen opvat als "on-dingelijkheid", onderzoek ik de bewering dat mensen kunst creëren als antwoord op het ideaal van zelftranscendentie. Ik verken het paradoxale idee dat transcendentie evenzeer materialisatie is als het verdwijnen van bestaande formaties. Dit wordt in detail uitgewerkt in drie resonerende "iteraties" waarin het idee van kunst als zelftranscendentie "verschillend herhaald" wordt. Ik beschouw kunst als het construeren van een "gelijkenis" (Lacan), wat best begrepen wordt als een onophoudelijk spel tussen de ernstige, dynamische economie van zelfschepping enerzijds en de ironische anti-economie van zelfvernietiging (Derrida). Vervolgens richt ik de aandacht op kunstproductie als een uiting van die dynamiek in een ander lichaam en diep ik het verschil uit tussen "signature" en "factor", de rol van Lacan's "object a" en het begrip "zone". Omdat er geen zelf kan zijn dat niet erkend wordt als zelf door een ander zelf, zie ik kunst als een liefdesverklaring en kunstwerken als "liefdesmachines" (Deleuze & Guattari) die fungeren als vraag naar weerspiegelende herhaling in het empathische antwoord van de ander. Dit conceptueel kader laat toe een onderscheid te maken tussen kunstwerk en artefact.
Trefwoorden: fundamentele ontologie, zelftranscendentie, materialisatie, kunst, liefde, empathie, artefact

One of the most powerful answers to the question of why humans create art (and in this, "artifice" already resonates as another question) is, "in response to the dream of self-transcendence". But this answer is immediately complicated by the ambiguity of the concept "transcendence" within the context of a fundamental ontological materialism whereby, firstly, one may dispose of a two-world hypothesis and any kind of "god-delusion" (Dawkins 2007), and secondly, in agreement with particle physicists (Peaks 2013), Taoists (Lao Tzu 1989) and Lacan (1981: 53-60) on "the Real", one may take the material world to be at bottom essentially "no-thingness". In this case, as much as it is materialisation or formation, transcendence is also the dissolution of existing formations. In what follows I consider the meaning of art as self-transcendence given this fundamental ontology that requires us to think in terms of the paradox of "immanent transcendence".

Fundamental ontology and the paradox of "immanent transcendence"

A sense of upwardness is inscribed in the etymology of "transcendence" – from the Latin *trans* ("across" or "beyond") and *scandere* ("climb"). "Climb" on its own, unqualified by "up" or "down", connotes ascendancy and "beyond" in conjunction with "climb" implies the upward movement of "surpassing". The opposite of "transcendence" is said to be "immanence" denoting that which remains subject to the limitations of the material universe. The movement of transcendence is therefore strongly reminiscent of Plato's (1892: 214-217) well-known cave allegory, whose sense depends on the two-world divide that reduces the philosophical conception of materiality to the terms of finitude. Divided by birth and death from the eternal realm of pure spirit, the material universe was understood as impermanent, decadent and bounded. Embodiment represented a "fall" from grace that imprisoned the human soul in base materiality. On this account, transcendence becomes a uniquely human preoccupation. For neither animal (soulless embodiment) nor god (disembodied soul) is transcendence an option. It is the in-between being, the embodied soul, who dreams of escaping corporeal incarceration in an upward journey towards the spiritual light of the eternal Divine. The desiring being dreams of freedom from desire; the self dreams of selflessness.

The "age of science" broke the lengthy hold the two-world cosmology had on the western imagination. In his *System of Nature,* Baron d'Holbach (Baumer 1978: 407) banished the gods as chimeras as it became clear that qualities such as eternity and generativity could be accounted for well enough on a materialist hypothesis. Holbach (Baumer 1987: 410-411) insisted that "matter always existed; that it moves by virtue of its essence; that all the phenomena of Nature is ascribable to the diversified motion of the variety of matter she contains; and which, like the phenix, is continually regenerating out of her own ashes". Diderot (Baumer 1978: 412) agreed: "Everything changes, everything passes away – only the Whole endures. The world is perpetually beginning and ending; every moment is its beginning and its end; there has never been any other kind of world and there never will be any other".

This early scientific materialism repeats certain tenets of ancient Taoism for which the "wheel of time" is the main metaphor for a thoroughly material universe (*Tao*). Although things in the universe come and go, the material universe itself does not. *Tao* was not born, will not die, but remains as the eternal source of all coming and going. Because *Tao* is formless, it never increases or decreases, progresses or regresses. There is just *Tao* that is constantly being formed, unformed and reformed (Lao Tzu 1989: 29, Section 14).

Pushing further, contemporary particle physics echoes the many formulations in the *Tao Te Ching* telling us that *Tao* is essentially "nothingness" (Lao Tzu 1989: 29, Section 14). This is not to suggest that the material substrate has no being – just that its being is not at bottom "thingly". Scrutinised closely through our super-sensitive perceptual prosthetics, all things yield their fundamental "nothingness". Sandy Peaks (2013) puts together an accessible description of today's Standard Model, which describes a universe of particles, forces, anti-matter, as well as electromagnetic and nuclear interactions.

> According to the Standard Model, all matter consists of two types of particle, quarks and leptons (such as electrons and neutrinos) which are held together by bosons. Bosons are associated with a force. There are elementary and composite bosons. The three elementary bosons of the Standard Model are called gauge bosons. These include the photon (the electromagnetic force), W and Z bosons (the weak force), and gluons (strong force.) Then there are two suspected but unobserved bosons: the Graviton and the Higgs boson.

If transcendence is traditionally associated with a movement beyond materiality towards the spiritual, and self-transcendence implies an upward shift from body to soul, what happens to the movement of transcendence when the two-world cosmology is replaced by a single material universe, understood as the eternal flux of seemingly massless particles and forces? First of all, one must seek to understand transcendence within the material, which means working with the paradoxical concept of "immanent transcendence". This does not significantly damage the etymology of transcendence, since the word could merely suggest a shift across from one material state to another or reaching beyond borders; as the divine madness of Eros might temporarily transcend the bounds of reason, or the habitat of elephants might transcend the bounds of national borders.

On a materialist hypothesis, "immanent transcendence" becomes a question of what it means to transcend a flux of unstable particles and forces. For something to happen, for time and space themselves to happen, the flux must be arrested for a duration. In this case, transcendence, as climbing across to the other side, occurs when a thing emerges out of no-thingness, or when formation occurs for a duration in the flux. Paradoxically, transcendence becomes, in the first place, the art of creating finitude. The formation of material reality as a highly complex manifold of enduring, albeit temporary, phenomena occurs both automatically ("by nature") and by design, when creatures form things for a purpose.

At its most fundamental level, automatic formation is tied to the recently confirmed Higgs boson; "the elusive subatomic speck sometimes called the 'God particle'" (Heilprin 2013). The particles described in the Standard Model are apparently massless. To explain why the matter built from them nevertheless has mass, the British physicist Peter Higgs theorised the existence of the particle that now carries his name. "Scientists believe the particle acts like molasses or snow: When other tiny basic building blocks pass through it, they stick together, slow down and form atoms" (Heilprin 2013). Another example of a similarly automatic formative process is the synthesis (whether or not originally on earth) of complex organic molecules, such as amino acids, from simpler chemicals (Yong 2011).

While one might speak metaphorically of nature's creativity, the immanent transcendence usually associated with art takes shape, at the other end of the continuum, as formation by design. It is not necessary here to detail the shift from automatic formation to formation by design, suffice it to say that it occurs with increasing complexity, probably at the point of self-organisation in an already sensate, living organism, which, in turn, develops into consciousness, and then self-consciousness along with the unconscious (Hegel 1977: 110; Morin 2008: 43-48). The various forms of consciousness are, by definition, subjective, but one should be careful not to take this to mean that they are entirely private. Consciousness, as a complex concept, entails both private and shared dimensions. Something like Kant's forms of intuition, for example, are the universally shared, subjective conditions of possibility for the kind of perception we call human and ordinary (a manifold of objects in up to three-dimensional space characterised by a directional flow in time). One may speak of "reality" in terms of both the natural formation of the "automaton" and the artful formation of the "semblance". This is a term I have taken from Lacan to refer to an individual's subjectivity or being-in-the-world, but I am wary of attributing this particular meaning to him. Another caveat must be noted, namely that no creature's formations (art/artifice) can transcend the laws of the automaton. In humans, formation of reality as a semblance is both explicit or intentional and unconscious. It is also highly complex due to our capacity for abstraction, which enables us to imagine alternatives, project future consequences, communicate through multiple kinds of language rather than direct signalling, empathise and so on. This higher level functioning, enables us to pretend, lie, and fantasise. The formations

that constitute an individual's semblance are intrinsically imbued with extremely complex, self-reflective, abstract significance. As Heidegger (1962: 377) has always insisted, there are no bare phenomena. It is an abstraction to think of perception as pure or neutral. Instead, we are beings whose perception is always already "coloured" by existential cares and interests.

Although I have emphasised formation, which is associated with relative stability, it is as important to note that all phenomena inevitably call for their own evolutionary overcoming. Some evolve too slowly for us to notice and they seem eternal from a human perspective, some shift observably, but all appearances eventually become obsolete and dis-appear.

In the context of this fundamental ontology, art as the dream of self-transcendence may be elaborated through three echoing "iterations" (Derrida 1998: 31). In what follows, I first consider art as the construction of my "semblance", which is best understood as an unceasing play between the serious, dynamic economy of self-edification and the ironic, perhaps humorous, aneconomy of self-dissolution (Derrida 1982: 8-9; 19). I then shift attention to art-making as the expression of this dynamic self, or its recursive complexification, in both performance works that problematise and re-form my own body and "plastic" recreations of another body. In this case, my "signature" might be repeated consciously, while simultaneously my abyssal "factor" is inscribed unconsciously (in work that emerges from "the zone"), as a Lacanian object "a" that represents it negatively. Finally, accepting that there is no self without another self to recognise it as such, and that art therefore is never one-sided self-creation, I consider art as a declaration of love and argue that works of art function as "love-machines" through which an artist calls for a mirroring repetition of the self in the other's empathic response. Here I follow Deleuze & Guattari (1983: 5) when they insist that: "Desiring-machines are binary machines, obeying a binary law or set of rules governing associations: one machine is always coupled with another". This conceptual framework suggests a way to distinguish between art and artifice, whereby artifice is marked by the vain desire to arrest art's play, uncouple the other's desire in effect and "protect" the self through narcissistic enclosure.

Art as the construction of my "semblance"

The originary formation for humans is the "semblance". The primary infantile state, albeit short-lived, is one of relative dissipation in a polymorphous flux of sensations that lacks a coherent sense of self. The Lacanian Real (Lacan 1981: 53-60) can be mapped onto this infantile sense of amorphous dissolution which is associated, ambivalently, with both joy and the intense anxiety of a smothering incapacity that must be overcome. Dissipation, surrendering openness to the flux of forces, is both immensely relieving and life threatening. Adults may toy again with its possibilities, but infants are hard-wired to form themselves against their initial openness to the flux of forces. Lacan derived a limited number of subjective structures from the way this negation or abjection of the Real occurs. A psychotic structure is produced if something goes awry, and the Real is foreclosed upon. Denial or repression of the Real produces "normal" (perverse or neurotic) subjects, who occasionally encounter the Real throughout life in different ways, for example as the nauseating idea of spatial infinity, or as a catastrophic event (Fink 1997: 116).

Self-transcendence is the art of making myself appear from out of the dizzying flux of potentiality that is the Real me. The "semblance" is my reality as formed through my human perception, which includes a complex configuration of factors. These include our humanly shared, basic, instinctual, emotional systems and formal, perceptual faculties, which offer us three dimensional space as well as time as succession. Our individualised sensory apparatus,

cognitive capacities and degree of emotional responsiveness add what is unique or unshared in perception. Finally, perceptual reality is coloured by our unevenly shared meaning-making capacities conditioned by discourses or cultures.

This perceptual process entails a radical selectivity. The force-field that affects us is far too extensive for us to take in. We automatically screen out stimulations beyond a certain range just because of the physiological limitations of our sense receptors and faculties of organisational synthesis, which only allow perception of space in three dimensions and of time as succession. We also avail ourselves of the screening process of conscious attention and focus and we are radically selective concerning the meaning of what becomes phenomenal. Disturbances in any of our processes of selective filtering would make it impossible to structure, produce, create and hold onto a coherent perceptual reality.

Using this configuration of faculties as they develop and complexify, formation of a semblance includes three life-long tasks that emerge consecutively. From the first flicker of desire, I begin emerging from my dissipation in the polymorphous flux of pleasures and sensations (the Real). My first tasks, my "body-works", involve forming my body as a meaningful entity in continuous involvement with a surrounding environment. Obviously within contingently given constraints, I form not only a meaningful body, but also to some extent what surrounds it; through costumes and collections, for example, and significant spaces. My second task involves "ego-formation", or the materialisation of tastes, desires, quirks, phobias etc. in something loosely called "personality". Ego formation occurs in continuous involvement with other significant individuals or alter-egos. Full self-reflection is developed when I desire another person's desire (that is, recognition of my human subjectivity by another human). This desire for recognition implies that I am able to step back from myself, or abstract myself from immediate immersion in my concerns, and see myself as a finite "I-thing" in the world that came into being and will die. My Real ineffability or invisibility is transcended and something phenomenal called "me" from which I am distanced is materialised. I can now say *there* I am, in that mirror or picture there, or *that* is me described in the text. I have begun to create a reflected I (*"moi"*) as a "semblance", a fictional limitation of all that potentially can emerge in my perceptual field. My third task involves forming an identity or place in symbolic networks. My aim is to find a place among people, and within discursive frameworks concerning the meaning of being. In Lacanian terms this symbolic order is sometimes called the "Big Other".

The active "I" (*"Je"*) or the creative agent that produces the semblance is itself a product of the automaton, it has no answer to the "why" of its own existence. This "I" that produces the semblance by responding to, appropriating and screening stimuli, is as occulted as the force field it interacts with. Perceptual reality (the semblance) is something that happens in between two occulted terms – the force-field and I. In other words, I essentially remain a secret, even to myself. This is why I can shock myself.

Interestingly, all of this places art at the base of human existence. Art is not mere imitation, but originary self-creation. Self-transcendence becomes the art of transcending my Real invisibility through materialisation in which I make myself visible as a semblance. An encounter with the abyssal Real must, through abjection/negation, take us beyond the eternal flux of nothingness through continuously self-surpassing materialisation. I do not think, however, that this reversal simply replaces the opposing idea that humans also create art to transcend the limits of the phenomenal. Our recognition of the very necessity of abjection/negation of the Real simultaneously threatens the bounds of that materialisation by showing it up for the

"semblance", the silly self-protective device, it really is. The Real in me eternally transcends the visibilities I artfully (artificially) put in place to form myself without doing myself justice.

When awareness of this abyssal being breaks into everyday consciousness, we are faced with Heideggerian "dread" or its equivalent Nietzschean "nihilism". Both refer to the nauseating terror associated with absurdity and senselessness *and* the exhilarating excitement associated with potency and freedom. For Lacan, dread is the consequence of an encounter with the traumatic, abyssal Real. This encounter frees me to live with joyful abandon, recreating myself anew in defiance of conventional strictures. But the joyful freedom of self-recreation is one of two heads belonging to a conjoined twin who share a single stem that cannot be divided without killing both. The abyssal stem is a quasi-transcendental. If transcendental thinking concerns itself with the conditions that make what is given in experience possible, quasi-transcendental thinking, adds that economic conditions of possibility (the conditions of systematic closure), while necessary, are ruined by the equally necessary aneconomic moment intrinsic to them, which make the given, strictly speaking, impossible (Derrida 1982: 8-9; 19). The freedom that comes from an encounter with the abyss, is wrested from the engulfing, dissolving, paralysing horror of the monstrous that you have to abject. And a trace of that trauma can never be fully erased. There is no joyful freedom without the risk of an engulfing horror in face of which your semblance becomes an absurdly little thing; an obscenity lurking behind the lace curtain.

The art of life, in sum, as the will to self-transcendence, is best understood in terms of an irreducible negotiation between the economic and aneconomic movements of self-transcendence. The semblance is a person's first work of art. We are selves by virtue of both an economic, formative art that transcends the ineffable Real and the deforming, aneconomic reminder, in a traumatic encounter with the Real, that formation is but a necessary fiction, in which case the phenomenal semblance itself can and should be transcended. "Why the normative injunction?" If we cling to the belief in an attainable, stable truth, Nietzsche (1990: 66) asks rhetorically, do we not "actually live *by means of* a continual process of deception?" On the other hand, he adds, the necessity of fictionalization, to stay the flux temporarily, need not be seen as a tragic human flaw and the end of all real value. Instead he enjoins us to affirm this gift of creative transcendence for it in fact allows us to promote value in the subtle art of inventing, resisting, transvaluing and reinventing all determinate values. "Art", Nietzsche (1990: 66) concludes, "is more powerful than knowledge, because *it* desires life".

Art-making as the recursive compexification of self-formation

How does making art, more traditionally understood, fit into this ontology of unceasing self-transcendence? To answer this, I follow Maleuvre (2006: 282), and the many artists he echoes, when he remarks: "What, after all, is art if not personalities expressing themselves and imparting human design upon matter?" Again, he remarks: "A work of art is made by *someone*". To claim that a work is "just a systematic or random or nonintentional assemblage" (Maleuvre 2006: 284) is to render it utterly pointless. This allows the arrogant critic to insist that the work's meaning is what the critical audience makes of it. But why would anyone make art at all if the author is stripped of a voice and an audience might just as well make meaning from a decomposing wall?

Without wishing to insist that artists have complete control over the meaning of their works, I am sympathetic to the claim that every mark or gesture is in some sense self-expression. On this hypothesis, making art can be thought of as the recursive complexification of self-formation. Because the Real "I" represented by my semblance remains an eternal secret, even to myself,

I am never satisfied that my semblance transcends my own no-thingness. Taoist philosophies notwithstanding, the in-between being, congenitally dissatisfied with the way things are, cannot passively let things be and eternally dreams of creating something beyond "what already is".

In "placing myself outside of myself" I express something of the self I already am in another kind of body (my own body as "performed" or the "plastic" recreation of another body). Art must use material to inscribe the self in a body: flesh and bone, earth, words that I configure on a page, marks I make on canvas, wood I form, glass I shatter, keys I press, strings I pluck, ingredients I put together, movements I make in dance, electronic sensors I manipulate. In this externalisation I repeat myself differently. As Jill Di Donato (2013), for example, puts it: "Writing … gave me a way to externalize my experiences and turn them into something apart from me, crafted, and yet intimately connected to me at the same time". In this sense, self-repetition in artistic externalisation is inherently transformative. Self-externalisation in performance art is often explicitly a resistant response to cultural strictures and imposed stereotypes. This is clear in the feminist neo-burlesque and "postporn" scenes begun roughly in the 1990s, where stereotyping is explicitly resisted by the expression of an alternative aesthetics of feminist sexual representation characterised by "polymorphous perversity" (the term is Freud's). See, for example, Lucía Egaña Rojas' (2011) documentary: "My sexuality is an artistic creation". Often darkly humourous, neo-Burlesque performances reflect a postmodern sensibility that is "ironic, reflexive, exaggerated, historical, political, cheerfully sleazy" (Acocella 2013: 69). Aiming for an empowering enjoyment of feminine sexuality in its multiplicity, they are characteristically transgressive. In Acocella's words (2013: 69): "In an atypically jokeless number, Julie Atlas Muz appears, gagged, with nothing on but a heavy rope coiled around her body. To the tune of 'You Don't Own Me', she struggles free".

Art certainly must take responsibility for the life-giving recursive complexification (transgressive repeating-differently) of the formed self. Insisting on this, however, should not allow us to forget that the very idea of transgression and "other possibilities" only makes sense on the assumption that there is in the first place formative repetition of the same. An artwork, I propose, as the reiteration of self-formation is simultaneously formation and transgression of the self.

When I make art, I repeat both my phenomenal "signature" (economic) and my ineffable "factor" (aneconomic). My phenomenal "signature" is a defining personal style that represents the unique way my semblance is put together. It is inscribed in the myriad perceivable materialities that constitutes "me": the special sound of my voice or footsteps, the unique marks I make and so on. The same signature recognised repeatedly over contingent changes represents me uniquely. Even if a group of artists strenuously try to represent only what can be seen, they still end up with a collection of works that are not exactly like one another. Even the effort to extract your signature paradoxically inscribes it in the way you try to delete yourself. My aesthetic signature draws my works together in a coherent body that represents me. My "signature works" indicate when I come into my own as an artist, or when I have found myself in my work.

My "factor" names that which gets me going, a deeply disturbing desire that points only to my lack, my abyss. As Žižek (2006: 48) puts it: "There is nothing uplifting about our awareness of this factor: it is uncanny, horrifying even, since it somehow dispossesses the subject". Lacan's object "a" functions as the phenomenal clue to my factor, the cypher that stands in the work as a clue to the abyssal no-thingness of the Real in me, the monstrosity within that I can only approach with dread – trembling with fear and excitement. My factor is also marked by a repetition compulsion (Freud). It is that aspect of my signature that repeatedly emerges

beyond what I consciously reveal or hide concerning my desires, and in spite of my conscious configuration of materialities.

Making art, therefore, involves two kinds of repetition. I want to show myself, to sign. Gómez-Peña (2001) accurately speaks of the melancholic oppression of solipsistic insulation against which performative self-expression is a need. It is less that I want to be something, and not nothing, although it is that too. More pointedly, I create artworks in response to the desire for significance. I want to show, even if this is only to show myself up in my human frailty or pretensions, or to show that I understand the absurdity of my self-showing. In my signature a desire that cannot become meaningful without destroying me is already negatively inscribed as my "factor", as the abjected Real in me that resists the phenomenal showing. Speaking of performance art, the serendipitous scarring of my body might become the object "a" that indicates this traumatic Real, whereas my deliberate styling represents my signature. "Our scars are involuntary words in the open book of our body, whereas our tattoos, piercings, body paint, adornments, performance prosthetics, and/or robotic accessories, are de-li-be-rate phrases" (Gómez-Peña 2001).

Art in which the abjected Real is negatively encrypted in the object "a" exceeds intentional meaning making or self-expression. There is something to be said for the idea that such art emerges "from the zone" so to speak. When I am in the zone, it is said, "I lose myself" and the game or the music plays itself, or the words write themselves, through me. I am reminded that "being in the flow" is another good expression for this state. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1990) describes "flow" as a state of elated psychic energy generated when a person's attention is focussed on a difficult but worthwhile activity that stretches the mind or body to its limits. In his words, flow is

> a state of concentration so focused that it amounts to absolute absorption in an activity… people typically feel strong, alert, in effortless control, unselfconscious, and at the peak of their abilities. Both a sense of time and emotional problems seem to disappear, and there is an exhilarating feeling of transcendence.

Interestingly, as Nakamura and Csikszentmihalyi (2009: 90) point out, the state of flow is associated with a sense of both self-loss ("loss of reflective self-consciousness") and effortless control ("a sense that one can in principle deal with the situation because one knows how to respond to whatever happens next"). This apparent inconsistency disappears, however, if one understands that the sense of self-loss occurs when the ego as critical agent is eclipsed by absorbed attention to the task at hand and the unconscious is freed to play for a while. On the dark side, it is also precisely when I am not consciously trying to control and form the work that my factor is inscribed in it unconsciously as an object "a". The unconscious, while it might condense and displace and encrypt, never lies. It is always the conscious agent who lies and distorts. As Maleuvre (2006: 284) remarks: A conscious effort "to present yourself via a work is never free of window dressing, self vindication. Even if you present yourself ostensibly warts and all, you manipulate the truth. To pretend to be too honest is inauthentic – a pretense to be superhumanly above and aware of all your foibles". It is, in fact, this kind of pretence that marks utter self-abandonment. By contrast, the self-loss associated with being in the zone is not at all self-abandonment, but the deepest possible level of self-revelation. When I am in the zone, I am pulled out of myself and thrown into an encounter with the traumatic Real in myself. For the uncanny spell of orgasmic jouissance, the "I" who actively makes art dissolves, the meaning of my being is negated, I am not at home with myself, and there is only the being who suffers the passion. This trauma is inscribed in the configuration of the work that emerges. The critical self may later ask: "Did I really write this or paint this? Where did this stuff come from?" "Is

it exciting or horrific?" In response to it I feel the ambivalent mix associated with dread: deep satisfaction and excitement (I want to show this) and a shock of surprise or disgust (I want to hide this). It takes courage to show work that emerges from the zone because it reveals a deep truth about an artist's being and/or abyssal non-being by showing what cannot be part of empathic communion, but is instead associated with desire.

Art that emerges from the zone is always self-transcending, but transcendence negotiates the fine line between the economic dynamic of self-edification and aneconomic dissolution. As self-edification, art-making (*pace* Plato) responds to the force of Eros, which is famously described in Plato's *Symposium* as the progeny of Poverty (dissatisfaction) and Resourcefulness (creativity). The true lover, articulated by "Diotima" and embodied by Socrates, is the one who recognises in his very humanity an ardent pursuit of a "better self", whose sensible representation is beauty, and whose attainment is happiness. Although we recognise that love is a passion for the impossible, if we did not nevertheless desire it, we would be reduced to merely animal instincts. Love in the name of self-edification is the source of the joyful excitement that moves us to make art. If the economy of formative transcendence were all there was, through my art works, my body works and my love machines, I would gradually build up a richly detailed semblance in which more and more of my inner being became visible.

Yet, particularly in contemporary western cultures, art and especially performance art claims the space and special freedoms allocated in every culture to the aneconomic figures of contestation and deviance; the court jester, shaman, scapegoat, pharmakos and so on (Gómez-Peña 2001). These figures, in the name of revivifying transcendence and cultural renewal, have tacit "permission to cross the dangerous borders of dreams, gender, madness, and witchcraft" and they act as "a constant reminder to society of the possibilities of other artistic, political, sexual or spiritual behaviors" (Gómez-Peña 2001). For some, the temporary moments of emancipation to be found in aneconomic self-dissolution dominates as a necessity. Such artists, identifying with "nomads, migrants, hybrids, and outcasts" find themselves pushing up against the imposed boundaries of identity. As Gómez-Peña (2001) puts it: "We are interstitial creatures and border citizens by nature – insiders/outsiders at the same time – and we rejoice in this paradoxical condition".

Art as a love machine: A call for repetition in the other's empathic response

Another human is tacitly inscribed in art-making as the response to a desire for both economic and aneconomic self-transcendence. In principle, the self does not begin with itself. There is no such thing as an I shouting "I" alone in the world. The "I" is originally split in the sense that to say "I" is always already to have recognised the other. Firstly, I cannot perceive myself as "I" except through the response to me that comes from another. I am embodied as a perceptual or phenomenal "me" in relation to a three-fold other consisting of material objects in the world, the alter ego or other selves, and the symbolic other or social norms. Secondly, one may, without going into detail, take recourse to Hegel's (1977: 111-119) dialectic of recognition. I cannot become human, he argues, without first recognising another human upon whom I call to recognise what I am and grant me my humanity by reciprocally treating me in accordance with the dignity due to another human: that is, eliminate me from the list of objects that can be devoured or used without thinking twice.

Because of this dialectical circularity of recognition, art is never one-sided self-creation. In fact, I would argue that in forming an artwork I present myself to another human as a declaration

of love. I am thinking of love in the Socratic tradition, which is also love in the Lacanian sense, whereby to love is to give what I do not have. When I say I love you, I have already recognised something in you that makes you the one worthy of recognising me. From my point of view, recognition from certain others has greater value or significance. Sometimes there is a singular you that I call upon for an empathic response. There is a factor in you that triggers my desire for your desire. Some of us love all humanity. Regardless of whether it is directed to a single or universal other, art as love remains a call for empathic reciprocal recognition or communion.

In giving myself to you, I give you my desire for your desire. The dynamic of self-transcendence in art may be thought of as the lover's material investment of the self in a work that calls for empathic return. Through such investment, I want to show my vision as a mirroring reflection in which others may recognise themselves and equally suffer the self-transformative process. In response to this empathic response, in response to how I am seen by you, I verify and adjust my vision and I am re-shaped. If you love me or smash me up, my visibility registers this in the way I move around or speak, and you are re-shaped accordingly. I am reminded that the necessary, multiple, and terrible, risks inscribed in such interactivity are made hauntingly conspicuous in Marina Abramović's *Rhythm 0, 1974.* To potentially expose the factor of your desire for the other's response is risky enough, but Abramović pushed this dynamic to its dreadful limit. She did not present the other with an excitingly mysterious factor, but with an intolerable enigma; a factorless, non-desiring being placed in a situation in which the question "what does she really want?" could be put to the test in 72 different ways. In this performance work, she undertook to remain passive and impassive for six hours, inviting an audience to engage with her body if they wished to, using any of 72 objects placed on a table nearby. The frustration of modest attempts to fathom her desire by eliciting some form of response engendered in the acts of some audience members increasing violation and cruelty. Her unbearable refusal to offer any empathic response freed the other, chillingly, to give expression to his or her own ugly factor. While I in no way condone it, one may at least understand this vicious aggressivity as a response to the terrifying threat of annihilation posed by the one who will not offer recognition. To save themselves from nothingness, they would go so far as to destroy the object of their desire. In Abramović's words, after the event, "What I learned was that... if you leave it up to the audience, they can kill you" (Daneri, et al 2002: 29).

Notably, while both aim for life-changing self-transcendence, one may discover the difference between political activism and art precisely in a strategic difference between communication as persuasion and as a declaration of love which calls for an empathic response. Gómez-Peña (2001) highlights this erotic circulation between artist and audience.

> The performance always begins in our skin and muscles, projects itself onto the social sphere, and returns via our psyche, back to our body and into our blood stream; only to be refracted back onto the social world via documentation… Whether conscious or not, deep inside we truly believe that what we do actually changes people's lives, and we have a real hard time being cool about it. Performance is a matter of life or death to us.

This economy of investment and empathic return is repeated and highlighted when my self-transcendence as materialisation is elaborated to reach a beloved who is not physically proximate. Artworks are created as the prosthetics of embodiment, other bodies or love-machines that inscribe my signature and my factor. For example, when I write a love letter, I (not necessarily consciously) materialise my signature and my factor in another body (a body of writing). My works take me beyond myself in the sense that they are the materialisation of subjective invisibilities in the hope of reaching/touching the other at a distance. Most often addressed

by the work in the artist's absence, the other's response takes shape isomorphically as either edifying communion or the traumatic shock of dissolution.

Recall that Plato's true lover remains in ardent pursuit of a "better self". The beloved audience to whom the work is presented serves the lover as a muse (an inspiration), or a stepping-stone (an educator) towards self-transcendence. A love relationship would ideally consist of a partnership of mutual elevation, entirely symmetrical in its give and take, between two "self-seekers" who gaze through the other's eyes to a beyond where the images of their better selves beckon them.

On the other hand, an artwork that inscribes the artist's "factor" behind an object "a" triggers not joyful empathic recognition of transcendent beauty, but addresses the other through triggering the other side of dread. Here, the struggle is not about edification but freedom. "Often our main struggle is precisely to escape our subjectivity—the imprisonment of our personal obsessions and solipsistic despair—and performance becomes the only way out" (Gómez-Peña 2001). An empathic response to this struggle in the other may not be affirmative. An effective work of art triggers perplexed self-reflection in the other: "the questions and dilemmas embodied in the images and rituals we present can continue to haunt the spectator's dreams, memories, and conversations" (Gómez-Peña 2001). I present my own ambiguities to others in the hope that they will recognise this of themselves or in their own bodies.

An empathic response to such work takes courage. As much as an artist may desire it, there might also be angry resistance to such recognition, particularly if the work emerges from a struggle between the desire to show and the desire to hide and the other sees past the masks and subterfuges to the object "a" that points to what I really want. Empathy means "I get it", but this understanding does not have to be affirmative. Addressed by the threat posed by recognising the object "a" in the work, the other, too, brushes up against the Real, glimpses the groundlessness of her own being and is filled with dread. The other's verifying recognition does not move her through admiring inspiration towards self-edification, but forces her to face the terrifying collapse of the fundamental fantasy that supports her own semblance. If empathy means brushing up against the Real, elevating communion is replaced by desire. In the encounter with the work, the other is pulled out of herself and opened to self-dissolution and the activation of desire. Like the artist in the zone, she becomes the being who suffers art's passion.

Art and Artifice

I have argued that an artwork functions as a communicative love-machine through which I may both transcend my no-thingness and encounter its traumatic return, and in the showing of this play, I call out to others for an empathic response of communion or desire. On this understanding of art, the question arises of the grounds for a distinction between art and artifice. When is the production of such a communicative love-machine not art, but artifice? The question might be re-phrased as this: "when does art lie and when does it tell the truth?" Artifice occurs when the dynamic play of economic and aneconomic self-transcendence is arrested; when self-transcendence in either of its senses (as making the invisible visible or as dissolution of the visible to make way for the Real) stops in self-satisfaction. My art merely lies when instead of respecting the traumatic negativity of the Real in myself, I pretend to have achieved my own full presence in reality. My art also lies when it pretends to offer you the deepest, final, and absolute truth, leaving no room for mystery. But it is also artifice when I pretend to have nothing to say, no truth to offer, and produce works just to hide behind the orthodoxy of random assemblage.

Artifice stems from an absolute unwillingness to risk self-exposure. I create a semblance only to mask the Real, to blunt the anxiety and excitement associated with dread. My works become self-observant gestures in which I manufacture a highly controlled and repeatable signature. Yet, what makes a single artwork authentic is the singularity of the encounter with dread from which it emerged. Just as nobody can die for another, this encounter cannot be self-cited or mimicked by anyone else. What Gómez-Peña (2001) says about performance art holds for all art encounters: "no actor, robot, or virtual avatar can replace the singular spectacle of the body-in-action of the performance artist". In the gesture of self-objectification, by contrast, I merely create protective artifice in which I lose my singularity to self-citation. Then I give this artificially manufactured subjectivity out only to be admired by carefully selected others who function as mirroring self-objects. Artifice stems from the self-enclosure of narcissism.

The difference between art and artifice has little to do with the medium or quality of the self-creative encounter. It has everything to do with courage: to resist the Real and create nevertheless; and to face dissolution when the ground falls away beneath your feet. Nietzsche sums our situation up exquisitely when he suggests via *Zarathustra* that the art of life and living art arises from the courage to "dance upon the abyss".

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A spatial analysis of the Ncome/Blood River monuments/museum complex as hermeneutic objects of reconciliation and nation building

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The reconstruction of the Ncome Monument on the Blood River battle site has managed to restore the political imbalance to a certain extent. The Ncome Monument gives homage to the courageous Zulu regiments who attacked the Voortrekker laager on 16 December 1838. Before the Ncome Monument was built the bronze Voortrekker laager had been the only monument on the site apart from the main complex. During the unveiling of the Ncome Monument strong views were expressed that the new monument should add to reconciliation and peace building in South Africa. The aim of the article is to conduct a spatial analysis of the Ncome/Blood River Monuments in order to ascertain how its geographical setting and general appearance contribute hermeneutically to the goals of reconciliation and peace building in South Africa.
Key words: Ncome, Blood River, spatial, hermeneutics, monuments

'n Ruimtelike analise van die Ncome/Bloedrivier-monument/museum kompleks as hermeneutiese instrumente van versoening en nasiebou
Die oprigting van die Ncome-Monument op die perseel waar die slag van Bloedrivier plaasgevind het tot 'n mate die politieke wanbalans herstel deurdat dit aan die dapper Zulu- regimente wat die Voortrekker laer op 16 Desember 1838 aangeval het, erkenning gee. Voordat die Ncome-monument gebou is was die brons Voortrekker laer die enigste monument wat op die terrein gestaan het bo en behalwe die hoofgeboue. Tydens die inhuldiging van die Ncome-monument en daarna is sterk pleidooie gerig dat die nuwe monument tot rekonsiliasie en nasiebou in Suid-Afrika sal bydra. Die doel van die artikel is om 'n ruimtelike ontleding van die Ncome/Bloedrivier-monument te doen om vas te stel hoe hul geografiese ligging en algemene voorkoms hermeneuties tot die doelstellings van rekonsiliasie en vredebou in Suid-Afrika bygedra het.
Sleutelwoorde: Ncome, Bloedrivier, ruimtelik, hermeneutika, monumente

A strong commitment has been demonstrated in post-apartheid South Africa to advance peace and nation building after decades of turmoil and division in the country. Various leaders across the broad racial divide have launched various initiatives to enable the country to come to grips with the internal divisions by advocating strategies for reconciliation and peace building among the various racial groups. One such role player was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which, in its final report, reaffirmed its desire to leave a permanent legacy for reconciliation and to heal the nation. One of the strategies that the TRC had proposed in its report was to use museums as a means to reach the goals of reconciliation and peace building: Museums which celebrate different aspects of the past should be established and maintained (E. Doxtader and P. Salazar, 2007: 433).

The desire to unite the country during the post-apartheid era was an attempt to assist the transformation from the previous apartheid order to a new all-inclusive political regime. The strategy aligned strongly with the adoption of a broader historical, cultural and symbolic framework underpinned by a diverse multi-cultural value and belief system. The aim of the new political regime was to set a process in motion that would symbolically reconstruct society in terms of a new broader identity and adherence to the values of an all-inclusive and democratic post-colonial society.

One of the challenges, within the new socio-political and cultural-historical context of the country was to re-construct existing monuments and statues in the country to be more

representative of the broader society as a whole. The challenge was to reflect the broader and diverse history and values of the new nation and simultaneously embrace the values of reconciliation and peace building in South Africa.

The new approach was necessary, because it was evident during the pre-democratic phase that the majority of the population viewed the existing monuments in South Africa as symbols of their former alienation and disempowerment (K. Tomaseli and A. Mpofu 1993: 17). This viewpoint was not unexpected in the light of the massive historical disparity that has existed in South Africa among the racial groups regarding monuments, statues and parks that represented the various groups. Frescura in S. Schönfeldt-Aultman (2006: 17) has pointed out that 97% of all monuments in South Africa in the early 1990s reflected the white values and the interests of the pre-apartheid and apartheid era.

The major challenge in post-apartheid South Africa, therefore, was to represent and bring about a more balanced reflection of the apartheid past and how to deal with the broader challenges of competing narratives in an ever-changing political landscape. As E. Rankin and L. Schmidt (2009:78) observed, this is a difficult endeavour because, although there is a need for the disparity to be corrected, it should not be done in such a way that reconciliation and peace building are not undermined.

Within the broader context of the challenges outlined above, the central focus of the article will be an analysis of the Ncome/Blood River monument/museum complex. The challenge lies in how to interpret the changes that occurred post-1994 and the possible omissions within the broader context of peace and reconciliation. The analysis is done with a full appreciation of the inherent challenges involved in such an endeavour.

S. Ware (2008: 1) clearly stipulated that the etymological roots of the words ‘monuments’ and ‘memory’ are linked, because these words derive from the meaning to ‘be reminded’ or to be ‘mindful’. Ware’s (2008: 1) reminder summarises the intrinsic problem associated with such an investigation. The monuments on the Ncome/Blood River site were constructed to remind the visitor of a bloody battle that had taken place more than 150 years ago; and it may be a challenge to read more than the intended meaning into it.

However, the post-1994 reconstruction of the Ncome museum on the site allows the opportunity to conduct a spatial analysis to establish how the museum complex post-1994 contributes (hermeneutically) to reconciliation and peace building in South Africa. In order to achieve this goal, the following subsections will be included:

(i) a historical background of the Battle of Blood River

(ii) a spatial analysis of the museums and monuments at Ncome/Blood River

(iii) an analysis of the manner in which the post-1994 changes to the museum complex hermeneutically contributed to peace and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa

(iv) possible suggestions how alterations to the Ncome/Blood River museum complex could enhance reconciliation and peace building thereby linking to the broader overarching aim to unite in a new dispensation

Historical background to the battle of Ncome / Blood River

The basic facts about the battle of Blood River are generally speaking undisputed and accepted by most historians and the general public. The aim of this section is not to provide an in-depth analysis, but merely to historically contextualise the battle in order to provide a background to the article.

Although there may be consensus on the broader facts, it is expected that the interpretation of the facts will differ, because of the different context from which the battle is viewed. (This was noted especially in several of the papers that were presented in 1998 during the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology seminar entitled, *The re-interpretation of the Battle of Blood River Ncome.* However, the difference in interpretation of what transpired falls outside the scope of this investigation.)

In a nutshell, the basic facts of the battle were that the Voortrekkers under Andries Pretorius launched a punitive offensive against Dingane. The punitive attack was predominantly as a result of the slaying of Piet Retief and his party at his main kraal, Umgungundlovu, in February 1838. The force under Pretorius was the strongest force assembled by the Voortrekkers up to that point in time and consisted of 450 men assisted by Alexander Biggar and about 120 black auxiliaries.

A circular route was followed from the Voortrekker encampments near present day Colenso to their intended target in the heart of Zululand (G. Preller 1938: 38). The route that Pretorius followed headed towards the open grassy country which provides access to Zululand along the upper reaches of the Ncome and Mzinyati rivers. The terrain was not as steep as the direct route, easier for wagon transport and less likely to conceal a Zulu force (Knight 1998: 39).

The long wagon train of 64 wagons, therefore, moved in a circle, past present day Ladysmith on their way to Umgungundlovu. When scouting parties warned Pretorius that a strong force of more than 10, 000 Zulu warriors were approaching them on 15 December 1838, he quickly ordered that a laager should be formed in the triangle between the Ncome River and a deep ditch. Pretorius and his wagon master, Piet Moolman, were able to construct an almost impregnable fortress which provided for enough space and time for the defenders to reload the cumbersome weapons before discharging them into the attacking Zulu formations (Preller 1938: 38).

The battle commenced on the morning of 16 December 1838 when the left horn of the Zulu warriors attacked the well-fortified laager. The packed formation of the attacking Zulus was almost instructed suicide; and the losses on their side were heavy. The majority of sources have put the number of Zulu's that fell on more than 3, 000 while the technological advantage on the Voortrekker side resulted in only three of their men wounded(I. Knight 1998: 39).

In the days leading up to the battle the Voortrekkers, under the spiritual leadership of SarelCilliers, made a vow that if God gave them the victory over the Zulu's, they would honour the day in future as a Sunday and they would also build a church in His name. The magnitude of the victory over the Zulu's with more than 3, 000 Zulus killed and only three Voortrekkers wounded prompted the belief that God had indeed intervened and ensured the victory. Although historians, such as B. Liebenberg (1988: 115) pointed out that the victory could be rationally explained it did not alter the general belief. Liebenberg pointed out that the victory was predominately the result of a strong defensive position with superior weaponry against suicidal

frontal attacks. Nevertheless, it motivated generations of Voortrekkerdescendents to celebrate the vow on 16 December and elevated the Blood River site as almost holy ground.

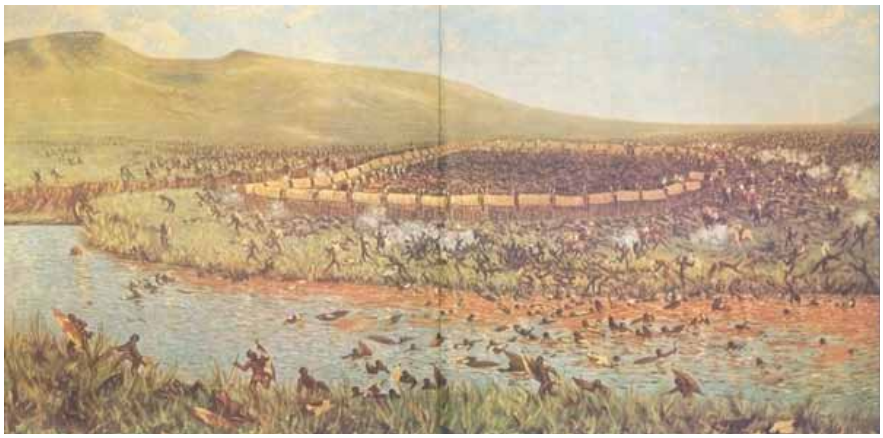

Figure 1
A depiction of the battle of Blood River by Gerhard Coetzer
(photograph by author, 2013).

The site where the Blood River battle had taken place was initially unmarked, but in later years it was marked with a stone cairn. The importance of the site was politically and culturally established early on when it was used as a place to honour the vow. The spot also served as a political platform when it coincided with the upsurge in Afrikaner nationalism early in the twentieth century. Many politicians, including the former Prime Minister, Dr Malan addressed large gatherings on 16 December (M.C. Botha 1952: 36) at the Blood River site and elevated its importance to that of a sacred site.

The construction of the bronze laager in the 1990s almost placed an Afrikaner monopoly on the ownership of the site. However, in apartheid South Africa, the significance and importance of the site for the Zulu nation remained smouldering beneath the surface. It was partly corrected when the Ncome monument/museum was erected on the site during the post-1994 era.

A spatial analysis of the Ncome/Blood River museum complex

To find an answer to the research question necessitates an *in loco* inspection of the Ncome/ Blood River battle site. A spatial analysis will provide the opportunity to draw inferences and to conduct a deductive analysis of the Ncome/Blood River museum/monument complex in its specific geographical setting and in relation to the monuments/museums on the site. The spatial analysis and description of the site and the buildings will hopefully allow an understanding of the deeper imbedded meaning of the existing monuments/ museums in their geographical setting. The underlying question that underpins and spearheads the investigation is to establish and understand how the monuments/museums potentially contribute to reconciliation and peace building in South Africa.

As E. Maré (2009: 133) explains that meaning (hermeneutics), and not the mere description of forms and the intention with their arrangement, should be the medium of access to the imbedded meaning of the monuments. It is, therefore, the deeper intrinsic meaning of the monuments that need to be unveiled; and it can only be achieved after a spatial analysis of the site and the layout of the monuments and museums have been done. In order to reach this goal, a visit must be paid to the battle site to form a broad opinion of the surrounding area and the buildings and structures that occupy the space on the site.

The tarmac road between Dundee and Vryheid provides access to the rural dirt road which connects the visitor with the area where the battle of Blood River took place on 16 December 1838. One's first impression during the trip is the general flatness of the terrain en route to the battle site and an appreciation of the restricted, strategic potential to conceal a large attacking force.

It is difficult to ascertain the specific location of the battlefield during the first part of the trip because of the lack of signposts along the way. It is only after negotiating the last turn that the outer boundary of the Ncome/Blood River battlefield reveals itself.

The first noticeable structure near the entrance to the site and the first set of buildings is a solid grey granite structure in the form of a single ox wagon. The ox wagon monument was sculpted in 1947 by Coert Steynburg and creates a sombre and a formal atmosphere. The granite ox wagon had been the solitary structure on the site for many years before the bronze wagon laager was constructed. Although the monument is bedded into various granite steps, its formal facade does not encourage anyone to use these steps.

Figure 2
The granite ox wagon on the Ncome/Blood River site sculpted by Coert Steynburg (photograph by author, 2013).

The granite wagon is situated close to a number of buildings that accommodate a visitor's entrance, reception area, restaurant, small museum and other facilities. The closeness of the building may subtract to a lesser extent the solitary value of the granite wagon within its geographical and spatial setting.

Lower down from the visitor's entrance, in the direction of the river, a dominating structure in the form of a 64 bronze wagon laager is visible. The 64 bronze ox wagons depict a replica of the laager that was formed on the fateful day of the battle – 16 December 1838. The bronze wagons have been fitted with 'veghekke' – a wooden structure that was made to protect the openings between the ox wagons. A replica of the cannons that were used so effectively on the day of the battle is also on display.

A close inspection of the laager creates a strong sense of its isolation and the solitariness on the terrain. The silence contributes to a large extent to the sombreness, but it is also reinforced by the magnitude of the event. The vast, open terrain reinforced by the solitude creates the impression that the large laager is drowned by the vast empty space. However, on the day of the battle the laager was a small island surrounded by a sea of 12 000 Zulu's who attempted to breach its defences.

Figure 3
A side view of the bronze ox wagon laager at Blood River
(source: http://google.images).

Outside the bronze laager the next noticeable structure is one of the most recent constructions – the Ncome monument/museum. A road that splits off from the access road to the battle site provides access to the museum and a number of Zulu huts hidden from the view across the river.

Across the divide of the Ncome River, the pinkish Ncome monument and museum complex firmly occupy the open space close to the riverbank. The side view and outer wall of the complex display a series of shields which are coloured in the manner the Zulu regiments displayed their regimental colours on the day of the battle. The outer wall mimics the attacking ox horn formation that was introduced and implemented by their great leader, Shaka, in the early 1820s. The outer wall represents an almost impregnable outer facade and reveals little of its interior or other structures.

Figure 4
The outer wall of the Ncome museum complex displaying the shields
(source: http://google.images).

The two dominant structures– the bronze laager and the Ncome monument/ museum complex– form the focal point of the battle site. However, when an aerial view on a Google map of the terrain and the buildings is studied, the Ncome monument/museum complex seemed to be dwarfed by the size of the wagon laager. The display of shields on the outer wall of the Ncome monument/museum does not give a full reflection of the magnitude of the 12, 000 Zulu regiment on the day of the battle.

The flat area devoid of vegetation accentuates the sense of isolation; the two structures are almost submerged on the vast terrain. However, at the same time, the geographical context contributes to promoting the importance of the buildings in their spatial environment without any structures to share the attention.

Figure 5
A picture of the Ncome museum provides a valuable perspective of the vastness of the terrain (source: http://google.images).

The bronze ox wagon laager represents the way the defensive ring was constructed by the Voortrekkers on the day of the battle, while the Ncome monument represents the attacking formation of the Zulu's on the day of the battle.The Ncome monument (constructed post-1994) also aligns with the strategic post-colonial ethos that post-colonial monuments should be in the proximity of a colonial monument (Maré 2007: 36-48). However, the construction of the Ncome monument on the site can also be historically justified as a reflection of the battle and its placement is, therefore, functional and historically correct.

The outer appearance of the facades of the two monuments are clearly 'objects to be perceived,' because they represent an event that took place in the past. The external features of the monuments are aligned with Ware's (2008:1) observation of monuments. Ware (2008:1) explains that 'the etymological roots of the words 'monuments' and 'memory' are linked, because they derive from the meaning to 'be reminded' or to be 'mindful'. The Blood River bronze wagons and the Ncome monument, displaying the shield formation, link the present with the past as visual symbols or representation of a battle that took place and the manner in which the strategies unfolded on the day of the battle.

If buildings/monuments/museums are erected with the aim to be perceived, because they represent an historical event it, aligns with Ware's observation. This equates to the notion that the perception is located on the primary or first level of interpretation, namely buildings/ monuments/museums are objects to be perceived.

However, it seems that there are indications of suggestions that the interpretation of the site could also function on the secondary level. The statements by politicians and role players (after the erection of the Ncome monument) were that the monument was constructed on the site to subtract a meaning which was also situated on the secondary (hermeneutic) level. The statements of various politicians and other role players made it clear that the Ncome monument was not only intended to counterbalance the bronze laager, but that it should also contribute to reconciliation and peace building.

The reference to the secondary or hermeneutic level implies that there is a hidden meaning of both museums that exceeds that of 'objects that only need to be perceived'. When a monument/building functions on the elevated secondary level it inherently contains and allows a hermeneutic interpretation. However, a hermeneutic interpretation could only be achieved if the object contains some symbolic features, or represent something more than just a depiction

of the battle. The deeper meaning of the monuments require that the interpretation could be taken to the next (hermeneutical) level and that they are no longer simply objects that need to be perceived or spatially explained, but that they carry a deeper, symbolic message. It is, therefore, not the mere description of physical form, but the intention with their arrangement or symbolic features that should be the medium of access to the meaning of the monuments (Maré 2009: 133).

However, before going any further, a basic understanding of the concept of hermeneutics is required. Hermeneutic theory is a complicated concept with a broad spectrum of related meanings attached to it; it is:

(a) a theory for all linguistic understanding
(b) a methodology that underlies all social sciences
(c) it is a phenomenology of the process of tradition
(d) it is a theory of the processes of understanding and how they relate to the interpretation of text
(e) it is a constructive philosophical text (A. Faure 2010: 39).

Ricoer was the main exponent of the 'theory of the processes of understanding and how the monuments relate to the interpretation of text'(d - above) and the views of hermeneutic rationality. According to hermeneutic rationality, the aim is to seek meaning in an object. The discovery of meaning should then, as a third step, be augmented by an explanation. The confirmation of the original conjectures becomes clearer (or less clear) as the interpretation text continues (Faure 2010: 39).

A hermeneutic interpretation of the Ncome and Blood River monuments

The challenge in the analytical interpretation of the Ncome and Blood River monuments is to hermeneutically find an imbedded meaning beyond a mere functioning on a concrete primary level. The guiding question of the article is, therefore, to establish if the Ncome/Blood River monuments contain any meaning that is integrated in their structures, or directly or symbolically in their layout that could perpetuate and evaluate their function to enhance peace and nation building. This will add a powerful meaning and purpose to the monument/museum complex. As Maré (2009: 133) points out in her research on both the Ncome and Blood River monuments "although they (the monuments) would fail aesthetically as work of art, it is possible that their construction means that they are meaningful to their designers and to the architects."

L. Jones (2000: 41) observes that the intended (hermeneutic) meaning normally arises from specific situations and must always have meaning for a specific person at a specific time, in a specific place and in a specific context. It would appear on the surface that both monuments predominantly represent a historical period and that they are linked to specific underpinning ideological predispositions and political goals and do not have a meaning that directly or indirectly relates to peace and reconciliation. The intention was never that the wagon laager should represent any other than to recollect the battle that took place on the 16th December 1838.

The two monuments in their specific spatial location on the banks of the Ncome River allow for a specific and related meaning on the primary (object to be perceived) level. The two monuments historically interrelate, 'interact' and accentuate each other (Schönfeld-Aultman 2010: 223). One monument, in effect, defines or even legitimises the other, because when they

are perceived in isolation, the 'battle' scene seems to be incomplete. The outer boundaries of the Ncome Monument and the shape define its appearance and function, because it represents' itself in relation to the static bronze laager across the river. On the opposite side of the river, the static bronze laager defines itself intentionally or unintentionally stronger with the Ncome monument that is now also constructed on the site. For the first time the bronze laager's defensive capabilities are defined by an attacking force which complete the scene.

Jones' (2000: 41) view that the context is important is a very valuable observation, but it only applies on the primary (non-hermeneutic level) level. On the first (object) level the observation is merely a perception and the subtraction is basically uncomplicated and it will not necessarily lead to a difference in opinion. On the surface the bronze laager and the Ncome monument/museum in their specific context are merely a depiction and a representation of a battle that took place on the site more than 150 years ago. However, when a meaning has to be extracted on the secondary (hermeneutical) level, the observer will have to interpret the words and actions of politicians and/or the symbolic features that were imbedded by the architects and designer. These could potentially provide clues, unlock and provide an answer to the hidden meaning of the monuments; and allow progression to the secondary hermeneutic level.

Although it is important to interpret the verbal confirmation of the meaning of the monuments by the various role players, because it potentially provides an important clue to augment the meaning of the monuments, it is important to approach it with caution. It is of critical importance that the spoken word be supplemented and corroborated by specific features; and that imbedded symbolism was integrated during their respective design.

The verbal and written explanation of meaning by politicians and other role players is a logic point of departure to unlock the hermeneutics of the monuments and is a valuable starting point to understand the 'hidden' meaning of the monuments. Matshali of the IFP's argued that the construction of the Ncome monument on the site will correct the (then) current imbalance (only a bronze laager) and counterbalance the monument which symbolises Afrikaner domination (Schönfeld-Aultman 2010: 223). It is evident that his observation is located on the first level and correlates and coordinates with the sentiment that monument(s) are objects to be perceived.

However, Matshali's statement is clearly an attempt to distract a meaning that is situated on both levels (primary and secondary) namely the 'object to be perceived' and the 'hermeneutic level'. However, in the final analysis it is of critical importance that a meaning could be hermeneutically subtracted from the monument to coordinate and align with the second part of Matshali's observation "that the monuments will promote reconciliation and nation building"(Schönfeld-Aultman 2010: 223)

As Schönfeld-Aultman (2010: 223) correctly indicated, "as long as the Ncome monument exists it will be attacking", and it could be added to his statement "that as long as the bronze wagon laager existed, it will be defending." The Ncome monument represents the Zulu as a warrior with apparently little effort to incorporate a reconciliatory dimension in the features or layout of the monuments. The same is true about the bronze laager, where nothing was allowed with the exception of a specific function on the primary level, namely to be observed as an object to be perceived. The two monuments are, therefore, defined by their outer appearance as "an attacking force and a defensive laager" and, in spite of the rhetoric, it is very difficult to see anything beyond that notion.

Monuments are, as Maré (2009: 133) correctly indicates, paradoxical structures "…they permanently fix the past in physical form." There is hardly any other meaning that could be

subtracted to support the notion of politicians and other role players to allow an evaluation of the secondary (hermeneutical) level. This is equally true for the bronze laager its basic essential feature is to protect and defend and it was not intended for reconciliation and peace building. Therefore, in spite of the intended meaning of the words and the noble intention of those who uttered them, the extraction of the goals pertaining to peace and reconciliation of the two monuments is very difficult to reach.

There is no escape from interpreting the existing monuments from a lofty hermeneutical level other than perceiving them as objects that represent the battle that took place on the site. It is almost impossible to subtract hermeneutically anything else from the existing constructions in spite of the noble intention of many role players. According to Jones (2000:41), the monuments must have a meaning for someone at a specific time at a specific place. It is extremely difficult to extract any other meaning from the site than that the Ncome monument served the purpose of completing the battle scene by conducting a corrective balancing at. The addition of the Ncome monument/museum completes the battle jig saw puzzle by adding the missing piece of the battle.

General appearance of the Blood River/Ncome monuments/museums

It is, furthermore, interesting that the defensive bronze laager architecturally aligns with the notion of apartheid buildings and structures which could be recognised from their formal and almost exclusive nature. The 'apartheid buildings' radiated very little energy and reflected a sombre facade with little free flowing dynamics. The architecture of public buildings in Pretoria and elsewhere in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town reflected a sombre, formal authority and in the process compromised free flowing energy in its spatial environment. Their fortress-like appearance presented a dominance which was not easy to ignore, but none of them reflected openness and free flowing energy (See in this regard the difference between the facade and outside appearance of the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park in P. Labuschagne 2010: 115).

Hoetzel believes that apartheid as a closed political system had a profound influence on architecture in South Africa and that the politics were reflected in the buildings' closed exclusive nature. He argues that the architecture in other countries do not reflect such vivid testimony of history, politics and social divisions than the buildings in South Africa (http:www.southafrica.infor/about/arts/architecture-230805.htm).

The intention of the architects who designed the Apartheid Museum was, therefore, to utilise space stronger as part of the new culture of planning and building to maximise the building's facade in its spatial environment. This signalled a new approach to architecture and space, within architectural design, with an emphasis on creating an energetic new, young and open society, with a style that is more spatial than visual. MphethiMorojele, of the contracting firm who designed the Museum emphasised that the idea was to emphasise the spatial rather than the visual aspects: "The design space anticipates the new ways of how people live. It reflects rural habits in an urban setting – a culture going through transition." (http:www.southafrica.info/about/arts/architecture-230805.htm).

The Ncome museum reflects to a certain extent the free flowing energetic design as described above. It's elegant almost flat façade with a low roof radiates energy; and free flowing features within its spatial environment provide and radiate the energy of the new era. However,

the Ncome monument/museum is defined in relation to the bronze laager which restricts it functionality to a large extent.

Towards peace and reconciliation – the way forward

One of the impediments at the Blood River/ Ncome reconstructed battle site, towards the elusive goal of peace and reconciliation is its inclination towards duality. The spatial appearance equates to a 'tale of two cities' or rather 'a tale of two monuments' that share a common site.

The Ncome monument was erected to restore the imbalance that was created with the erection of the bronze laager; and its intended purpose was not to occupy space holistically in a coherent manner, but predominantly to correct an existing (colonial) imbalance. The two monuments/museums, therefore, created almost a forced paradox, because, although the narrative of the battle that is on display in both museums, does not differ substantially on the basic facts, their unison is lost within their broader spatial arrangement. The two displays in two different locations create the impression of a divided, dual and split identity which is contrary to the ideal of unity. The divided, spatial arrangement is exacerbated by the fact that the two monuments are 'confrontationally' arranged opposite each other and the potential unity that could be created by the monuments is lost to a great extent. The celebration of the historic battle over the years on 16 December was conducted on two sites on the same day which reinforce the notion of 'us' and 'them' and did little to bridge the divide between the two monuments.

As Annie Combes (V. Harris 2004: 115) wrote in the publication "*History after apartheid: visual culture and public memory in democratic South Africa*" (this) reflects the complexity of competing narratives and the challenge to present a balanced picture of how to remember and (how) to be mindful. Her account demonstrates "that there is forgetting in all remembering and that all memory projects are shaped by competing narratives". In spite of the fact that the information on display at both museums does not differ substantially, the fact that there are two sources of information which strengthens the perception of duality and which is acerbated by the fact that, in the past, there were separate festivals on 16 December attended by different racial groups.

G. Baines (2009: 331) also suggested "memorialisation is a highly charged political process that will ultimately lead to contestation of past events." In light of the existing monuments and buildings and what they represent it will be very difficult to build a synergy into the spatial arrangement. It is very interesting to look comparatively at the Ncome/Blood River monuments and the way the Apartheids Museum (Johannesburg) was spatially constructed. Rankin and Schmidt (2009:78) emphasise the challenge that initially faced the Apartheids Museum of representing a balanced reflection of the apartheid past. It was important for the designers to do it in such a manner that it exposes the impact of apartheid, but also that it does not undermine the process of reconciliation and peace building in the country.

The Apartheid Museum structured the interior of the display to allow for a primary and secondary interpretation by using space to recreate the restricted and oppressive nature of apartheid. This is done by skilfully directing the visitor through various passages and open areas (Labuschagne 2010:36) and (Rankin and Schmidt 2009: 78) to recreate the feeling of being restricted and manipulated. The visitor to the Apartheid Museum is spatially 'manipulated' through the outline and construction of a series of passages, smaller rooms and other spaces. In other words the exhibitions are initially intended to be perceived (primary level), before the

meaning is elevated to a secondary, spatial level where a deeper meaning could be hermeneutically subtracted from their appearance. The last section of the tour through the Apartheids Museum is specifically planned to allow room for reflection and deeper meaning. The visitor walks from a noisy interior to a display of 'objects to be perceived, but then progresses from the interior to the serenity of a quiet area outside. The serenity is in the form of a small park with planting and a small lake with benches which creates a sense of serenity and reflection. It allows for a deeper non-verbal and non-physical experience which has a deeper meaning beyond the perception of objects.

It would be interesting if a similar project could be launched at Ncome/Blood River whereby organised tours visit both museums, but that the last section be manipulated and constructed in the form of a park near the river that allows for quiet reflection experiencing the history. A path with appropriate wording and messages could be displayed on the way and could then lead to an inner sanctuary where the visitor could sit down and reflect on reconciliation and peace building. The park could bridge and unite the divergent parts of the site in a meaningful manner that could be very useful for the ideals of nation building and reconciliation.

The management of the Ncome/Blood River museum complex is already taking positive steps to rectify the situation in an effort to meet the goals of peace and reconciliation and has built a pedestrian bridge to connect the two sites. If the bridge could perhaps be adapted to be more symbolical and when linked with other arrangements it could offer the opportunity for reflection and to contemplate the goals of peace and reconciliation.

Figure 6
The newly erected bridge over the river is a very positive step towards fostering peace and reconciliation at the site. The bronze laager is just visible to the right.
(photograph: Elrica Henning, 2013).

In conclusion, the question should be asked and it could also be argued that battlefields should not implicitly or inherently be seen as 'launch pads' for peace and reconciliation. Perhaps

envisaging battlefields or similar places as pivotal point towards reconciliation and peace building is inherently compromised and that the answer is that special space should be created such as Freedom Park. The application and discussion of Ncome/Blood River in the article serves as an example of the challenge to use battlefields for the purpose of peace and reconciliation.

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Diachronic and synchronic identities of multicultural groups in South Africa

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Indigenous ethic groups and White settlers in South Africa historically established their various identities by means of their settlement patterns and architecture, in an indigenous, or compromised European way. During the past century this diachronic diversity has become obsolete, especially in the present rapidly urbanising post-apartheid country. Population growth and the accelerating rate of integration of all ethnic groups are presently transforming most urban sectors, giving rise to the extremes of secluded affluent suburbs and informal settlements on the outskirts of cities or overcrowding in run-down urban areas. It is proposed that the current cultural chaos and loss of identity of South African peoples may be countered by the restructuring of built environments in order to harmonise the diachronic and synchronic life worlds of various groups, affording them a choice of habitat - a freedom not previously granted by institutionalised segregation.
Key words: South Africa, diachronic and synchronic identities, multicultural groups, life worlds

Diachroniese en sinchroniese identiteite van multikulturele groepe in Suid-Afrika
Inheemse etniese groepe en blanke setlaars het histories hulle onderskeie identiteite by wyse van hulle nadersettingspatrone en argitektuur gevestig, in 'n inheemse of gekomprimenteerde Europese wyse. Sodanige diachroniese veskeidenheid het gedurende die afgelope eeu uitgedien geraak, veral in die huidige post-apartheid-land waarin verstedeliking teen 'n versnellende tempo plaasvind. Bevolkingsaanwas en die toenemende tempo van die integrasie van alle etniese groepe transformeer tans die meeste stedelike sektore, wat aanleiding gee tot die uiterste verskynsels van afgeslote welgestelde voorstede en informele nedersettings aan die buitewyke van stede of die oorbewoning van vervalle stedelike gebiede. Daar word voorgestel dat die huidige kulturele chaos en identiteitsverlies van die Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking gestuit kan word deur die herstrukturering van beboude omgewings ten einde die diachroniese en sinchroniese lewenswêrelde van onderskeie groepe te harmoniseer, ten einde hulle 'n keuse van woongebied te bied - 'n vryheid wat nie voorheen deur geïnstitusionaliseerde segregasie moontlik was nie.
Sleutelwoorde: Suid-Afrika, diachroniese en sinchroniese identiteite, multikulturele groepe, lewenswêrelde

Waar geen collectieve herinnering meer is, kan geen cultuur zijn [Where there is no longer a collective memory, culture cannot exist] (H.W. von der Dunk 2009: 46).

South Africa covers an extensive geographical area where various peoples have historically developed in isolation and shaped their own identities and destinies, notwithstanding sporadic conflict and intermingling with other groups. The introductory part of the paper deals with some ethnic groups that traditionally created their own material and social environments, comprising their life worlds, that is their worlds of everyday existence. Among these are the San or Bushmen, various black tribes and white settlers. These peoples' various kinds of shelter, settlement patterns or town layouts have all but become obsolete in a rapidly urbanising, post-apartheid country. With political change the apartheid urban model of segregation by means of peri-urban group areas and the emphasis on ethnic identity in homelands, was abolished in the early 1990s. Since then population growth has been transforming urban sectors, most often for the worse because of overcrowding and the overloading of existing services. In informal settlements on the outskirts of expanding cities or overcrowded, run-down urban areas that are deteriorating into slums, the sense of a meaningful life world for the dwellers, mainly blacks, is destabilised. The political and social transformation since 1994, when the African National Congress came to power, has also affected whites, the more affluent of whom still live in green suburbs where fear of crime has grotesquely transformed street vistas nationwide

by the erection of high security walls and barbed wire fences around isolated houses. Blacks, Indians and Colourds who have acquired wealth have also moved into these suburbs and their life style follows the same environmental pattern as that of the secluded whites. The outcome of the changing sense of place for South Africans reflect an unequal society, no longer divided by colour, but by poverty and wealth. The future consequence of this trend is unpredictable. However, some guidelines for harmonising diachronic and synchronic life worlds are forthwith suggested for restructuring built environments to curb the present chaotic situation.

Defining identity

A city is not constructed only spatially, but also socially and culturally, with accumulated historical knowledge. According to Philippe Gervais-Lambony (2006: 53) identity "refers not to a given reality but rather to a discourse which is intended to bring order to things. It is a narrative 'the function of which is to make normal, logical, necessary, and unavoidable the feeling of belonging to a group'" (quoted from Martin 1994: 23, translated by Gervais-Lambony). Thus Gervais-Lambony (2006: 66) concludes that identity is informed by time, by choice and politics that are all "spatialised".[1] What is spatialised by a group refers to the material expression of identity, i.e. an identity that can be recognised in architecture and settlement structure that are the basis for the formation of cultural landscapes that in past eras distinguished vernacular places in South Africa. Following on this statement, the historical territorial identities, expressed in cultural forms, of various groups that manifested in uniquely different ways in the same land, are outlined in the next section.

Diachronic life worlds

The San peoples demarcated the boundaries of the geographical areas they occupied by means of signs, later designated by archaeologists as "rock art". These forager communities, present in Southern Africa for half a millennium, rarely altered their temporal natural habitat. They left traces of their whereabouts in the form of depictions that researchers have interpreted in various ways. Jan Rosvall (1972: 216) aptly states that "Rock paintings are not comparable to archaeological artifacts in general, they are intentionally visualized messages". There seems to be specific reasons why certain boulders and rock shelters were chosen by the San, rather than others (figure 1). Vitorio Vaccaro (1992: 104) who carried out research in the Drakensberg area of Natal, came to the conclusion that the influence of factors such as habitation and refuge from the elements could not entirely account for the choice of one rock shelter or boulder in favour of another, since "the shelters and boulders containing paintings may have served a social function tied up with San rituals and ceremonies rather than the 'material' needs of the San". The choice of surfaces for graphic depiction was not merely of aesthetic importance to the San community, but also served to demarcate ritual venues, i.e. life world contexts which, to them, were as meaningful and important as material considerations such as the availability of water or a view of the hunting fields. The San created a sense of meaning by utilising a symbolic and mythological place-making process that satisfied the psychological needs of the tribe. Their sense of orientation in the natural environment did not entail the modification of their habitat by the construction of long-lasting dwelling places.

Figure 1
San shelter, Lesotho Highlands
(source: internet).

All the other ethnic groups who settled in the southernmost part of Africa altered their natural habitat. Consequently, every dwelling and all communal settlements represent a separation from nature by means of which people who build them constitute for themselves a specific identity. In South Africa those historical peoples who made their life worlds visible in dwellings, settlements and towns comprise two main groups: the Bantu-speaking tribes and the white settlers. These two groups dwelt and built differently in the same land.

Bantu-speaking tribes who were traditionally agro-pastoralists, migrated to the southernmost parts of Africa by 200 BCE. They created a distinct kind of settlement pattern, consisting of mud-walled and thatched dwellings in hierarchical order or in differentiated social groupings around a central cattle precinct, while the boundaries of the area they occupied were demarcated by grazing cattle (figure 2). Another such settlement pattern is that of the KwaNdebele of which few authentic examples remain. The Southern Ndeble traditionally lived in an *imizi*, structured circularly or semi-circularly for dwelling and other functions around a cattle pen. In this layout families as units of an extensive tribal group lived together.[2] The pattern of indigenous rural settlements in Southern Africa are generally characterised by the physical provision made for the various interpersonal relationships that are entrenched in the traditions and culture of tribal peoples. These relationships are mirrored in the organisation of their habitats to the extent that an individuals status in his or her society or peer group will predetermine a personal location in the overall settlement layout and structure (figure 2). Franco Frescura (1983: 40) typifies this kind of architecture as highly ordered and functional, "capable of expressing a variety of spatial principles, of responding to the builder's needs and aspirations for a comfortable dwelling and of reflecting the inhabitants' cultural mores and social organisation". The settlement patterns of black tribes confirm the statement by R. Woodward (1982: 288): "Settlement form has traditionally offered deep psychological nourishment for the emotional and spiritual needs of man, culturally reworking and exploring the inexhaustible power of symbols."

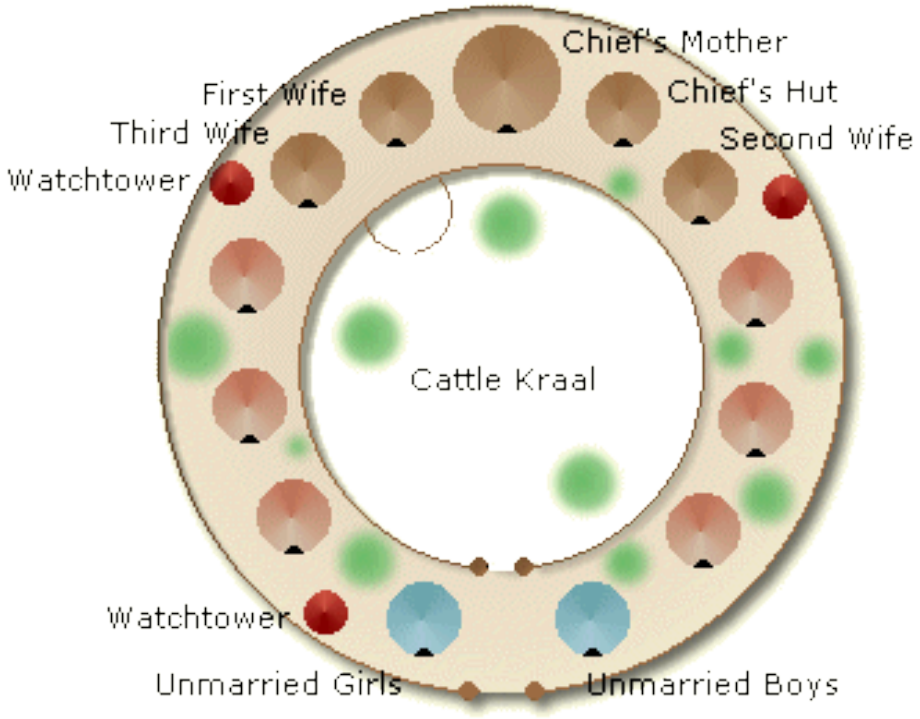

Figure 2
Schematic layout of a Zulu kraal (source: internet).

However, White designers of mass housing for Blacks in or adjacent to segregated cities showed no sympathy with social and symbolic norms as expressed in indigenous tribal settlements. Nicholas Coetzer (2013: 189) summarises the prejudice against retaining tribal layouts as follows:

> There had been a longstanding desire on the part of missionaries to remove the circle as a structuring device from native dwellings and buildings as a way of continuing the "civilizing" mission - the instrumentalist programme par excellence. The Natal government had even [in 1914] offered tax incentives to those Natives who lived in orthogonal dwellings filled with Western furniture.

The Dutch settlers who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope from Europe in 1652 had a post-perspectival mindset.[3] They demarcated the boundaries of their homesteads and farms by means of surveyors' posts, as a sign of land ownership. Later they geometrised all their new-found towns by means of a grid pattern such as Graaff-Reinet, the fifth oldest town in South Africa, founded by the Dutch East India Company in 1786 (figures 3 and 4). Other towns that exemplify this pattern are Pietermaritzburg, founded in 1854, and Pretoria, founded in 1855. This rectilinear pattern that characterises post-industrial Western cities became the dominant one in South African urban layouts. It is presently also applied in informal settlements where reticulation for water and electricity is provided.

Figure 3
View of Graaf-Reinette
(photograph by the author).

Figure 4
Plan of of Graaf-Reinette
(source: Basson 1994: 143).

When the Cape came under British control in 1806 their imperialist vision was to "construct Cape Town into the ordered Imperial landscape of Country/Town/Suburb and Self/Other/ Same..." (Coetzer 2013: 13). The agents of Empire were Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902), called "The Architect of Empire" and Herbert Baker (1862-1946), an architect who arrived at the Cape in 1892. The English conjured up a "retroactive presence, alongside the Dutch, as the original settlers of the Cape" (Coetzer 2013: 43). Inspired by building preservation and nationalist architectural movements in England Cape Dutch homesteads were appropriated as a common English/Afrikaner heritage. Thus, according to (Coetzer 2013: 81):

> Cape Dutch architecture, and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, came discursively to represent and symbolize a useful take on history, civilization and culture through which White South Africans, and more directly, upper-middle-class English South Africans, made claims of possession of the land; the valorized Self was located in the countryside, through what was generally considered "high" architectural design. It was axiomatic then - and if one excluded the rural predominance of "tribal" Africa - that the Other resided in the city, literally in the slums and back alleys hidden behind the façades of polite society.

As a practical application of high architectural design Rhodes commissioned Baker to convert Simon van der Stel's extensive barn building, called Groote Schuur, that he had bought in 1883, into a Cape Dutch homestead as his own residence and that of future prime ministers of the Union of South Africa (figure 5).

Figure 5
Herbert Baker, Groote Schuur, Rondebosch
(source: http: www.google.co.za/imgres?imgurl).

Following a policy of creating an aesthetic urban order based on the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts village and City Beautiful planning by excluding slum-dwellers from the city intended to be a civilized social White space, the agents of Empire "operating through the imperatives of Empire, laid the solid foundations on which the ugly edifice of apartheid was built" (Coetzer 2013: 13).

The British "invented tradition"[4] of architectural identity at the Cape was a fantasy that sought to "inculcate certain values and norms of behavior [...], which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 2000: 1). The continuity of the Cape Dutch architectural tradition as an indigenous creation with European roots obviously denied the South African reality of a multiracial and multicultural society and excluded all indigenous peoples who devised their own settlement patterns.

Colonial architecture, of both the Dutch and the British variety, graced South Africa with landmark buildings, for example the neo-classical Union Buildings in Pretoria, designed by Herbert Baker and completed in 1913 (figure 6). The twin domed towers of this curved building symbolise the languages of the white South groups – Afrikaans and English – that were united in the integration of the four South African provinces in a union. That gesture of nation-building excluded the black and coloured peoples.[5]

Figure 6
The Union Buildings, Pretoria
(photograph by the author).

Later, during the second half of the twentieth century, the International Style that became the dominant architectural style in South Africa contributed to the homogenisation of the built environment in cities. However, in a socially diversified country such as South Africa, spatial uniformity is, at best, an artificial achievement that denies the expression of past identities without manifesting a more inclusive or national identity that still remains elusive.

Synchronic life worlds: perceptual and associational

Intergroup conflict, the disruption and dislocation of socio-cultural systems and the subordination of one power by another, mostly involuntary, has always occurred as far back as human memory stretches. However, disruption and dislocation of groups of people have occurred with alarming regularity in South Africa. Indeed, South Africa has a history of extensive displacement of people, even before the first half of the nineteenth century when the Voortrekkers (the descendants of Dutch settlers) left the Cape to escape British rule. Ethnic confrontation and the displacement of nomadic peoples happened during the expansion of early colonial settlements. Not only colonial governments and their agents, but also missionaries and other expansionists, such as hunters and traders, enforced their conviction about what was "best for the natives" for centuries. During the second half of the past century, in the name of the segregation of races, referred to as "separate development" some of the worst cases of social engineering was committed by South Africa's previous government.

The result of the prolonged displacement of people in order to keep the races apart, has resulted in South African cities and towns suffering from three characteristic spatial patterns: low density sprawl, fragmentation and separation.[6] To remedy this situation international principles for urban spatial restructuring could be applied, such as the integration of built-up and non-built-up environments, compaction and densification, the integration of functions and activities within urban spaces, and urban development as a continuance process, as opposed to fragmentation.[7] The requirement that citizens' dependency on automobile transport be reduced is all but impossible to realise in a country where apartheid planning created extensive distances between labourers' dwelling and work places.

The multicultural nature of South African society may be explained in the same terms that Ross Woodward (1982: 289) describes contemporary Western society, "where there is an agglomeration of world-views and no overarching canopy to define concrete perceptual meanings". This implies a chronic state of cultural disorder without an appropriate state response.[8] In dealing with this complex situation the advice of James Hillman (1986: 16) is appropriate: that ways of looking at a situation imply ways of dealing with it. Thus, by looking at the original life worlds in South Africa that have all but disappeared, one may surmise that only in a very general sense can diachronic life worlds be reconstituted synchronically in an attempt to reestablish cultural identities in order to eliminate the present disorder of anonymity.

Of the total population of some fifty million more than a quarter live in informal settlements (figure 7).[9] Planners have tried to structure their layout by means of access roads and straight streets to facilitate water reticulation and other services. The resulting arrangement of stands in a regular geometric way makes it virtually impossible for the inhabitants themselves to rearrange their physical layout in order to create worthwhile social relationships in slum conditions. Despite an almost willful disregard of the subject by academics and a resultant lack of public awareness of diachronic life worlds, evidence seems to indicate that the idioms and spatial values of the Southern African rural dwellers play a far greater part in what has been retained in the common culture of the people themselves than has been the case in the post-industrial white society.

Figure 7
An informal settlement, near Cape Town (source: internet).

There seems to be a need to recover associational worlds for which the planners ignorantly fail to make provision. The notion of associational worlds derives from Amos Rapoport (1970: 5) who differentiates between perceptual and associational worlds. He suggests that the perception of an object becomes more and more culturally determined as it possesses high levels of meaning, which in a pluralist society are more personalised and hence not accessible to designers. However, perceptual and associational worlds are linked. A pluralist society is, by definition, segmented, which means that conscious design for shared symbolic associational worlds is virtually impossible. Therefore, in the deteriorating South African built environment, the words of G. Banz (1970: 95) ring ominously true: "In the past, when individual and community

were uniformly attuned to the symbolism of urban form, signals could be precise and messages subtle." The same is true in the case of the rural and pioneering settlements referred to.

Past visions of the future

Under the white nationalist government (1948-93) separate urban for black people were established because their labour was needed in white cities. This policy did not create a viable or sustainable future for the country and, to the detriment of the blacks in search of a livelihood in an industrialised society, it compromised their identity as a pastoral people. In this regard M. Koll (1972: 12), a German advised as follows on the South African situation: "Rather than imposing their own norms and values, authorities should try to get into closer contact with the people, observe what felt needs of the people are, how people build if they are left to do so on their own behalf and then align institutional norms of housing agencies with the spontaneous action of the people." Further outside advice to the minority white government's planners came from the Americans, W.J. Hanna and J.L. Hanna (1971: 68), who motivated their plea for the creation of acceptable life worlds for urbanising Africans, because "the culture shock of the shift from rural to urban life as well as the future shock of continuing urban change – may lead to increased personal anxiety and stress". Now that the process has run its course and the new majority government has neglected the needs of rural blacks in informal settlements, the problem of creating physical environments with the symbolic value of cultural places that will diminish personal anxiety and stress needs to be addressed anew.[10]

Place-making has been interpreted in different ways, but in the context of South Africa's future, the words of Michael Mooney have an ominous ring: "Individually and culturally, our lives are 'fixed' by places and events. We are caught up in them as if in a web, having in them our bearing and orientation. To be 'in place' and a part of events, also means to be in flux, and thus in a kind of permanent jeopardy." It is granted that existentially all human places and events are more or less permanently in jeopardy, but the epochal changes that South Africa has been undergoing during the past twenty years since the demise of apartheid in 1992, add to the uncertainty of the mass of the people. No doubt, Koll and the Hannas are right in pointing out that the change of life worlds lead to personal anxiety and stress. The rapid migration of rural people to urban areas have been aggravated by vast numbers of illegal immigrants descending on South Africa from Zimbabwe and other African states. The resulting uncurbed overcrowding in informal enclaves is aggravating poverty and countless other social problems. Violent crime, one of South Africa's worst social problems, is exacerbated further by increasing unemployment and a slow-growing economy.

The future as a mirror of the present, or the place of hope?

Forty years ago there was no dearth of advice from well-meaning fist world advisors, such as Koll and Hanna and Hanna, about South African affairs. However, since past ideals for developing places for urbanising agro-pastoralists to which they can relate, have not come to fruition. On the contrary, urban growth is becoming increasingly disorderly. Slum conditions in informal settlements and overcrowded inner-city enclaves are becoming increasingly hazardous, while affluent whites and blacks are becoming paranoid refugees in their high security suburban homes surrounded by high walls.

What urgent steps should now be taken to meet the physical, social and cultural needs of urban dwellers? What guidelines will be appropriate for urban restructuring that would to some

extent curb the present chaotic urban expansion, and, most importantly, give all South Africans a sense of belonging in life worlds that they identify with by choice?[11]

None of us can return to the life worlds of the past, but the insight should be heeded that in order to provide satisfactory domiciles for the urban dwellers of the third millennium, designers should acknowledge the hunter, gatherer and farmer concealed in the genetic code of human behaviour. This is an insight borrowed from Grant Hildebrand (1999: 6) who reminds us that "the period in which we have been elsewhere than Africsa is brief; the period in which most of us have been other than hunters and gatherers is briefer still; the period that we have been primarily urban dwellers is the blink of an eye. The period that most South Africans have been primarily urban dwellers is less than a century".

It therefore makes sense to look back at both the rural and urban legacy of all groups in South Africa and to make the conservation their environmental and architectural heritage a priority. Although government funding for preservation and restoration is limited, university departments of Architecture may teach courses relating to the history of rural settlements. Studying vernacular styles will not only make students aware of indigenous solutions to architectural problems, but may influence a more authentic architectural paradigm for modern urban architecture.[12] It may well be true that "The humbler buildings, by reason of their adherence to type and numerical superiority, are more important markers of basic cultural processes than are uniquely designed structures" (Kniffen 1865: 553). Also Amos Rapoport (1980: 302) concludes that modern built environments fulfill functions regarding the communication of culture less effectively than vernacular environments. Regarding the uniquely designed structures it has been established that various groups, whites, Coloureds, Indians, and urban blacks identify strongly with historical buildings that relate to their culture or have been appropriated during recent political events.[13] If, for the sake of the much vaunted African Renaissance, official and academic preference should be given to a specific associational life world above all the others, this would surely be discriminatory and negatory of South Africa's diverse cultural traditions.

The lessons to be learnt from the past should be extended to social issues. In addition to the study of historical evidence of physical planning with a social purpose, anthropologists should be included in all planning teams to offer advice about the structure of community and family bonds that have shaped the layouts of pastoral settlements, in order to achieve a symbolic echo of tradition for the design of urban neighbourhoods. In doing so, planners and architects could possibly revive a sense of identity and permanency in the interrelationships of groups of people who choose to belong together and find solutions to the functional requirements of individual dwellings and social gathering places. This new approach to planning could serve as a remedy for the fragmentation caused by apartheid planning. Even in informal settlements the revival of layouts reminiscent of traditional settlements could be implemented by adapting modern building technology and materials, since it is unlikely that in this day and age anyone would be willing to live in a thatched mud hut. As an "African architect", as Peter Riche designates himself (see his website), succeeded in designing for the needs of black residents, for example the layout of a sub-economic suburb outside Johannesburg, the River Park housing project, embarked on in 1994. The 150 housing units that were built are constructed of modern materials and arranged in a way that enhances communal life (figure 7).

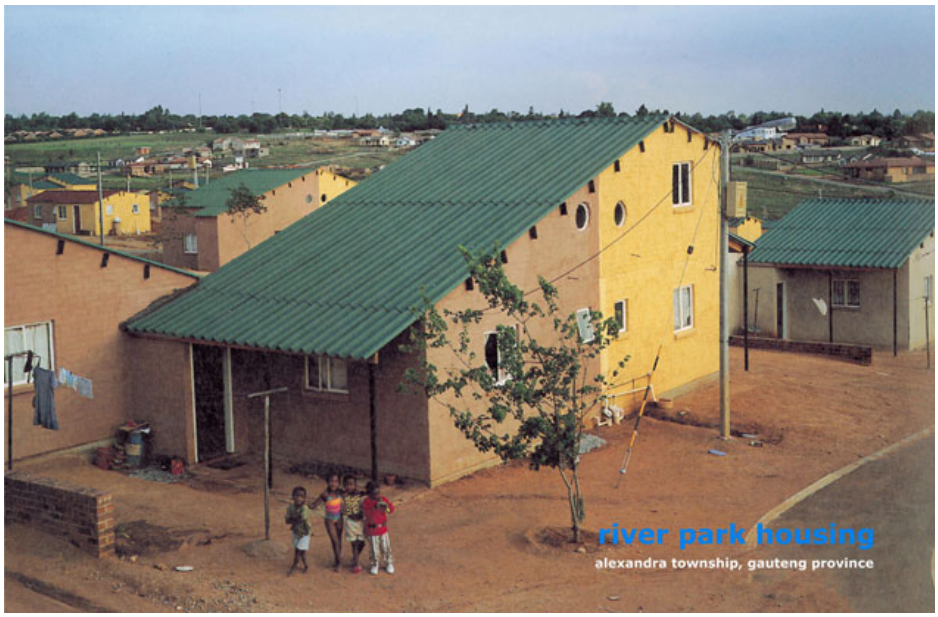

Figure 8
Peter Riche, sub-economic suburb outside Johannesburg
(source: http://www.peterrichearchitects.co.za/projects/riverpark).

In a more theoretical way, Jodi Davids (2007) submitted a master's degree at the University of KwaZulu Natal that echoes the ideas reflected in the present article. Davids states the purpose of his research as follows:

> This study focuses on the role of identity in architecture and examines the transformation and development of South African architectural expression of South African architectural expression and reflexion as seen through the window of identity. The study seeks to question how the built environment can begin to respond to and reflect the concerns and aspirations of its inhabitants and also highlights the existence of the mutually constitutive link between identity, space and the built form.[14]

This case study looks in particular at the area of Wentworth, situated south of Durban, and how architecture can "be used to create public space which contributes to the formation of a collective and heterogeneous community identity, an identity which celebrates the diversity of its inhabitants while giving dignity and a sense of place to the environment".[15] This is a laudable ideal which presumably remained on paper because it is difficult to accept the thesis that a diverse society can be homogenised or integrated by means of identification with a public space created by architecture. The ideal here seems to be what Robert Adam (2013: 1) calls :the two poles of globalisation "homogenisation and localisation".

From a different point of view Jonathan Noble (2011) focusses on projects that were won in architectural competitions, since such competitions are conceived within ideological debates which allows for an examination of interrelationships between architecture, politics and culture. These projects are the Mpumalanga Legislature, Nelspruit, the Northern Cape Legislature, Kimberley, the Constitutional Court of South Africa at Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, the Walter Sisulu Square of Dedication, Kliptown, and Freedom park, Pretoria. The author examens "questions of postcolonial identity" (2011: 3) with reference to Franz Fanon's ideas about "skin" and "mask", the former a given reality, the latter a projection of the self, suggesting a tension or duality of being. In architectural theory the skin is taken to represent modernism, while the mask "emerges as a return to repressed elements, those not deemed to be functional, that

may lead to a dubversion of dominant codes" (2011: 7). In the projects dealt with, designed more or less exclusively by white architects, they turned away from colonial aesthetics to create works of contemporary public architecture that "'concretes' imaginative dialogues with African landscapes, craft and indigenous traditions" (back cover).

These attempts as "localisation" of post-apartheid government projects are meaningful in that they promote a meaningful African identity. These "imaginings [have], in their various ways , ... each made meaningful contributions to an emerging African imaginary in South Africa" (2011: 264). This achievement is laudable, but the projects are isolated in their areas, without historical echoes of community - the ideal advanced in this article.

Conclusion

The physical deterioration of existing informal communities with a diversity of inhabitants that disgrace the entrances to many South African urban areas should, wherever possible, be reversed. The revival of suburban places or the layout of new areas for specific groups the historical roots of the people should be taken into consideration in the planning of social meeting and event places. Thus choice of identity should be advanced as an ideal to encourage meaningful citizen participation, but its implementation in the form of neo-vernacular pastiche should never be enforced by well-meaning planners. In cases where the upgrading of informal settlements is viable they could possibly be integrated into the fabric of established urban areas. This is in line with the international principle that cities be densified and would, furthermore, facilitate rural migrants' social acculturation in a city by affording them a permanent urban foothold.

This enquiry cannot be concluded with quantifiable specifications for urban transformation in South Africa. However, as Zaheer and Zarrin Allam (2013: 3), so succinctly states with reference to developing nations – such as South Africa:

> There is a need for a new urbanism, one that should not aim for the construction of standardized configurations, but instead aim to create a harmony between history and structure, between our past and our present. We need to provide a cohesive architecture that is responsive to human needs and sensibilities. We must emphasize the importance of proper planning more than ever, since the continuation of our present haphazard construction trends will deprive our descendants of a heritage rich in cultural identity and design.

The present urban development in South Africa unfortunately offers little hope for a future that will not amplify the current confusion. Furthermore, the influence globalisation on the built environment does not favour design that takes into consideration issues concerning cultural identity, race, gender, ethnicity or nationality. In this regard, Song (2010: 6) refers to W. Kymlicka (1995: 103) who responds to views that cultures have become cosmopolitan, that "multicultural theorists agree that cultures are overlapping and interactive, but still maintain that individuals belong to distinct societal cultures and wish to preserve their cultures". This insight is reiterated by Adam (2013: 4): "Localisation is closely associated with the politics of identity. Identity is community and place related and the individuality of community and place are undermined by global homogenisation."

It is affirmed that in the case of a developing South Africa increased qualitative understanding of the distinct societal cultures of the past and the best options available at present may yet lead to ways of urban and architectural design that will avoid the cosmopolitan hybridisation of the country's diverse cultural and social heritage. This is possible, not by creating ethnic enclaves in urban wastelands, but by creating cultural landscapes in which architecture "connects people

to the land on which it is built" (Decker *et al.* 2006: 1) – and, one may add, to their heritage. Optimally, places should connect people, as Herbert Gans (1961: 134) points out: "[T]he more intensive forms of social interaction, such a friendship, require homogeneity of background, or of interests, or of values." Therefore, it is proposed that the current nationwide cultural chaos and loss of identity and anonymity of South Africa's peoples may be countered by the restructuring of built environments in order to harmonise the diachronic and synchronic life worlds of various groups, affording them a choice of habitat and association – a freedom not previously granted by institutionalised segregation.[16]

Notes

1 Noble (2011: 3) quotes the French philosopher Etienne Balibar who states that '[i]n reality there are not identities, only identifications. Or, if one prefers, identities are only the ideal goal of processes of identification... . In his analysis of the design of recent public buildings he thus focusses on "the more fluid cycles of identification" (2011:11) with reference to given contexts. However, this is a different approach from the idea promoted in the present article that does not focus on individual government buildings and their symbolic meaning but on the creation of urban enclaves and communal life worlds.

2 See Van Vuuren (1985) on the planning of KwaNdebele settlements. For more general descriptions of indigenous rural settlements see Denyer (1987), Kuper (1980) and Frescura (1981).

3 Maré *et al* (2008: 301-18) for a discussion of the different attitudes of the Dutch colonisers and the indigenous people at the Cape concerning the demarcation and possession of land.

4 The term "invented tradition" was coined by Eric Hobsbawm (2000).

5 See Maré (2012) for a discussion about the way in which special buildings in South Africa were utilised to symbolise nation-building.

6 See Donaldson and Van der Merwe (2000: 45).

7 See Donaldson and Van der Merwe (2000: 49).

8 Sarah Song (2012: 1) defines multiculturalism as follows: "Multiculturalism is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way ro respond to cultural and religious diversity."

9 According to a statement made in March 2013 by the previous minister of housing, Tokyo Sexwale, there is an "uncontrollable increase in informal settlements" http://www.citypress.co.za/news/uncontrollable-inclrease-in-informal-settlements- Sexwale, retrieved on 2013/10/10).

10 After having written the present text I came across and article by Jale Erzen, a lecturer at Izmir University, Turkey, who states: "In Turkey [it] is obvious in the rapidly built social housing complexes that replace the older peripheral settlements where migrants used to create an environment based on kinship and solidarity, with qualities reminding one of their original villages. Although these old settlements lacked many facilities they held these people together and gave them a sense of belonging and autonomy." Thus, one may conclude that urbanisation in rapidly developing countries in which masses of rural people move to cities, such as Turkey and South Africa, similar problems of loss of identity in alien urban settlements.

11 See Maré (1995). In the set assignment students had to identify historical buildings or places that they identify with. Most students articulated their choices clearly according to their ethnic backgrounds, while some also critiqued the places of other ethnic groups that they did not approve of.

12 A case in point is the Union Buildings in Pretoria, a former symbol of white South African unity, which has, since 1994, been associated with the inauguration of Black presidents.

13 For experiments with the application of African vernacular forms and decoration in contemporary South African architecture, see contemporary South African architecture, see Van Schaik (1983) and Riche (1993).

14 Quoted from http://researchspace.ukan.ac.za/xmlui/handle/10413/2323, retrieved on 2013/09/05.

15 *Ibid.*

16 This article is an extended version of the paper read at the international conference, Politics in the History of Architecture as Cause and Consequence, held at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul, 24-27 April 2013.

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The manifestations of African art in Le Corbusier's architecture

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In spite of an emerging African Renaissance, there is still no associated urgency in defining architecture with an African identity. This article explores the claim, made by the African American architect, Melvin Mitchell, that West African art (especially the mask) shaped Le Corbusier's work via cubism. This research relies mainly on formalistic and visual comparisons of typologies and forms, informed by relatively recent literature on the theme of cubism and modernist architecture. There seems to be a considerable alignment between some aspects of Le Corbusier's schemes, and examples of art and architecture from sub-Saharan Africa. Although the findings are impossible to substantiate definitively, they do suggest that there is a need to approach the study of both modernism and African art differently, but explored in conjunction with one another. As such, this article contributes to the idea of Le Corbusier's unfinished project.
Key words: Melvin Mitchell, cubism, purism, African art, Le Corbusier

Die manifestasie van Afrika-kuns in Le Corbusier se argitektuur
Ten spyte van 'n opkomende Afrika Renaissance is daar steeds geen gepaardgaande dringendheid om argitektuur met 'n Afrika-identiteit te definieer nie. Hierdie artikel ondersoek die Afrika Amerikaanse argitek, Melvin Mitchell, se bewering dat die kuns van Wes-Afrika, in besonders die masker, Le Corbusier se werk via kubisme gevorm het. Hierdie navorsing maak hoofsaaklik staat op formalistiese en visuele vergelykings van tipologieë en vorms, toegelig met betreklik onlangse literatuur oor die tema van kubisme en moderne argitektuur. Daar blyk aansienlike ooreenstemming te wees tussen sommige aspekte van Le Corbusier se skemas en voorbeelde van kuns en argitektuur uit sub-Sahara Afrika. Hoewel dit onmoontlik is om die bevindinge beslissend te bevestig, dui hulle daarop dat daar 'n behoefte bestaan om die studie van beide modernisme en Afrika-kuns anders te benader, maar ook dat hulle saam ondersoek behoort te word. As sulks dra hierdie artikel by tot die idee van Le Corbusier se onvoltooide projek.
Sleutelwoorde: Melvin Mitchell, kubisme, purisme, Afrika-kuns, Le Corbusier

With the expression "Africa rising" appearing in the media with increasing frequency, an African Renaissance seems currently more viable than ever before. Concurrently, an African Renaissance without an associated cultural identity is quite inconceivable, and is clearly dependent on the existence of distinctly African architectural idioms. But in spite of considerable rhetoric and debate, this has not happened.

For this reason it is surprising that Afrocentric architects have not embraced – or at least explored – Melvin Mitchell's claim that modernist architecture has African roots. Mitchell is an accomplished African American practicing architect and academic, and makes a provocative statement in his landmark book entitled *The Crises of the African-American Architect* (2003: xi): "I am saying simply that what Black Architecture looks like is the architecture that Wright and Le Corbusier were making between 1905 and 1960 in Europe and America."

Mitchell's book is about education and practice, rather than theory or design. He nevertheless provides enough clues to guide the framework for the research that inspired this article with references to the "Picasso-Cubist inspired architecture of Le Corbusier" and to Le Corbusier's "brilliant cubist art derived 1920s villas and seminal apartment houses" (Mitchell 2003: 263). He also reminds the reader that Le Corbusier "quickly adopted a phenomenology" derived via Picasso and others from West African artwork and mask making as he moved between his painting and his architecture" (Mitchell 2003: 69).

It is the aim of this article to probe this assertion by determining how the impacts of Picasso and the West African mask were made manifest in Le Corbusier's architecture. It is essentially a formalistic investigation, but is intended to contribute to envisaged future research into a major issue that Mitchell (2003: 281) articulates: that the two issues of architecture and black culture must be fused.

The origins, essential elements and manifestations of purism

The inspiration that African masks and sculpture had on Picasso and his fellow avant-gardes in their conception of cubism has been abundantly analysed and commented on (Appiah 1991, Murrell 2008, Palmer 2008, Pennisi 2011 to cite only a few). Bruno Reichlin (2002: 211) explains that Picasso and Braque simply abandoned "traditional modelling" as a result of "a new appreciation of African sculpture". As such, the genealogy proposed by Alfred Barr in the 1930s, described as a "formalist interpretive paradigm" (Blau and Troy 2002: 6), is generally accepted (figure 1). Barr's "paradigm" was prepared for a Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) exhibition in 1936, with the theme "Cubism and Abstract Art". In 1984, MoMA revived the theme and organised "Primitivism in 20th-Century Art", which propagated that (Ferris 2010):

> [Beginning in 1907], African masks in particular played an important and pivotal role in Picasso's radical departure into Cubism. The elements common to African art – spirituality, a foursquare frontal perspective, symmetry, frugality of gesture and distortion of proportion – suddenly became part of the Western artistic vocabulary. Artists were freed to focus on conception and stylized emotion rather than mere renderings of what they saw.

It is equally widely accepted that Le Corbusier's particular style of painting and architecture evolved because of his exposure to cubism after settling in Paris in 1917 (Reichlin 2002: 211). In fact, Barr's genealogy shows a continuum from "Negro sculpture" to cubism and from cubism to modern architecture via purism − a movement established by Le Corbusier and his painter-friend Amédée Ozenfant. Peter Collins makes a rather brusque remark when he says that "[c]ubism, in fact, was only of direct importance to architecture because it was developed by Le Corbusier into 'Purism'" (in Colomina 2002: 148).

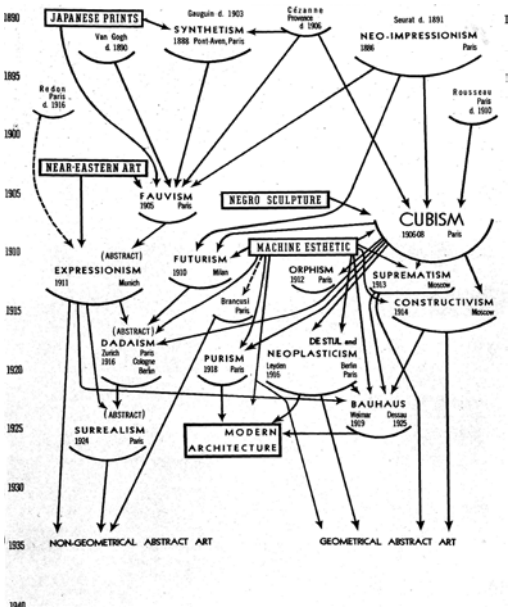

Figure 1
Alfred Barr's jacket design for the catalogue of the MoMA exhibition Cubism and Abstract Art of 1936 (source: Colomina 2002: 146).

Le Corbusier and Ozenfant objected to the picturesqueness and decorative characteristics of cubism and, and designed purism with the aim of achieving rationality, efficiency, precision and controlled geometry. Purism is characterised by the "interpenetration of inner and outer space" (Colomina 2002: 148-9). Bill Risebero (1982: 162) insists that purism "took the cubist rules to more severe and rigorous lengths". Purism is therefore generally regarded as a post-cubist form of painting with a direct relationship to architecture. Reichlin (2002: 203) explains that both Le Corbusier's paintings and his architecture relied on "a plurality of views, itineraries, and readings".

The most visible impact of purism on Le Corbusier's architecture was the production of prismatic, porous, stripped-down, white forms (Blau and Troy 2002: 10). To understand how completely radical these forms were at that time, we need only compare an illustration of a typical popular European house design between the two World Wars (figure 2), with Villa Savoye (completed 1931), the iconic design that represents purism at its zenith (figure 3).

Figure 2
The Mediterranean villa, a popular style among affluent Westerners during the 1920s (source: Reid 1984: 75).

Figure 3
Villa Savoye, designed 1928
(source: courtesy Hugh Fraser).

By 1925 Le Corbusier had formulated the essential elements of purism, with his seminal and well-known Five Points of a New Architecture: the use of (1) columns, (2) roof gardens, (3) the free plan, (4) horizontal windows, and (5) the free façade (figure 4). These constitute an

interrelated set of normative principles, establishing basic rules for most of his subsequent building and even city designs. The free plan allowed him to not only place walls independently from the structural frame, but also curve them in a way that was quite alien to Western practice. This is however the dominant pattern in sub-Saharan Africa. Whereas it is reasonable to imagine how the Five Points were applied to achieve the "interpenetration of inner and outer space", which Colomina writes about, the connection to cubism now becomes rather obscure.

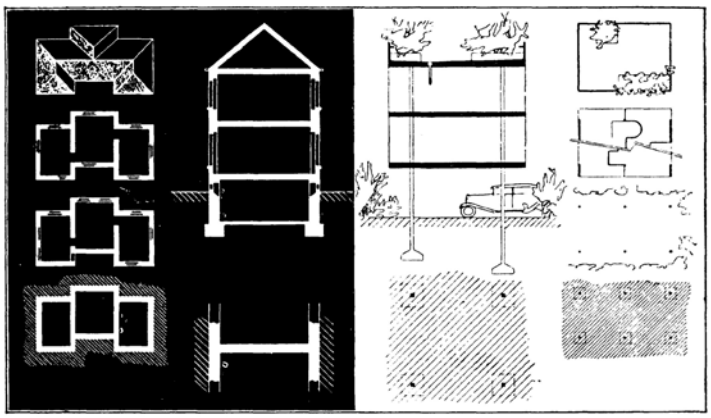

Figure 4
Le Corbusier's sketch to illustrate the Five Points
(source: Le Corbusier 1964: 24).

All Five Points were applied for the first time in 1926, to Villa Cook in Boulogne, although the curved walls (as free forms) were quite tentative (figures 5 and 6). This was the first of Le Corbusier's houses to be lifted off of the ground, but was supported on the lateral party walls and with only one column. Villa Cook also demonstrates how the Five Points allowed Le Corbusier to articulate the cubist boxes by hollowing out the solid mass, and modulating the empty spaces as double volumes; the seemingly square plan and cubic form is porous and actually contains enclosed L-shaped living volumes, enfolding either utility and circulation quarters at every level, or the garden at roof level.

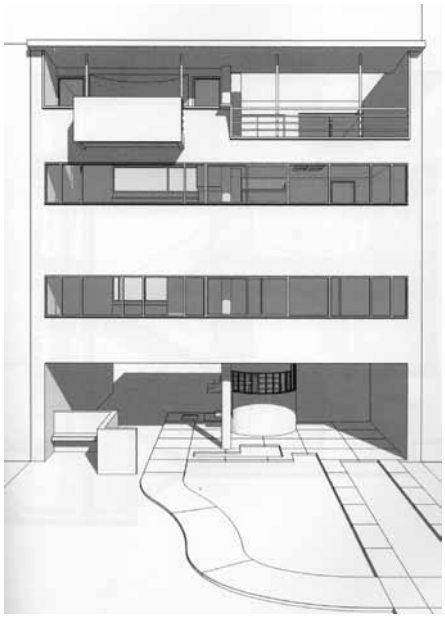

Figure 5
Villa Cook, Boulogne-sur-Seine, 1926, built
(source: Park 2012: 83).

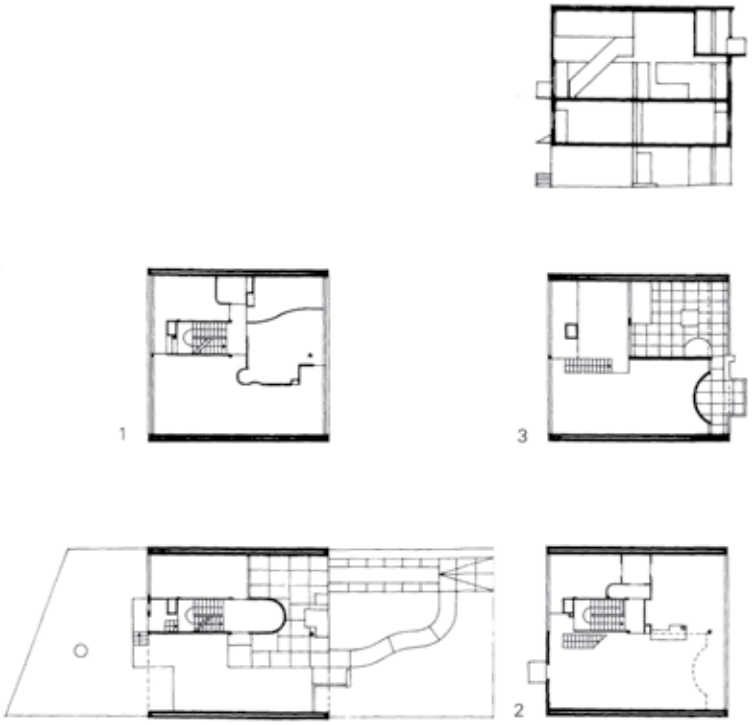

Figure 6
Plans and section of Villa Cook, Boulogne-sur-Seine, 1926, built
(source: Risselada 1989: 106).

Blau and Troy (2002: 3), maintain in their seminal publication (*Architecture and Cubism*), that Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky developed the most "compelling" interpretation of the link between architecture and cubism in their 1963 essay, entitled "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal". They explain that the formal qualities of cubism, as applied by Picasso, Braque and Gris, were aligned with "the complex spatial layering, deliberately ambiguous interrelationship of parts, and multiple signification of Le Corbusier's Villa Stein-de Monzie of 1926-1927 at Garches and his League of Nations competition entry of the latter year". Essentially Rowe and Slutzky conclude that "for architects in the 1920s, and particularly for Le Corbusier, the translation into three dimensions of 'cubist space' was not only optical but phenomenological".

In the League of Nations competition design, this complex layering is somewhat obscure. Le Corbusier claimed that the design submitted by himself and Pierre Jeanneret "embodied the spirit of [their] own age instead of the outworn routine methods of traditional architects of the academic school" (1995: volume 1, 161). The winning schemes were all firmly in the tradition of the École des Beaux-Arts, the three-hundred year old architectural school, known at that stage for what Risebero (1982: 161) describes as the "excessive rhetoric of Beaux-Arts classicism and Imperial Baroque".

Compared with the footprints of his competitors, Le Corbusier's design had a distinguishable overall irregular footprint (figure 7). An h-shaped office building is linked to the symmetrical main auditorium, with a narrow, elevated skywalk. But the outline of the auditorium very vaguely (and only noticeable if paying very close attention) resembles that of an African mask, the artefact that originally inspired cubism, and by implication purism, on which the design was based (figure 8).

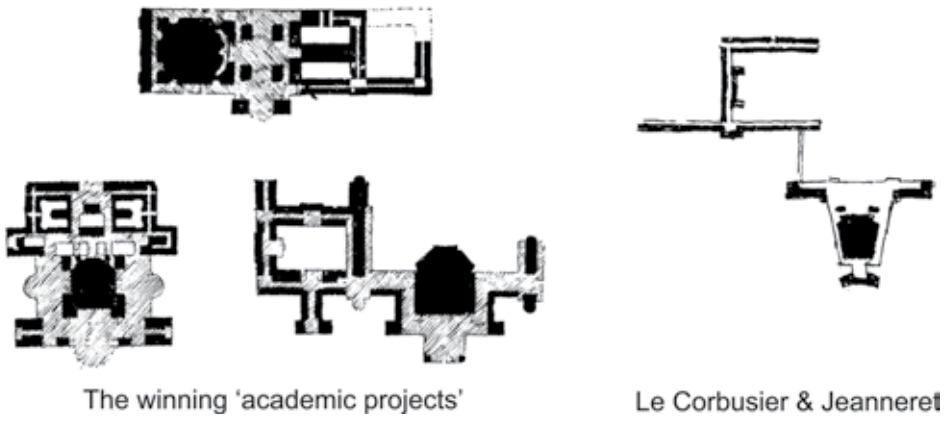

Figure 7
Le Corbusier's sketches after the results of the League of Nations competition (source: Le Corbusier 1995: volume 1, 161).

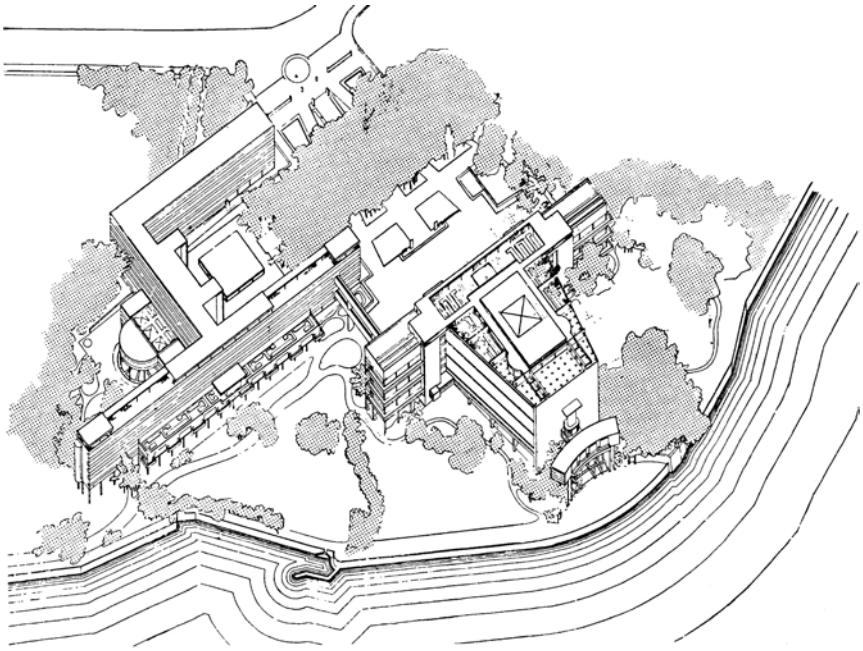

Figure 8
League of Nations
(source: Le Corbusier 1995: volume 1, 163).

Blau and Troy (2002: 11) observe that some authors and critics only consider Le Corbusier, of all the modernist architects, as a "cubist". For example, Yve-Alain Bois (2002: 191) identifies Villa Stein-de Monzie at Garches (1926-1927) as sharing the "structuralist logic" of Picasso's *Guitar* (1912), and being characterised by its "transparency" and in which "empty space is articulated as a positive sign" (figure 9). Unlike *Siegfried* Giedion, most scholars do not consider the transparency of a glazed building, like the Bauhaus (1925-6), as "cubist" (Mertens 2002: 233).

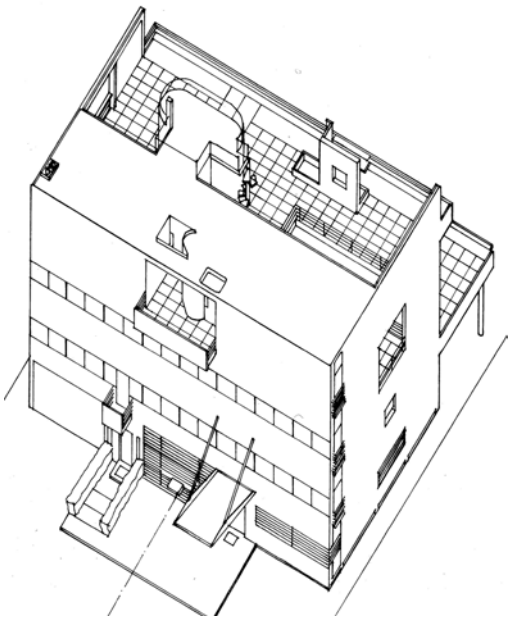

Figure 9
Villa Stein-de-Monzie at Garches, 1927
(source: Baker 1996: 189).

Villa Stein-de Monzie at Garches (1927), famous for the regulating lines, applied by Le Corbusier to compose the façade, illustrates the use of a free plan within a rigid four-storey box. Although built in a suburb, it shows how the "interpenetration of inner and outer space" – achieved with the free plan and roof garden referred to by Colomina (2002: 148-9) – could expose the interiors to light and air, even in a dense, urban fabric. It is also in relation to Villa Stein-de Monzie that the influence of the African mask is mentioned for the first time. Bernard Tschumi (1976: 356) describes the phenomenon vividly:

> [T]he rational Cartesian framework was then transgressed through the introduction of distorted anthropomorphic forms with close kinship to African masks. A mask was not literally represented in the elevation, but rather operated as a palimpsest mysteriously guiding the location of the walls. The space was thus a dislocation induced by the forms of the masks. The effect was to create within the rational space of the grid a violent juxtaposition of perplexing spaces. The Villa Stein at Garches was then considered as the prototype of modern architecture. Rather than a simple fetish, the mask here served as subversion for the order of reason through its spatial implications.

However, any similarity between the curves on the plan and an anthropomorphic theme is rather weak (figure 10). The first clear evidence of some resemblance is only found the following year, in the design of Villa Savoye. But first, Le Corbusier had to deal with the challenging climate of the North African coast, which inadvertently provided him with the outline to integrate the mask with the plan of the house.

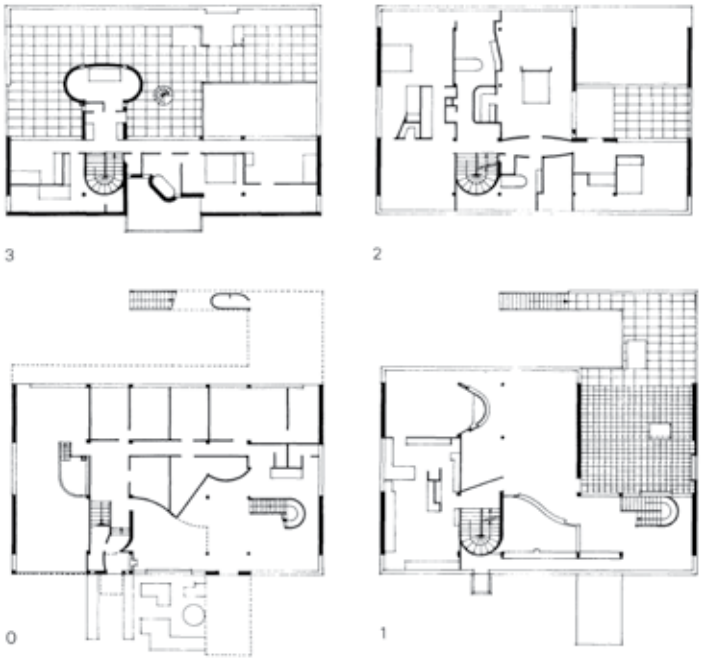

Figure 10
Villa Stein-de-Monzie at Garches, 1927
(source: Risselada 1989: 109).

A turning point – Villa Baizeau

Villa Baizeau in Carthage, Tunisia (1928), was Le Corbusier's first African project. The client rejected the initial proposal for a five-storey house with an umbrella roof over an interlocking sectional configuration, ostensibly for air flow (a surprising configuration since Le Corbusier insisted earlier that air-conditioning would allow the same house to be built anywhere). He forced Le Corbusier to confront the North African climate with a three-storey house, with a surrounding veranda (figures 11 and 12). Le Corbusier (1960: 81) was disappointed, but later alluded to the embryonic value of this house in the formulation of "sunbreaks", and uses it to formulate his third compositional system.

He realised that the form needs not be a modified cube; he may use only the frame as a cage and provide any shape at all within that wholly permeable perimeter. This is exactly what he did with the ground level plan of Villa Savoye, designed roughly at the same time.

Figure 11
Villa Baizeau in Carthage, Tunisia, designed 1928, built
(source: Risselada 1989: 118).

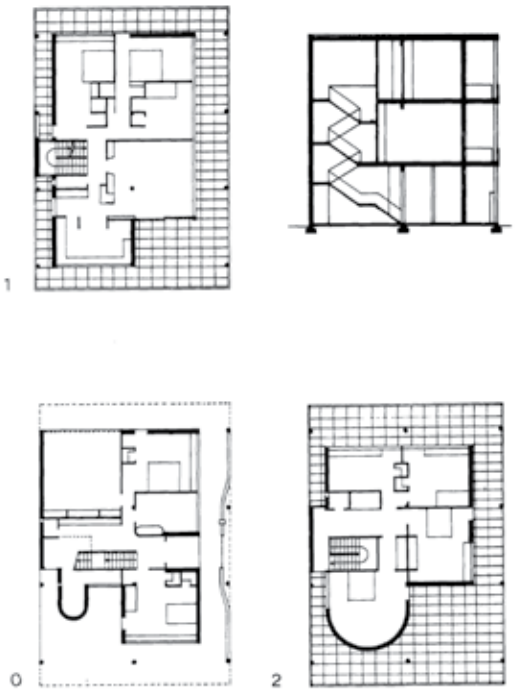

Figure 12
Villa Baizeau plans and section
(source: Risselada 1989: 117).

Consolidating purism – Villa Savoye and the Four Compositional Systems

Villa Savoye in Poissey (designed in 1928, constructed in 1930), is generally assumed to be the culmination of his Purist design doctrine, with its combination of prismatic and curvilinear forms and slick white finishes. Significantly, the curved ground floor layout constitutes the first design that seems to be overtly based on an African mask (figure 13). Without referring to Villa Savoye directly, Garth Rockcastle proposed in 1987:

> The primitive was appropriated by some members of the architectural avant-garde via cubism… . More suggestive, however, was the impact of the primitive on the structure itself, most evident in Le Corbusier's work, where the traces of the primitive mask were incorporated into architecture through the exploitation of the "free-plan".

Up to this point it is assumed that purism absorbed and modified techniques embedded in cubism. However, the mask is evidence of a direct connection to the source of inspiration – straight to the artefact – substantiated by both Rockcastle above, and Mardges Bacon (2001: 221), who declares that under the influence of Ozenfant and Legér, Le Corbusier embraced African art for its "geometrical, formal, mechanistic, decorative and expressive properties".

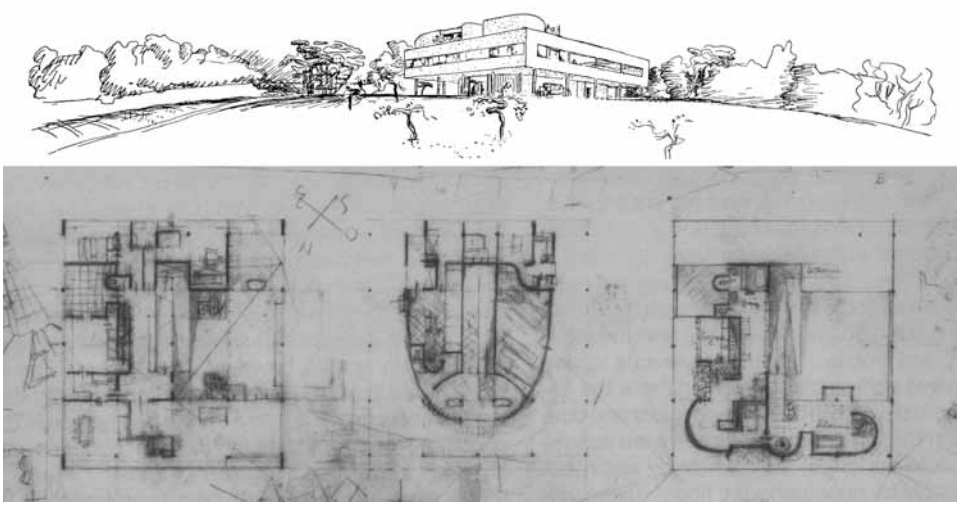

Figure 13
Villa Savoye, designed in 1928, built
(source: iso from Le Corbusier 1995: volume 1, 187,
plans from Risselada 1989: 56).

In 1929, on completion of the design of Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier formulated his Four Compositional Systems which, together with the Five Rules, set out the criteria and parameters of his design options (figure 14). They are represented as a set of houses, extending from Maison La Roche-Jeanneret (1923) via the Villas Stein-de Monzie (1927) and Baizeau (1928), and culminating with Villa Savoye (1929). Le Corbusier (1960: 82) later called them "carefully weighed reflections on architecture":

La Roche-Jeanneret.....Picturesque and not difficult to handle
Stein-de Monzie .....Difficult to articulate a basic cube
Baizeau.....Problem simplified by incorporating other forms
Savoye.....A positive architectural statement

Le Corbusier (1991: 134) described the first type as an aggregation which, in his own words "can become busy if one doesn't watch out".

> The second type shows the compression of organs within a rigid envelop, absolutely pure. A difficult problem, perhaps a spiritual delight.
>
> The third type furnishes, with a visible framework (skeleton structure), a simple envelop, clear, transparent as a network; it allows the creation of useful volumes of rooms different on each floor in form and quantity. An ingenious type appropriate to certain climates; such compositions are easy, full of possibilities (Tunis).
>
> The fourth type attains, on the outside, the pure form of the second type; inside it has advantages, the characteristics of the first and the second. A very pure type, very ample, also full of possibilities.

If it is considered that the Five Points and the Four Compositional Systems collectively constitute the theoretical superstructure that guides purism, it now becomes clear that the mask is fully integrated in this creative framework.

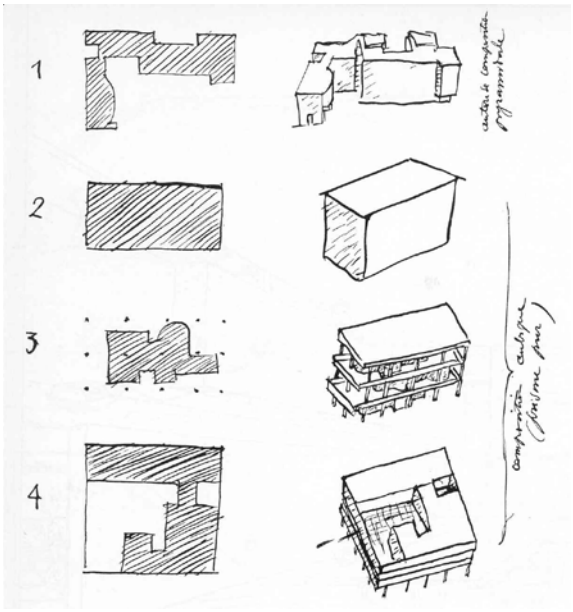

Figure 14
1929 – the Four Compositional Systems
(source: Le Corbusier 1960: 82).

Big buildings – Centrosoyus Building (1929) and Palace of the Soviets (1931)

The mask was retained as a theme and a dominant element for the site plans of both the Centrosoyus Building (designed 1929, built) and the Palace of the Soviets (designed in 1930-1, unbuilt), both in Moscow. The similarities with the mask are more obvious on plan, with eyes and other facial features quite recognisable (figures 15 and 16).

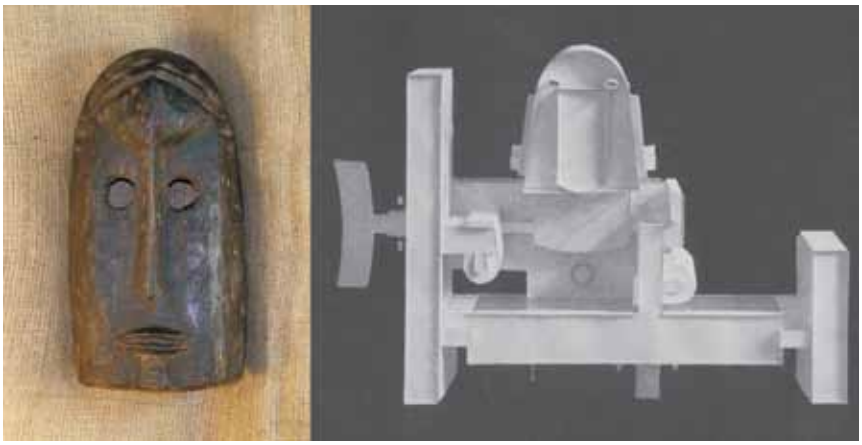

Figure 15
Dogon mask, Mali compared with the Centrosoyus Building, designed 1929, built
(sources: mask from http://www.genuineafrica.com/African-Masks-Dogon-Mask-12.htm;
model from Le Corbusier 1960: 88).

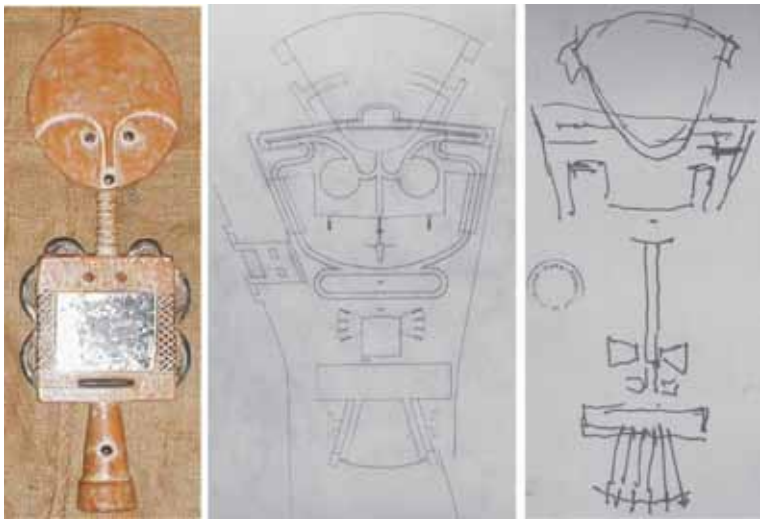

Figure 16
Asante fertility doll compared with Palace of the Soviets, 1930.
Sketch by Le Corbusier at a lecture in the USA, 1935
(source: doll from http://www.genuineafrica.com/ashanti_fertility_doll_2.htm;
plan from Frampton 1985: 54; sketch from Bacon 2001: 77).

To this day, the education of an architect is associated with a formal, academic route, inevitably with Eurocentric curriculum contents. *Giedion (1977: 520) was probably somewhat puzzled when,* in *Space, Time and Architecture* (first published in 1941) he comments that when Le Corbusier arrived to settle in Paris in 1917, he cruised the museums looking at "primitive and prehistoric art – woven carpets and carved idols".

Some authors have criticised cubism for its focus on the visual properties of the African mask, and for "its tendency to physically and theoretically abstract objects from their cultural contexts" (Palmer 2008: 187). But as Bacon (2001: 221) comments:

> [The Parisian avant-garde] freely coopted [sic] representations of African and African-American art and artifacts [sic] as metaphors for the exotic, vital, primitive, and mechanical. Such coded messages, long separated from their cultural and anthropological contexts, now served the interests of modernism.

Like his contemporaries, Le Corbusier was certainly guilty of "decontextualizing cultural objects" (Palmer 2008: 187), but Melvin Mitchell, a staunch advocate of black culture (to the point of militancy), has not commented on, or objected to this fact. Both the mask and the fertility doll appeared in later urban plans too, probably only because Le Corbusier celebrated the African connection and because they were considered appropriate shapes for the envisaged buildings (figure 17).

Figure 17
African imagery (drawing by the author).

A new paradigm (without sacrificing the Five Points)

Curtis (1986: 106) maintains that the Villa Savoye (1928), the Cité de Refuge for the Salvation Army (1929), and the Pavillon Suisse (1930) were Le Corbusier's best known work of the 1920s, having had "a seminal influence on the work of at least four generations of architects worldwide". The Cité de Refuge is known for its flawed climate control, and also for its hierarchy of elements, forming an architectural promenade – from the giant doorway through a cantilevered canopy, to a curved portico, on to a large hall and into the "glass dormitory slab" (figure 18). Geoffrey Baker (1996: 343) also hints at the physical resemblance between the entrance complex, and Le Corbusier's painting of a violin in 1920. The Pavillon Suisse (1930) was a dormitory slab with roof garden on *pilotis*, and attached ground level communal elements (Curtis 1986: 93). According to Jencks (2000: 210) this building exemplifies "the old and new Corbu in juxtaposition: the purist slab in back, accommodation for the students, is contrasted with roughcast masonry and a curve" (figure 19). He states that this was so understated that the Modernists did not even notice.

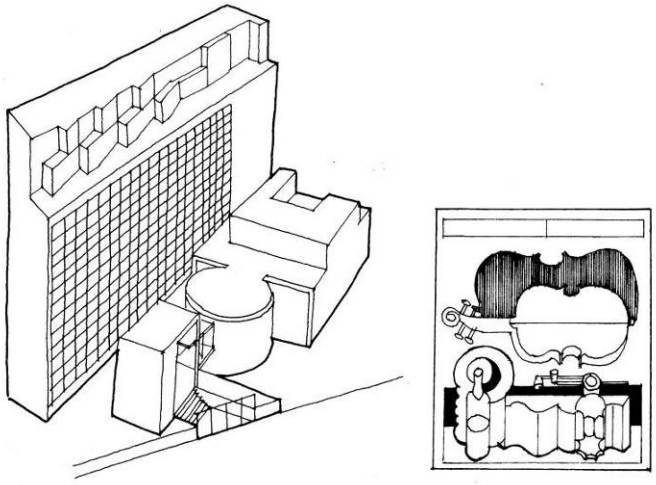

Figure 18
Salvation Army Refuge in Paris of 1929 and a painting dated to 1920 (source: Baker 1996b: 343).

Figure 19
The Swiss Pavilion at the Cité Universitaire in Paris, 1930 (source: Le Corbusier 1995: volume 2, 75).

In reality, these projects concluded his Purist period. Whether they were Late-Purist or Post-Purist is debatable, but from 1929 onwards, Le Corbusier's designs became increasingly characterised by climatic responsiveness, vernacular awareness, and regionalist sensitivity that

could arguably be called "critical", in line with Lefaivre and Tzonis (2012). But although the slick, white forms of purism were generally discarded for rough, natural and earthy finishes, he continued to employ the Five Points regularly until his death. At this point it becomes clear that two generative issues are relevant here: firstly, the physical forms of African masks and sculpture as planning templates, and secondly, the apparent theoretical tenets of purism.

Reflections – perpetuating purism

The Five Points independently have certainly been more resilient and prevalent than purism as a whole. They persist as the prerequisite normative tenets of most Modernist designs, particularly in bigger buildings, probably because they are less constrained. The purist tradition was nevertheless pursued by some Modernist architects, notably Richard Meier. Harry Mallgrave and David Goodman (2011: 205) add that the minimalist design trend that emerged in the 1990s is essentially a neo-modernist movement, grounded in purism.

Since the theory is therefore still relevant, it is meaningful to consider some of the most pertinent and current sources. In *Precisions* (1991), of which the original was published in French in 1930, Le Corbusier's theories (Five Points and Four Compositional Systems) describe the various aspects of his architecture in simple and perfectly logical, pragmatic terms. On the other hand, critics subsequently seem obsessed with abstract theorisations. For example, the "phenomenal transparency" that is at the centre of Rowe and Slutzky's argument, has absolutely no bearing on either ecological or cultural concerns – in other words it is about architectonic ideas, rather than architecture as habitable, social space.

According to Reichlin (2002: 207), Rowe and Slutzky's narrative corresponds with what Le Corbusier apparently described as the effects of "spatial interference, of overlap or ambiguity" (commenting on Le Corbusier's *Notes à la suite* of 1926, published in French only), which means "the overflow of one space into another or, again, the breaking of the congruence [similarity] between functional space and structural space". It is obvious that Le Corbusier's free plan quite deliberately challenged the conventions of traditional European architecture: "[The free plan] allows us to escape from the square cellular form of rooms". He does however tend to justify his objectives in considerably less flowery and in more pragmatic terms: "I also show how with curved partitions, easy to build, one obtains two bedrooms with their bath in a space that would normally have allowed only one traditional room" (Le Corbusier 1991: 130).

As far as Rowe and Slutzky's issue of transparency is concerned, Le Corbusier (1991: 38) states simply: "I am going to announce an outrageous fundamental principle: *architecture consists of lighted floors*. Why? You can easily guess: you do something in a house if there is light; if it is dark you are sleeping." He adds "If I want to I can have windows on the entire surface of the facade – windows or other things I shall explain to you. If by chance I need an opaque surface on an elevation instead of a transparent one, it is no more than a screen, it is the floors that will carry it, a complete reversal of traditional practice." And finally (1991: 54): "[T]he immense benefits of the ribbon window that give the best light to interiors, that allow all subdivisions possible from floor to floor".

Giedion (1977: 525) notes that Frank Lloyd Wright's application of "open planning" was different from that of the European architects' (clearly referring to Le Corbusier), with that of the latter based on "the new conception of space as essentially many-sided which grew out of cubism." He adds that "Le Corbusier always tried to create new possibilities for connections

between its interior and exterior and within the interior itself." Considering the porosity of the illustrated cubic forms, this statement cannot be challenged.

Colomina (2002: 141) refers to the "splintering image of the cubist painting", where views are not experienced in sequence, but rather "juxtaposed". This is exactly the effect described by Le Corbusier (1991: 136), but his language is so much more comprehensible. He reports that visitors to Villa Savoye "turn round and round inside, asking themselves what is happening, understanding with difficulty the reasons for what they see and feel; they don't find anything of what is called a 'house'. They feel themselves within something entirely new. And they are not bored, I believe". There is absolutely no doubt that Le Corbusier conceptualised the *promenade architecturale* precisely to enhance the "visual and phenomenal/spatial experience" (Blau and Troy 2002: 11), and even to force a "tour" through the building (Reichlin 2002: 205).

Le Corbusier's practical solutions are often overshadowed by his impassioned writing style, for example (1991: 36, 139), that architecture moves from "precise, reasonable things, techniques (material elements), along a trajectory to a work of art 'with eternal values', to poetry and lyricism", exclaiming quite characteristically: "Poetry, lyricism, brought by techniques."

Transparency from cubic doctrine [abstraction] to plain, boxlike geometry

When defining the relationship between cubism and architecture, Rowe and Slutzky distinguish between literal and phenomenal transparency (Blau and Troy 2002: 3). The former is real and visual, and the latter is "seeming" and derived from the "analytical cubist compositions" produced by Picasso, Braque and Gris. Their formal characteristics were "frontality, suppression of depth, contracting of space, definition of light sources, tipping forward of objects, restricted palette, oblique and rectangular grids, and propensities toward peripheric development".

Rowe and Slutzky's argument represents a highly theoretical position that has dominated the topic for more than half a century (since 1963). However, although theoreticians tend to vehemently deny that the term 'cubism' signifies any geometrical likeness, the reality is that modern architecture is widely associated with cubism, significantly more for the "proliferation of cubic, boxlike forms in modern architecture" (Blau and Troy 2002: 10), than for transparency. As Overy (2002: 117) suggests: "Early uses of the term 'cubist architecture' implied an architecture of 'cubic' (i.e. boxlike or crystalline) forms, rather than one that exploited the ambiguous play between flatness and illusions of shallow space that has generally been represented as the most important cubist device."

As Bois (2002: 190) quips: "[T]here were precious few cubes in cubist painting". Colomina (2002: 148) relates that László Moholy-Nagy, the legendary Bauhaus professor in the 1920s, wrote that some landscapes painted by Picasso and Braque, contained some "cube-like" shapes Some of Le Corbusier's early residential designs such as the Citrohan house (1920) and the Workers' housing (1924) were essentially boxes with roof gardens and double volume living rooms (figure 20). Was it really the dogma of cubist painting that inspired these patterns?

Le Corbusier worked intermittently for Auguste Perret from July 1908 to November 1909, in Lyons. There he met Tony Garnier, the French architect , who "overthrew the Beaux Arts approach with a scenario for the future so prophetic and complete that it still plays a major part in architectural thinking" (Risebero 1997: 238). His Cité Industrielle was exhibited in 1904 and published in 1917, and Le Corbusier included several drawings depicting the scheme in *Towards a New Architecture*, including figure 21, with the caption: "Drawing showing the passages or

walks between houses". These very Mediterranean-looking cubic houses certainly impressed Le Corbusier, hence their illustration in his book.

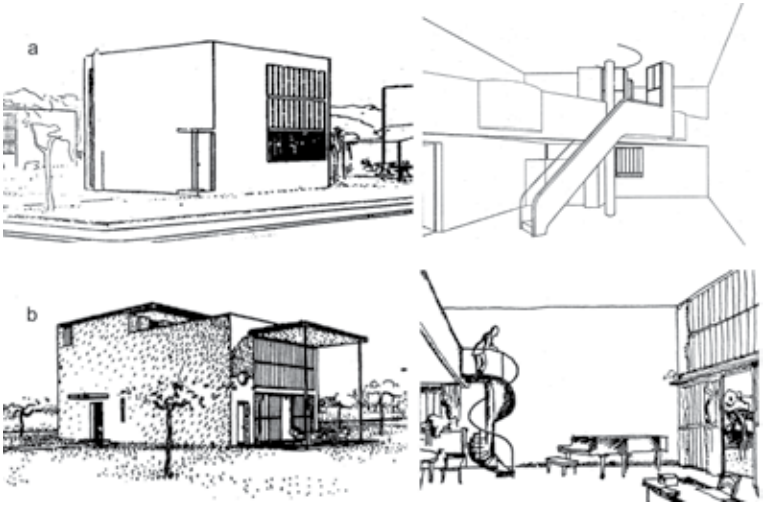

Figure 20
(a) Citrohan housing of 1920 and (b) Workers' housing, 1924
(source: Le Corbusier 1931: 240 and 254, 255).

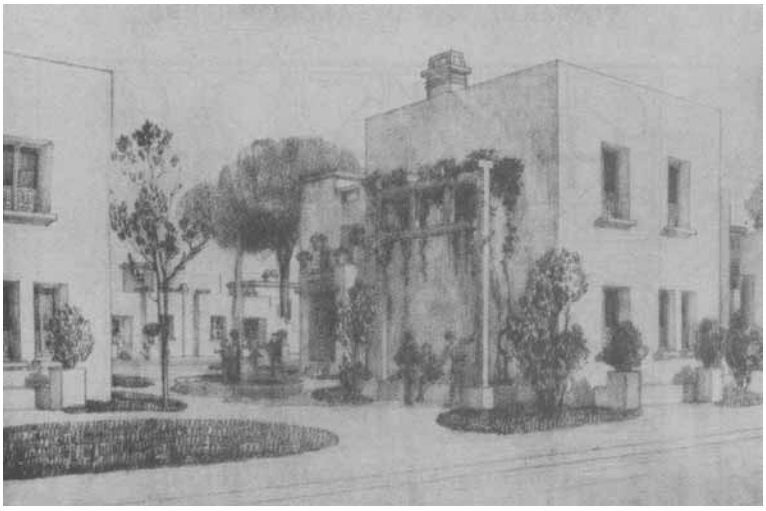

Figure 21
Drawing Garnier's Cité Industrielle (source: Le Corbusier 1931: 55).

Allen Brooks (1999: 458) suggests that Maison Bouteille, by Auguste Perret, provided the concept for the double-height living rooms that Le Corbusier was so fond of, describing Perret's design as a "two-storey living room with glazed facade overlooked by a second-floor gallery." The Bistro Legendre, in rue Godot-de-Mauroy, where the architect lunched daily, has also been mentioned as a source of inspiration. Le Corbusier told Willy Boesiger and Hans Girsberger (1967: 25) that one day while he and Pierre Jeanneret were having lunch there, they realised that the place had all the elements "necessary for the organization [sic] of a dwelling house", including the high room with gallery (mezzanine), and that one large window offered "simplification of light sources". They imagined these features in small houses with standardised components and roof gardens. The result was the Citrohan House, in 1920.

In the Immeubles-Villas and Contemporary City of 1922, each apartment (the prototypical Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau of 1925) is in fact a small L-shape double-storey villa with a double-volume living room and a patio. Le Corbusier (1931: 248) referred to the patios as

"hanging gardens", which he imagined as having flowers and creepers. The generous patio and double-height interior volume are clearly visible in figure 22. Rob Krier (1988: 11) would later comment: "It [Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau] was an achievement that upgraded social housing enormously." There is nothing philosophical or abstract about recognising how pleasant such a generosity of space and plenty of natural light may be in a dwelling. Nevertheless, the concept remains unique to this day.

In *My Work*, Le Corbusier (1960: 49) reveals: "Space and light, the corner stones [sic] of L-C's character, the fountain-heads of all his endeavours", unquestionably referring to both his painting and architecture. This is a purely pragmatic explanation and simply incompatible with the abstractions critics subsequently offered.

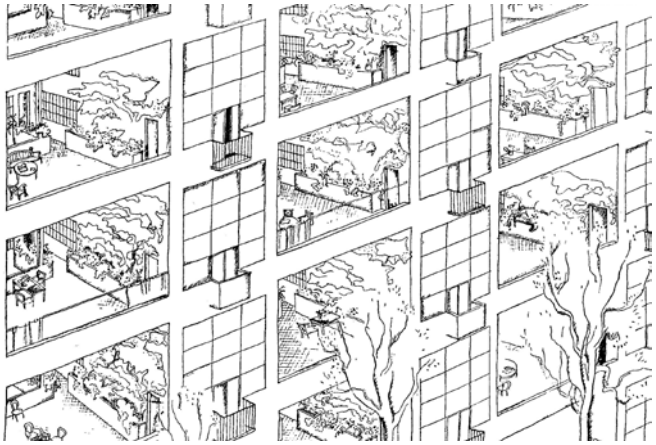

Figure 22
Immeubles-villas. The generous patio and double-height interior volume are clearly visible
(source: Le Corbusier 1995: volume 1, 43).

Purism and cuboid houses derived from M'zab and Zanzibar?

Antoni Folkers (2010: 67) introduces a completely different dimension to the discourse; he suggests that the cubic forms may have been derived from houses in the M'zab and Zanzibar. These are roughly square courtyard buildings of two or three storeys, in a massive, solid squat form, with a flat roof. Those in Zanzibar have regularly spaced shuttered windows facing the street. Loggias (colonnades) surround (or partly surround) interior courtyards (figure 23).

Folkers' statement may not be so far-fetched after all. Francesco Siravo (1997: 31-32) mentions the "austere precepts of the Ibadi sect, which is the dominant Muslim dogma, not only in Oman and Zanzibar, but also in the M'zab. This Ibadaite austerity is the common denominator (see Folkers 2010: 67 for the suggested link between Zanzibar, the wadi of Beni-Izguen in the M'Zab, and Le Corbusier). It should be noted, however, that Le Corbusier only visited Beni-Izguen in 1931.

Figure 23
A typical mid-19th century Omani house in a rural setting outside Zanzibar City (source: Hugon 1991: 110).

These cuboid forms were adopted in the semi-arid Sahelian belt, south of the Sahara that stretches across the continent and include southern Mauritania (visited by Le Corbusier), and also parts of Senegal and Mali. In Hausaland in Northern Nigeria, in its main urban centres (including Zaria and Kano), the vernacular comprises both cuboid and cylindrical forms. The purest cuboids can probably be found in the vernacular of Djenné and Timbuktu in Mali, an enduring adobe tradition to this day (figure 24).

Figure 24
Timbuktu, Mali in 1830. Engraving by the French explorer, René Caillié (source: Guidoni 1975: 170).

A comparison between Pavillon de l'Esprit Nouveau and a typical Omani house in Zanzibar (one of several surveyed by the author), reveals a number of pertinent typological similarities, including form, size, shape, spatial organisation, and indoor-outdoor relationships (figure 25). For example, since the ground and first floor loggias are linked by the staircase, they form a journey to the various parts of the house, both indoors and outdoors, with a different view and sense of enclosure at every change of direction. The circulation route is therefore a classic example of a *promenade architectural*.

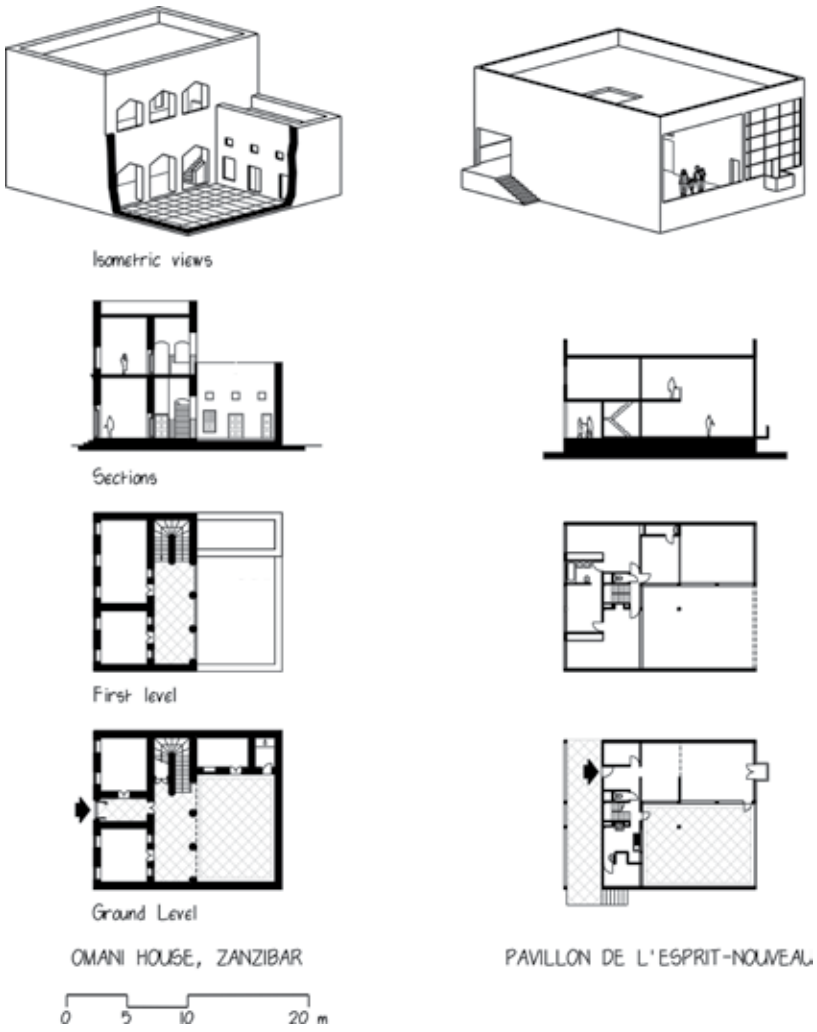

Figure 25
An Omani house in Zanzibar compared with Pavillon de L'Esprit-Nouveau (drawing by the author).

The zeitgeist and cubism

What did Le Corbusier's fellow cubist-inspired modernists do? Paul Overy (2002: 117) summarises the situation as follows: "What modern architects found compelling and useful in cubism … were the possibilities of using structure as symbolic form, of repetition and gridding as ways of building up the whole from its parts, of achieving unity in diversity." The Weißenhof Exhibition, in Stuttgart in 1927, involved some of the best-known modernist architects of that era and provides an opportunity to compare their work. Their manifestos were closely aligned in some instances, particularly in their disdain for decoration and historical references, and in their preference of functionality and flat roofs. In fact, when reading *Towards a New Architecture*, J.J.P. Oud thought that Le Corbusier had plagiarised him (Bois 2002: 189). There can, nevertheless, be no doubt that his peers simply did not exploit the modulation of the cube to the extent that Le Corbusier did (figure 26). Their designs clearly lacked the complexity and nuances that he managed to achieve so regularly.

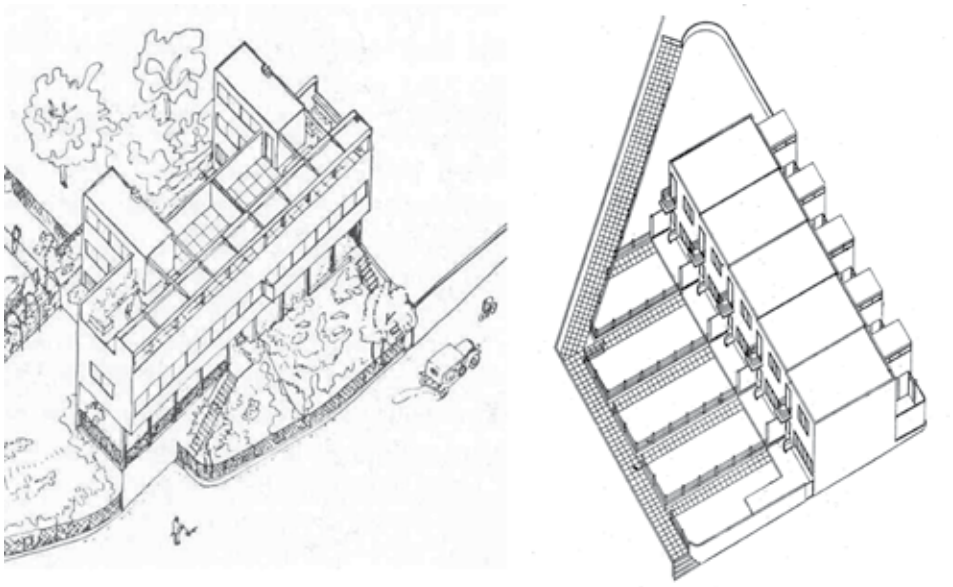

Figure 26
Weißenhof 1927: Le Corbusier's semi-detached houses at Weißenhof compared with J.J.P. Oud's row houses
(source: Besset 1992: 88-9).

Conclusion

The wide range of sources and methods employed by Le Corbusier to inform his design concepts are well-known and widely recorded. These include geometry (golden section nearly everywhere and at every scale), proportions (Fibonacci for Modulor), biology (differentiation of functions similar to anatomy), analogies from nature (pineapple for Antwerp urban plan, tree for Algiers skyscraper), historical (site planning of Acropolis and Moghul complexes for Capital Complex at Chandigarh) and vernacular precedent (Mediterranean patterns for Maisons Jaoul and many others), ideas from his contemporaries (stepped buildings in Algiers), and formative ideas from every historical age, from antiquity to the futurists.

Although he wrote profusely, and seems to share his generative thoughts with readers, these were usually post-rationalisations, tailored to suit the audience, the context, and the spirit of the moment. He was in fact notoriously vague and often unquestionably deliberate in misleading the audience when describing conceptualisation. It is well-known that Le Corbusier not only appreciated African masks and sculptures, but he also enjoyed jazz and African songs and dance, and admired the vitality of the African psyche. In addition, he certainly shared with African Americans the experience of being discriminated against by conservative, white, elderly, male dominated institutions. Certainly, he also shared a preference for collectivism with African culture.

The continuum from African art to cubism to purist painting to purist architecture appears to be a neatly packaged hypothesis, but on closer scrutiny, it is not a defensible one. Whereas the African inspiration of cubism is undisputed, the inevitability of link between cubism and purism is debatable. Similarly, purist painting and purist architecture may share texture, tone, frugal forms and complex spaces, as well as some compositional geometries, but these are extremely basic and superficial qualities. Insinuations that there are commonalities at the level of deep structure or ideology are purely academic.

Le Corbusier admired African art, not for any deep-seated ideological reason, but because a richness of expression and beauty is achieved with such an economy of material and gesture. The geometry of the mask possessed a logic that satisfied the programmatic requirements of some of his buildings. Similarly, African architecture provided him not only with the spatial solutions that enabled him to draw the outdoors into the building, but also with the organisational patterns – layering, courtyards, thresholds and transitional spaces – that created diverse and unpredictable visual experiences. These are qualities that European typologies generally do not offer. It is irrefutable evidence of his genius (and conviction) that he avoided trying to mystify his theories with the incoherence so typical of contemporary architectural critique. Instead, as with the mask, he derived his concepts directly from their African contexts and actually re-imagined them quite literally.

If we assume that Le Corbusier's peers were also competent architects, what allowed him to be so obviously more creative and innovative? It is possible that African art, artefacts and construction comprised a secret conspectus that provided him with formative ideas for his architecture and urbanism. Melvin Mitchell's argument seems, therefore, to be very persuasive. It certainly justifies a deeper investigation of the relationship, and ideally also a more Afrocentric alignment of modernism in architecture and urbanism.

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Konseptuele kunstenaar Willem Boshoff se geheime briewe aan Nelson Mandela

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Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (gebore 1918) word wêreldwyd gerespekteer as politieke vryheidsikoon en 'n geliefde leier bekend as *Madiba.* Mandela was 27 jaar in die tronk op Robbeneiland, in Pollsmoor en Victor Verster nadat hy en ander ANC-versetleiers tydens die Rivoniaverhoor in 1964 aan hoogverraad teen die voormalige apartheidsregering skuldig bevind is en tot lewenslange tronkstraf gevonnis is. Hy is in 1990 vrygelaat en in 1994 verkies tot Suid-Afrika se eerste demokraties-verkose staatspresident (1994-1999). Die probleemstelling van hierdie artikel wentel rondom twee vrae: eerstens op watter manier die Suid-Afrikaanse konseptuele kunstenaar Willem Boshoff (gebore 1951) in sy installasie *Secret Letters* (2003) wêreldgebeure vanaf 1964 tot 1990, die tydperk wat Mandela in die tronk was, aan hom "vertel" en tweedens hoe die kunstenaar daarin slaag om die abstrakte begrip van eensaamheid van Mandela tydens aanhouding visueel tot vergestalting te bring. Die ondersoek word onderneem vanuit 'n postkoloniale teoretiese raamwerk met toespitsing op die invloed van die rassebegrip en die ontwikkeling van die begrip Christelik gedurende die apartheidsera. Albei hierdie aspekte se wortels kan gevind word in Britse kolonialisme in Suid-Afrika.
Trefwoorde: Willem Boshoff, *Secret Letters,* postkoloniale kritiek, apartheid, postapartheid

Conceptual artist Willem Boshoff's secret letters to Nelson Mandela
Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (born 1918) is all over the world respected as a political freedom icon, and a beloved leader affectionately known as *Madiba.* He served 27 years in prison on Robben Island, in Pollsmoor and Victor Verster prison after he and other ANC resistance leaders were found guilty of high treason against the former apartheid regime during the Rivonia trials in 1964. They were sentenced to life-long imprisonment. Mandela was released in 1990. In 1994 he became the first democratically elected president (1994-1999) of South-Africa. The problem statement for this article is centred around two questions: Firstly, how does the South-African conceptual artist Willem Boshoff (born 1951) in his installation *Secret Letters* (2003) "tell" Mandela what happened in the world from 1964 to 1990, the time that he spent in prison, and secondly, how does the artist succeed in portraying a visual representation of the abstract notion of lonliness during Mandela's imprisonment. Postcolonial critique forms the theoretical framework of this article with a focus on the influence of the race concept and the development of the idea of Christianity during the apartheid era. The roots of both of these concepts can be found in British colonialism in South Africa.
Key words: Willem Boshoff, *Secret Letters,* postcolonial critique, apartheid, postapartheid

Suid-Afrika het 'n lang geskiedenis gedurende kolonialisme en apartheid waar sekere bevolkingsgroepe as minderwaardig beskou is en nie dieselfde voordele en posisies in die samelewing beklee het as die wit "superieure" maghebbendes nie. Historici stem saam dat die wortels van apartheid gesoek moet word in koloniale era van die land (vgl. Degenaar 1978: 2; Dubow 2006: 5; Giliomee 2003). Arnold (2005: 330-331) vestig die aandag op twee faktore: aan die een kant Brittanje se aanvanklike traagheid om apartheid te kritiseer en aan die ander kant Engelssprekendes in Suid-Afrika se toenemende steun vir die Nasionale Party (NP) en sy apartheidsbeleid, veral sedert 1966. Hy (2005: 727) wys daarop dat dit eers in die 1980s is dat Brittanje haar houding jeens apartheid verander het.

Hierdie ongelyke magsituasie van bevoorregting van die wit bevolkingsgroepe en onderdrukking en benadeling van ander het gelei tot die bevrydingstryd (algemeen bekend as die *struggle*). Dit het die land onstabiel en onveilig gemaak. In 1964 is Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (gebore 1918) gedurende die Rivoniaverhoor aan hoogverraad teen die apartheidstaat

skuldig bevind. Hy is lewenslange tronkstraf opgelê. Vandag word Mandela wêreldwyd vereer en gerespekteer as politieke vryheidsikoon en geliefde leier, bekend as *Madiba.*

Teen die agtergrond van Suid-Afrika se apartheidsgeskiedenis en Mandela se rol in die stryd teen apartheid, word in hierdie artikel ondersoek ingestel na hoe die Suid-Afrikaanse konseptuele kunstenaar Willem Boshoff (gebore 1951) in sy installasie *Secret Letters* (2003) wêreldgebeure vanaf 1964 tot 1990, die tydperk wat Mandela in die tronk was, aan hom "vertel". Terselfdertyd poog die kunstenaar om aanskouers 'n idee te gee van die eensaamheid wat Mandela tydens sy tronkstraf moes verduur. Die ondersoek word onderneem vanuit 'n postkoloniale teoretiese raamwerk met toespitsing op die invloed van die rassebegrip en die ontwikkeling van die begrip Christelik gedurende die apartheidsera. Albei hierdie aspekte se wortels kan gevind word in Britse kolonialisme in Suid-Afrika.

Eerstens word 'n bondige oorsig gebied oor die relevante historiese gebeure gedurende apartheid met Nelson Mandela van die *African National Congress* (ANC) as die sentrale figuur. Hierna word postkolonialisme as die teoretiese raamwerk vir die artikel geskets. Dit word opgevolg deur 'n beskrywing van die visuele vormtaalelemente van *Secret Letters* (2003) en daarna word die installasie geïnterpreteer vanuit die teoretiese raamwerk. In hierdie interpretasie word die apartheidskonteks van die land in aanmerking geneem. Die artikel sluit af met perspektiewe op die verhouding tussen kuns en samelewing.

Kontekstualisering van Nelson Mandela gedurende die apartheidsera

Die wyd-gehuldigde persepsie dat slegs Afrikaners vir rassediskriminasie in Suid-Afrika verantwoordelik was en dat blanke Engelssprekende Suid-Afrikaners "onskuldige slagoffers" was en teen hulle sin daardeur bevoordeel is, is misplaas, soos blyk uit Worden (1994: 66), Arnold (2005: 330-333) en Dubow (2006):

> Thus, although the English-speaking establishment and its institutions were in reality often highly conservative during the apartheid era, these became indelibly associated with "liberalism". ... Indeed, English-speaking South Africans have long managed the trick of defining everyone else in the country as racially or ethnically "other" – while blithely assuming their own identity to be somehow "normal" and therefore not suitable for deep investigation. In a post-apartheid and post-colonial world this position is becoming less and less tenable (Dubow 2006: 11-12).

Vir 'n lang tyd is Suid-Afrika deur die internasionale gemeenskap verdoem vir sy apartheidsbeleid en is gepoog om die voormalige NP-regering deur middel van sanksies en boikotte te dwing om van dié beleid af te sien. Arnold (2005: 332) verdeel apartheid in drie periodes of fases: (i) 1948-1961: die vestiging van klassieke of *grand* apartheid, wat eindig met die Sharpeville-opstand in 1960 en Suid-Afrika se onttrekking aan die Statebond in 1961; (ii) 1961-1976: die tydperk van groeiende isolasie van Suid-Afrika namate die dele van Afrika noord van Suid-Afrika onafhanklikheid verkry het; (iii) 1976-1994: die tydperk sedert die Soweto-onluste[1], 'n periode van toenemende stryd om aan apartheid vas te klou tot dit onvermydelik was om 'n onderhandelende skikking te bereik.

Aanvanklik het die verset teen apartheid uit vreedsame protesoptogte bestaan. In 1956 het ongeveer 20 000 vroue byvoorbeeld 'n optog na die Uniegebou in Pretoria gehou om teen die paswette[2] te betoog. Die betoging is gereël deur die *Pan African Congress* (PAC), asook 'n vrouekomitee verteenwoordigend van swart, bruin en Indiërvroue-organisasies en die wit, liberale Black Sash-vrouevereniging. Die protes teen die paswette en later ook die

instelling van minimumlone, het geleidelik landwyd uitgekring en uiteindelik uitgeloop op die opspraakwekkende en tragiese Sharpeville-betoging (Arnold 2005: 333; Worden 1994: 105).

'n Groot groep ongewapende swart mense het op 21 Maart 1961 by die polisiekantoor in Sharpeville, 'n swart woonbuurt buite Vereeniging, vreedsaam teen die paswette betoog. 'n Wit polisieman se vrees het meester van hom geword, en toe hy op die skare begin skiet, het al die polisiemanne in die gebou op die skare losgebrand. 69 mense is dood en ongeveer 182 gewond (Worden 1994: 100-101; Arnold 2005: 50; Marschall 2010: 65).

Suid-Afrika het op 31 Mei 1961 onder die NP-regering 'n Republiek geword en die land is uit die Britse Statebond onttrek. Verskeie versetorganisasies, soos die ANC, die PAC en die Suid-Afrikaanse Kommunistiese Party (SAKP) is verbode verklaar (Worden 1994: 137; Arnold 2005: 737). Aangesien passiewe verset en protesoptogte nie daarin kon slaag om die NP te oortuig om van apartheid af te sien nie, het versetorganisasies besluit om tot binnelandse terreuraanvalle oor te gaan. Vir hierdie doel het sowel die ANC as die PAC militêre vleuels gestig. Mandela was die leier van die ANC se *Umkontho we Sizwe* (akroniem MK; *Spies van die Nasie*) wat in 1961 gestig is. Die PAC se militêre vleuel is *Poqo* (*Blacks only*) genoem (Thompson 2006: 205, 264-265; Giliomee 2003: 522-523, 533, 630). Honderde mense is in aanhouding sonder verhoor geplaas en wetgewing teen opposisie teen apartheid is verskerp.

In 1963 het die polisie 'n klopjag op die hoofkwartier van MK in Rivonia uitgevoer. Hulle het op belangrike dokumentasie afgekom het wat gedui het op sabotasie en ander planne om die NP-regering omver te werp. Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada en ander versetleiers is van hoogverraad aangekla en skuldig bevind omdat hulle terreurdade sou gepleeg het teen 'n wettige regering (Arnold 2005: 333-334). Mandela is lewenslange tronkstraf opgelê en na Robbeneiland, die maksimumsekuriteitsgevangenis, gestuur. Die ANC se hoofbestuur het in ballingskap gegaan en uiteindelik vanuit Londen 'n internasionale veldtog teen apartheid begin loods (Arnold 2005: 333). Swart verset is ook plaaslik voortgesit deur die skep van geheime strukture wat binnelandse onrus aangeblaas het en geweld en terreurdade onder leiding van MK en *Poqo* gepleeg het (Slabbert 1999: 33, 75-76).

Slabbert (1999: 75) verduidelik dat in die 1970s en 1980s 'n duidelike revolusionêre strategie in die *struggle* uitgekristalliseer het. Hierdie strategie het bekend gestaan as die *National Democratic Revolution* en het bestaan uit die (i) gewapende stryd, (ii) aanmoediging tot internasionale isolasie van Suid-Afrika deur middel van sanksies en boikotte, (iii) ondergrondse binnelandse aksies soos geweld en terreurdade en (iv) binnelandse massamobilisasie deur onluste en boikotte. Verskeie frontorganisasies van die ANC, soos die *United Democratic Front* (UDF), die *Mass Democratic Movement* (MDM) en die *Congress of South African Trade Unions* (COSATU) is in die tagtigerjare gestig (Worden, 1994: 136-137; Arnold, 2005: 733-736, 593-597). Slabbert (1999: 18) maak die insiggewende opmerking dat die volhardende pogings van die NP-regering om apartheid in stand te hou, toenemend die vorm van "geritualiseerde waansin" aangeneem het.

Die eerste werklike demokratiese verkiesing in Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis het plaasgevind op 27 April 1994. Die verkiesing is voorafgegaan deur die ontbanning van die talle verbode organisasies in 1990. Mense wat aangehou is as gevolg van hul deelname aan die *struggle* is ook mettertyd vrygelaat. Op 11 Februarie 1990 is die belangrikste figuur en gesig van die *struggle,* Nelson Mandela, na 27 jaar in tronke op Robbeneiland, in Pollsmoor en die Victor Verstergevangenis vrygelaat (Worden 1994: 137; Arnold, 2005: 737

'n Konstitusionele skikking is deur die NP-regering onder leiding van F.W. De Klerk (die laaste staatspresident van die apartheidsera) en die ANC onder leiding van Mandela bereik. Hierdie vreedsame onderhandelings[3] het 'n bloedige burgeroorlog verhoed, soos blyk uit die opmerking van Swillling (1999: 291-292) dat "apartheid was talked out of existence". Welsh (1998: 509) omskryf die oorgang metafories: "South Africa emerged from the shadow of apartheid, badly injured, but alive". Sodoende is 'n einde gebring aan 'n wit minderheidsregering toe die ANC wat oorwegend uit swart mense bestaan het, die verkiesing gewen het. Mandela het die land se eerste demokraties-verkose staatspresident geword (1994-1999).

'n Belangrike aspek wat dikwels misgekyk word ten opsigte van die inperking van vryheid gedurende apartheid, is dat selfs die wit Afrikaners en Engelssprekendes as die elitegroepe wat deur Britse kolonialisme in Suid-Afrika agtergelaat is, ook onvry was, alhoewel in 'n mindere mate. Hulle was deur wetgewing aan bande gelê ten opsigte van keuse van huweliksmaats en sosiale omgang met mede-Suid-Afrikaners van kleur, asook wat hul woonbuurte betref. Verder was wit mense sodanig deur apartheid gekondisioneer dat hulle byvoorbeeld nie in swart woonbuurte gaan woon het of daar gekuier het nie. Sowel wit as swart het hulle in 'n onvrye omgewing bevind.

Teoretiese raamwerk

Die belangrikste dryfvere agter kolonialisme sedert ongeveer die laat sewentiende en vroeg agtiende eeue was hoofsaaklik kommersiële gewin en eie bevoordeling. Hierdie dryfvere het volgens Alter (1994: 1) en McLeod (2000: 7-8) aanleiding gegee tot koloniale uitbreiding van Europese moondhede se vestiging van kolonies in Asië, Afrika en ander wêrelddele. Dit het met ander woorde gegaan oor die beheer en skep van markte vir Westerse gewin met die gepaardgaande ekonomiese uitbuiting van gekoloniseerde lande. Hierin sien McLeod (2000: 7) 'n verband met kapitalisme, want kolonialisme en die latere kapitalisme het as gemeenskaplike ondersteuningsisteme vir mekaar gedien. Die tradisie van kommersiële gewin en eie bevoordeling is in die apartheidsera flink voortgesit, soos blyk uit Terreblanche se skerp kritiese taksering:

> Die blatante rasse-ideologie van segregasie het destyds groot ondersteuning van al twee blanke bevolkingsgroepe (wit Afrikaans- en Engelssprekendes) ontvang: die imperialistiese ideologie in Brittanje het die Britse *empire* soos 'n gekwetste buffel laat voortstrompel; en die ideologie van rasgebaseerde *laissez faire*-kapitalisme het ekonomiese groei voorgehou as werktuig tot aardse heilsaamheid, selfs al is hongerlone aan Afrikaan-arbeiders betaal (Terreblanche 2010: 12).

Die oordra van Westerse kulturele waardes wat met imperiale kolonialisme gepaard gegaan het, het noodwendig gelei tot rassediskriminasie en dominasie. Dit het die verhouding tussen die koloniale subjek (bv. die imperiale amptenaar afkomstig uit die "moederland") en die objek (die "inboorling" of sogenaamde *native* wat onmiddellik ook "onbeskaafd" geïmpliseer het), beïnvloed. Vanweë die beskouing van gekoloniseerde inheemse mense as kru, onmondig en onbeskaafd, is geglo dat hulle nie in staat is tot die behartiging van gekompliseerde funksies van die moderne staat nie en dat hulle ook nie ontwikkeld genoeg was om beheer oor hulle land, grond en selfs hulle eie lewens te neem nie (vgl. Bhabha 1985: 155e.v.; Ghandi 1998: 8-9; Said 1995: 78-91). Die Britte het voor die twintigste eeu op soortgelyke wyse oor die Afrikaners gedink en die Afrikaners het op hulle beurt voor en tydens apartheid so oor die swart mense gedink (Giliomee 2003: 33, 280; Dubow 2007: 54-55). Hierdie beskouinge is gehuldig om om die voortbestaan van die Westerse "natuurlike" en "primêre" kultuur as dié wêreldperspektief te verseker.

Kolonialisme as ‘n opvoedingsprojek om die “beskawing” na gekoloniseerde lande te bring, is op hierdie wyse geregverdig (Bhabha 1991: 5). Die “beskawing” wat na gekoloniseerde lande uitgedra moes word, het nie alleen die Westerse kulturele en sosio-politieke goedere behels nie, maar ook die Christelike geloof ingesluit (Hastings 1997: 6; Conversi 2007: 17). Gedurende die koloniale era was nasionalisme vasgelê in Joods-Christelike waardes en hierdie oortuigings het versprei na lande en kontinente waarin die Christendom nie toe voorgekom het nie. Smith wys daarop dat dwarsdeur die Anglo-Saksiese periode, “[t]his biblical and providentialist reading of history provided the framework for a sense of English ethnic chosenness, long before the Reformation” (Smith 2004: 117).

Giliomee (2003: 17, 41) wys daarop dat die woord Christen sedert die vroeg sewentiende eeu toenemend as ‘n sinoniem vir wit, Westers en beskaafd gebruik is, en die woord kaffir[4] as sinoniem vir swart, primitief, onbeskaafd en heidens. Die kleurkwessie is verder beklemtoon deur die kulturele meerderwaardigheid van Christene teenoor heidene. Dit was veral die gedrukte religieuse literatuur, insluitend die vertaling van die Bybel in die moedertaal, wat in die Westerse geskiedenis ‘n sleutelrol in die opwekking van nasionale gevoelens gespeel het (Conversi 2007: 20).

Bogenoemde koloniale opvattinge met betrekking tot ras en die Christelike geloof was belangrike stimuli vir Afrikanernasionalisme en het in ‘n groot mate vorm gegee aan apartheid. Hastings (1997: 4) wys byvoorbeeld daarop dat die vertaling van die Bybel uit die oorspronklike Hebreeus of Grieks in die moedertaal van ‘n volk aanleiding daartoe kon gee dat die lesende publiek hulleself begin beskou as ‘n uitverkore volk. Conversi (2007: 20) is oortuig dat die konsep van ‘n beloofde en heilige land oorgedra is in alle belangrike nasionale bewegings wat óf etnies óf beskawingsgedrewe was.

Die Afrikaners bied ‘n klinkklare voorbeeld van hierdie analogie. ‘n Mens sien dit in verwysings na byvoorbeeld die Groot Trek (1838), die Slag van Bloedrivier (16 Desember 1838), en Afrikanerweerstand teen Britse oorheersing tydens die Eerste Vryheidsoorlog (1880-1881) en die Anglo-Boereoorlog (1899-1902). Sulke lyne word getrek deur onder andere te verwys na die Israeliete se epiese trek deur die woestyn na die beloofde land, die bied van kragdadige weerstand teen vyande en reaksies wanneer die nasie bedreig word, gehoorsaamheid aan “rigters” of leiers en beproewinge wat die nasie se getrouheid toets (vgl. Smith 2004). Ek illustreer my standpunt aan die hand van uittreksels uit toesprake van dr. H.F. Verwoerd (1910-1965) voormalige eerste minister (1958-1965) van Suid-Afrika, bekend as die argitek van apartheid:

> Ons weet ons is ... fondamentlêers soos die helde van Bloedrivier. Daarom bou ons op die enigste rots van nasies, nl. die geloof en dieselfde reddende Hand wat Bloedrivier aan ons voorvaders besorg het. ... Die volk van Suid-Afrika is hier geplant ... vir die ontplooiing van Afrika en vir die vooruitgang van die Christendom ... tot die heil van die ganse mensdom. ...Ons is bereid dat die nie-blankes in Suid-Afrika ook vir hulself ontwikkelingskanse moet kry. ... Ons wil apartheid nie teweegbring met die swaard nie maar met die goedhartige hulp van die blankes wat in die land is (Verwoerd, in Pelser, 1963: xix, xx, 16, 193).

Sover dit die semantiese logika van begrippe soos “ons *gun* hulle ...” en “met die *goedhartige hulp* van die blankes ...” betref, is klaarblyklik nie besef dat hierdie woorde ruimhartigheid teenoor kortsigtige onderontwikkeldheid veronderstel nie. Inherent in hierdie stelwyses is ‘n tipe morele hiërargie aanwesig wat aan die een wat die vergunning verleen, die voordeliger en sterker morele posisie gee. Verder is hierdie opmerkings ook tekenend van die paternalistiese

verhouding tussen wit en swart wat nooit op gelykheid gegrond was nie. Swart mense is as onderdanige en onmondige kinders onder "vaderlike" toesig beskou.

Alhoewel die Christelike nasionale identiteit van Afrikaners vroom, nederig en gehoorsaam aan God se eise geklink het, was daar geen getuienis van watter aard dat die opdrag van God self afkomstig was nie. Dit was 'n blote analogie wat tussen Afrikaners en die Ou-Testamentiese Israel as verbondsvolk getrek is. Gevolglik het hierdie "opdragte" van God terselfdertyd geïmpliseer dat die beskouings onbevraagtekenbaar is, aangesien die opdrag van God self kom.

In hul identifikasie met die Britse kolonialiste het wit Afrikaners as die elitegroep wat deur kolonialisme agtergelaat is, voortgebou op die rassebegrip van die Britse koloniale era soos wat dit aanvanklik in die Kaapkolonie gehuldig is en later na die hele Suid-Afrika uitgebrei is. Tweedens het die ontwikkeling van die begrip Christelik in die konteks van kolonialisme en apartheid 'n inhoud gekry wat regstreeks ingedruis het teen die "oorspronklike"[4] formulering van die Christelike leer, naamlik nederigheid voor God, dankbaarheid teenoor God vir verlossing, en diensbaarheid aan God en sy skepping. In die konteks van kolonialisme en apartheid het die begrip Christelik dieselfde patologie as kolonialisme en apartheid begin vertoon.

Kolonialisme en later apartheid het klaarblyklik gebuk gegaan onder die sogenaamde plig tot behoud van die beskawing en die Christelike geloof ter wille van vooruitgang en die handhawing van "beskawingsnorme". In werklikheid was dit die belange van die heersersklas (in hierdie geval wit mense) wat verseker moes word en het dit eintlik gegaan oor die behoud van die volk (nasie) of party, wat die draer van die historiese idee geword het. Om van identiteit te verander sou die ondergang van die volk (nasie) of party beteken het. Wit oorheersing tydens kolonialisme en apartheid was volgens wit mense se oortuiging gegrond op en geregverdig deur die Christelike geloof. In hul aanvaarding van 'n Christelike identiteit was Britse kolonialiste en wit Afrikanernasionaliste oortuig van hul geroepenheid as uitverkore volkere (Hastings 1997: 4; Smith 2004: 17; Giliomee 2003: 17, 41 Du Toit 1983: 922 e.v.; Hexham 1980: 386-40). Gevolglik was hulle verbind tot gehoorsaamheid aan 'n Hoër gesag se sogenaamde natuurwette. Hierdie natuurwette was egter mensgemaakte historiese bepalings ten opsigte van byvoorbeeld rasse-onderskeid en -suiwerheid, asook die bestaan van 'n "natuurlike" heersersklas-aristokrasie.

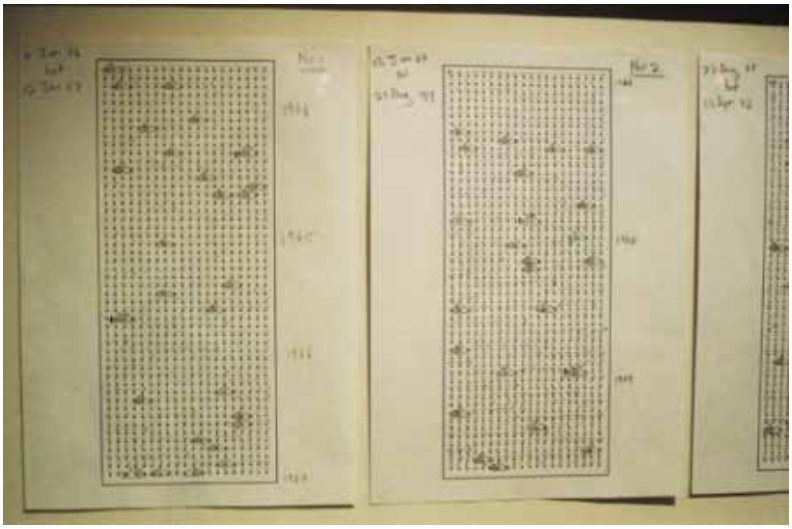
Om die gekose installasie van Boshoff vanuit 'n postkoloniale teoretiese raamwerk teen die agtergrond van die apartheidsera te kan lees en interpreteer, is dit vervolgens eers nodig om die installasie aan die leser te beskryf.

Beskrywing van *Secret Letters* (2003)

Secret Letters (2003) bestaan uit tien ongeveer deurgrootte wit skilderdoekpanele wat direk langs mekaar gehang is en saam 8,5m breed is.

Afbeelding 1
Willem Boshoff, *Secret Letters* (2003), opgedra aan Nelson Mandela (Boshoff 2013).

In die boonste linkerhoek van die eerste doek staan daar in handskrif in swart Letters geskryf, *11 Junie '64 tot 12 Jan. '67* en aan die regterkant bo, *No. 1*. Op die tweede paneel is op soortgelyke wyse links bo geskryf *13 Jan. '67 tot 21 Aug. '69,* en regs bo, *No. 2.* Die derde paneel bevat links bo die datums *22 Aug. '69 tot 13 Apr. '72,* met die nommer van die paneel regs bo. Hierdie opeenvolging van datums en nommers strek tot die tiende paneel, waarvan die heel laaste datum op die paneel *11 Feb. '90* is.



Afbeelding 2
Willem Boshoff, *Secret Letters* (2003), opgedra aan Nelson Mandela.
Detail: Wit skilderdoek, handgeskrewe nommers en datums (Boshoff 2013).

Al die panele is vol klein gaatjies waarin opgefrommelde vierkantige klein wit doeke, wat soos papierrosette of opgefrommelde stukkies papier lyk, gedruk is. Al die rosette bevat klein gedrukte teks, maar dit is onmoontlik om dit te lees vanweë die klein lettertipe en ook die feit dat dit opgefrommel in die klein gaatjies gedruk is.

Tussenin is op wit kaartjies in swart Letters – duidelik leesbaar – verskeie datums gedruk wat dateer vanaf 1964 tot 1990. Daar is altesaam 9 377 van hierdie rosette en kaartjies oor die tien panele versprei.

Afbeelding 3
Willem Boshoff, *Secret Letters* (2003), opgedra aan Nelson Mandela.
Detail: Laprosette met teks, datumkaartjies, swart gedrukte teks (Boshoff 2013).

Interpretasie van *Secret Letters* (2003)

Secret Letters (2003) is een van die talle konseptuele taalgebaseerde installasies van Boshoff waarin sy liefde vir taal en sy worsteling met magskwessies duidelik blyk. In hierdie installasie gebruik hy as sy materiaal taal in samehang met die historiese narratief van Mandela teen die agtergrond van die apartheidsera van die land. Die kern van die installasie is die 27 jaar wat Mandela agter tralies deurgebring het.

Die getal 9 377 wat die aantal rosette en kaartjies is, is betekenisvol – dit is die totale aantal dae wat Nelson Mandela in die tronk deurgebring het. Daar is met ander woorde ‘n brief en ‘n datumkaart vir elke dag van sy tronkstraf nadat hy saam met ander lede van die ANC in 1964 weens hoogverraad in hul stryd teen apartheid skuldig bevind is. Die eerste datum, 11 Junie 1964, was sy eerste dag in die gevangenis en die laaste datum, 11 Februarie 1990 is die dag waarop hy na 27 jaar uit die Victor Verstergevangenis vrygelaat is.

Alhoewel Boshoff in sy installasies van realistiese vormtaalelemente soos woorde, datumkaartjies en laprosetbriewe gebruik maak, is sy estetiese vormgewing nie in die eerste plek gerig op realistiese of mimetiese uitbeeldings van gebeurtenisse (in hierdie geval van ‘n historiese narratief) nie. Hy beeld nie ‘n realistiese toneel uit van Mandela agter tralies nie. Sy artistieke interpretasie en visuele vormgewing kom konseptueel en metafories tot uitdrukking.

Soos uit die titel afgelei kan word, het hierdie installasie te make met die oordra van inligting deur middel van geheime briewe. Omdat hulle aan hoogverraad skuldig bevind is, was Mandela en die ander politieke gevangenes nie toegelaat om in die tronk enige briewe of koerante te ontvang nie (Siebrits 2007: 30-31). Die kunstenaar bring Mandela deur geheime briewe op hoogte van wat in die wêreld gebeur het waarvan hy nie die nuus eerstehands kon kry nie, Nuusgebeure, “… from the earth-shaking to the utterly mundane …” (Vladislavic 2005: 98) is in swart ink op die wit rosette gedruk, opgefrommel en in die gaatjies gedruk. Carew vang die omvang van die weerhouding van belangrike politieke, sport- en ander nuusgebeure van Mandela soos volg vas:

> … the day in October 1964 when Kenneth Kaunda became president of post-Colonial Zambia. … Martin Luther King's assassination on April 4, 1968 … the moon landing on July 20, 1978. … April 1 1965 when John Harris, the Johannesburg Station bomber sang "We shall overcome" at his hanging. … Jackie Stewart winning the grand prix at Kyalami on January 1 1969, musical records such as Gene Rockwell topping the South African charts with *Heart* in December 1964 … the birth of South Africa's first sextuplets on January 11 1974… .(Carew 2003: 19).

Vladislavic (2005: 34, 98) bied 'n meer persoonlike blik op die informasie wat van Mandela weerhou is en hom sodoende van herinneringe ontneem het. Hy koppel Mandela se ervaring van gebrekkige persoonlike herinneringe buite die tronk aan die kunstenaar se persoonlike herinneringe van wat hy (Boshoff) op spesifieke dae gedoen het. Vladislavic vertel byvoorbeeld dat Boshoff op 31 Mei 1983 een van 6 637 atelete was wat die bekende *Comrades Marathon* tussen Pietermaritzburg en Durban voltooi het. Boshoff het 'n silwer medale verwerf vir sy tyd van 7 uur 26 minute en 29 sekondes waarin hy die wedloop voltooi het. Die vraag wat die outeur homself afvra, is wat Mandela op 31 Mei 1983 gedoen het terwyl Boshoff gehardloop het en duisende toeskouers langs die pad en op televisie die wedloop dopgehou en die deelnemers aangemoedig het.

Die briewe met nuusgebeure vul as 't ware die gevangene se kalender aan. Dit "bied" aan die gevangene die inligting wat van hom weerhou is tydens sy gevangeneskap en waartoe ander mense buite die tronk toegang gehad het. Kortom, dit was inligting wat deur 'n groot verskeidenheid media vrylik beskikbaar was en waarvan die meeste aanskouers geweet het – gevolglik hoef hulle nie die geheime briewe te lees nie. Die kunstenaar verduidelik aan Siebrits dat hierdie installasie nie net gaan oor dit wat in die openbaar aan mense bekend was maar wat "geheime" vir Mandela was nie, " but is also about the passage of time, providing a record and some sense of how Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners like him survived" (Siebrits 2007: 31).

Sodoende kom 'n mens onder die diepe besef van hoe swaar Mandela en andere soos hy gestraf is omdat hulle 'n onregverdige bedeling teengestaan het en omdat hulle hul behoeftes aan 'n beter lewe wou uitleef. Wat hierdie inligting en geheime briewe impliseer, is dat die installasie inspeel op nie net 'n gebrek aan inligting soos wat die titel aandui nie, maar ook op 'n gebrek aan vryheid. Beide hierdie aspekte impliseer eensaamheid vanweë gebrekkige kommunikasie met geliefdes en ander mense buite die tronk, asook eentonige tydverloop en tyd wat verlore gaan.

Die aanskouers, insluitend die voormalige gevangenes, word deur hierdie installasie gekonfronteer met kollektiewe herinneringe oor apartheid en die gepaardgaande worsteling met die gevolge van 'n hartelosie ideologie. Bykomend moet die konfrontasie met kollektiewe gevoelens van skuld van wit aanskouers nie buite rekening gelaat word nie. Die onleesbaarheid van die opgefrommelde geheime briewe word geaksentueer deur die duidelik-leesbare handgeskrewe datums en die datumkaartjies wat tussen die briewe geplaas is (kyk figure 2 en 3). Tien genommerde panele met 'n opeenvolging van datums en leesbare gedrukte kaartjies met van mundane en algemene tot politieke inligting, beklemtoon die "geritualiseerde waansin" waarin die apartheidsregering verval het in hul vasklou aan mag. Die aanskouers van *Secret Letters* word gekonfronteer met 'n ongemaklike gevoel wanneer Mandela se eensaamheid en afsondering, terwyl hy klippe op Robbeneiland moes kap, in herinnering geroep word: "Language, memories and history as well as sympathy with Mandela are the main issues in this work" (Carew 2003: 19).

Terwyl die meeste wit Suid-Afrikaners rustig met hul lewens aangegaan het, nie ten volle ingelig was oor die politieke toestand in die land nie en bitter min van hulle noukeurig kan onthou wat hulle op ‘n spesifieke dag gedoen het, het Mandela sy dae eensaam in die tronk deurgebring en in alle waarskynlikheid – soos die meeste gevangenes – sy “kalender” op sy selmuur aangebring om met die tyd te probeer tred hou.

Die manier waarop gevangenes probeer om met die verloop van tyd tred te hou in die tronk, was om elke dag wat hulle tronkstraf uitdien, ‘n vertikale strepie op ‘n muur te trek. Na ses dae word ‘n diagonale lyn deur die vertikale strepies getrek om een week af te sluit. Hierdie merke word gemaak op ‘n selmuur waar dit die minste sigbaar is. Sewe jaar in die gevangenis word deur hulle beskou as ‘n baie lang, bykans nimmereindigende en ewigdurende tydperk. Hierdie “nimmereindigende” tydperk van sewe jaar word deur die gevangenes ‘n *neves* genoem (Boshoff 2013; Siebrits 2007: 88). Vladislavic bied ‘n interessante perspektief op hierdie merke: “A handful of such signs is a cliche, cartoon shorthand for a prison cell; repeated precisely, exhaustively, they capture the immensity of the prison sentences endured by the Rivonia Trialists” (Vladislavic 2005: 98).

Die woord *neves* is die omgekeerde van *seven,* die Bybelse volmaakte getal. Die Oxford Dictionary beskryf die woord *neves* ook as ‘n uitgebreide periode van tronkstraf. Mandela en sy medegevangenes het lewenslange vonnisse, met ander woorde veelvuldige *neves* gekry. Deur sy estetiese vormgewing wys Boshoff daarop dat Nelson Mandela nie net een periode van *neves* in die tronk was nie, maar vir bykans vier *neves,* dit wil sê vir 27 jaar. Dit het letterlik beteken dat hy in die tronk sou sterf. Die volmaakte getal sewe roep ook ‘n Bybelse verwysing met betrekking tot vergiffenis op: Christene word opgeroep om hul naaste, diegene wat teen hulle ‘n onreg gepleeg het, sewentig maal sewe keer te vergewe (Matt. 18: 35).

Mandela het wêreldwyd – en veral onder Afrikaners – respek afgedwing met sy versoenende vergewe-en-vergeet-optrede. Dit het aan hom die bynaam *Madiba* besorg en tot gevolg gehad hy nasionaal en internasionaal as ‘n vryheidsikoon beskou word. Die kunstenaar (2013) vat Suid-Afrikaners se bewondering van Mandela soos volg saam: “He surprised all of us with his lack of bitterness after his four *neves* sentences and with his astute and accommodating leadership.”[6] Wit Suid-Afrikaners was oor die algemeen verras deur die hand van vriendskap wat hy na hulle uitgehou het:

> I told white audiences that we needed them and did not want them to leave the country. They were South Africans just like ourselves and this was their land too. I would not mince words about the horrors of apartheid but I said, over and over, that we should forget the past and concentrate on building a better future for all (Mandela 1994: 606).

Om die verlorenheid en eensaamheid van die tronkstraf vas te vang, het Boshoff bykomend twee etse met die titels *Neves 1* en *Neves 2* geskep wat uit die woord *neves* bestaan en herhaaldelik neergeskryf is. Hierdie etse het hy geskep vir die herdenking van Mandela se 85ste verjaardag. Die lyne wat die woord *neves* vorm, bestaan uit klein, miniskule lettertjies. Hierdie lettertjies bevat uittreksels uit Mandela se beroemde toespraak “I am prepared to die”, wat hy in die beskuldigde gelewer het nadat hy skuldig bevind is en tot lewenslange tronkstraf gevonnis is (Boshoff 2013; Vladislavic 2005: 68-69).

Die kontras in *neves* is interessant: die kunstenaar verbeeld sy afsku van apartheid konseptueel uit in miniskule klein lettertjies. Soos met die geheime briewe aan Mandela, is hierdie uittreksels uit sy toespraak ook vir die aanskouer onleesbaar. Waar die geheime briewe

se inhoud onleesbaar is vir sowel die aanskouers as Mandela, is hierdie toespraak se inhoud aan Mandela welbekend maar word die inhoud van die aanskouers weerhou.

Afbeelding 4
Willem Boshoff, (2003), *Neves 1*, ets. 522.5 x 63.5cm (Boshoff 2013)

Afbeelding 5
Willem Boshoff, (2003), *Neves 2,* ets. 522.5 x 63.5 cm (Boshoff 2013)

Nie net is die lettertjies mikroskopies klein nie, maar die meeste van die Letters is ook verkeerdom geplaas sodat dit slegs deur die refleksie in ‘n spieël gelees kan word. Boshoff verduidelik sy werkwyse soos volg:

> In them I wrote ... *neves* - with the back-to-front etching process fortuitously printing it backwards, to look a little like the original *seven*, almost legible, but with some Letters the wrong way around. In my work the lines of Letters in the word *neves* are made up of tiny sentences of which most of the Letters are in fact the wrong way around. One actually needs a mirror to read anything at all. The work is therefore a vague mirror, held up to acknowledge, in a small way, a great man’s perplexing life (Boshoff 2013).

In sowel *Secret Letters* as *Neves 1* en *Neves 2* spreek Boshoff op ‘n estetiese wyse konseptueel sy kritiek uit teen die NP se magsbeheptheid en wit mense se gebrekkige kritiese selfbewussyn tydens apartheid. Dit kom voor asof Afrikaners hulself nie werklik van kolonialisme bevry het nie. Hulle het hoogstens die rol van Britse kolonialiste oorgeneem. In hul magsgedrewenheid het Afrikaners die feit dat swart mense, net soos wit Afrikaners, slagoffers van imperiale kolonialisme was, misgekyk of geïgnoreer. Dit is in hierdie verband dat die kunstenaar in ‘n onderhoud met Siebrits stel dat “[t]heir (Afrikaners) resentment was vented on the blacks, who had had nothing to do with the wiping out of Boer families in the concentration camps” (Siebrits 2007: 28).

Swart mense is as sodanig as “afwykend” van die wit “norm” beskou dat hulle nie welkom was in die samelewing van die sogenaamde genormeerde wit bevolkingsgroepe nie. Gevolglik is hulle uitgeskuif. Hulle is ook nie beskou as individue met eie identiteite, nie, maar as ‘n homogene groep. Diegene wat hulle teen die apartheidsbeleid verset het, is as ongedissiplineerde opstandiges beskou wat uit die samelewing verwyder moes word. Mandela (1994: 199) maak die volgende insiggewende opmerking in sy outobiografie: “Prison not only robs you of your feedom, it attempts to take away our identity.”

Hulle is in tronke gegooi en hul organisasies is verban. In hierdie proses is hulle vryheid en toegang tot inligting van hulle ontneem. Die kunstenaar reageer op die “geritualiseerde waansin” waarin apartheid verval het. Hy doen dit op ‘n estetiese wyse deur sy keuse van materiaal en hoe hy sy materiaal manipuleer en aanwend. Kunswerke, in hul intrinsieke verband met die morele, is nodig om op ‘n verbeeldingryke manier die moreel-goeie voor te stel juis omdat die abstrakte begrip van die moreel-goeie nie in presiese logiese begrippe beskryf kan word nie.

Terselfdertyd kies die kunstenaar kant vir Mandela. Boshoff is van mening dat dit waansinnig is om ‘n mens te verdoem om sy lewe agter tralies deur te bring, suiwer op grond van dit wat sy of hy dink (Siebrits 2007: 88). Boshoff sluit hier aan by die mite van Madiba (mite in die sin van ‘n verhaal oor ‘n eksemplariese persoon) as ‘n onskuldige vryheidsikoon wat gely het vir sy ideale. Geen vermelding word gemaak van die feit dat Mandela ‘n stigterslid en leier van MK, die militêre vleuel van die ANC, was nie (Arnold 2005: 333; Thompson 2006: 205) wat verantwoordelik was vir die pleeg van binnelandse terreuraanvalle waarin baie onskuldige mense, insluitend kinders, ernstig beseer en selfs gedood is.

Verspreid tussen die belangrike en ander interessante nuusgebeure is bykomend ook nog gedrukte uittreksels uit toesprake van Mandela voor sy tronkstraf, asook uittreksels uit die toesprake van Oliver Tambo, wat op daardie stadium die leier van die ANC was terwyl Mandela die aanvoerder van MK was. Dit is vervolgens nodig om in meer diepte aandag te skenk aan die politieke inhoud van die briewe, asook na die kwessie van die geheime aard daarvan.

Wat die politieke inhoud van die briewe betref, is dit belangrik om in gedagte te hou dat nie net Mandela nie, maar alle Suid-Afrikaners, wit en swart mense, nie vrye toegang tot hierdie of ander soortgelyke toesprake gehad het nie. Trouens, as gevolg van die sensuurwetgewing in die land wat sedert 1963 drasties verskerp is, was sogenaamde opruiende toesprake en optredes, asook die werk van skrywers, sangers, kunstenaars en enige ander persoon wat apartheid gekritiseer het, dikwels verban. Ook die radio en pers, en sedert die laat sewentigerjare televisie, was onderworpe aan sensuur. Gevolglik was wit mense dikwels onkundig oor hoe hul swart (en bruin) medeburgers geleef en hoe hulle apartheid ervaar het (Worden 1994: 96; Thompson 2006: 284-285; Carew 2003: 19). Die intensiteit van die *struggle* en gepaardgaande binnelandse onrus en sabotasiedade, asook die optrede van die polisie tydens noodtoestande, is sorgvuldig uit die nuusmedia gehou en vir die openbare publiek weggesteek (Worden 1994: 96; Thompson 2006: 20). Hierdie nuusgebeure word nou in onleesbare, geheime briewe aan Mandela “geopenbaar”. Carew vat dit so saam: “(*Secret Letters*) not only generates sadness at the degree of Mandela’s loss but also indicates that he was not alone in being denied access to information” (Carew 2003: 19).

Alhoewel wit mense se vryheid ook ingeperk was, het hulle dit nie altyd so beleef nie. Die rede hiervoor sou kon wees dat hulle sodanig bevoordeel was dat hulle die eerste keuse (naamlik hoe die verdeling van rykdom en begrensing van woonbuurtes ensovoorts moes plaasvind) gehad het, en ook omdat hulle beperkings substantief minder was as dié van ander groepe. Wit mense het immers op die beste plekke gewoon, hulle het die beste skole en universiteite tot hul beskikking gehad, en die belangrikste ambagte is vir hulle “gereserveer”. Alle kompetisie om skaars bronne is uitgeskakel en wit mense kon en het die eerste snye van die spreekwoordelike koek vir hulleself gevat. Herinneringe aan die historiese narratief van die Afrikaners as die maghebbendes toon dat hierdie era juis gekenmerk is deur ‘n magstryd ten einde optimale voordele vir Afrikaners (en later ander wit mense in die land) te behou.

Boshoff bring die abstrakte begrip *onvryheid* tot visuele vergestalting deur opgefrommelde geheime briewe wat nie gelees kan word nie. Vanuit ‘n negatiewe konnotasie, roep die konsep “geheime” woorde soos geheimhouding op. In ‘n onvrye samelewing word mense genoop om ondergronds te sosialiseer, aangesien hulle bang is dat hulle uitgevang word. In so ‘n onvrye samelewing word inligting wat mense toekom, van hulle weggehou, of valse inligting en halwe waarhede word versprei. Die bestaan van mense wat aktief die politieke sisteem deur verset teenstaan, word ook geheim gehou. Dit is gedoen deur publikasies van wat hulle dink en sê, en selfs foto’s van hulle, te verbied.

Wanneer historiese narratiewe in die materiaal wat die kunstenaar gebruik ingebed is, dui dit op historiese gebeure uit ‘n verbygegane era, en word die materiaal as ‘t ware op hierdie wyse ingespan om ‘n voorstelling van ‘n groter geheel te kan maak. Dit is met ander woorde ‘n stuk verlede wat as oorgeblewe materiaal getuienis is van iets wat bykans of heeltemal vergete is. Sodoende is Boshoff se installasie nie mimeties of nabootsend van die historiese narratief nie. Sy taalgebaseerde installasies waarvan *Secret Letters* een is, bied nie net steun aan die onderdrukte nie, maar lê terselfdertyd die sosiale onregte bloot ten opsigte van die spanning tussen diegene wat vroeër as vanselfsprekend bevoorreg is teenoor diegene wat te nagekom is. Hy wys op ‘n esteties-bevredigende wyse verontregting uit, sonder om van enige afbrekende kodes gebruik te maak.

Slotopmerkings

Die belang van hierdie installasie is myns insiens geleë in Boshoff se oopdekking van ‘n problematiese kyk op die samelewing gedurende die apartheidsera van die land deur die lens van Mandela se verhoor en gevangeneskap. Aan die wortel van apartheid was Afrikaners se aanvanklike herinneringe aan kolonialisme en hul latere identifisering met die kolonialiste as wit, Westers en Christelik. Dit het gelei tot ‘n gewaande Christelike Afrikanernasionalisme en -identiteit wat volksnasionalisties en rasgebaseerd was.

In sy *Secret Letters* spreek die kunstenaar hierdie temas konseptueel aan sonder enige vorm van reproduksie of nabootsing van die historiese gebeure. Terselfdertyd vertolk die kunstenaar die rol van kritikus en aktivis teen apartheid Terwyl die *inhoud* van *Secret Letters* vir die kyker ‘n geheim bly, openbaar die installasie wel aan die aanskouer die slegte gevolge wat verset teen apartheid vir Mandela en sy medegevangenes ingehou het, en hierby inbegrepe die eensaamheid wat Mandela tydens sy tronkstraf moes ervaar het. Ten slotte vestig die kunstenaar konseptueel aanskouers se aandag op die diep persoonlike gevolge van die blinde ondersteuning van mag tydens die apartheidsera.

Note

1 Van 1975 af het spanning begin opbou in Soweto oor Afrikaans as verpligte onderrigtaal in swart skole. Hierteen het die leerlinge en ander mense in Soweto op 16 Junie 1976 in opstand gekom (Slabbert 1999: 20,75; Worden 1994: 119-120). Dit het gelei tot ‘n botsing tussen die polisie en die betogers en ongeveer 400 mense is doodgeskiet, waaronder die agtienjarige skoolseun Hector Pieterson wat die gesig geword het van almal wat hul lewens verloor het.

2 Die dra van ‘n pasboek deur swart mense is reeds in 1828 deur die Britse koloniale beheer by wyse van *Ordonansie 49* uitgevaardig wat swart mense toegelaat het om die Kaapkolonie binne te kom, maar indien hulle sonder ‘n pas was, is hulle gearresteer (Worden 1994: 68).

3 Die onderhandelings, bekend as *The Convention for a Democratic South Africa* (CODESA), het in twee fases verloop. Die eerste fase was gedurende Desember 1991. ‘n Dooie punt is bereik en CODESA 2 is in Mei 1992 hervat (Arnold 2005: 781; Marschall 2010: 25).

4 Met die *oorspronklike* formulering van die Christelike leer word bedoel die wat Augustinus daarmee bedoel het en die Calvinistiese rehabilitering daarvan (kyk Sleddens 2009).

5 ok gespel *kafhir* of *caffre*, ‘n Arabiese woord waarmee Moslems die nie-Moslems aangedui het (Giliomee 2004: 17).

6 Daar was uiteraard ook kritiek op Mandela se regering, soos dat hy hom sodanig toegespits het op simboliese versoeningspolitiek dat alle ander sake agterweë gelaat is, soos wat Slabbert (1999: 85) dit stel: “Onder Mandela was daar te veel charisma en te min regering.” Tog was dit waarskynlik op daardie stadium noodsaaklik vir vreedsame naasbestaan in ‘n ‘n land met ‘n verdeelde geskiedenis.

7 Die enigste persoon wat wel direk verskoning gevra het (by ‘n sinode van die Kaapse NGK), was Emily Hobhouse, ‘n Britse vrywillige welsynswerkster wat gereeld die toestande van die konsentrasiekampe onder die Britse regering se aandag gebring het (Hobhouse 1984: 319-320). Haar verwysings na swartes is in latere uitgawes van haar 1904-toespraak by die NG-sinode weggelaat en eers weer in die vertaling deur Rykie van Reenen (teruggesit (kyk Hobhouse 1984; vgl. Snyman 1998).

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Muscle jew and the monument: excercises in materiality

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This paper situates a critical and reflexive reference to my own recent explorations with the body and the Monument in two video performance works: 'Muscle and Jew and the Voortrekker Monument' (2012) and 'Muscle Jew and The Miners' (2013). It is in the cross mediations of reflection and politic and autobiographical trajectories that produce a distorted and spontaneous similitude (association) of enactments occurring as re-enactment of engagement between the body and the Monument.
Key words: Performance, body, monument.

Muscle jew et le monument: excercice dans la matérialité
Cet essai se pose comme référence critique et réflexive à ma récente exploration du corps et du monument réalisée à travers deux performances vidéo : *Muscle Jew et le monument Voortrekker* (2012) ainsi que *Muscle Jew et les mineurs* (2013). Une réflexion liée à des références donent lieu à des simulacres spontanés et détournés de représentations qui se produisent en tant que reconstitution d'un engagement entre le corps et le monument.
Mots clés: Performance, corps, monument.

Figure 1
'Muscle Jew' as presented as an example of an exercise in materiality, *South African Journal of Art History* **Conference, Nelson Mandela University, Port Elizabeth 2013.**
(Source: Author's own image)

Muscle jew: a collective response to the subjective

'You, or your group allow another to find you, and in so doing, you find both the other and yourself' (Mirzoeff 2011: 474).

'The reflexive project of the self, which consists in the sustaining of coherent, yet continuously revised, biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple choice as filtered through abstract systems (Giddens 1991:5).

This essay forms part of a larger research based performance project that speaks of the re-narration of the self through a series of reflexive inter-disciplinary interventions occurring alongside material sites of history that include monuments and events. The performances as projects consider how identity might be subverted as much as inverted as an exchange of sublimation between the material and the subjective. Recognition as a subjective act is not 'a reflection of the creator's identity, a representation of some imagined "internal" self, but rather as a deliberate inscription and dissemination of non normative discursive identities' (Baker 2010:21). Recognition is made from an understanding of what these discursive moments are–in the interplay between innate identity and the reveal of that innateness from a performance type that sublimation, as performance, would also imply. To reveal from within the exchange of identities is to understand a process of performative sublimation as a collective and subjective response to the material thus making these responses exercises in materiality. As Hannah Arendt suggests in her essay; 'The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition' (2007), in which she reworks examples of Jewish stereotypes as a sublimating act towards becoming 'a human type' (2007: 276). It is how the idea of the pariah evolves as human with which Arendt exemplifies in very particular kinds of stereotypical tropes. These serve as modes of resistance and sublimation, both as theoretical underpinnings and generators of research, for if the pariah is consciously realized it could be becomes a fluid type of category informed also by resisting against the material presence of history.

As part of this larger research project are two recent telematic performances created by the collective *Against Jealousy* of 'Muscle Jew and The Voortrekker Monument' (2012) and 'Muscle Jew and The Miners' (2013). The works are consciously articulated engagements with a careful yet provactive study into the relationship between otherness and authority. *Against Jealousy* is a collective made up of Dean Hutton, John Trengove and the author, Myer Taub, whose primary collaborative project is the 'Muscle Jew' video art works. As telematic performance works they are video art works and registers of the political and personal development as artists, collaborators and activists; one that makes a practice of intervention, on the landscape of history, and memory and otherness as something that is situated as play.

And within the act of playing, reconstructed in the interplay between materiality and history, namely the body and the monument is the broader statement or question of how to re-engage with the traditions of the heritage site, the monument, the museum and/or gallery in order produce alternate dramatic encounters and performance. For it is in these dramatic encounters that challenge convention by producing alternate and empowering ways of telling stories in spaces that are governed by place, by histories, and by events.

The works already made-speak to notions of ownership and otherness; materiality and an engagement with the non-material, themes that are inherent within the interdisciplinary events that occur alongside this ongoing project of video performance works

Muscle Jew is a video-ed, archived, performance-character whose performative subversions of his own histories include: a whimsical homage to comedy and buffoonery; a reflexive interrogation of the self upon the landscape of history and exposure of the historical trope, monument or memorial. Is it is a simple yet complex interrogation. It is a playful relationship with history that suggests something about the historical site and the being of the body, as a tacit physical responsive relationship–by the body responding to the monument, evoked by memory and imagining and the monument re-revealed by the body because of their juxtaposition.

The name 'Muscle Jew' is also an embodiment and provocation of an universal contemporary experience in order to counter the exclusivity of a monument belonging to one particular historical experience and imagining:(this is also a reworking of the historical origins of the term 'Muscle Jew' as both as an imaginary historical construct and a historically grounded ideal–one that emerged from, participated in, extended and justified a range of discourses concerned with the politics of regeneration.)

There is a doubling here, of differences, of Muscle, and of Jew, of body and of monument, presented in a kind of generative terminology, both in the construction of the imaginary and the sublimation of history, of what the project attempts to be as an interconnection between the self and the other. This is reflexive and collaborative project, a project of the double narrative space that suggests ways to visualize the self, beyond limitations that have been made through others and ourselves, by reimaging these limitations.

As a comedic type Muscle Jew is also a dreamer. The *schlemiel* who is at first the fool. This is drawn from Hannah Arendt's essay *The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition* (2007) where Arendt proposed how the pariah if self consciously realized, becomes more of a fluid type of stereotypical categorization that could be self-informed, similarly resisting against the presence of history (Arendt 2007: 275–297). Here the self-conscious realization is like Arendt's example of the *schlemiel* as a "'lord of dreams' who stands outside the real world and attacks it from without" (Arendt 2007:280). Similarly the character of the "Muscle Jew" is an innocent, bumbling, fitness fanatic *who happens* to stumble on the monument; so as the monument becomes a prop to the exercise suggesting an objective amplification of the monument by a naïve but also ironic resistance to it.

Muscle jew and its histories

> 'We must think of creating again a Jewry of muscles' (Nordau 1903).
>
> 'The Jewish experience turns out to embody the universally modern experience of isolation and alienation in intensified form because of Judaism's special historical circumstances' (Olin 1996: 52).
>
> 'He loose himself in the object in order to annihilate his subjectivity' (Simone De Beauvoir 1949).

Muscle jews or *Muskeljudentum* emerged as an appeal for the regeneration of European Jewry at the end of the nineteenth century, (emerging in the aftermath of the trial of Alfred Dreyfus in France). It was term invented by Max Nordau, who as deputy to Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionist movement, constructed a symbol of supposed strength and heroic salubrity and applied it to the preconceived body of the Jew as a weak one.

> For no other people will gymnastics fulfill a more educational purpose than for us Jews. It shall straighten us in body and in character. It shall give us self-confidence, although our enemies maintain that we already have to much self-confidence as it is (Nordau 1903).

This application of historical difference – of Muscle and of Jew – evolved from an emerging resistance to anti-Semitism, as much as from a fear of degeneration, as well as the call to colonize Palestine as part of a pioneering movement that utilized physical labor as part of a political and symbolic agenda. Muscle Jew represented an idealized form of masculinity, according to Daniel Boyarin, 'the dawning ideal of the "New Jewish man", the Muscle Jew, is a figure almost identical to his "Aryan" confreres and especially the "Muscular Christian" also born about this time' (1997: 37). Implements of modernity such as virility, strength, enterprise and politic inform the Muscle Jew as a term of contestation. 'The aesthetics of power were matched by

the aesthetics of the body not simply as form but as affect and need' says Mirzoeff (2011: 4) in the context of cementing the operation of power by classifying through the aestheticization of the body. This kind of operation might extend towards the interplay and counter-play of body, aesthetic and politic in the difficult terminologies that are activated by Muscle Jew by becoming a monument in and of itself. I say this, not only in reference to its inherent difficult terminologies, for them being complex, but also in referring to Todd Samuel Presner who monumentalizes Muscle Jew as both as an 'imaginary construct' and a 'historically grounded ideal', one that emerged from, participated in, extended and justified a range of discourses concerned with the politics of regeneration' (2007: 12–13). However in extending the notion of regeneration beyond the exclusivity of one culture or race, demands the appropriation of Muscle Jew as an embodiment of a universal contemporary experience in order to counter its exclusivity as a monument belonging to one particular historical experience and imagining.

If one is to consider anything from the appropriation of Muscle Jew, then it is to extend its context beyond the expectations of regeneration onto the possibility of how the conceptual form might inform more universal concepts of regeneration that endorse not merely obvious and traditional specific historical contexts. In doing so, the term might invert on itself because sublimation suggests how it might become its own chastiser to its own point of origin, while similarly pointing to the universality of experience. Therefore, this kind of retransmission of terms informs a new emerging terminology as ironic. In doing so, there is a right to look back at the term's histories and interconnections in order to reinvent it as a term that assumes new forms. Alternate forms might destabilize rather than endorse the apparent hegemonic operations of power and classification inherent within traditional Jewish and Zionist identities. Firstly, by referring to Nordau's observation of the emancipation of European Jewry as a moment that meant that Jews were allowed 'space for bodies to live again' (1903), means engaging with this idea of freedom and space as way to interrogate, as much provide a function in destabilizing the authority of one particular kind of viewership that demarcates space through classification and control. The suggestive act of destabilizing and the displacement of authoritarian space allows for a space for all our bodies to live again. Secondly, to interrogate how the term is historically made might revoke difference in its own naming. Thereafter to position it as a term of fissure and as an activator of ideas, then its application alongside the fixity of place broaden the notions of space. In order to do is to locate an affinity to a queer agenda, particularly of nomadism, dispossession and disorientation, and importantly to failure in reading Judith Halberstam's *The Queer Art of Failure* (2011). In doing so, the term also finds a likely accordance alongside Arendt's pariah figure of the suspect.

Arendt describes the pariah type of the suspects by drawing comparisons to Charlie Chaplin:

> To be sure, he too is a schlemiel, but of the old visionary type, not a secret fairy prince, a protégé of Phoebus Apollo. Chaplin's world is of the earth, grotesquely caricatured if you will, but nevertheless, hard and real (2007:286).
>
> It is a 'hostile world (Arendt 2007: 287).
>
> …his conflicts with it may assume a manifold variety of forms, but always and everywhere he is under suspicion (Arendt 2007: 286).

The point of his charm, albeit suspicious, is one of innocence. There is an irreverence and unsuspecting quality that plays at the suspect being unaware of his own embodiment of the suspect; it is a treatment that is 'both warm and convincing' (Arendt 2007: 287). And even though 'he is able to get away with a great deal' (Arendt 2007: 287), there is also 'expression

of the dangerous incompatibility of general laws with individual misdeeds' (Arendt 2007: 287). Arendt considers this to be a kind of impudence, although charming it is also:

> … a worried, careworn impudence–the kind so familiar to generations of Jews, the effrontery of the poor "Little Yid" who does not recognize the class order of the world because he sees in it neither order nor justice for himself (Arendt 2007: 288).

Consciously drawing on this figure, in the making of its persona meant finding a correspondence with Halberstam's theories around queer failure. Halberstam states that:

> … under certain circumstances failing, losing, forgetting, unmaking, undoing, unbecoming, not knowing might in fact offer more creative, more surprising ways of being in the world (Halberstam 2011:2).

Therefore in the case of the re-embodiment of the Muscle Jew, as an ironic symbol of universal regeneration, is also to paraphrase some of Halberstam's terms of failure; he is not athletic, strong or even muscular but is stupid, a failure, non-athletic and with little prowess, a figure that is 'resistant to mastery and is 'anti-discipline', is 'frivolous, promiscuous, and irrelevant, also lost, naïve, nonsensical, unaware and innocent. His only dependence is on the monument, a site that he encounters not by chance but in qualification. It is a relationship that informs his 'illegibility' onto the site and to history. This 'illegibility' counters the manipulation of the monument and within this interaction the monument is provoked to reconsider its own hegemonies of regulation, control and authority (Halberstam 2007: 1–15).

Arendt's figure of the suspect and Halberstam's notion of failure relate to how Judith Butler's 'constitutive acts' (1988: 519) is often used in performance terms to describe how the body performs prescribed acts of societal routines. Being conscious of these prescribed routines as an emplacement of prescribed reactions to what memorializing might invoke, means a conscious re-alteration of the constitutive act. The conventional constitutive act in the case of myself performing alongside the monument occurs when the body engages with the monument as a constructed site of memory and place (see Pearson and Shanks 2001: 121). The body performs prescribed expectations alongside the monument but in doing so also becomes part of the performed text as a temporal absorption into the text of the monument. Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks have suggested how 'architectural surface and closure might necessitate and prescribe certain altered bodily behaviors and bodily orientations' (2001: 121), thus the monument's constructed materialism is a catalytic starting point for how the body will respond to the monument. But in doing so the body, as in the activating of both the figure of the suspect and the figure of failure, means not only a conscious absorption of difference but also embodies a response to how these differences might occur as exercises of materiality. There is a reconfigured relationship of body and image and space that occurs in this engagement alongside the monument.

The body as it is absorbed into the text of materiality at the monument also becomes a counter to this text; not merely losing itself in the object but by countering the object, the object extends into both a transmission of materiality of both body and monument. This engagement is uneasy and dramatic, the body is fluid and temporal while the monument appears fixed. It is this uneasiness that is exemplified by what Laurie Beth Clark indicates as 'placed', 'displaced', and 'placeless' memorials [that] create social spaces in which spectators embody and enact memory' (2006: 129).

To do this is to reconsider the act of memorializing itself, so as to paraphrase Halberstam:

> It becomes a way of resisting the heroic and grand logic of recall and unleashes new forms of memory that relate more to spectrality than to hard evidence, to lost genealogies than to inheritance, to erasure than to inscription (Halberstam 2007: 15).

The moment the body engages with monument its unsettles both its own innate histories alongside the emplaced histories of the monument, suggesting an interplay between subjective histories and material histories that are sublimated into performed roles of identities alongside acts of provocation and play. It is this exchange that produces a distorted and spontaneous similitude (association) of enactments occurring as re-enactments.

Muscle jew and the monument

> 'The Monument has elements of the pyramids and the Zimbabwe ruins. This makes it typically African. It as massive and simple as the Voortrekkers themselves' (Marx citing Moerdyk 2008:280).

Figure 2
'Muscle Jew and the Voortrekker Monument': Work Will Set You Free
(video still, *Against Jealousy*, 2012)

There has been two archival video performance works of the Muscle Jew project. This is an ongoing project determined by a narrative trajectory that begins in South Africa, with its particular historical antecedents in relation to heritage, identity and memory. The first work, 'Muscle Jew and The Voortrekker Monument' (2012) situated the figure of the Muscle Jew alongside the Voortrekker monument as an exercise in materiality and an experiment in countering the prescribed constitutive acts that occur when body and monument meet. The figure in this first incarnation translates as suspect in Arendt's terms and failure in relation to Halberstams

theory of failure. It was a work that set out to re-alter not only a response to the monument but to reconfigure exclusivity and the authority of historical figures' lexicon determinations. An analysis so as to reflect upon style, composition and is not the mandate of it's co-creator or its collective but rather one that is to reflexively consider how both body and monument might reconfigure in a translation of their correspondence to each other. This might be obvious that the monument does not change and that it is fixed; only in the transient exchange with the other might change occur.

Christoph Marx says: 'Not only in its architecture but in its symbolism too the religious undertones are evident; the Voortrekker Monument is less a monument than a nationalist temple' (2008:280). In the context of the performance work, situated within this symbolic manifestation of religion and nationhood is the paradoxical symbol of the pariah like 'Muscle Jew', also a symbol of inherited religion and nationhood, whose interrupted moments of exercises at the monument interrupt inheritance into an inverted state of unsettled subjective identities.

Muscle jew and the event

> 'Events, by definition, are occurrences that interrupt routine processes and routine procedures' (Arendt 1970: 7).
>
> 'The right to look confronts the police who say to us, "move on, there's nothing to see here." Only there is, we know it, and so do they' (Mirzoeff 2011: 474).

Figure 3
Muscle Jew and the Miners
(Screen Grab from video-still, *Against Jealousy*, 2013)

The second work in the series, 'Muscle Jew and the Miners' (2013) performed at the Miners Monument in Johannesburg is a direct response to the recent and uncomfortable event in South Africa's present history. That is the shooting of 34 striking mineworkers by the South African police force near the Marikana platinum mine in August 2012. This example of brutality raises not only specters from South Africa's violent and unpleasant past but also suggests a difficult, if not incomplete moment of the present. The video work intervenes with material emplacements of power and authority situated in the places of memorializing and the monument. The work intends to honor that intent and the severity of the Marikana event and unlike the previous performance work suggests something incomplete and menacing. The work video is a text of distorted sounds distilled from actual cellphone recordings of the police shooting and visual ellipsis captured alongside the everyday mundane moments of exercise. Peter Alexander says 'The Marikana Massacre was ghastly' (2012:155). This written reflection of the performance response to Marikana (evoked in the 'Muscle Jew' video work) wants to speak directly to Alexander's sentiment; that if these performance works are interpretive injunctions against historical materialism than they as performance utterances are a subjective sublimation of brutal events like Marikana that do not end, so instead are presently situated in an inconclusive positioning of events as the event continues to unfold; as to suggest–to paraphrase Andrew Webb citing Judith Butler how the performance act exceeds 'the moment it occasions' (2013:90).

Notes

1 The two video works can be seen at the following links: http://youtu.be/exiDzC_rmUc; and http://youtu.be/RzKM2NJuIag.

2 *Against Jealousy*: as a name was inspired from an incense brand to suggest resistance to acts of jealousy in order to provide a counter insurgency to the centralized and conformist modes of thinking and doing. A name that rejects jealousy for sake of love and for the sake of countering coveting because it is a commoditizer of creativity, an enclosure inciting alienation and producer of anxiety. Acts against jealousy are evoked in order to activate political, intellectual and aesthetic risks, and also aim to reconsider pillaging and proliferating as acts that do not merely suggest subjugation, but are acts of salvation and redemption.

3 Muscle jews or *Muskeljudentum* emerged as an appeal for the regeneration of European Jewry at the end of the nineteenth century, (emerging in the aftermath of the trial of Alfred Dreyfus in France). It was term invented by Max Nordau, who as deputy to Theodore Herzl, founder of Zionist movement, constructed a symbol of supposed strength and heroic salubrity and applied it to the preconceived body of the Jew as a weak one.

4 Arendt (2007:277) cites Heinrich Heine for the origin of this Yiddish word. She writes how Heine relates 'schlemiel' to the humorous supposition in the Biblical Book of Numbers, whereby Shelumeil ben Zurishadai as the leader of the tribe of Simeon, by standing too close to his brother chieftain Zimri, he got himself killed accidentally when Zimri was beheaded by the priest Phinehas for dallying with a Midianite woman.

5 The Voortrekker Monument was the realization of the national Voortrekker movement to coincide with the centenary of the Great Trek (1835–1854), and is also considered to be a tribute to the Voortrekker victory of the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River (16 December 1838). It is referred to as a symbol of Afrikaans nationalism. The site of the monument is situated on a hill in Pretoria called Monument Hill. The architect is Gerard Moerdijk, whose design is a 62-meter cubic shrine, made of granite and ringed by a laager of 64 synthetic ox wagons. The cube is designed in such a way that on 16 December the sun shines through the oculus in the vaulted roof of the hall of the monument so as to illuminate the inscription *Ons vir jou Suid Afrika* carved upon the sarcophagus in the basement symbolizing the Voortrekker heroes. At the four external corners of the monument are the statues of Piet Retief, Andries Pretorius, Henrik Potgeiter and an unknown Voortrekker hero. The monument is derivative in design of the Völkerschlactsdenkmal, the monument of the Battles of Nations in Leipzig (See Ferreira 1975: 4–5; Marx 2008:277–280; Peters 2012: 221–2;Picton-Seymour 1989: 162; Witz 2003: 95–100 for more on the Monument).

6 The Miners Monument in Braamfontein, Johannesburg was sculpted by David F. Macgregor and was presented to the city in 1964. (see [O]: www.allatsea.co.za). The monument pays tribute to Johannesburg's mining origins. The group of gold miners represents a typical underground team of 1936. They face west towards Langlaagte where the Main reef was discovered in 1886 (see [O]: blueplaques.co.za).

7 For more of account of this event, see: *Marikana: Voices from South Africa's Mining Massacre (*Alexander et al 2013).

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Design/build and interior design: engaging students in technical development

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Projects that employ the full-scale fabrication of design proposals have been implemented successfully in various spheres of design education, especially as design/build projects within architectural education. Among the various benefits offered by projects that encourage full-scale fabrication, students are presented with the rare opportunity to engage directly with the physical fabrications of their conceptual imaginings. As a result, these projects offer learning opportunities that go beyond a purely conceptual and intellectual understanding of their surrounding environments and designs. Interior design studios could employ design/build projects with success, yet judging from the lack of relevant research, the benefits of design/build projects within this discipline seem to have been neglected within the discourse of interior design education. This article employs a case study to investigate the learning opportunities, specifically related to the technical development of design, offered by design/build projects in interior design education. The case study refers to a design/build project implemented in the second year interior design studio at the University of Pretoria in response to students' lack of engagement with the material aspects of their designs. The successes and shortcomings of the project are evaluated using data obtained from questionnaires completed by students. This data was supplemented by the recorded observations of studio lecturers and retrospective design reports. Students' experiences are discussed under the following four themes: (1) improved confidence; (2) exploration; (3) on-site construction; and (4) design process.
Key words: design/build, interior design education, technical development, full-scale fabrication

Ontwerp/bou en binne-ontwerp: daarstelling van studentebetrokkenheid by tegniese ontwikkeling
Projekte wat die volskaalse vervaardiging van ontwerp voorstelle aanmoedig, word met sukses in verskeie areas van ontwerpopleiding geimplementeer, veral in die vorm van ontwerp/bou projekte in argitektuur opleiding. Onder die verskeie voordele wat projekte wat volskaalse vervaardiging aanmoedig inhou, word studente die skaars geleentheid gebied om direk betrokke te wees met die fisiese produkte van hul konseptuele beelde. Gevolglik bied sulke projekte leergeleenthede wat verder strek as die blote konseptuele of intellektuele begrip van hul omringende omgewings en ontwerpe. Binne-ontwerp ateljees kan ontwerp/bou projekte met groot sukses aanwend, maar te oordeel aan die gebrek aan relevante navorsing, word die voordele wat ontwerp/bou projekte vir die dissipline inhou, misken in binne-ontwerp opleiding. Aan die hand van 'n gevallestudie ondersoek hierdie artikel die binne-ontwerp leergeleenthede, spesifiek tot die tegniese ontwikkeling van ontwerp soos verskaf deur ontwerp/bou projekte. Die gevallestudie verwys na 'n ontwerp/bou projek wat in die tweede jaar binne-ontwerp ateljee by die Universiteit van Pretoria geimplementeer is. Hierdie projek is geimplementeer in antwoord op studente se tekort aan betrokkenheid by die materiele aspekte van hul ontwerpe. Die sukses en tekortkominge van die projek word aan die hand van vraelys data ge-evalueer. Die data is aangevul deur ateljee dosente se aangetekende waarnemings en retrospektiewe ontwerpverslae. Die ervarings van studente word onder die volgende vier temas bespreek: (1) verbeterde selfvertroue; (2) ondersoeking; (3) konstruksie op terrein; en (4) ontwerpproses.
Sleutelwoorde: ontwerp/bou, Binne-ontwerp opleiding, tegniese ontwikkeling, volskaalse vervaardiging

Projects that employ the full-scale fabrication of design proposals have been implemented successfully in various spheres of design education, especially as design/build projects within architectural education. For the purpose of this paper design/build is defined as the designing and fabrication of a full-scale final spatial product which may be temporary or permanent in nature. Canizaro (2012) mentions that educational institutions adopt design/build projects for various reasons that can range from community service, enhancing collaborative

skills, to various forms of construction experience. Although the benefits of projects that encourage full-scale fabrication are varied and are dependent upon context and implementation, such projects almost always offer students an opportunity to gain information about their designs that would not have been available in two dimensional representations alone (Yang, 2005: 650). Design/build projects offer students the rare opportunity to experience their own designs. Thomas (2010: 15) mentions that the process of full-scale fabrication offers designers the opportunity to construct immersive environments where they can examine how bespoke spaces of their imagining might be inhabited, both physically and emotionally.

Design/build projects engage students directly with the physical world and as a result offer learning opportunities that go beyond a purely conceptual and intellectual understanding of the student's surrounding environment. The technical development of design proposals can be enriched by the experiences offered by full-scale fabrication. For the purposes of this article, technical development can be equated to detailing, defined by Ballast (2010: 3) as a "creative process of problem solving with constraints and choices aimed at translating broad design concepts into construction reality". This creative process is informed by an understanding of materiality and construction methods. Materiality refers here to both the physical characteristics of materials and the metaphysical experience of materials through sensory involvement. Design/build projects "attempt to demystify the construction site and help students realize what is involved in taking architecture from a drawing to a building" (Canizaro 2012: 22). Design/build projects could help students to gain a better understanding of materials and their role in design, whilst offering opportunities for hands-on exploration with detailing.

Projects that employ full-scale fabrication are however limited by the time, financial support required and risk involved in their realisation. As a result, the types of projects suitable to design/build projects in an educational environment are limited. Carpenter (1997: 9) mentions that projects that fit well into construction studios include a small modular house, an outdoor chapel, and garden pavilions. This list is not exhaustive, but it serves to indicate that design/build projects are typically smaller in scale and should have manageable levels of liability and structural complexity. This may seem restrictive to educators, however "…a reduction in building scale, at times, is balanced by an increase in creative liberation, encouraging experimentation with materials, texture and proportion while stressing play and whimsical exploration" (Thomas, 2010: 10). Interior design could employ design/build projects with great success, yet judging from the lack of discipline specific research, the benefits of design/build projects in interior design education seem to have been neglected by interior design educators.

The IFI Interiors Declaration[1] (IFI, 2011) states that "interior designers and interior architects determine the relationship of people to spaces, based on psychological and physical parameters to improve life". The discipline of interior design is therefore intimately engaged with the effect that designed spaces and objects have on users. This 'closeness' to the human body, behaviour and perception implies that students of interior design can benefit greatly from the opportunity to immerse themselves in their own designs: to walk through, sit in and observe the use of their conceptions. Design/build projects can offer students this valuable learning opportunity. Interior designers also address the technical aspects of space making, which includes an understanding of, and exploration with, construction methods and materials. Although Scott (2008: 174) states that the designer is more inclined than the architect to experiment with new materials, this remains a skill that should be taught. Both these knowledge areas can be strengthened through the implementation of projects that encourage full-scale fabrication of design proposals.

Design/build projects employ hands-on learning practices such as modeling and prototyping as part of the design process. These activities often precede final full-scale installation on site. According to Ankerson and Pable (2008: 143) modeling and prototyping are activities common to all interior design studios. They state that these activities "help learners understand both the problem and the solution in ways that more typical linear and analytical processes cannot". Lemons, Carberry, Swan, Rogers and Jarvin (2010: 290) state that model building aligns well with Kolb and Fry's theory of experiential learning:

> There are hands-on concrete experiences during model construction, observation and reflection through testing and evaluation, and the opportunity to form abstract concepts from which new analysis and implications can be drawn. During model building the learner is encouraged to reflect on his or her actions and the results of those actions in order to validate their solution or formulate a better one. The effects of similar actions can then be anticipated in future similar situations.

Design/build projects can be effective forms of experiential learning. These projects have the ability to engage interior design students in a complete learning process which relies on the creation of multiple solutions for both spatial and technical design issues.

This article employs a case study to investigate the learning opportunities, specifically related to the technical development of design, offered by design/build projects in interior design education. The case study refers to a design/build project conducted in the second year interior design studio in the Department of Architecture at the University of Pretoria. The organisation and aims of the project will be discussed to provide a background against which the learning experiences of the students involved in the project can be discussed.

The case study: background and organisation

The undergraduate interior design programme[2] is organised as a three year course. The first year studio component is taught as a generic studio for architecture, interior design and landscape architecture students alike. From the second year onwards students split into their various discipline specific studios. The second year interior studio is therefore aimed at introducing students to the broader discipline of interior design. Design theory and projects aim to equip students with discipline specific vocabulary, knowledge of precedents and designers, skills and experiences upon which subsequent learning experiences can build. Design projects are therefore formulated to stimulate an extensive design process within which students' concept formulation, design development, technical development, design description, communication and self-appraisal abilities can be tested.

Cross (2007) states that a central feature of a design activity is its reliance on generating a satisfactory solution fairly quickly, rather than on any prolonged analysis of the problem. In doing so, designers tend to produce any one of what might well be a large range of satisfactory solutions rather than attempting to generate the one hypothetically optimum solution. Lawson (2005: 43) supports this understanding by describing designers as having a solution-focused strategy and not a problem-focused strategy. Although students in the second year interior design studio illustrated clear signs of generating numerous possible solutions during the conceptual and spatial development stages of their first semester's design projects, they tended to neglect this process when confronted with the technical development of design solutions. Student projects not only illustrated a lack of technical investigation, but illustrated the tendency of students to postpone the technical development of projects to such an extent that exploration and experimentation became virtually impossible. This lack of experimentation led to a reliance on 'standard' details often sourced from precedents or construction-based publications. Although

their use is by no means wrong, lecturing staff observed that students used these details without questioning their relevance and applied them without a real understanding of their structure and/or aesthetics. If any condition within the design changed, students found it impossible to adjust the detail and instead sourced a new detail. These issues indicated a lack of confidence in individual's technical design abilities as well as an inability to relate technical aspects to the design concept.

Second year studio lecturers and mid-year examiners also commented on students' lack of enthusiasm for the technical and material issues of design. Discussions in studio with the second year students indicated that they viewed this as a 'difficult' and 'boring' stage of the design process. Students viewed technical development merely as a means to an end, i.e. detailing could solve design and conceptual problems, but was rarely viewed as a generator for design. Design was treated as a partly linear process, where concept and spatial development were dealt with as interrelated processes, but where technical development took place at the end of the spatial development. This not only led to weak technical solutions, but also indicated a lack of understanding of the interdependence of design drawings, working drawings and the physical realisation of the design. Second year students did not engage in a complete technical development process – technical solutions were divorced from the overall design intent and very few alternatives were developed, reviewed or revised. Studio lecturers felt it imperative to address this lack of engagement with the technical development of design through the introduction of a focused studio project.

Based on the various benefits and opportunities offered by projects that employ full-scale fabrication, a design/build project titled: "A place of refuge and retreat" was implemented in the second semester of 2012. The purpose of this project was to generate enthusiasm for technical investigations in interior design and encourage a deeper engagement with the technical development of design projects. The project was designed to focus attention on three interrelated issues: improving technical knowledge, encouraging hands-on experimentation and stimulating a comprehension of a complete design process. The project brief did not list learning outcomes, but clearly stated that material and detail experimentation was critical and encouraged students to construct maquettes, scale models and prototypes. In order to root the project in the realm of interior design, it was formulated to be spatial in nature and required, to some degree, an engagement with site. The project offered students the opportunity to experience the synthesis of touch, movement, sound and visual stimuli within their conceptual designs – an intimacy in use that is fundamental to interior designers. A multi-sensory approach to materiality was encouraged in the conceptual phase of the project, but was not deemed a requirement for successful completion.

Students were required to complete the project in groups. This saved time during the construction phase and the financial burden could be shared amongst students. Group work also offered the students an opportunity to be exposed to the complex collaborative nature of spatial design. Although invaluable, it was not viewed as a major outcome of the project and will therefore not be discussed in this article. The project required students to design and construct a full-scale spatial experience in an allocated site and was organised in two parts.

Firstly, students were divided into pre-selected groups of five[3] and were asked to conceptualise a 'Place of refuge and retreat' for the *Boukunde* building (the permanent location of the students' design studio). Excerpts from the text "Architecture of Refuge and Retreat" (Thomas, 2010) prepared by the curator of the exhibition "1:1 Architects build small spaces", held in 2010 at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, was included in the project brief.

This text laid the conceptual foundation for the project and introduced students to the writings of Juhani Pallasmaa[4] on full sensory engagement in architectural spaces. Students were allowed two days to complete additional research related to the topic as well as to compile their personal observations of the *status quo* in the building. On day three, each group presented their findings and initial proposal to the class.

Secondly, a site (figure 1) within the building was assigned to each group. Students were informed that they needed to design and build a full-scale version of their conceptualized 'place' in any paper-based material.[5] Each group received two sheets of 3050x1220x16mm X-Board Print (printable paper liner with inner reinforced honeycomb paper base). Students had access to basic woodworking tools. Each group's budget for additional tools and materials was restricted to an amount of R2500. Students had to complete any construction activities on site or in their studio. The project was completed over the course of four weeks (figure 2 illustrates the design/build process of Group E). Assessment took place in groups in the form of verbal critiques by studio lecturers and external evaluators. After the final installation, an opportunity for self-appraisal was introduced. Students were asked to evaluate the success of their group projects by preparing individual retrospective design reports which offered an opportunity for individual assessment. Students were allowed one week to complete these reports.

Figure 1
The five sites *(from top left)*:
Group A - Honours studio; Group B - Level 1 stairs; Group C – Level 2 vending;
Group D – Stairs to roof; Group E – 1st year studio.

Figure 2
Complete design/build process of Group E:
modeling, prototyping and fabrication *(top)*; installation, use and evaluation *(bottom).*

The case study: data

Creswell (2007:93) mentions that extensive, multiple sources of information are used in data collection of a case study to provide a detailed in-depth 'picture' of the project being studied**.** The successes and shortcomings of the project were evaluated through data obtained from questionnaires completed by students at the end of the design/build project. This data was supplemented by the experiences and observations of studio lecturers as well as information compiled from the retrospective design reports.

The questionnaire was aimed at obtaining qualitative data about the learning experience through appreciative inquiry. Appreciative inquiry engages participants in a process of reflection by posing open questions or statements to identify the best of 'what is' to encourage participants to envision 'what might be' (Cooperrider, Whitney & Stavros, 2008). Students were asked to respond to the following statements by referring to the design/build project:

1. I enjoyed or liked…;
2. I found … informative or helpful in the project;
3. I learned…
4. I recommend that…

The open statements focus on extracting information that illustrates what enabled the participants to complete the project successfully, rather than to look for problems or weaknesses. Weaknesses or difficulties are revealed through the process of envisioning what might have worked more successfully.

Tesch's descriptive method of open-coding (in Creswell 2009: 185) was used to analyse the data. Four main themes related to the project's aims and outcomes were identified from the analysis of students' responses, namely: (1) improved confidence; (2) exploration; (3) on-site construction; and (4) design process.

The case study: results

Student's learning experiences are discussed under the above mentioned themes and their related subthemes. The themes align with the project's aim of generating enthusiasm for, and encouraging engagement with, technical development of design projects by focusing on the improvement of technical knowledge, encouraging hands-on experimentation and stimulating a comprehension of a complete design process.

Theme 1: improved confidence

Student comments indicated that they enjoyed "investigating", "experimenting", "testing" and "exploring" paper-based materials and their relevant construction methods. Even though the project was challenging, students illustrated enthusiasm for the "learning by doing" process as can be observed in these responses (emphasis by author):

> I *enjoyed* getting to make the installation, working with our hands and experimenting with the material.
> I *super loved* the investigation, exploration and construction process. The challenges of making each piece fit, along with checking/calculating the 'science' behind each required piece was *awesome*.
> I am specifically not good with the construction or structural aspects of a design. It goes without saying that it is an extremely important aspect of design. The challenge of physically building made me *excited about construction*.

The physical building process proved to be "enjoyable" and "motivational" as well as empowering. The project provided an opportunity to physically experience the development of design ideas and to showcase the work of the studio as a whole. Students also indicated that the project offered opportunities for personal discovery, as evident in the last two responses:

> It was very *rewarding* when other people would visit and be surprised at the comfort of our cardboard seats.
> [I enjoyed] the challenge and the unexpected discoveries – the reward of an installation that worked. The INT's [interior design students] also get the chance to brag with what we do. (translated from Afrikaans).
> [I learned] that *I'm actually not that bad* with the practical part…
> …it is an excellent experience and really fun, as well as an important opportunity *to discover your own strengths and weaknesses…*

Theme 2: exploration

2.1 Technical knowledge

Students commented on the fact that "…exploring and just playing with the material really helped me to make informed contributions". Experimentation illustrated the physical properties and nature of the material as well as the relationship between these properties and detailing: "It is amazing how structurally stable cardboard can be if you use the correct joints and explore with different connections". The improvement in technical knowledge was partly evident in an observed increase in the use of technical vocabulary such as "strength", "withstand large loads", "structurally stable", "flexibility" and "joints and stresses". Although the knowledge gained was specific to paper-based materials, students expressed awareness that this knowledge could be applied to other materials: "…I learned about different joining ways that could be applied to other materials". This was particularly evident in the experiences of Group D. Their design necessitated the use of a repeated modular cut-out for the seat. The group tested various patterns

per sheet prior to fabrication to optimise material usage, but were still left with wasted off-cuts. In an attempt to utilise these, the group fabricated a footstool from some of the off-cuts, as illustrated in figure 3. Although novel, the footstool was less successful than the seats and resulted in a valuable lesson about the relationship between a material's profile and the design: "When working with a board product like cardboard, cut outs on the board should be planned as to limit waste".

Figure 3
Group D's modular cut-out for the seat *(left)*; the resultant off-cuts and improvised footstool *(right).*

Student comments also indicated a deeper level of understanding about the value of obtaining or possessing such technical knowledge. The following are examples of their responses:

> Developing an understanding of the material is *very important.*
> [I learned that] every material needs greater understanding then it will be easy to *manipulate the material* so that the design can be achieved.
> Learning to understand the materials we used – different characteristics of the cardboard and x-board helped us *refine our concept and design* as we *understood how to cut and use* the different pieces

2.2 Technical innovation

Students realised that experimentation improved design innovation. One student commented that she learned that "innovative design can be made from simple materials" (translated from Afrikaans). The process of testing the limits of the material and its connections expand students' conceptual range and encourage them to be more innovative:

> I learned that experimenting with the material *pushes you to try to test things* that you would not otherwise have done. (translated from Afrikaans)
> I came up with *better solutions* to concerns that I ordinarily would not have thought of had I not had to build the full-scale prototype.

Group B worked extensively with cardboard tubes and explored various connections before settling on a final solution (figure 4). The group made the following comment about their process: "Looking at precedents and playing around [with various options] generated the best ideas / gives inspiration".

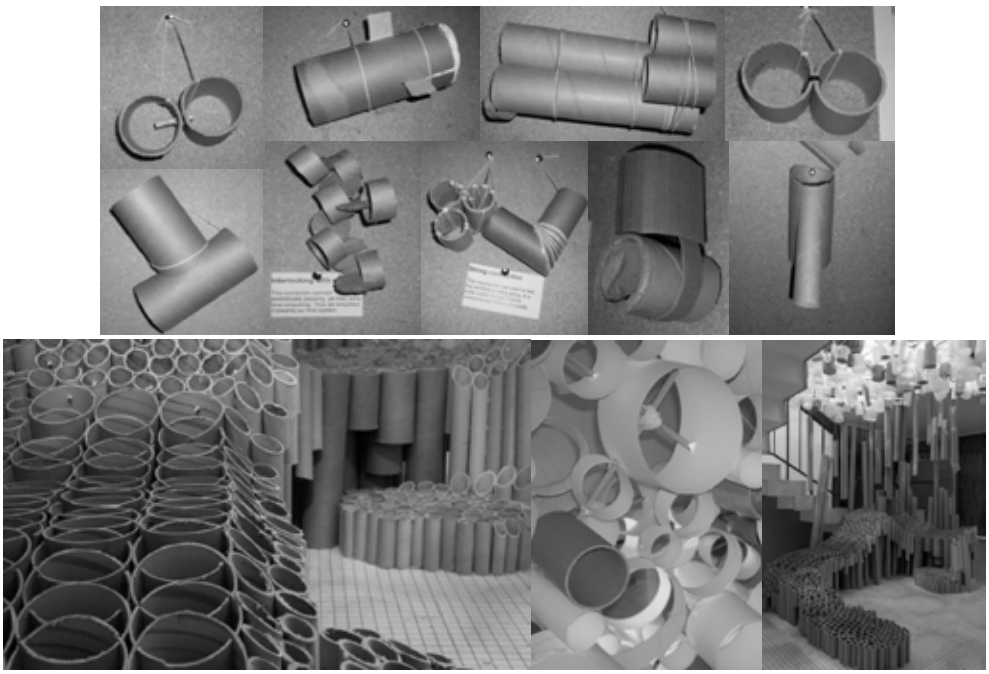

Figure 4
Group B's joint explorations *(top)* and final solution *(bottom).*

Theme 3: on-site construction

The installation of full-scale components on site revealed additional design considerations which were not anticipated by students, as can be seen in the responses below:

> [Full-scale fabrication] is relevant because then you have an *understanding* of your design (what works, what doesn't). You don't get such an understanding when just doing a presentation/model.
> That true innovation is found on site – the process from paper to maquette to full scale model leaves gaps that you can *only realise on site*.

Being on site confronted students with unexpected site conditions, offered opportunities to "test various weather, light and human factors" and allowed students the chance to "feel the space". One group spent a lot of time designing on site (see figure 5) and members commented that "being able to work on site and experiment with the site really helped me to visualise possible designs and solutions".

Working on site proved to be both inspiring and enlightening. The group that designed a seat for the stairwell was inspired by the users of the space (the site was used by the cleaning staff as a resting space), the existing rhythm and form, as well as the surrounding context (see figure 6). Students commented on the need to survey the site thoroughly prior to construction to avoid discrepancies. Site conditions also illustrated that successful construction requires tolerance for error:

> Because in interior architecture we work with existing structures, we need to *adapt our designs to fit what exists*. Due to human error during construction, there is no such thing as modular.
> [The most informative thing] was finding out how critical measurement is in this case. We literally had to measure all aspects of our site.

Figure 5
Figure 5 Group C's explorations on site

Figure 6
Responses to the existing use *(top)* and context of the site *(bottom)* by group D.

Theme 4: design process

Being involved in a complete design process, from concept generation to full-scale fabrication, proved to be a "very good learning process". Students commented on the relationship that exists between the initial spatial concept and its translation into a constructed reality: "the difference between conceptual design and implementing the design is vast. I learnt that it is very difficult to implement a concept successfully without diluting it." Developing the design however proved that "it is difficult to stick to the concept, but it is possible" (translated from Afrikaans). Students also commented on the necessity of considering construction whilst working on spatial development.

> [I learned] the importance of *designing with structural details / construction in mind.*
> …designers should not only think of themselves as designers, but we should also *consider the construction* of the design and the *people who put it together.*

One group investigated the possibility of using a folded paper 'textile' to create a spatial experience on their site. The initial conceptual proposal was pleasing, but required development (figure 7). The group settled on a fold very quickly and started fabrication before installation was considered in detail. Two days before the project was due, the group realised that they had

underestimated the number of folded forms needed by several thousand. The group failed to finish and produced an undesirable final product. This however resulted in a valuable learning opportunity – the group members discussed the necessity of considering both construction and concept during the development phases in their individual design reports.

Figure 7
Group A's initial concept sketch *(left)*, folded paper forms *(centre)* and final installation *(right).*

Students indicated that the project "was a challenge that changed [their] perception of design completely" and that the project introduced them to a "new approach" to design. The exploration process highlighted the need to "plan for" and accept mistakes, as well as the fact that design requires the development and testing of various possible solutions:

> Always have a plan C, D and E and accommodate for errors and re-design (in terms of time and material.
> I *understood the process* of design and how the [development] process is very important. Application or installation made it clear that *mistakes can be made and resolved.*

Learning experiences, however, are meaningless if students do not apply the knowledge and experience gained to future design solutions. Comments indicated that students grasped the value of the project and felt that they could apply lessons learned to future design projects:

> …we had to change the way we think and adapt our designs to fit realistically and we should *start to do that to all our designs.*
> I really enjoyed this project and it was extremely valuable and has definitely *added to how I will design from now on.*
> I felt that I definitely learned a lot about how to develop an actual design to ultimately create a product that is realistic and that works from an initial idea that may have started off as very unfeasible. I have definitely *improved my thinking process;* which is much more systematic and thorough than it has been in the past.

Discussion of the results

The purpose of this project was to generate enthusiasm for technical investigations in interior design and in so doing, to encourage a deeper engagement with the technical development of design projects. Students, lecturing staff and external evaluators deemed the goal accomplished. Students' learning experiences indicated that the project generated high levels of enthusiasm. Orr (2008: 4) mentions that enthusiasm is important as it has been 'shown to facilitate deep learning.' The project also led to improved levels of confidence when dealing with technical development. This is evidenced by the diminished reliance on lecturer guidance during the development phase as well as an observed increase in student comfort when discussing technical solutions with external examiners in succeeding projects. During the design/build project lecturers promoted critical reflection on design solutions and processes. Lecturing staff positioned themselves as

facilitators and advisors; offering advice and enabling rather than instructing. Malmqvist, Young, Hallström, Kuttenkeuler & Svensson (2004: 4) refers to the shift from 'lecturer as authoritarian' to 'lecturer as mentor' as a positive shift which enables a less constrained learning environment where students dare to discuss, reason and explore. Fowles (1984: 11) confirms this change in roles by stating that 'the decision-making responsibility for the design solution is ultimately the students'. The increase in confidence in ability and the level of responsibility taken for technical decision making resulted in meaningful learning experiences.

Canizaro (2012: 26) states that design/build projects have been used as a '…vehicle for students to explore the uses, characteristics, and potential within building materials, their assembly and tectonic/spatial possibilities.' The design/build project discussed here illustrated to students that technical knowledge is based in both theory and continuous hands-on experience and experimentation with materials and detailing. The project cultivated students' awareness of the value of technical knowledge in generating innovative design solutions. According to Orr (2008: 1) prototyping activities have been incorporated by schools of architecture for a number of years:

> as a means of enabling students to oscillate between the abstract and the concrete, and to develop the intellectual agility to tackle the complexities of architectural innovation and experimentation that they will use in professional practice.

The student experiences documented here indicate that design/build projects can be used in a similar manner in interior design education.

A noticeable shortcoming related to knowledge gained, was the limited realisation that the knowledge can be applied to other, similar materials. Although mentioned by some students, this aspect of the project could be enhanced. This can be done by focusing students' attention on the embedded 'geometric rules' (Sass & Oxman, 2006: 336) of materials *versus* focusing attention on the specific properties of the material at hand. If students understand that cardboard, a flat sheet of stock material, is embedded with similar geometric rules as plywood, they should, in principle, be able to apply knowledge gained to future interior design projects.

The design/build project encouraged hands-on experimentation with materials and detailing. All five groups participated in a process of testing and reflecting, by using models and rough prototypes. Studio lecturers, however, observed a decrease in the use of sketching over the course of the project. Although modeling is an invaluable tool in technical experimentation, sketching should be used as a supplementary design tool. This shortcoming should be addressed in future iterations of the project to avoid a reliance on modeling as the only means of technical exploration.

Full-scale fabrication exposed students to budget and time restraints – issues that are often only discovered during the first project in practice. Canizaro (2012) states that design/build projects are grounded in various 'realities' and as a result decision-making is made more informed and responsive. He continues by saying that 'such training, it is assumed, will result in more informed and responsive future architects'. Design/build projects confront students with problems (or less satisfactory solutions) virtually immediately. Steve Badanes from Yestermorrow Design/Build School (in Carpenter, 1997: 32) expands on this notion: "We try to do a good set of drawings, but if an opportunity presents itself or if a mistake is made, we brainstorm right there. You get a certain feedback from what you are building, like a sculptor does".

Students not only learn to adapt quickly and develop technical solutions whilst on site, but also that perfect solutions are not developed on the first try. Technical development necessitates the creation, analysis and subsequent revision of solutions. In the succeeding project, students seemed more comfortable with exploring various technical solutions before settling on a final resolution.

Building the design on site exposed students to the realities of working with existing structures. Students were confronted with the inaccuracies inherent to existing spaces and had to respond by adapting design proposals, either in the studio or physically on site. The site was also viewed as a space of inspiration. Students commented on the design potential inherent in existing spaces and could gain an enhanced awareness of place by physically experiencing the site they should respond to.

The project introduced students to the complexities of engaging with a complete design process. Students were offered the opportunity of "…dreaming of possibilities, discovering limitations, making compromises, coming to realizations and reflecting on the process." (Luescher, 2010: 20). In doing so, students produced innovative technical solutions and illustrated a deeper understanding of the relationship that exists between conceptual thinking and technical resolution.

The postponement of technical development was however still evident with some students, especially those at the lower end of the marking scale. Future iterations of the project would benefit from rigorous evaluation of the engagement with, and time spent on, technical development in the projects that follow the design/build exercise. Results from such evaluations may add to the validity of implementing design/ build projects in interior design education.

Conclusion

The case study presented here concludes that projects that encourage the full-scale fabrication of spatial solutions can be implemented in interior design education to encourage a deeper engagement with the technical development of design proposals. It is however recommended that future projects place a more pronounced focus on helping students to understand how the skills and knowledge gained may be applied to similar situations and materials. Future projects would also benefit from a continued emphasis on the complementary role of sketching and modeling during the technical development process.

Although the case study is contextual in its aims and organisation, and its findings restricted due to the limited number of students involved, it illustrates the potential inherent in design/build projects. Fundamentally, these projects allow students the opportunity to become "participants, not merely spectators, and (in theory, at any rate) understand design and construction as an integrated process that begins with the consideration of material" (Luescher, 2010: 25).

Designers rarely make the objects they design themselves and as such it might be argued that a design/build project sets an unrealistic precedent in professional education. However, Pallasmaa (2009: 63) observes that designers in fact need to 'understand the possibilities and limits of materials and crafts, and communicate their ideas and intentions to the specialist craftsman, whose hands become the designer's surrogate hands in the execution of the work.' Such design communication can greatly benefit from the hands-on experiences offered by full-scale fabrication. Pallasmaa (2009: 69) goes on to say that

> …a wise architect [and by extension, a wise interior designer] today searches deep personal friendships with craftsmen, artisans and artists in order to reconnect his/her intellectualized world and thinking with the source of all true knowledge: the real world of materiality and gravity, and the sensory and embodied understanding of these physical phenomena.

Full-scale fabrication presents students with an opportunity to connect with the material realm of design. Interior design education can benefit greatly from a deeper investigation into the application of the principles and processes of design/build to ensure student work that is both imaginative and technically sound.

Notes

1 In 2011 the International Federation of Interior Architects/Designers (IFI) developed the IFI Interiors Declaration as a foundation and description of the practice of interior architects/designers worldwide. The Declaration provides "…clear goals for and affect the fundamental understanding and shaping of our practice, its education and research…" (Caan, 2011).

2 The Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria, presents the undergraduate degree as a Bachelor of Science in Interior Architecture (BSc(Int)). The Department views 'Interior architecture' as a category of the broader discipline known as 'Interior design'. Interior design refers to all work concerned with the design of interior space within built environment enclosures, ranging from interior fit-out to the adaptive re-use of existing buildings (including additions). For the sake of clarity, this article will make use of the widely understood term 'interior design'.

3 Groups were pre-selected by the studio lectures to encourage heterogeneity in the teams (in design ability and background). Russ & Dickinson (1999), when discussing collaborative design in the interior design studio, mention that although heterogeneity can make teamwork more difficult it holds a number of distinct benefits. They also state that a professional team's composition is typically dictated by management and that employees rarely choose who they would like to work with. The studio simulates the design office and as such pre-selection was deemed relevant.

4 Juhani Pallasmaa is a Finish architect, educator and critic. His seminal work "The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses" published in 2005 points the way to creating architecture that engages multiple senses. The interaction between the human body and design is further explored in the 2009 publication "The Thinking Hand - Existential and Embodied Wisdom in Architecture."

5 Paper-based materials, such as corrugated cardboard, are easy to handle and pose a low safety risk. Manufacturing can be completed by hand and students do not necessarily require experience or prior knowledge of tools and techniques to test and implement ideas. In addition, paper-based materials can simulate other traditional building materials, for example: corrugated cardboard (flat sheet of stock material) can simulate plywood or other board materials.

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Book review

Coetzer, Nicholas. 2013. *Building Apartheid and Order in Imperial Cape Town.* Surry, England and Burlington, USA: Ashgate.

Nicholas Coetzer acknowledges in the Preface to his book that his political education started in 1990 when as an architectural student he visited Lamontville Location – a "black" suburb of Durban. Then, for the first time, he thought of architecture as political and realised that his education was political and that even his life was political. Of course, those insights are understandable because in the early 1990s South Africa suffered states of emergency while the edifice of apartheid was being torn down.

The theme of the book is not the demise of apartheid but the construction of the foundations of this ideology, hence the title, *Building Apartheid*. Coetzer transports the reader back to the nineteenth-century Cape, brought under British control in 1806, and meticulously explains how the agents of Empire "operating through the imperatives of Empire, laid the solid foundations on which the ugly edifice of apartheid was built" (p. 13).

Who were the agents of Empire and how did they "construct Cape Town into the ordered Imperial landscape of Country/Town/Suburb and Self/Other/Same"? (13). They were Cecil John Rhodes, called "The Architect of Empire", and Herbert Baker, an architect who arrived at the Cape in 1892. Rhodes's patronage of Baker ensured his success during his ten year sojourn at in Cape Town and later career for which he was knighted and received the title of "Imperial Architect" in his *Times* obituary.

The English conjured a "retroactive presence, alongside the Dutch, as the original settlers of the Cape" (43). Inspired by building preservation and nationalist architectural movements in England Cape Dutch homesteads were appropriated as a common English/Afrikaner heritage. In Chapter 3, dealing with "Possessing the Land/Possessing History: Cape Dutch Architecture as a Marker of Western Civilization and the Absencing of Others", Coetzer deals with the ideology according to which

> Cape Dutch architecture, and Cape Dutch homesteads in particular, came discursively to represent and symbolize a useful take on history, civilization and culture through which White South Africans, and more directly, upper-middle-class English South Africans, made claims of possession of the land; the valorized Self was located in the countryside, through what was generally considered "high" architectural design. It was axiomatic then – and if one excluded the rural predominance of "tribal" Africa – that the Other resided in the city, literally in the slums and back alleys hidden behind the façades of polite society. (81)

During the early twentieth century the racial Others in Cape Town lived in a manner contrary to English middle class values, ie in slums, causing a visual problem that problematized the creation of aesthetic urban order based on the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts village and City Beautiful planning. Consequently slum-dwellers had to be excluded from the civilized social space of the city to prevent them from becoming a threat in the city intended to be White space. The Other, or indigenous inhabitants, came from rural areas without an urban tradition. To protect the project of Empire extreme strategies of control of where and how people had to live in Cape Town were applied that ultimately led to segregation.

The English Garden City Movement motivated slum clearance and the propagation of the English cottage as the ideal family dwelling. "Remaking African subjects of the King in his own image" (175) was the purpose of various racially segregated housing projects, such

as the Garden City project of Langa, a landmark instance of the racial reordering of the city. Finally, black urbanites became transient labourers inhabiting "Imperial Cape Town" which was "being actively produced as a White space through architecture and order" (216). On the basis of his meticulous and detailed research Coetzer concludes: "Architects and other agents of Empire were actively constructing Cape Town and South Africa into a territory of the British Empire – mapped out, ordered and remade through architecture into a landscape legitimizing their continued control and exploitation of the land and its people."

I recommend this book to all South African architects and architectural historians who have an interest in architecture and politics. Coetzer's revisionist research about the origins of segregation will also enlighten all South Africans about the fantasy of the "agents of Empire" with its dire consequences.

E.A. Maré