Shifting frameworks for understanding otherness
Maas, T.A.J.

Publication date
2020

Document Version
Other version

License
Other

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
Shifting Frameworks for Understanding Otherness

The Cape Khoi in pre-1652 European Travelogues,
an Early Modern Latin Letter,

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus
prof. dr. ir. K.I.J. Maex
ten overstaan van een door het College voor Promoties ingestelde
commissie, in het openbaar te verdedigen
op dinsdag 2 juni 2020, te 14.00 uur

door

Tycho Aäron Julius Maas
geboren te Eindhoven
Promotiecommissie:

Promotores: prof. dr. E. Jansen Universiteit van Amsterdam
prof. dr. E. Peeren Universiteit van Amsterdam

Overige leden: prof. dr. M.C. van der Waal Universiteit van Amsterdam
prof. dr. C.A.P. Clarkson Universiteit van Amsterdam
dr. P.S. Gerbrandy Universiteit van Amsterdam
prof. dr. J.M. Koppenol Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
prof. dr. S. Huigen University of Wroclaw
prof. dr. O.J. Praamstra Universiteit Leiden

Faculteit der Geesteswetenschappen

Dit onderzoek is mede tot stand gekomen dankzij financiële steun van de Europese Commissie (Eurosa+: Europe and South Africa Partnership for Human Development), het Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, Hendrik Muller’s Vaderlandsch Fonds, de Van Ewijck Stigting (Kaapstad), en de Suider-Afrikaanse Vereniging vir Neerlandistiek (SAVN).
Acknowledgements

One of the pitfalls while writing this thesis was for me to avoid all too dissident theory at the
cost of the material at its centre: text. My supervisors’ resourcefulness and continuous
support and honest confidence in the project have been, quite frankly, indispensable. Four
years of supervising an extranaeus based in ‘the other’ hemisphere seemed hardly a
challenge to the versatility of prof. dr. Ena Jansen and prof. dr. Esther Peeren.

I wish to thank the Erasmus Mundus EUROSA Partnership (‘Europe & South Africa
Partnership for Human Development’) for its generous financial support in the incipient
stages of this research. It would not have come to further fruition without the aid of the
Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, Hendrik Muller’s Vaderlandsch Fonds, Van Ewijk Foundation,
Suider-Afrikaanse Vereniging vir Neerlandistiek (SAVN), and a UvA385 Scholarship. A
finishing fellowship at the University of Amsterdam granted me peace of mind during the
final stages of the PhD programme.

I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Stellenbosch University, its staff at the
International Office and the library’s Special Collections, and to its department of Afrikaans
and Dutch, particularly then-associate professor Ronel Foster. Her encouragement during
my MA provided an important impetus for me to start this project. The staff at the Western
Cape Archives and Records Service, and the Special Collections of the National Library of
South Africa proved astute and tireless when it came to my repeated and extensive requests
for files, folders, and photocopy permits. The students of the Dutch School in Cape Town
and Hout Bay International School offered me an escape into the outside world as their
voices put the silent wisdom of the ancients into perspective.

Many other people played a role in bringing this research to bloom, through proof-
reading parts of it, by offering valuable critique of my ideas, but first and foremost by
bearing with me as I went on a journey that took me to the ends of the earth (and of my
stamina), and back. A word of thanks is more than due to Annemarie and Maurits as well as
to my friends throughout the bountiful republic – your warm presence nurtured my sense of
feeling at home instead of walking alone. Potchefstroom has welcomed me into the world
of Living Latin, and the Boytjies & Girltjies and Wacky Weekenders were always there to
support my soul with wining and fine dining – we have never let our schooling interfere with
our education. My final thanks goes to my parents and sister, to Hannah, my family, and my friends back home in the Netherlands. Your patience and understanding waxed and waned over time more than I realise, I am sure. Your support means more than I can say.

It has been a privilege to live at the footstep of a mountain and of great advantage to this thesis to be able to work in situ. The Cape has provided a relaxing and invigorating environment for me to work on this project and brought an urgency to its argument. A final year in Amsterdam allowed me to fine-tune it.

*Caveat emptor.*

Amsterdam, April 2020
A Note on Nomenclature

In this thesis, I use terms that form part of the history of racial classification in South Africa without any implication that such terms have a scientific basis or that they can be employed unproblematically.

European settlers called the pastoral people of the western and northern Cape, nowadays referred to as ‘Khoikhoi’ (‘people of people’), ‘Hottentots’, and referred to hunter-gatherers present throughout what is now South Africa, commonly called ‘San’ now, as ‘Bushmen’. These peoples are closely related and are known collectively as the ‘Khoi-San’ or ‘Khoisan’. Only small populations survive in South Africa today. In discussing historical sources, I use the source’s terminology in referring to native peoples, adding quotation marks to register their status as stigmatising or ‘othering’ colonial labels. The colonial historical sources use many different names for the same tribe or people. The Goringhaicona, a cattle-less people, are, for example, referred to as ‘Strandlopers’ by Van Riebeeck in the *Daghregister*, but also called ‘Watermans’ or ‘Vismans’. Their leader (captain) is referred to as Herrij, Harry, and Herrie, or called by his indigenous name, Autshumao.

I use the term ‘Khoi’ to collectively refer to the native inhabitants of the Cape whom the Dutch in the 17th and 18th centuries typically called ‘Hottentotten’. The word ‘Khoe’ is first found in Van Riebeeck’s *Daghregister*, in January 1653, as ‘Quena’, where –na is the plural suffix. In South African scholarship, a variety of spellings are used across academic disciplines. I use the modernised spelling ‘Khoi’.

More information about the tribes that inhabited the Cape peninsula and what they were called by the colonisers can be found in, among others, Richard Elphick’s *Kraal and Castle. Khoikhoi and the Founding of White South Africa* (1977) and Gabriel Nienaber’s *Khoekhoense stamname* (1989).
This page intentionally left blank.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. i

A Note on Nomenclature ........................................................................................................ iii

Table of Contents .................................................................................................................... v

List of Figures ........................................................................................................................ vii

Introduction – Framing the (un)familiar .................................................................................. 1

Chapter 1 – Before Van Riebeeck: Framing the Khoi ............................................................ 15
  Portuguese callers (1488-1580) ......................................................................................... 16
  English and Dutch accounts (1580-1615) ......................................................................... 27
  Classifying the Khoi (1600-1652) ..................................................................................... 35
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 53

Chapter 2 – Grevenbroek and the Khoi: Towards a Revolution of Knowledge ....................... 57
  Settlers versus Khoi ............................................................................................................ 59
  The Letter’s sources and structure ....................................................................................... 76
  Grevenbroek as a child of his time ....................................................................................... 89
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 102

Chapter 3 – Grevenbroek and the Khoi: A Latin Framework, Revisited ................................. 105
  ‘Youthful prejudices’ ......................................................................................................... 107
  Half-truths, revisited ......................................................................................................... 119
  Classical sourcework ........................................................................................................ 125
  A classical style Cape ........................................................................................................ 130
  Exposing ‘Hottentot’ ......................................................................................................... 144
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 151

Chapter 4 – Postcolonialism and the Historical Novel: Grevenbroek and the Early Cape in Eilande ......................... 153
  Voicing the archive ............................................................................................................ 157
  Governor versus secretary ................................................................................................. 161
  The Khoi in Eilande .......................................................................................................... 170
  ‘Andersmaak’ ................................................................................................................... 180
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 190
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1 Descriptive Bibliography and History of the Grevenbroek Manuscript Including Brief Comments on its Text Editions</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive bibliography MSB203</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of MSB203</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text editions</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2 Comparative Ethnography</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archival materials</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works cited</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary – Shifting Frameworks for Understanding Otherness</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samenvatting – Verschuivende denkkaders voor een begrip van andersheid</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

Figure 0.1 Thomas Hobbes’ tile shortly after being placed.
Photo by me, TM.

Figure 0.2 Title Page MSB203.
Courtesy of the National Library of South Africa (NLSA), Cape Town Campus, Special Collections.

Figure 1.1 Earliest known map showing the full extent of Africa (1554), by Sebastian Münster.
Woodcut map, with added colour, 26 x 35 cm. Münster, S. (1554), Cosmographia uniuersalis, Basel, 10r.

Figure 1.2 T and O map (1472).

Figure 1.3 Liber chronicarum, ‘Secunda etas Mundi’ (1493).
Schedel, S. (1493), Liber chronicarum, Nuremberg, 12v.

Figure 1.4 ‘Aethiopia inferior, vel exterior’.
Copperplate map, with added colour, 37 x 48 cm. Blaeu, J. (1635), Theatrum orbis terrarium, sive atlas novus, Amsterdam, 15v.

Figure 1.5 Chain of being, visualised as a ladder.
Sebonde, R. de (1512), Liber de ascensu et descendu intellectus, [?]. Reproduced from Armaingaud (1932, II, 63-4)).

Figure 2.1 ‘Hottentots’.

Figure 2.2 ‘Diabolical Hottentots’.

Figure 3.1 For Grevenbroek, the ‘Promontorio Bonae Spei’ (Cape of Good Hope peninsula) presumably extended to the Boland mountain range.
Map adapted from Sparrman, S. (1779), Mappa Geographica, [?].

Figure App.1 Post Horn set in Crowned Shield.
Drawn from the Grevenbroek manuscript (NLSA MSB203) by me, TM.
Figure App.2 Countermark NLSA MSB203.
Drawn by me, TM.

Figure App.3 Post horn, D&C Blauw, 1793.
Voorn (1960).

Figure App.4 Inside front cover (NLSA FB5429).
Courtesy of the NLSA, Special Collections, Cape Town Campus.

Figure App.5 Post horn, 27 August 1657.
Drawn from Daghregister (Western Cape Archives Inventory 1/1/25) by me, TM.

Figure App.6 Post horn, 25 April 1672.
Drawn from request from the free-burghers (Western Cape Archives Inventory 1/2/80) by me, TM.

Figure App.7 A close match with MSB203.
SLD.138.1, courtesy of the Gravell Watermark Archive.