

UL No. 21 [Afr.]

IN 'N *SOORT* BEWARING

Om EVA se onthalwe...
Wie praat namens
KROTOA?



Uprooted Lives

Unfurling the Cape of Good Hope's Earliest Colonial Inhabitants (1652-1713)

Mansell G Upham

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*For min Far, min Mor
og min søstre*

Tak for altid væsen ...



Preface

Timon: Earth, yield me roots
He digs

Who seeks for better of thee, sause his palate
With thy most operant poison. What is here?
Gold? Yellow, glittering, precious gold?
No, gods, I am no idle votarist.
Roots, you clear heavens! Thus much of this will make
Black white, foul fair, wrong right,
Base noble, old young, coward valiant.
Ha, you gods! Why this? What, this, you gods? Why, this
Will lug your priests and servants from your sides,
Pluck stout men's pillows from below their heads.
This yellow slave
Will knit and break religions, bless th'accursed,
Make the hoar leprosy adored, place thieves,
And give them title, knee and approbation,
With senators on the bench. This is it
That makes the wappened widow wed again -
She, whom the spital-house and ulcerous sores
Would cast the gorge at, this embalms and splices
To th'April day again. Come, damned earth,
Thou common whore of mankind, that puts odds
Among the rout of nations, I will make thee
Do thy right nature ...

William Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*

Since 1976 Eva Meerhoff, born Krotoa (c. 1643-1674) and Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta [Pulicat] (c. 1631-1683) have haunted me. Discovering Krotoa (ancestor to *both* my father and my mother) and *Groote Catrijn* (*seven* traceable lineal descents – five maternal and two paternal) to be two of my most prolific ancestors; and also that these two formidable women are lesser known ancestors (even multiple) to so many other colonially induced people *rooted* at the tip of Africa – like so many other ancestral beings from my/our past - were reasons enough for me to give them undivided attention. But the discovery that Krotoa was the first indigenous Cape woman to be colonially incorporated; and that *Groote Catrijn* was the first recorded female convict banished to the Dutch-occupied Cape of Good Hope and its first Dutch East India Company (VOC) slave to be liberated - exacted their release from the shadows demanding that *their stories* be told. My ongoing research into the lives of especially the Cape's earliest colonial women (indigene, settler, sojourner, slave, convict) – women being the *fons et origo* of ongoing culture - affords me the opportunity to continue revisiting my original



research - many initially featured (since 1997) in numerous articles in *Capensis*, quarterly journal of the Genealogical Society of South Africa (Western Cape). Krotoa's and *Groote Catrijn*'s importance and that of their colourful contemporaries has now been reassessed in terms of unravelling and understanding more fully the impact of Dutch colonization at the tip of Africa. There is now a heightened awareness in South Africa of indigenousness and slavery. Until recently, however, both Krotoa and *Groote Catrijn* – and many other folk - have been mostly overlooked or excluded from the orthodox and politically selective slave pantheon currently encountered in the rewriting and re-institutionalization of South African historiography. The reality of *shared* indigenous and slave roots across a diminishing racial or ethnic divide, however, cannot any longer be suppressed. There is a need for expanded biographies on, and ongoing genealogical inquiries into, not only these very important early Cape colonial figures, but many others.

More than 30 years of researching and documenting each recorded individual that peopled the early colonial period of the VOC-occupied Cape of Good Hope (1652-1713), and given the present-day dearth of knowledge regarding diasporized slaves and the ethnically challenged indigenes, at a time when the need to incorporate the historically marginalized underclasses into a more global consciousness is being increasingly recognized, the publication of accessible representative biographies has become imperative. Ever since Anna J. Böeseken's seminal work *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700* in 1977, little attempt has been made to write more detailed biographies on any of the individuals originally referred to by Böeseken or any other people for that matter - thus the *raison d'être* for this collection of biographical excursions from the initial period of Dutch colonization. This collection comprises mostly indigenous and slave biographies for the period (1652-1713) ending with the devastating smallpox epidemic that utterly transformed the little colony forever thereafter. The lives of a few hundred people have been recollected in varying degrees of detail depending on how much has survived in the written record.

This work is also a tribute to my own indigenous and slave ancestors thus far unearthed from this period - consciousness of whom has given me a whole new more meaningful sense of being 'ameri-earafricasian' and then some ...:

the Goringhacona:

Eva Meerhoff (born Krotoa)

the 'Bastaard Hottentot':

Frans Jacobs van de Caep

the African slaves:

Catharina Alexander van de Caep

Maria van Guinea [Benin]

Cecilia van Angola

Dorothea van Angola

Manuel van Angola

Diana van Madagascar

the Asian slaves:



Catharina (Groote Catrijn) van Paliacatta
Engela / Angela (Maaij Ans(i)ela van Bengale
Catharina (Catrijn) van Bengale
Catharina (Catrijn) van Malabar
Maria Magdalena (Mariana) Jacobse van Ceylon [Sri Lanka]
Jacob van Macassar
Maria Jacobs: van Batavia
and the pardoned Chinese convict:
Lim / Lin Inko alias Abraham de Veij.

Although much of South Africa's slave and indigenous heritage is being rediscovered, little about the people dating back to the 16th century has hitherto been unearthed. The 18th and 19th centuries have been more accessible to researchers and historians especially in view of the more legible and easier-to-read records. The 17th century has proved to be a lot more inaccessible due to the more difficult Gothic Dutch script. Invariably researchers (especially academics) have been reluctant to share their transcriptions of archival documents consulted when publishing. I have opted, instead, to rather share my transcriptions in order to arrive at greater accuracy, insight and understanding of these difficult records. It is hoped that more fleshed-out biographies of many more slaves, indigenes and others will follow.

My heartfelt gratitude to:

- my mother **Maria (Ria) Catherine Upham, née Priem (1933-1996)** and my sisters, **Beryl Catherine Brighton, née Upham (1955-2002)** & **Anne Caroline Upham (1957-1988)**, for undying inspiration;
- my father **William (Bill) Mansell Upham (1933-2006)** for being a free thinking devil-of-an-advocate
- **Margaret Cairns (1912-2009)** for her ever-willing assistance and being my micro-historical muse;
- **Anna J. Böeseken (1906-1997)** for her mammoth contribution to South African historiography; and
- **Delia Robertson** for moral and other support - never doubting the value and relevance of my research.

Mansell George Upham

Tokyo, Japan

October 2012



Guide to the Text

General Historical Background

The wind-swept Cape of Good Hope ('the Cape') was a Dutch colonial translittoral holding or possession that emerged quite late (1652) in an already established colonial empire under the control of 'The United East India Company' or *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* ('the VOC') stretching from Southern Africa to Timor. The VOC-empire had grafted itself onto an earlier Portuguese empire, which had already paved the way for increased European colonial expansion into Africa and Asia. Dutch trade with Asia was organized through the VOC in terms of an exclusive charter (1602) from the States-General of the United Provinces of the Free Netherlands (the 'Dutch Republic') for trade and enforcement of Dutch interests against competitors. A commercial as well as a government agent in Asia, its business was conducted by a hierarchy of officials (called merchants) with headquarters in Batavia [Jakarta on Java, Indonesia], after 1619. The directors of the VOC in the Netherlands were known as the Lords Seventeen (*Heeren XVII*). The Company was formally dissolved (31 December 1795) and its debts and possessions taken over by the Batavian Republic, predecessor to the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands.

The VOC's main priority at the Cape of Good Hope was to provide support to all of its ships that plied between the Netherlands (*Patria*) and the East Indies. This entailed the running of an efficient hospital, burying the dead and the ready supply of food and drink to the survivors. The colonial encroachment (*occupatio*) on aboriginal Khoe/San ('Hottentot'/'Bushmen') lands resulted in the signing of 'treaties' *ex post facto* in attempts to 'legitimize' Dutch occupation in terms of International Law. The Dutch soon rationalized their ill-conceived occupation of the Cape by transforming the refreshment station into a colony, importing slaves and convicts, granting company employees their 'freedom' to become permanent settlers and expanding territorially, thereby colonizing not only their land - but also the Cape aborigines themselves. By the time the Cape was a fully operational VOC refreshment station, *buiten comptoir*¹, factory, residency, fortified settlement and colony, a creole multi-ethnic Dutch-Indies culture had emerged at the tip of Africa (*het uijterste hoeck van Africa*). Significantly, the Cape of Good Hope was the only Dutch colony where the Dutch language, albeit creolized and indigenized, effectively took root and evolved into a formalized and institutionalized language - *Afrikaans*.

¹ *Buiten comptoires* were out stations or subordinate dependencies, each with its own governor or commander, which before (1652), extended from Ceylon in the west to the Celebes and Japan in the east [CA: BP (*Cape Pamphlets*): Colin Graham Botha, 'Early Cape Matrimonial Law'].



The Cape of Good Hope for that period is best imagined in terms of the present-day Cape Flats once being drifting dunes of sand. Between Cape Town and the second colony of Stellenbosch, there lay a waste-land of prehistoric sea-bed making the Cape peninsula appear to be an island cut off from the rest of Africa. The colony was initially a dumping ground for the VOC's sick, dead, political exiles and convicts. The place can be summed up by the following key words: fort, penal settlement, cemetery, hospital, slave lodge, vegetable garden, drinking hole and brothel. Transferred officials and servants could not be expected to stay there indefinitely and 'free-burghers' (*vrijburghers*) - a minority of whom were manumitted slaves termed 'free-blacks' (*vrijzwarten*) - and their wives, if not legally bound to stay for a fixed period as 'free citizens', would have opted to leave sooner. Some even deserted by running or stowing away. There were very few imported women so that there existed a maximum demand for sexual favours from slave women and detribalized aborigines. Some European women, appreciating this chronic shortage, even risked cross-dressing and leaving for the Cape and the East Indies disguised as men. A number were discovered even before their ships sailed past the Cape. Then, there were many more stowaways and high-sea captives. All life revolved around the coming and going of the VOC fleets and its motley crews - and keeping the 'Hottentots' at bay. An overpopulated hospital, multiple burials, illegal trade (either between the ship folk and the free burghers or corrupt officials or local aborigines), fornication, homosexuality, prostitution, gambling, drinking, squabbling, stealing, punishing and killing were the dis/order of the day.

Nomenclature, terminology, Dutch 17th & 18th century writing conventions & archival sources

17th century Dutch writing conventions display a healthy aversion to standardization. There is a tendency in South Africa to convert, incorrectly, old Dutch names found in original documents using modern Afrikaans writing conventions. In particular, the principle of 'writing one concept as one word' derives from a more removed (if not alien) High German convention imposed once written Afrikaans conventions became institutionalized. Hence, the original *Blaauw Berg* is rendered *Blouberg* and re-rendered *Blaauwberg* [sic]. The Dutch were happy to abide by the European (proto-international) name generally used for the Cape, viz. the Portuguese *Cabo de Boa Esperanza*. The Dutch, however, often influenced by French, gallicized the latter half of the name: *Cabo de Boa Esperance*. The Dutch rendition of the name is generally found as *Caep de Goede Hoop*. Caep or Caap is often also found as *Caab*. Place names are used as the Dutch knew them at the time, as opposed to latter-day 'politically correct' names. The spelling of personal names found in the records have been standardized (except when quoted directly from the sources) in order to avoid confusing the reader unnecessarily. Foreign terms are translated into English when they first appear in the text. Archival sources are not referenced separately, but are detailed in endnotes after each chapter.



Naming people

The 17th century Dutch generally used patronyms and toponyms, even when family names or surnames were known or in existence and sometimes used. The use of a family name serves often as an indicator of higher status. One's provenance or place of birth was more important. This is because of the European convention of bureaucratically confining people to their places of birth even if they had already moved away. Slaves were named in the same way. Many toponyms, however, are often interchangeable perhaps due to bureaucratic laxity and/or ignorance when dealing with the places of origin and/or purchase of enslaved and manumitted peoples, *e.g.*:

van Malabar / van Cochin / van Coromandel / van Paliacatta / van Bengale

Currency, weight & measurements

The VOC's monetary unit of account until 1658 consisted of two currencies:

the *guilder (gulden)* - also known as *florin* and represented by the symbol *f*, and the *stuiver* ($1 \text{ florin} = 20 \text{ stuivers}$)

the Spanish-American *rial* - also known as the *real*, *real-of-eight* and *piece-of-eight*. ($1 \text{ real} = 48 \text{ stuivers}$)

Thereafter the *rixdaalder (rixdollar)*, abbreviated as *Rds* replaced these as the unit of account and converted generally to the amount of 2.5 to 3 *florins* per *rixdollar*. ($1 \text{ rixdollar} = 1 \text{ real} = 3 \text{ florins} = 48 \text{ stuivers}$). For the first half of the 17th century the Spanish-American *rial-of-eight* (also found as *real-of-eight*) was widely used in the East by the Dutch as real money and as a unit of account, being usually converted at about 48 stuivers, and considered as the (slightly overvalued) equivalent of the *rixdollar* ($1 \text{ real} = 2.4 \text{ florins}$). By VOC practice the *florin* was valued at 20 stuivers in the Netherlands and 16 stuivers in the Dutch Indies (including the Cape). As the *rixdollar* converted to 48 stuivers, it was worth 2.4 *florins* in the Netherlands and 3 *florins* in the Indies. This variance allowed persons transferring money from the Indies to the Netherlands to make a profit on the exchange rate. The Dutch pound (*pond*) weight most commonly used was the Amsterdam pound which amounted to 0.494 kg. Land (*erwen*) in South Africa was (and still is) measured by means of *morgen* and *roeden*.



IN 'N SOORT BEWARING

Om EVA SE ONTHALWE ... WIE PRAAT NAMENS KROTOA?²

deur Mansell G. Upham

Krotoa (uitspraak = *Krotwa*) (*c. 1643-1674*) - Kaapse inheemse vrou van die **Goringhaikona**-stam gebore op Robbeneiland. Grootgemaak deur die eerste Nederlandse VOC-kommandeur **Jan van Riebeeck** en as tolk, gesant, handelaar, gids, kultuur-makelaar, middelaar, agent en informant deur die VOC gebruik. Die Kaap die Goeie Hoop se eerste gedoopte inboorling (3 Mei 1662 as **Eva**) en eerste inboorling wat volgens christelike gebruik getroud is (2 Junie 1664). Vrou van die VOC se chirurg en poshouer op Robbeneiland, die Kopenhagen-gebore **Pieter Meerhoff** (vermoor 1667/8 in Antongilbaai, Madagaskar gedurende 'n slawehandelsekspedisie). As weduwee word haar drinkery, seksuele, natuurlike en naturelle neigings afgekeur. Sy raak in onguns by die Nederlandse amptenary. Aangehou en verban sonder verhoor na Robbeneiland, sterf sy daar in die ouderdom van 31 jaar (29 Julie 1674). Haar oorskot is later van die gesloopte kerk in die Kasteel verwyder en herbegrawe in die fondasies van die Groote Kerk in Adderleystraat, Kaapstad. Haar gedokumenteerde nageslag vorm 'n substansiële deel van die mense wat onder die apartheidstelsel "blank" geklassifiseer is. Selfs beroemde 'volkshelde' soos **Paul Kruger** en **Jannie Smuts** is direkte afstammelinge van **Eva**.



Skets deur George Duff (fl. 1840-1860)

² Hierdie artikel het oorspronklik in Engels in die Wes-Kaap se tak van die Genealogiese Genootskap van Suid-Afrika se kwartaalblad, *Capensis*, nr. 4 (November 1989), pp. 6-13, verskyn.



Inleiding

‘n Mens mag geheime aksies probeer verdoesel,
maar om stil te bly oor wat die hele wêreld weet
en oor dinge wat lei tot ernstige openbare nagevolge,
is ‘n onvergeeflike tekortkoming.
Montaigne, Oor die pligte van geskiedkundiges

Daar was sedert 1990 tot nou toe ‘n oorstroming van gepubliseerde werke met twyfelagtige bespiegelings en vertolkings - almal opmerklik deur meestal vrouens - oor die belangrike historiese figuur **Eva Meerhoff** (gebore **Krotoa**). Hulle is, o.a.:

Karen Press, Antoinette Pienaar, Beverley Mitchell, Candy Malherbe, Frances Karttunen, Barbara Hutton, Carmel Schrire, Yvette Abrahams, Christina Landman, Julia Wells, Harriet Deacon, Carli Coetzee, Celestine Pretorius, Meg Samuelson en Natasha Distiller.

Selfs **André P. Brink** bou op **Candy Malherbe** se uitbeelding van **Eva** in sy roman *Sandkastele* wanneer hy haar lewensverhaal inweef. **Krotoa** word ook opgeneem in die onlangse *A Dictionary of South African History*. Haar nageslag (dié wat deur dokumentasie gestaaf kan word) vorm grootendeels daardie gedeelte van Suid-Afrika se bevolking wat voorheen “blank” geklassifiseer is. Hierdie feit word deur die opstellers weggelaat. Haar ander nageslag vorm moontlik ‘n verborge gedeelte van die Kaap se oorwegende *afro-eurasiese* bevolking. Hoekom word hulle ook nie genoem nie? Word sulke feite weggelaat omdat hulle polities onkorrek veroordeel word? Selfs die onlangse gepubliseerde *The Essential Robben Island* deur **Harriet Deacon** kort sulke belangrike feite. **Krotoa** se nageslag word heeltemal uit die geskiedenis geskryf.

‘n Krotoa-afstammeling ontboesem...

Ek is ‘n direkte afstammeling van **Krotoa** - deur my pa en my ma. Ek is tans besig met navorsing oor **Krotoa** vir reeds amper 35 jaar. Haar storie het ek gereeld in die openbaar en in druk bepleit en ge-openbaar.³ Reeds in 1977, toe my bloedlyn eers dokumentêr gestaaf is, het ek my afstamming van **Krotoa** openlik verklaar.

³ Verskeie openbare presentasies oor **Eva Meerhoff** deur die skrywer is in die verlede al gegee, inter alia die Genealogiese Genootskap van Suid-Afrika, Kaapstad (17 November 1987), Pretoria (24 Augustus 1987) & Bloemfontein (22 Julie 1989); die kadette vir *Vlak II Diplomatiese Opleiding*, Departement van Buitelandse Sake, Pretoria (1990) & *The Asiatic Society of Japan*, Tokio (13 Desember 1993). Sien ook *Watashi no sosen Minami Afurika no senjuumin desu ... (My voorouer is 'n Suid-Afrikaanse inboorling ...)* met verskyning in **Okuno Yasuhikose** fotografiese uitstelling en boek *Ubuntu - Ningen: Minami Afurika ni Ikeru (Ubuntu - Humanity: Living in South Africa)* (Tokio & Oita-ken, Japan Maart 1994); **Melanie Gosling**, ‘Return remains plea’, *The Cape Times* 10 April 1995; **Adelle Horler**, ‘The sad life of Saartjie the ‘beast’, *Drum* Junie 1995, **Eddie Koch**, ‘Bring Back the Hottentot Venus’, *Mail & Guardian* 15 Junie 1995, **Caroline Dumay**, ‘<<Rendez-nous notre Vénus hottentote>>’, *Le Figaro* 10 Augustus 1995, **Almut Hielscher**, ‘Geister des Sturms’, *Der Spiegel* (8/1996) 19 Februarie 1996; **Jilyan Pitman**, ‘Equal beyond grave on Robben Island’, *Weekend Argus* 25 Januarie 1997.



'Blank'-geklassifiseerde mense het destyds meestal stil gebly wanneer hulle met bewyse van 'Hottentot' voorouers gekonfronteer is.

Sedertdien lees ek met groot belangstelling wat ander mense te sê het oor hierdie voormoeder wat soveel ander mede-Suid-Afrikaners met my deel. Opmerkend is die feit dat **Krotoa** se laaste jare, haar invloed, en haar nageslag, totaal geïgnoreer word. Die Afrikanerdom huiver blykbaar om sy verbasterde (insluitend Khoe/San) herkoms kollektief te erken. Geen wonder dat die bestaande geskrewe rekord van **Krotoa** se lewe nooit met erns opgeneem is nie. Nuut-verskansde, na-apartheid intellengentsia is blykbaar net so onwillig om bestaande rekords te ondersoek. Die bewysbare en dokumenteerbare voorouerlike aansprake deur 'n groot getal 'blank'-lykende Suid-Afrikaners, word doelbewus geminimaliseer en selfs geïgnoreer. Geen nuwe primêre navorsing is deur enige van bogenoemde vrouens gedoen nie. Die rekord van die koloniseerders en dié van hulle konstitutionele erfgename word bloot op 'n geselekteerde basis vertolk. Daar word net op beperkte gepubliseerde (en foutiewelike) werke deur vorige geskiedkundiges, gesteun. Daar bestaan ook 'n neiging om selfs die rekords te verwerp. Klaarblyklik word geen pogings aangewend om beskikbare rekords behoorlik, deeglik en volledig te raadpleeg nie.

Sodoende het ons 'n gebrekkige stel feite wat minder geldige vertolkings toelaat. Daar kort 'n gesonde kultuur van ondersoek wat die werklike gebeurtenisse meer kan openbaar. Spekulatiewe geskiedenis, maak byvoorbeeld, beter sin en skep meer ruimte, indien aanvanklike wetenskaplike ondersoek nie beperk word nie. Bogenoemde skrywers en vertolkers verdiep hulle meestal eers in die jongste teorie. Dan eers kies hulle sekere biskikkbare feite om so 'n teorie te staaf. Twyfelagtige veronderstellings en gevolgtrekkings word beperk tot ideologie alleen.

Maar wie het die meeste gesag om **Krotoa** te evalueer? Vrouens? Feministe? Gays? Mans? Akademici? Meer 'Khoe-San-agtige' of 'Khoe-San-afstammende vrouens? 'Bruin' vrouens? 'African-Americans'? 'Swartes'?, 'Afrikaners'? 'Africans'? Haar eie direkte afstammelinge? Of net persone wat graag méér omrent **Krotoa** wil weet? Wie bepaal outentisiteit? Wie is die bewaarders van die Ark?

Danksy *politieke* - die term word hier in die wydste sin moontlik gebruik - agendas, onthul dié jongste werke en vertolkings doelbewuste pogings om **Krotoa** haarself die heeltyd tot swye te bring. Ja, **Krotoa** is nog steeds "in 'n soort bewaring"⁴

⁴ **Hans Petersen** gebruik die term *quasi in arrest zu sitzen* in sy oorspronklike manuskrip gebruik [Royal Library, Copenhagen: Manuscript NKS 388, 4to.]. Die bewoording "in 'n sort bewaring" word direk uit die Engels ("in a kind of custody") vertaal en kom voor in *Adventure at the Cape of Good Hope in December 1672*, deur **Jan Pietersz: Cortemünde** [**Hans Petersen** af Kerteminde] (getranscribeer en gerедigeer uit die oorspronklike manuskrip in die Koninglike Biblioteek, Kopenhagen deur Henning Henningsen & vertaal & geannoteer met addisionele materiaal deur Douglas & Vera Varley) Kaapstad (Friends of the S.A. Library) 1962, p. 4.



vasgevang. Wanneer gewaag word om namens **Eva** te praat en hierdie alternatiewe stemme te bevraagteken, kom verskeie vals argumente te voorskyn, bv.:

- Rassistiese en eksklusiwistiese argumente dat 'blankes' op die agtergrond gedruk moet word om plek te maak vir 'nie-blankes' of 'swart' historici wat blybaar nooit toegang tot primêre rekords gehad het en nooit die geskiedenis self kon opskryf nie;
- Seksistiese argumente dat mans, teenoor vrouens, dalk minder geskik is om oor 'vroue sake' kommentaar te lewer;
- **Eva** se nageslag is binne die 'blanke' gemeenskap ge-assimmileer; dus is haar blank-lykende afstammelinge ongeskik om enige aanspraak op Khoe, San of 'African' erfenis in die 'nuwe' Suid-Afrika te maak;
- 'Afrikaners' mag (of mag nie) nou hulle reg om 'African' te wees, dws *deur Eva self*, onderhandel of her-onderhandel (nie). Hulle afstamming het hulle nog nie kollektief op enige tasbare manier erken nie;
- Slegs as gevolg van die afskaffing van apartheid, het sommige **Eva**-afstammelinge eers nou hulle stemme laat hoor;
- Openbare en ander rekords (en die raadpleging daarvan) is koloniaal besmet, onbetroubaar en moet verwerp word - daarom mag mense vry interpreteer.

Ondanks die '-ismes', behoort historici, navorsers en akademici nie rekords volledig te raadpleeg nie? Selfs as besluit word dat hierdie rekords nie sonder kritiek aanvaar moet word nie? Die meeste historici en akademici wat oor **Krotoa** skryf, ontdui nuwe feite of doen nie nuwe primêre navorsing nie. Waarom? Is dit dalk:

- hulle is lui - primêre navorsing is tydrowend en frustreerend;
- sekere feite word doelbewus weggelaat - bekende en nuwe feite pas nie by politieke agendas nie;
- hulle is nie bekwaam om die rekords (d.w.s. 17de-eeuse skrif in Nederlands, Deens en Duits) toe te tree, verstaan of vertolk nie;
- hulle kennis van die VOC-tydperk is beperk;
- die jongste akademiese teoriëe word bo die behoefte aan 'n groter empiriese en wetenskaplike studie van die onderwerp verkies?

Die gevolg? Die polities opportunistiese verwiging en pleging van onwaarhede: dieselfde arme ou **Eva** weer opgedis.

Feite word misgekyk...

In haar biografie van **Krotoa** erken **Candy Malherbe** dat sy baie vrae oopgelaat het. Leemtes sal in die toekoms aangevul moet word. Hierdie biografie vorm die basis omtrent alles oor **Eva Meerhoff** wat daarna geskryf is. Enige feitelike foute wat voorkom, word verder ingeprent. **Wagenaer**, byvoorbeeld, is orals verkeerdelik beskou as VOC-kommandeur wat haar doodsbewig geskryf het. Wagenaer het reeds die Kaap in 1666 verlaat. Toe **Eva** in 1674 dood is, het drie kommandeurs, een goewerneur en twee waarnemende kommandeurs ná Wagenaer almal 'n direkte rol gespeel in **Eva** se agteruitgang. Sulke waninligting kom voor in omtrent alle werke wat sedert Malherbe se biografie geskryf is. Daar word self vergis dat daar 'n seksuele verhouding tussen **Krotoa** en **Jan van**



Riebeeck was. Ons word verkeerdelik ingelig dat **Van Riebeeck** se niggie, **Elisabeth van Opdorp**, nooit die Kaap verlaat het nie. Sy word selfs pleegmoeder van **Eva** se kinders! Indien die rekords geraadgepleeg word - selfs net gepubliseerde bronne - weet ons dat **Elisabeth van Opdorp** glad nie met **Jan [sic] Reijniertz** getroud was nie. Inteendeel, sy was die vrou van **Jacob Reyniersz**: Hulle het saam die Kaap reeds op 24 Januarie 1654 verlaat! Dit was **Jan Reyniersz**: en sy vrou **Lijsbeth Jans**: - en nie **Elisabeth van Opdorp** - wat die **Meerhoff**-kinders in 1669 gehuisves het nadat daar op hulle in beslag gelê is. **Eva** se inheemse naam word in die oorspronklike VOC-Dagregister as **Krotoa** en **Krotöa** weergegee. Nou het haar naam klaar gemetamorfoseer tot **Krotoä**. Daar word sommer aanvaar dat **Eva** se kinders by **Pieter Meerhoff** in die Kaap-Hollandse gemeenskap opgeneem is en stamouers van verskeie 'Afrikaner' families geword het. Daar bestaan slegs dokumentêre bewyse van **Eva**-afstammelinge vanaf haar dogter **Piaternella** (mev. **Daniel Zaaiman**). Baie van **Eva** se nageslag is nie noodwendig 'Afrikaners' nie. **Eva**-nasate identifiseer hulself, of word aanvaar, nie noodwendig as 'Afrikaners' nie.

Artistieke vryheid teenoor historiese akkuraatheid

Kunstenaars het vryheid tot kreatiwiteit. Maar hoe beoordeel ons artistieke kreatiwiteit wat agter historiese akkuraatheid skuil? Is dit nie oneerlik of misleidend nie? 'n Kinderboek oor 'n denkbeeldige lewensverhaal van **Krotoa** word voorgegee as 'n "ware verhaal". **Eva** word selfs deur nie-bestaaande familielede in 'n fiktiewe epiese gedig omring. Skielik word sy voorgestel as die suster van **nGai** en die dogter van **Maqona**. Laasgenoemde lyk toevallig soos **Maqoma** die Xhosa hoofman en Robben-eiland banneling wie se naam onlangs op 'n Robbeneiland-pontskuit te siene is. Word ons on(der)bewustelik voorberei vir polities 'korrekte' sienings: die inheemse Khoe/San is sommer 'n uitbreiding van die Nguni onderhorig aan Xhosa heerskappy van Suid-Afrika se geskiedenis? In 'n teaterstuk opgevoer deur **Antoinette Pienaar** word hierdie artistieke vryheid deur 'n hervertolking van die denkbeeld omvergegooi. Die voordraer se uitgangspunt verskyn in die program van die een-vroutheaterstuk.

KROTOA ... NOU

In die opvoering is daar nie gestreef om by die letter van die geskiedenis te hou nie, maar om 'n vrye, digterlike vertolking aan die karakter van **Krotoa** te gee. Antoinette se intens persoonlike indentifikasie met beide **Krotoa** en **Piaternella**, geïnspireer deur **Karen Press** se gedig "**Krotoa's Story**", het 'n deurslaggewende rol gespeel. In die eerste plaas [sic], is die produksie 'n dramatisering van **Krotoa** se geïnternaliseerde konflik, hoe sy die konfrontasie tussen kulture en waardes ervaar. Die versoening tussen kulture word dan ook weerspieël in die gebruik van beide Afrikaans en Engels.

In hierdie musiek-drama word **Krotoa** se storie vertel deur haar oudste dogter, **Piaternella**.

Eva en haar dogter, **Piaternella Zaaiman**, word op die verhoog *uitgespeel*. As volksuiting word **Krotoa** klaarblyklik deur 'Afrikaners` toe-geëien. Hulle is tog



óók *Africans*! Is dít hoekom daar hierop hewig gereageer word? Hierdie *African* identiteit word blykbaar weer opgeeis of moet weer onderhandel word.

Die voordraer se respek vir die historiese rekord is onmiskenbaar:

"Oor die kritiek dat die solo-stuk nie histories korrek is nie, sê sy: "Dis my interpretasie van haar, nie 'n geskiedenisles nie. Daar bestaan geen [sic] ware rekords van **Krotoa** nie, net 'n storie wat oor en oor vertel is en telkens 'n nuwe stertjie bygekry het. Hierdie is my stertjie ..." [Antoinette Pienaar]

Krotoa se vryspraak verwek verlossing

Aansprake op **Eva** se 'bloed' deur mense - wie se voorouers geen verwantskap met **Eva** se voorouers wou erken het nie - word bevraagteken. Hoe weet ons of ons-my-jou-hulle voorouers enige verwantskap met **Eva** se voorouers ontken het? **Eva** word as "onse ma" gekonstrueer. Dit veroorsaak 'n geheueverlies. Hierdie 'moeder van die Afrikaner volk' is al vergeet. Deur **Eva** te onthou, hoop haar vergeetagtige kinders om 'n voordeel uit aansprake op 'n *African* indentiteit te trek. Teatergangers, en Afrikaners in die algemeen, word nou veroordeel omdat hulle nie meer 'vergeet' nie. Hulle onthou skielik, maar blykbaar vir die 'verkeerde' redes. Net een ander 'bewys' van so 'n siening (deur 'n 'professionele' persoon) bestaan:

"And in amateur [sic] genealogical circles white [sic] people compete to discover that they are descended from Krotoä [sic], the "stammoeder" (founding mother) of the Afrikaner [sic]." [Carli Coetzee]

Bevestiging en openbaarmaking word nie toegelaat nie. Dankbare nasate, gedagtig aan die tragedie omtrent hulle inheemse voorouer, word verhoed om hierdie historiese realiteit in die gesig te staar. Nog erger: hulle biologiese en genealogiese afstamming, wat regmatig (of onregmatig) hulle s'n is, word van hulle ontnem:

"Claiming **Krotoä** [sic] as the foremother who will make everything better because all will be forgiven risks distorting the significance of her life. Better it is to remember her...as the mother of conflict, rather than unity. Better to remember that her silence is not a sign of forgiveness ..." [Carli Coetzee]

Wat is die betekenis van **Eva** se lewe? Ons word nie ingelig nie. Wie het die monopolie oor hierdie betekenis van haar lewe? "Haar swye"? Wat word hiermee bedoel? Hoe weet ons dat alles vergewe sal word? Deur wie? **Eva**? Wat help *emotiewe* argumente om **Eva** beter te verstaan?



Die Khoe-sanitasie van Krotoa - die ontmaskering van na-apartheid Krotoa-afstammelinge:

Die herlewing van Khoisan bewusheid, waarin die skrywer self aktief betrokke is, het tot verder verdraaings van **Eva Meerhoff** se nalatenskap gelei. 'n Handjievol **Eva**-afstammelinge - alhoewel hulle blank-lykend of blank-geklassifiseerd (amptelik of nie) is - het hulle inheemse afkoms lank vóór die herroeping van apartheid begin verkondig. Oningelige kontemporêre kommentators, glo - verkeerdelik - dat aanspraak op direkte afstamming van **Eva Meerhoff**, 'n heersende na-apartheidse nagedagte is. 'n Besoekende Nederlandse historikus, byvoorbeeld, het dié fout gemaak. By die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland se internasionale konferensie *Khoisan Identities and Cultural Heritage* te Kaapstad op 12-16 Julie 1997 verkondig sy:

"Today, Van Riebeeck is not the 'good guy' who brought civilisation to a heathenish country. Having Khoikhoi ancestors is no longer a taboo. **Mansell Upham**, spokesperson for the Griqua National Conference, even claims to be a direct descendant of **Krotoa**, the young interpreter of commander van Riebeeck and the first Khoikhoi woman to live amongst the Dutch at the Cape. The colonists gave the girl a Christian name: **Eva** ..." [Andrea Kieskamp]

By hierdie einste internasionale Khoisan konferensie was daar net twee deelnemers met gedokumenteerde afkoms van 'n Khoi/San persoon in die 17de-eeu. Altwee was sogenaamde 'blanke' en nie skaam om Khoe/San afkoms oor die jare te openbaar nie - Dr **Hans F. Heese** en die skrywer van hierdie artikel. Die ironie is daarna deur Dr **Heese** by 'n genealogiese vergadering op Stellenbosch (8 Augustus 1998) uitgebuit. Die heel eerste deelname van 'mense van Khoesan afkoms' (dws Khoesan *op die oog af*) en hulle verteenwoordigende organisasies by so 'n internasionale konferensie, het bedenkinge in the akademiese wêreld uitgelok:

"The extensive changes in South Africa since 1994 have created new opportunities for redressing past injustices. Some Khoisan descendants have begun asserting forms of cultural identity based on idealized images of the past that seem to owe more to trends in Western scholarship than to documentary evidence ..." [Gerald Klinghardt]

'n Vergadering van Khoesan mense by die SA Kunsmuseum het 'n akademikus so laat reageer:

"Claims to propriety over KhoiSan bodies and the 'emotional reserves' of the San genocide were made by representatives of a variety of KhoiSan groups including the Griqua, the Brown Movement, and the militant Coloured Nationalist Kleurling Weerstandbeweging (KWB). The biological essentialism of some of these groups elided the historical fact that many of the people referring to themselves as Brown, Coloured, and Griqua are in fact [*sic*] of slave-European-African [*sic*]-Khoi-San ancestry. However, rather than recognizing this mixed ancestry and cultural hybridity, many KhoiSan activists claimed a 'pure' KhoiSan identity based on notions of biological and cultural continuity. Others did not deny their mixed ancestry but asserted biologically based claims to KhoiSan identity to gain custodianship over the KhoiSan body and collective memory. For example, even though he



had been classified white under apartheid, **Mansel [sic] Upham**, the Griqua National Conference's legal representative, insisted upon making public his claims of genealogical links to a founding Khoi ancestress, **Krotoä [sic] (Eva) ...**" [Steven Robins]

Maar opvatting oor verbastering weerspreek mekaar nog steeds:

"The admission of, or claim to, hybrid identity and Khoikhoi blood can have a conservative impulse: it risks forgetting the conflict and destruction involved in the mix ..." [Carli Coetzee]

Dan het ons ander sienings: **Krotoa** as *verraaier* en **Eva** as *stamouer* van hedendaagse her-geskape of her-gefabriseerde Khoikhoi. Die nuwe eksponente van **Eva Meerhoff** is vasbeslote dat haar nalatenskap uitsluitlik tot, en met, die Khoisan beperk word. Daar is selfs mistieke menings oor **Eva Meerhoff** as eksklusieve stammoeder van die Khoi/San:

"It may be thought disrespectful to delve in the personal affairs of Khoisan ancestors. I do not think so. We can only value the lives of our ancestors when we have full realization of what they were up against. Their achievements must be measured against the circumstances of their lives. I have found it more disturbing to think of **Eva** as a 'woman between'... I cannot see **Eva** as 'a woman between'. She was most certainly a Khoisan woman, and one whose life was inseparable from the fate of her people ..." [Yvette Abrahams]

Die moontlike gemengde (*Strandloper*) afkoms van **Eva** self word nooit in aanmerking geneem nie. Europieërs het vanaf 1620 - lank vóór **Van Riebeeck** - gereeld die Kaap die Goeie Hoop besoek.

Die kreolisering van Eva

Eva Meerhoff se kreolisering word nietemin deur sommige mense aanvaar. Sy word met **Pocahontas** en **Doña Marina** vergelyk. Dié twee inheemse vrouens (en tolke) en hulle direkte afstammelinge onderskeidelik is beslis in die 'blank' kultuur van Spanje / Mexiko en ngeland / Nieu-Engeland opgeneem:

"Eight years after their abandonment, two of her children were taken by a friend of their father to Mauritius, where one of them, **Petronella**, made a rather splendid marriage with a well-to-do Dutchman. Of their eight children they named one **Eva** for her grandmother, and eventually they brought young **Eva** and her siblings back to the Cape where her grandmother's sad story had begun and ended. No matter what the attitude of the godly residents of the Cape colony toward her mother and no matter what fearful memories from childhood remained with her, **Petronella Zaijman [sic]** had found it in her heart to create a new **Eva** and bring her up Dutch ..." [Frances Karttunen]



Krotoa haarsel - wie gee eintlik om? Die behoefte aan 'n herkonstrueerde biografie

... maar met die oerkreet
van alle dinge
smyt ek my tartende
skreeu in die sterre in,
waar ylweg my smart
weerklank langs die steiltes ...

N.P. van Wyk Louw, 'Skreeu', *Alleenspraak (Een: 1932-1934)*

Wat dan is núút omtrent **Krotoa**? Wat wil historici en navorsers nie openbaar nie? Hoekom bestaan daar 'n beperkte, selektiewe kultuur van ondersoek? Hoekom is daar tot nou toe nie veel gedoen nie? Vir 'n tydperk van amper 35 jaar het die skrywer:

- gepoog om al haar kinders en ook *hulle* afstammelinge te identifiseer
- die kerkrekords gedurende haar leeftyd getranskribeer
- die bestaande *Compagnie* rekords deeglik bestudeer
- al die beskikbare gepubliseerde verwysings van **Eva** probeer vergelyk en verwerk
- in die openbaar oor **Eva** gepraat met die doel om haar aan 'n wyer publiek voor te stel
- 'n aangaande dieper studie gemaak van die koloniale gemeenskap en die individue wat direk (of indirek) met haar verkeer het
- **Eva** se lewe binne die konteks van sigbaar toenemende anti-Khoe gevoelens onder die VOC en die koloniale gemeenskap uitgepluis
- alreeds in 1977 met die navorsing begin - beslis nie om *Afrikanerskap* te regverdig nie

Selfs nou is ek huiwerig om my bevindings te kodifiseer: Ek is verskulding aan **Krotoa** se nagedagtenis as stammoeder. Ook in terme van hoe ek die behoefte van 'n oop definisie van die waarheid verstaan. Die bedoeling is om 'n hergekonstrueerde biografie uit te bring wat die gedokumenteerde lewe van **Eva Meerhoff** meer volledig sal uitle. Dit staan kunstenaars en ideoloë vry om **Krotoa** verder te bedink. Ten minste behoort ons beter toegerus te wees. Sodoende kan ons vasstel hoe ernstig hulle in rekening gehou moet word en watter geloofwaardigheid aan hulle fantasieë gegee moet word. Kan ons saamstem met die verwerping van die historiese **Pocahontas** soos deur **Frances Mossiker** (*Pocahontas: The Life and Legend*) uiteengesit?:

But the Powhatan princess was not to be confined within genealogical links, nor could the First Families of Virginia exercise rights of exclusivity over her. She has escaped into legend ...

Ek dink nie so nie.

Kan ons akkoord gaan met **Michael Pye** in sy biografiese roman (*The Drowning Room*) oor **Gretje Reyniers** - Nieu-Amsterdam (New York) se eerste gedokumenteerde hoer? Hy regverdig artistieke vryheid as gevolg van 'n gebrek aan gedokumenteerde bewyse,



"... conjuring out of other people's generalities ... a version ... she left no trace...so she is available to be invented...I have invented her in this book which is dangerous. If she isn't satisfied with the flesh I've found for her, I'll hear ..."

Ek dink nie so nie.

Ter wille van **Krotoa**, hoekom moet sy in moderne 'legendes' verdwyn? Om **Eva** se onthalwe, hoekom moet sy aan fabrisering onderwerp word?

Eva Meerhoff, gebore Krotoa is my regstreekse biologiese en gedokumenteerde stammoeder. Die onvervreembare reg tot inheemsheid sal ek nooit prysgee nie. Ek behou die reg om myself as o.a. *African* te identifiseer.

Wie is die kinders van Eva Meerhoff?

Desondanks verskeie spekulatiewe en twyfelagtige artikels oor **Eva Meerhoff** in die verlede, bestaan daar tot nou toe bitter min gepubliseerde primêre navorsing oor haar en haar lewe om al die foute oor haar in druk reg te stel. Doopinskrywings van 3 van haar 8 kinders is al opgespoor in die Kaap se vroegste doopregister wat eers op 23 Augustus 1665 begin is. Voledige doopinskrywings voor 1665 het nie noodwendig bewaar gebly nie.

- (1) **Jacobus** gebore Kaap die Goeie Hoop c. 1661; sterf op sea op pad terug Kaap toe van Mauritius 1687
- (2) **Piaternella** gebore Kaap die Goeie Hoop *ante* 16 November 1662; sterf Kaap die Goeie Hoop; trou **Daniel Zaaijman** (van Vlissingen)
- (3) Kind gebore c. 1664; jonk oorlede (naam onbekend - ongedoop)
- (4) **Salomon** gebore Robbeneiland; gedoop Kaap die Goeie Hoop 12 September 1666; jonk oorlede Mauritius
- (5) Kind gebore gebore Robbeneiland c. 1668; jonk oorlede (naam onbekend - ongedoop)
- (6) **Jeronimus** gebore Robbeneiland; gedoop Kaap die Goeie Hoop 23 November 1670;
- (7) Kind gebore Robbeneiland c. 1672; jonk oorlede (naam onbekend - ongedoop)
- (8) **Anthonij** gebore Robbeneiland 1672; gedoop Kaap die Goeie Hoop 6 Augustus 1673; leef nog Kaap die Goeie Hoop in 1712; sterf 1713 (pokke epidemie)

