

# **ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONITORING AND EXCAVATION IN THE AREA OF JAN VAN RIEBEECK'S EARTHEN FORT AT THE GRAND PARADE, CENTRAL CAPE TOWN**

Prepared for  
Iliso Consulting Engineers and Project Managers (Pty) Ltd for the  
City of Cape Town

HWC permit nr: 2008-02-006

November 2009



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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Archaeology Contracts Office was appointed to do the monitoring of the renovations to services and paving of the Grand Parade in central Cape Town by Iliso Consulting Engineers and Project Managers (Pty) Ltd. This monitoring was ordered by Heritage Western Cape who, with this Record of Decision, did not follow the recommendation of the Heritage Impact Assessment to allow a thorough archaeological excavation to document the fort started by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652.

Two trenches were dug with a mechanical excavator opposite the Town Hall very near the bus depot. These revealed in the sections the moat around the earthen fort with several phases of its construction discernable.

Thorough archival research was conducted, previous excavations were revisited and detailed overlays were made. These efforts have led to an understanding of the history and construction of the moat for as far as possible. A likely accurate date for one of the layers in the sections of the 2009 trenches can be proposed (the yellow embankment was most probably put in place in the first six months of 1673). Also, a very likely position for the fort can be proposed.

As important as these findings are, there are large lacunae that could not be filled during this intervention. The size of the excavation was too small to find a meaningful assemblage of cultural remains. It was also not possible to learn more about the actual construction of the fort or to find out how much of the fort walls and inner courtyard are still preserved.

The excavation reported on here, and the excavations from the end of the last century, were very limited in scope and area, but nevertheless caused incremental impacts to the remaining structure of the fort. They resulted in individual pieces of a jigsaw puzzle without raising enough of the picture to a point of completion.

It is strongly recommended that in future, an archaeological intervention will be allowed the time, space and resources necessary to document this historically important structure in the best possible scientific way to prevent information loss by fragmentation. In short through nothing less than a substantive excavation of the fort footprint.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The City of Cape Town is in the midst of preparations for the Fifa 2010 Soccer World Cup. The Grand Parade is earmarked as a 'Fan Park' and upgrading is underway to make it a more pedestrian-friendly area. Initially archaeological investigations were to occur to inform the final design of the Grand Parade in accordance with recommendations of the Historical Impact Assessment (HIA) by Melanie Attwell. Investigations into the 'grachten' were carried out by the Archaeology Contracts Office in 2007 (Dewar and Hart 2007). The subsequent Record of Decision (RoD) from Heritage Western Cape's Built Environment and Landscape Committee however only stipulated that finds of archaeological material should be reported, thus compromising the findings of the HIA and the proposed archaeological work. Thus a comprehensive archaeological study was not carried out and the findings of this report are based on call-outs from the contractors.

The Archaeology Contracts Office (ACO) of the University of Cape Town (UCT) was appointed by the City of Cape Town through Iliso Consulting Engineers and Project Managers (Pty) Ltd to carry out the archaeological work. The excavation reported on here, and the excavations from the end of the last century, were very limited in scope and area, but nevertheless caused accumulative substantial damage to the remaining structure of the fort. They resulted in individual pieces of a jigsaw puzzle without raising enough of the picture to fully understand one of the country's most important colonial archaeological sites.

The monitoring of Phase 1 of the Grand Parade upgrade was carried out in 2008 (see Appendix A) The monitoring of Phase 2 and subsequent excavations reported on here were carried out in November 2009.

The Grand Parade is of significant historical importance as the landing site of Jan van Riebeeck and his men in April 1652 to set up a refreshing station for supplying Dutch East-India Company (VOC) sailing vessels en route to and from the East. Van Riebeeck set out the ground plan for the earthen fort on the second day after arriving. It could not withstand the Cape winters very well and needed to be replaced by a robust stone structure, the still existing Castle. The earthen fort was broken down in 1674, with exception of the warehouses in its court yard.

When, in May 2009, concrete foundations were removed on the north-eastern border of the Parade in front of the Town Hall, archaeologists of the ACO noticed probable archaeological remains underneath. Pavement laying in that section of the Parade was halted by the contractors and a mechanical excavator brought in to speed up earth moving. Three trenches were dug, in two of which the fort moat could be identified. Work in the third trench was severely hampered by services present. It is believed that the location of the moat in these two trenches can allow a more precise situation of the 'Walvisch Bastion'. Together with results of excavations in the 1980's and 1990's, a more exact location of the Fort can be proposed.

The excavation reported on here, and the excavations from the end of the last century, were very limited in scope and area, but have resulted in compounded impacts to the site caused by the fact that adequate resources have never been afforded to excavate the site in its entirety. Information is fragmentary, and in some instances field notes from previous excavations could not be located. Due to the tight program of this project and an unsympathetic planning process, once again the opportunity to expose the site in its entirety

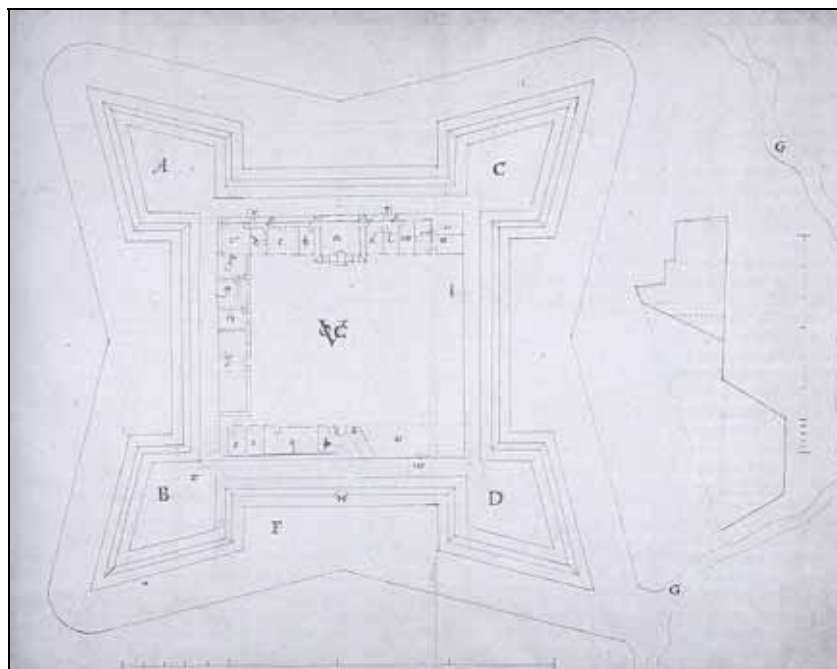
has been lost. In future it is imperative that adequate resources and planning be afforded to the time and space necessary to document this historically important structure in the best possible scientific way to prevent information loss by fragmentation.

## 2. BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Historical background of the Parade, with focus on the fort

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, European trade with the East was flourishing: several nations had a merchant fleet rounding the Cape of Good Hope on their way to and from Madagascar, Batavia, India, Japan and China. In their bid to gain supremacy on this trading route, the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC) sent out a party of three ships under the command of Jan van Riebeeck to set up a refreshing station at the Cape to provide fresh food and water to passing VOC ships and reduce scurvy-deaths amongst their sailors/soldiers. The area which became known as Table Bay was not the best harbour, but provided plenty access to fresh water, a commodity that was absent in Saldanha Bay and more difficult to obtain in Hout Bay.

On 6 April 1652, Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape of Good Hope but only went ashore himself on the 7<sup>th</sup> “provisionally to consider more or less where the fort should be built”<sup>1</sup>. He had received orders from the VOC Council (*Heeren XVII*) in The Netherlands to build a fort to protect them from the natives and from attacks from sea, but which would also serve as lodgings for the permanent garrison, a storage place for fresh supplies and a clear marker to ships from other nations that the land was claimed for the VOC’s benefit. He had received from the Council a drawing of what the Fort should look like and the construction specifications. These were in line with the then-followed principles of fortifications, what later



**Figure 1: Plan of the fort, sent to the Netherlands by Van Riebeeck attached to a letter dated 14 April 1653**

<sup>1</sup> Thom 1952, Vol. 1, 25.

became known as the 'Old Dutch style for fortifications' as opposed to the 'New Dutch style' developed at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It dictated that the walls and bastions were constructed of soil, surrounded by broad, wet moats and could absorb the enemy's shot. The bastions contained no *kazematten* (subterranean shelters), the flanks connected with the curtain walls in a 90 degree angle and the bastions had no *orreillons* (where the curtain wall is retracted behind the bastion).<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1)

The building of the fort was the first priority and progress was recorded regularly in Jan van Riebeeck's journal. The work progressed very slowly and with difficulty given the environmental circumstances the Dutch found themselves in: it was not straightforward to transplant a design for Dutch soil and weather conditions to the Table Bay shoreline in South Africa. The extracts from the journal of Jan van Riebeeck below paint the very frustrating conditions under which these men (of the local garrison and sailors from anchored ships) had to comply with orders from The Netherlands. They also provide indications on how the fort was constructed.<sup>3</sup>

9 July 1652 "Commander Van Riebeeck went ashore early in the morning. He marked out the fort completely to-day and returned on board in the evening. The outside polygons or the outer points of the bastions were fixed at 21 rods." "We shall be able to make the calculations and also sketches more accurately and thoroughly later on when it nears completion; this is our project for the time, but one which might yet be altered or improved."

10 April 1652 "Early in the morning Riebeeck went ashore, where the men have been put to work with shovels, spades, picks, mattocks and wheel barrows. The ground was found to be so loose that firm walls could hardly be made with it. Although much underwood is worked into the soil, we fear that it will be washed away by heavy rains unless we find ground suitable for sods which could be stacked on the outside; for this we shall search one of these days when the more necessary work is underway."

30 April 1652 "With skipper Hooghsaet, in the excavated cellar, we laid the first stone of the supports upon which the pillars of the storehouse and dwelling will be placed."

23 July 1652 "There had been such a heavy downpour that at several places the land looked like the sea, as the rivers could not hold all the water. There was half a foot of water in our storehouse and the fort at various places inside was also inundated. The moats round the fort (into which not a drop of water could otherwise come) are quite filled by the rain. A strong wall of clay and heavy stone about 2 ½ feet thick and 8 feet high, intended for a kitchen, has completely collapsed as a result of the heavy and excessive infiltration of water."

24 May 1653 "The east point named Walvis was brought almost to its required height to-day. Hope next week to tackle with fresh courage the west point, which is about 4 feet high at present, and with God's help to bring it to the required height before the end of June. Meanwhile the ground will be sufficiently softened by the rain for sods to be cut; for some time now it has been too dry to raise the said bastions any further and make them strong and permanent with sods as has been done with the whole fort, two bastions of which, at diagonally opposite corners, are now enclosed and adequately protected."

2 April 1655 "The masonry is proceeding apace, so that we are hoping to have completed with brick by next year all dwellings and storehouses, guard-houses, etc., inside the fort. These were constructed of light wood from the fatherland, but are becoming very dilapidated."

10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> June 1655 "(The same rainy weather and wind as before) as a result of which five roods of the embankment at the hind curtain of the fort caved in and

<sup>2</sup> [http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oud\\_Nederlands\\_vestingstelsel](http://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oud_Nederlands_vestingstelsel) (consulted 13 July 2009)

<sup>3</sup> Thom 1952, Vol. 1, 26, 29, 37, 52, 156, 157, 304, 317. Vol 2: 48. Vol 3: 250, 253.

subsided. Apparently this is going to be an annual occurrence, as the immense quantity of water that falls here during such extra-ordinarily heavy downpours threatens to wash away almost everything that stands upright. In the course of time it will become necessary to build a stone fort, which could be done gradually if only more horses were provided; ... .”

7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July 1656 “Stormy weather and wind as before. Such continuous and heavy rain fell that the whole Table Valley looked like the open sea, the lands and gardens being all inundated and much of them washed away. The embankment of the old works of the fort has also collapsed in three places as a result of the rain, and it will take at least two months to repair the damage. But we shall then raise it with stakes and fencing, interweaving it with grass, as was done last year with the back curtain, which is firmly overgrown and has remained standing.”

17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> August 1660 “Nothing noteworthy happened, except that work went on apace daily on the rebuilding of the ramparts of the fort, which are old and have collapsed as a result of the heavy rains this season. The men were also working on the widening and deepening of the moat and making a dam wall in the river below the bastion Reijger, the object being to dam up the water there and lead it round to the fort. This is in accordance with the first order of Our lords and Masters issued to the Commander Riebeeck in *anno* 1651 when he left the Fatherland. When there is a good depth of water, the intention is also to use taps and chutes to draw this fresh water from the dam, which is close to the jetty, and lead it into casks.”

27<sup>th</sup> August 1660 “The wet, foul and stormy weather continues. This caused the southern end of the Walvis Bastion also to cave in and collapse completely. It was, however, part of the original construction .... Any damage is thoroughly repaired and on top of the walls we are planting stout, thick, burnt palisades of hard, durable iron-wood, which will prevent the scaling of the earth walls which have to be sloping. This is also the reason why a strong stockade is planted round the berm, with its paling driven into the bed of the moat.”

These extracts make it very clear that it was a continuous struggle to keep the earthen fort in good shape: the right building materials were not available and neither was there a labour force that could be dedicated permanently to its maintenance and repairs. Higher authorities were informed of this and in April 1665, the Cape Council received a letter from the *Heeren XVII* with the instruction to build a stone fortification to replace the earthen fort, with included a drawing and description of what it should be like.<sup>4</sup> As with the original earthen fort, the Dutch theory did not match the Table Bay circumstances and the local council decided to wait for commander Goske to discuss alterations and adjustments to local conditions.<sup>5</sup>

In the following years labour and efforts had to be divided between repairs to the earthen fort and the new construction of the stone Castle until on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1674 the local council on instruction by letter from the *Heeren XVII* decided to break down the walls of the earthen fort and dismantle all dilapidated structures associated with it. Warehouses, dwellings and other buildings still functional were to be retained until a replacement was built inside the new stone Castle.<sup>6</sup> In March 1676, Isbrand Goske pointed out how these stone structures, especially the thick-walled *Kat*, could be an impediment to the defence of the stone Castle by providing attackers with shelter.<sup>7</sup> In 1682 these structures were still standing: they were to be broken down as an example of good will towards the free-burghers whose houses were to be

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<sup>4</sup> Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa, C. 3, pp. 91-94. (<http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>)

<sup>5</sup> *op.cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa, C. 9, pp. 2 – 4. (<http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>)

<sup>7</sup> Böeseken 1966, 130-138 (C. 700, pp. 315-340).

demolished because they were too close to the Castle.<sup>8</sup> It would seem that only in 1685 however a start was made with the actual demolition.<sup>9</sup>

In 1660, after the first war between the Dutch and the indigenous people, an area of 50 *roeden* was declared to remain free of any buildings or other obstructions which could interfere with visibility from the fort to fire cannons.<sup>10</sup> This area was maintained after the stone Castle had been built and in 1710, the Burgher Council issued a proclamation that no building should be allowed on the remaining open area between the Castle and the Company's Garden.<sup>11</sup> Over time however, development crept up on the edges of the Parade (e.g. the first train station, the Standard Bank building, the Opera House, the General Post Office). This evolution means that theoretically the subsoil remains of the earthen fort would have been left undisturbed prior to archaeological excavation.

## 2.2 Background on previous research on and around the Parade relating to the early colonial period

Post Office Tunnel (Fig. 2, red)

In 1966, a Post Office tunnel was excavated between the General Post Office building on the NW end of the Parade and Platform 22 of the new (current) Train Station. During this, two coffins were uncovered and reported to the Archaeology Department of the University of Cape Town. In the end, the remains of three coffin burials were salvaged. These can most likely be connected to the earthen fort built by Jan van Riebeeck in 1652 and later years.<sup>12</sup>

Golden Acre (Fig. 2, green)

In 1968, after the completion of the new Train Station, the first Cape Town Railway Station was demolished to make space for a new development called the "Golden Acre". Provision was made for archaeological investigations and in 1975 the sluice for the Wagenaer Dam was uncovered and preserved *in situ*.<sup>13</sup> Zacharias Wagenaer was Jan van Riebeeck's successor at the Cape and formalised the water supply to the ships by building a dam on the Fresh River from which barrels could be filled.

Iziko excavations (Fig. 2, pink)

In 1981, earth moving activities within the framework of the "Development Plan for the Grand Parade and its Environs" were monitored by the, then, South African Cultural History Museum (now part of the Iziko Museums of Cape Town). Observations were made in the foundation trenches dug for the trader's stalls on the NW end of the Parade. These trenches covered a substantial area of where the Fort was believed to be situated based on map overlays. Interpretation of these sections gave a more or less accurate indication of the position of the Oliphant bastion. This was followed up by excavations by the same archaeologist in 1990 and 1991 when a more extensive single trench could be opened. In this trench were uncovered "the outer embankment of the moat, indications of two different building lines of the inner embankment, one of the corners of the bastion point, the rear line

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<sup>8</sup> Böeseken 1966, 156-171 (C. 700, pp. 381-436).

<sup>9</sup> Böeseken 1966, 189-223 (C. 700, pp. 437-515).

<sup>10</sup> Leibbrandt 1899, 328 in Fitchett 1996, 2.

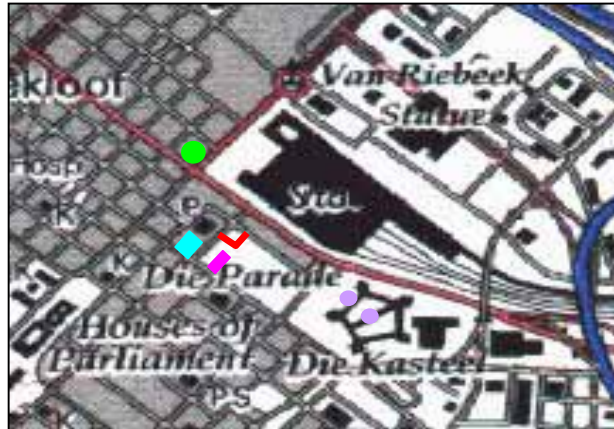
<sup>11</sup> RennieScurrAdendorff 2003, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Voight 1977, 108.

<sup>13</sup> Voight 1977, 108.

of the Fort, the first back wall against the rear curtain and remains of a human burial in one of the rooms at the back of the Fort".<sup>14</sup>

These findings were a useful indicator of what to expect during this intervention, but comprehensive understanding was prohibited by inaccuracies or lack of clarity in the reporting on features and in section drawings. Also the small scale of representation of the ground plan of the features made a thorough reading and comprehension more difficult. To better the understanding of the excavations, the original site notes, sketches and drawings were consulted.<sup>15</sup>



**Figure 2: Location of previous archaeological interventions on and around the Grand Parade, focusing on the early colonial period.**

#### General Post Office Renovations (Fig. 2, blue)

The renovation in 1995 of the Post Office Building, built in 1893 on the NW end of the Parade, would impact on the basement level and necessitated archaeological testing with an eye on locating the remainder of the Wagenaer Dam, partly discovered at the Golden Acre development across Castle Street (see higher). The ACO established that only small quantities of 18<sup>th</sup> century Dutch artefacts were present in the highest basement layers and that most likely the construction of the Post Office Building itself destroyed most of the archaeological layers. (Hart 1995)

#### The Castle (Fig. 2, purple)

The first archaeological excavation in the Castle took place in the early 1980's in the courtyard and around the Kat balcony preceding renovations of services. The results of these are still on display in the Castle. The oldest finds from these localities date as far back as 3000 years ago (D. Halkett, pers. comm.)

In 1989 and 1990, the ACO conducted excavations at the Leerdam Bastion and in the Castle moat adjacent to this bastion. This excavation allowed checking the theoretical *rationale* behind this structure and the written record on the construction of it and its moat with 'reality'. It became very clear that both were very different from each other. Also in this instance, the local Council had major difficulties transplanting a Dutch design and concept to local circumstances. The excavations showed "badly built foundations, poor building materials, brickwork that soon collapsed and a garrison that rebelled against the arduous work of construction". The excavations also revealed how "the castle moat, in the seventeenth

<sup>14</sup> Abrahams 1993, 9.

<sup>15</sup> With thanks to Jaco Boshoff for locating these.

century a stamp of aspirant power, was by the mid-nineteenth century a dump and a public nuisance”<sup>16</sup>.

### 3. EXCAVATIONS

In May 2009, test excavations took place in the north-eastern section of the Grand Parade in Cape Town following a call out to examine some unrelated concrete foundations. The opportunity afforded by removal of the concrete foundations was used to check underlying deposits. The aim was to establish the presence of the earthen fort built between 1652 and 1674 by the Dutch, and possibly to get an accurate location for it. This was to happen with a minimal of disturbance to the fort itself and with a minimal disturbance (in delay and in remediation afterwards) of the renovations of the Grand Parade taking place at the time.

#### 3.1 Concrete foundations

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 2009 the ACO was informed by Iliso Consulting that ‘H-shaped concrete foundations’ were found on the edge of the parade alongside the bus terminal. Upon inspection, this was a series of concrete foundations about 1 m deep, 2.5 m long, and about 50 cm wide. Some were connected in an H-shape, others are ‘single’, and one is about 1.5m wide (Fig. 3).

Maps and photographs were consulted to try finding which construction these would have belonged to, but unsuccessfully. Tim Hart and Dave Halkett have a memory of seeing a photograph of the Grand Parade on which a ‘grand stand’ was visible in front of the Town Hall to view military parades (pers. comm.), but this photograph could not be located.

On 19 May 2009, these foundations were removed under archaeological supervision. During this process more information about the construction of these foundations became clear: the soil was excavated to the dimensions for each foundation, a wooden framework was constructed within the pit and subsequently the concrete was poured in to fill the excavation and envelope the wooden framework.

Underneath the first foundation, possible cultural remains were recognised and the construction firm, consulting firm and Heritage Western Cape were informed.

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<sup>16</sup> Hall *et al.* 1990, 22.



**Figure 3: View of the concrete foundations**

## **3.2 Trench 1**

With the discovery of possible archaeological remains, Heritage Western Cape arranged with the construction firm that paving in the north-eastern section of the Parade would be delayed and that a small mechanical excavator would be brought in to assist with archaeological investigations.

A trench of 11 metres long and 1 m wide was mechanically excavated to a depth between 1 and 2 metres below surface. No structures were encountered during this excavation, but in the vertical section of this trench a distinct earthen feature was immediately recognised: a ditch/moat, of which three phases could be identified. (Fig. 4)

The moat was dug into the natural deposited clay. The oldest surviving layers are layers 11 and 12. This stratigraphic unit was cut by layer 13, which together with layers 14 and 15, forms the second stratigraphic unit. Both these units are made up of micro-layered sands containing more or less organic material, brick and/or shell fragments. A thick band of hard, orange, sandy clay was superimposed on top of these two units, cutting through layers 13, 14 and 15. This clay is very clean, only containing a few small fragments of brick and mortar. Sitting on top of this clay, but not cutting through it, is a collection of moat-fill layers (layers 3,4,5,6,8,9), all very similar in texture (sand to sandy clay), appearance (lighter to darker brown) and inclusions (lumps of clay, brick, mortar). The most notable is that the fill of the moat becomes more organic and contains less inclusions the deeper in the moat it lies. The exact depth of layer 6 could not be established due to groundwater rising rapidly from the interface between the archaeological layers and the geological clay. Layer 10, on top of the moat fill, contained fine red sand and was difficult to distinguish from the overlying rubble. An ostrich eggshell bead was found in it. On top of these archaeological layers sat a series of rubble and construction layers connected to different phases of refurbishing the Parade in the past. These layers were moved back with the mechanical excavator to relieve the weight pressure on the section which at its deepest was 2 metres.

## IDENTIFICATION OF LAYERS IN TRENCH 1

Layer 1: brown homogenous sand

Layer 2: natural, in situ grey and orange clay

Layer 3: very mixed, dark-brown sand with round pebbles, medium pieces of brick, charcoal?, roots

Layer 4: very hard and very heterogeneous packet of fill, contains brown and black sand and clay, mortar bits, fragmented brick

Layer 5: similar to layer 4, but fragments not as fragmented, and also pieces of clay

Layer 6: very soft, black-brown organic layer, almost no inclusions

Layer 7: orange, sandy clay, very hard, a bit softer at the bottom. has some brick and mortar? included. Manmade clay, well mixed.

Layer 8: similar to layer 6 but more brick and clay inclusions.

Layer 9: might be a continuation of layers 6 and 8, but it is lighter brown next to layer 8. also doesn't have as many inclusions as layer 8.

Layer 10: layer of fine red sand, hard to distinguish from overlying rubble. Found a small OES bead in it.

Layer 11: 4 layers of olive dark and light sand on top of each other. Contains two pieces of brick and also shell fragments.

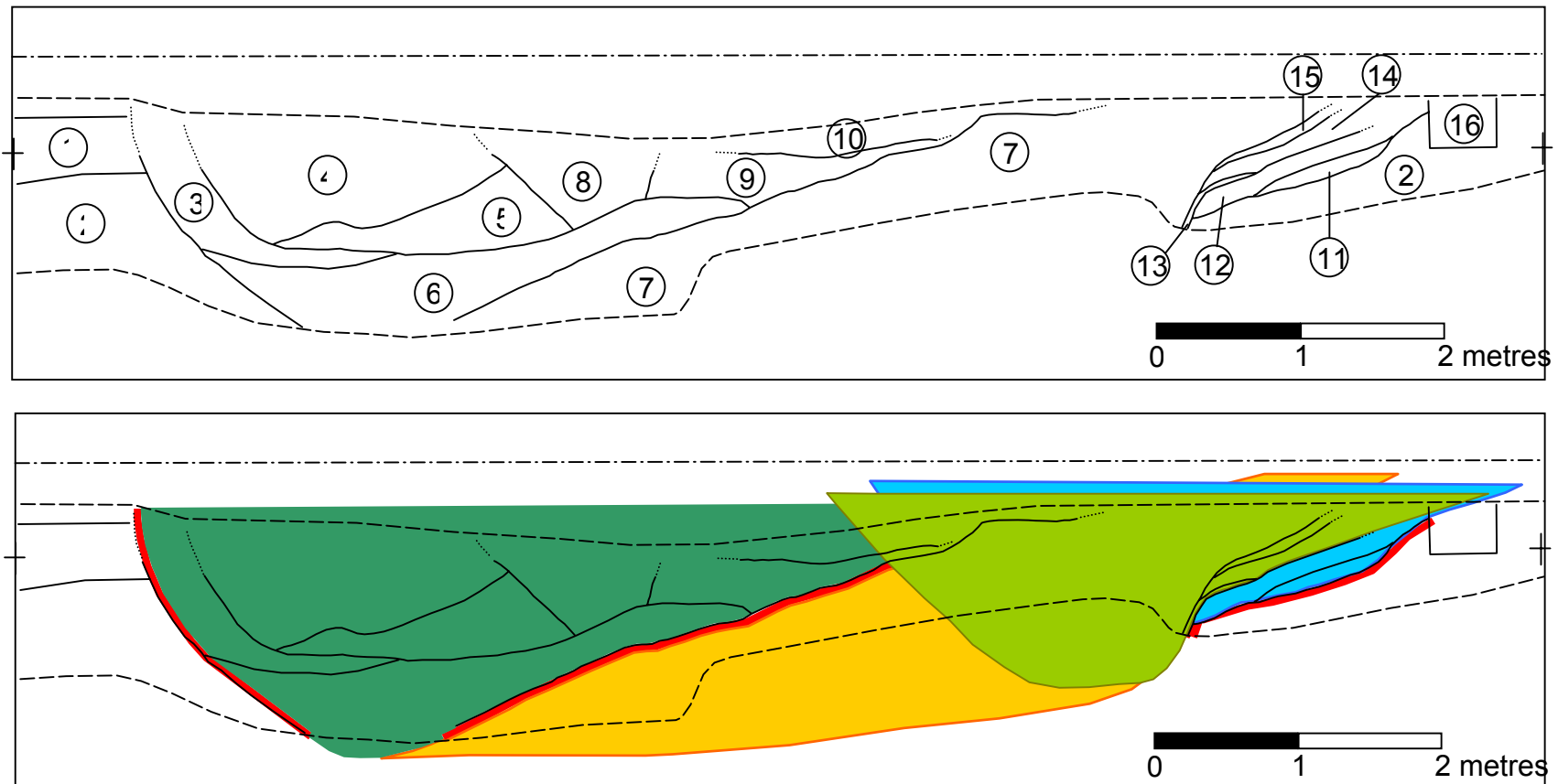
Layer 12: seems to be one layer but could be micro-stratified. Olive green sand, quite hard only contains a bit of shell fragments. Cuts layer 11

Layer 13: organic, brown-black lens that was probably deposited after layers 2 and 12 were cut

Layer 14: three stratified layers of sand: orange and brown. One piece of mortar, some small shell fragments

Layer 15: brown sand but had lumps of orange sandy clay (from layer 2) mixed into it

Layer 16: modern concrete foundation for what we think was a 'grand stand' in front of the City Hall.



**Figure 4: Section drawing of Trench 1 (top) and indication of phases (bottom). The moat could in a first phase have looked like the light blue outline, in a second phase like the light green outline and in the last phase like the dark green outline. The yellow clay layer is also indicated.**

### 3.3 Trench 2

Parallel to Trench 1 a second trench was opened to test the alignment of the moat. Trench 2 was approximately 18 metres long and one metre wide. As in Trench 1, the construction layers connected with different phases of refurbishing the Parade in the past were moved aside by the mechanical excavator.

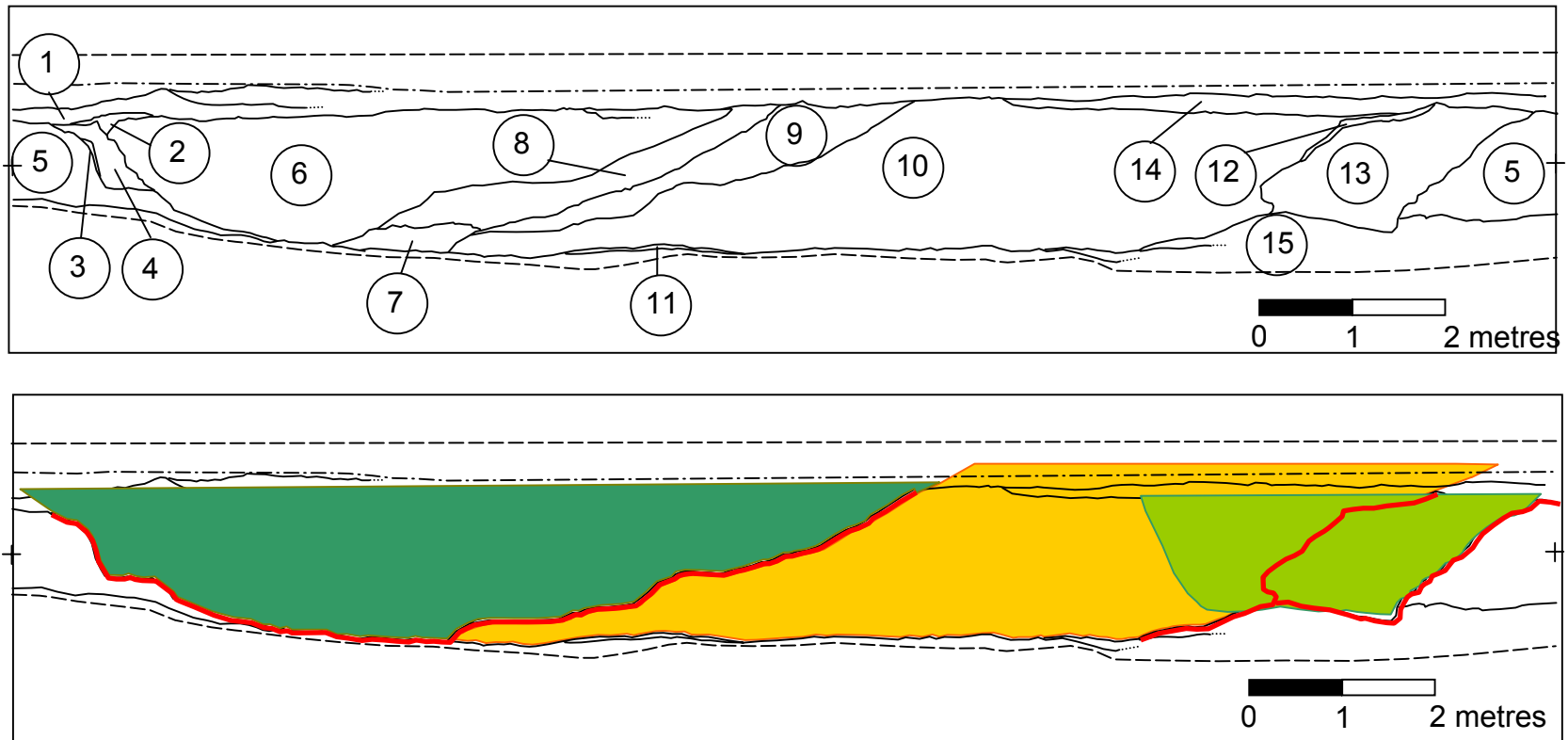
The observations in Trench 2 were very similar to those in Trench 1. No structures were encountered in the horizontal plane; the moat was recognised in the vertical section (Fig. 5). In Trench 2 the natural sand substrate (Layer 15) sat higher than in Trench 1 and was cut by the moat. This sand body was micro-stratified with dark humic lenses (e.g. Layer 11) and at times felt even like peat. On top of the sand substrate sat a clay bank (Layer 5). Again, due to rising ground water, the subsoil could not be tested any deeper: it washed the sand away from under the archaeological layers which could have compromised stability of the section and safety of the crew.

Layer 13 is the only remnant of the oldest moat visible in this trench. It is a unit of layers which at the bottom are more organic, becoming more mixed with intrusions towards the top. Lenses of white sand indicate the infill gradient (in which direction and at what angle the moat 'sanded up'). (Fig. 6) This indicates a prolonged period where the moat was dry and had no or little water standing in it. At the bottom of the interface between Layers 13 and 10 is visible how water washed through the infill of the moat and upturned even the sandy substrate underneath: the water current washed away the sand under a block of clay and cut into the grey sand of Layer 15 (Fig. 7).

The wet moat was later filled in by layer 10. It is not clear if Layer 12, only a thin lens of crème coloured clay, formed part of the same moat fill as Layer 13 or if it is material which was brought in just before the hard, compacted orange clay of Layer 10. As in Trench 1, sitting on top of this orange clay, but not cutting through it, is a collection of moat-fill layers (layers 3,4,6,7,8,9). Layer 4 seems to be cut by Layer 6. In this instance however, this probably points to an earlier phase in the filling of the moat rather than an earlier moat altogether. Layers 7, 8 and 9 can, due to their modest depth be attributed to a slower accumulation process. Layer 6 on the other hand bears testimony to a rapid, once-off filling-in event.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF LAYERS IN TRENCH 2

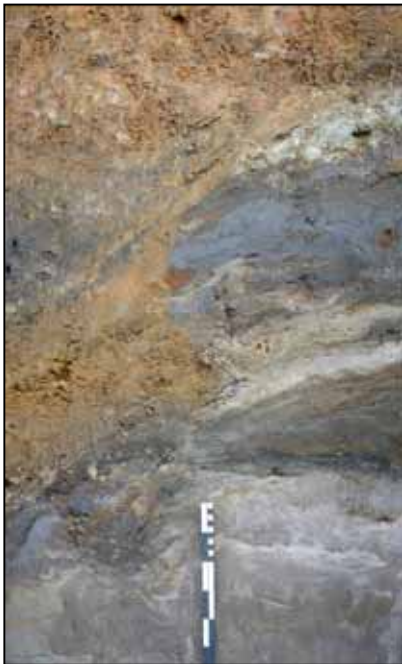
Layer 1: top soil  
Layer 2: crumbly brown sand  
Layer 3: wedge of light clay  
Layer 4: orange sand  
Layer 5: natural, in situ grey and olive green clay  
Layer 6: moat fill: dark brown, organic sand, with strings of yellow clay along the infill gradient  
Layer 7: where layers 6 and 8 got mixed  
Layer 8: moat fill and clay mixed  
Layer 9: black organic layer  
Layer 10: bank of orange clay, in places micro stratified with black clay along the infill gradient  
Layer 11: very peaty lens  
Layer 12: lens of light clay



**Figure 5: Section drawing of Trench 2 (top) and indication of phases (bottom). Only one early phase could be identified in this section (light green outline), the last phase (dark green outline) corresponds with the last phase identified in Trench 1. The yellow clay layer is also indicated.**



**Figure 6: Trench 2 - Layer 13: remnant of an older moat**



**Figure 7: Trench 2 - Interface between layers 13 and 10**



**Figure 8: Section of trench 3**

Layer 13: moat fill, brown organic sand mixed with lumps of clay, stratified along the infill gradient Layer 14: lighter sandy layer Layer 15: natural sand deposit in places micro stratified with horizontal dark humic (peaty) lenses
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### 3.4 Trench 3

At a 90 degree angle to and about 10 meters to the west of trenches 1 and 2, a third trench was dug to see if the moat or the fort wall could be located. This however was not possible due to several operational services which were encountered. Only a short transect of about three metres long could be brought to a deeper level, about 1.5 metres. It consisted of a homogenous light brown sandy soil with a natural stratigraphy recognisable. (Figure 8) No section drawing was made as the trench had to be speedily backfilled. Different to Trenches 1 and 2, this soil did contain archaeological artefacts in the upper layers which were collected from the soil heap.

## 4. ARTEFACTS AND ECOFACTS

The artefacts were collected mainly from Trench 3, some from Trench 2 and only 1 ostrich egg shell bead was recovered from Trench 1 (See Appendix C). There are two main categories of artefacts: ceramics and bone; clay pipe stems and glass being much smaller find categories.

The ceramic finds were all very small and fragmentary. They consisted mostly of porcelain and coarse porcelain sherds, often the object type could no longer be established. This makes accurate dating impossible, all that can be said is that the finds fit in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The bone finds were equally fragmented with very few diagnostic features left.

The clay pipe stems fragments were all very similar in size with one exception which was 9.96-11.98 mm in diameter (compared to between 4.69 and 6.74 mm for the other fragments). This wider pipe fragment can be dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century rather than the 18<sup>th</sup> century like the other fragments.

The glass finds are very limited in number and also very fragmentary. The partial base of an onion' bottle is the only datable fragment and fits in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The overall contribution to the understanding of the site by these artefacts is limited.

## 5. INTERPRETATION

Trenches 1 and 2 showed a very similar earthen feature in their vertical sections. Due to the shape and sequence of layers, and its spatial position, it can safely be assumed to be the moat of the earthen fort built under Jan van Riebeeck and his immediate successors.

To find first-hand information on the moat, its construction, workings and maintenance, archival records were consulted.<sup>17</sup> All extracts from these sources relating to the moat are collected in Appendix B.

The oldest drawings of the earthen fort date to 1653.<sup>18</sup> This plan (Vel 814, Fig. 1) and corresponding three-dimensional drawing of the lay out of the fort and the internal organisation were sent to the Netherlands by Van Riebeeck attached to a letter dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of April 1653.<sup>19</sup> These drawings also give a cross section of the moat and fort wall. Van Oers comments that “the amount of soil removed for the ditch is equal to the amount of material needed to construct the wall. An important detail, because this profile rather than the ground plan can be considered the actual engineering design for the fort”.<sup>20</sup> Maps and plans of 1654, 1656, probably 1660 and 1665 all depict the same positioning of the moat around the fort. It is mentioned in Van Riebeeck’s journal that ‘many large, hard clods of earth [...] as hard as rock, had to be hacked from the moats with picks and mattocks and used on the ramparts’.<sup>21</sup> The only section drawing of the moat different to this is Fig II in Ras 1959 in that she placed a so-called *onderwal* between the fort walls and the moat. She copied and adjusted two figures out of a manuscript from 1662.<sup>22</sup> It was not possible at this time to consult this original manuscript and verify these drawings. The *onderwal* was very typical for the Old Dutch style for fortifications but continued directly into a moat without a horizontal *berm* between it and the moat. Ras does not specify the width for the *onderwal* in the table part of her Fig II, but she does specify that the *berm* is 6 feet wide which corresponds very accurately with the section drawing on the plan of 1653. An *onderwal* is not mentioned in the original written sources at the Cape. It seems very unlikely that it was added later because that would have meant repositioning the entire moat, thus it can be assumed that a more theoretical than actual depiction of the situation is given in Ras’ section drawings.

The moat was included in improvements made to the security of the fort. These events were significant enough to be mentioned in the written sources. In August 1660, the year after the first war with indigenous people when it was realised that the gentle sloping earthen walls could easily be scaled, the palisade on top of the walls was renewed. But furthermore, the moat was deepened and widened; and an additional palisade was planned “round the berm, with its paling driven into the bed of the moat”.<sup>23</sup> From references to this palisade on other dates and in other sources, it would seem that this palisade was standing vertically on the horizontal plane of the *berm*. More improvements were mentioned by Zacharias Wagenaer in a letter to the Netherlands in 1666: “because in previous summers the moat stood dry and was blown full of dust and debris, and grass had started growing in it and it could be crossed barefoot, he has it currently made six feet wider and three feet deeper”.<sup>24</sup>

It is highly likely that the moat was impacted in the yearly recurring collapses of (sections of) the bastions and curtain walls during winter. But unlike the defensive alterations, these repairs to the moat are not specifically mentioned. Often it is only mentioned how long repairs

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<sup>17</sup> These records are: Böeseken 1966, 1973; Thom 1952 and the Resolutions of the Cape of Good Hope.

<sup>18</sup> Some authors are in doubt if these drawings are not a copy of the ones the *HeerenXVII* gave to Van Riebeeck instead of an actual depiction of the fort as laid out in reality. One can assume, however, that Van Riebeeck would not send back an exact copy of a map to his employers who he received the original from in the first place.

<sup>19</sup> Fitchett 1996, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Van Oers 2000, 113.

<sup>21</sup> Thom 1952, 2 August 1654.

<sup>22</sup> Ras 1959, 10-11 and footnote 6 of Chapter 2.

<sup>23</sup> Thom 1952, 27 August 1660.

<sup>24</sup> Böeseken 1973, 22 May 1666.

are expected to take and how many people would be needed for them. These repairs put such a burden on resources that regularly other projects had to be postponed. The last repairs were ordered and carried out in late 1672<sup>25</sup> – early 1673<sup>26</sup> when the earthen fort was referred to as a “mole’s hope”. In these last repairs a new, more cost effective solution was proposed in an attempt to keep the fort walls standing for longer.

The acclaimed design for Dutch forts worked well in the Netherlands where the fort walls could be built out of clay. In the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck found immediately that “[t]he ground was [...] so loose that firm walls could hardly be made with it”<sup>27</sup>. He tried to solve the problem by mixing in underwood and by covering the outside of the walls with grass sods which were cut in winter when the rain had made the soil softer.<sup>28</sup> These sods dried out and shrunk and did not offer much protection. After the first collapses of bastions and walls “[w]e now intend to rebuild it with laths, interwoven with rushes, two or three feet high”<sup>29</sup> in the hope that this would prevent the soil from washing out. A similar technique was also applied in Europe in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century: remains of stakes with twigs woven in between them were exposed during excavations in Ostend, Belgium in 1998-1999 of fortifications related to the Eighty Years’ War and more particularly the Siege of Ostend from 1601 to 1604.<sup>30</sup> Repairs were made in the same fashion every winter: mix in brush wood and cover with grass sods. On more than one occasion it was suggested to cover the walls of the fort with stone<sup>31</sup> but never was permission given or extra people sent out from the Netherlands. In 1672, a Resolution was taken to repair the old fort again, but now “because only half as many sods could be obtained as necessary to clad the walls from bottom to top, and that those sods, apart from having to be obtained, will also have to be transported here from more than half an hour away, it is suggested that instead of covering the entire fort with sods it would be covered with a solid stamped wall of *taijpaarde*, even more so as it will not only be more resilient than the sods, but will also be quicker due to the close proximity of the material”.<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 9) This would turn out to be the last major repair campaign to the earthen fort: in 1674 a letter arrived from the *HeerenXVII* instructing the demolition of the earthen fort.<sup>33</sup> Not all of the above described elements in the construction, defense and maintenance of the moat in relation to the fort could be recognized in the excavation.

Referring to the descriptions of the sections of the trenches earlier, it is discernable how several phases in the existence of the moat followed each other and how every subsequent phase cut through the previous.

The last phase is the most obvious: in both sections a large infill packet sits on top of a yellow clay embankment. (Figs. 4 and 5) In view of the above descriptions this infill can very likely be linked to the demolition of the earthen fort walls in 1674. The yellow clay in the sections is

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<sup>25</sup> The resolution from 27 October 1672 is translated below.

<sup>26</sup> Ras 1959, 32 and footnote 86 quotes from the Dagregister, 2 January 1673: Die werklui moes die ou Fort met ‘n “welgestampde muij van taijpaarde in plaets van d’ rondsom nedergestorte soodenwallen” voorsien. Dit het hulle tot Maart 1673 besig gehou.

<sup>27</sup> Thom 1952, 10 April 1652.

<sup>28</sup> Thom 1952, 3,4 & 5 July 1653.

<sup>29</sup> Thom 1952, 19 June 1655.

<sup>30</sup> Pieters *et al.* 1999/2000, fig 5.

<sup>31</sup> Already in 1655, the necessity of a stone fort was mentioned: Thom 1952, 10, 11 & 12 June 1655. As a comparison: at one spot in Ostend the wall body was covered in reed mats and had brick stones laid on top of that.

<sup>32</sup> Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. C. 8, pp. 56-61. (<http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>)

<sup>33</sup> Resolutions of the Council of Policy of Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa, C. 9, pp. 2-4. (<http://databases.tanap.net/cgh/>)

probably the same as the clay encountered in 1666 when the first foundations for the stone Castle were dug. Commander Wagenaer writes to the Netherlands that they “have started digging the foundation of the western bastion, 16 feet wide, finding in the first 3 feet of depth nothing but sand, underneath that a yellow clay-like soil, and then hard white clay to a depth of 11 ½ feet, under which a desired solid soil of grey pebbles and stones was disclosed ...”<sup>34</sup>

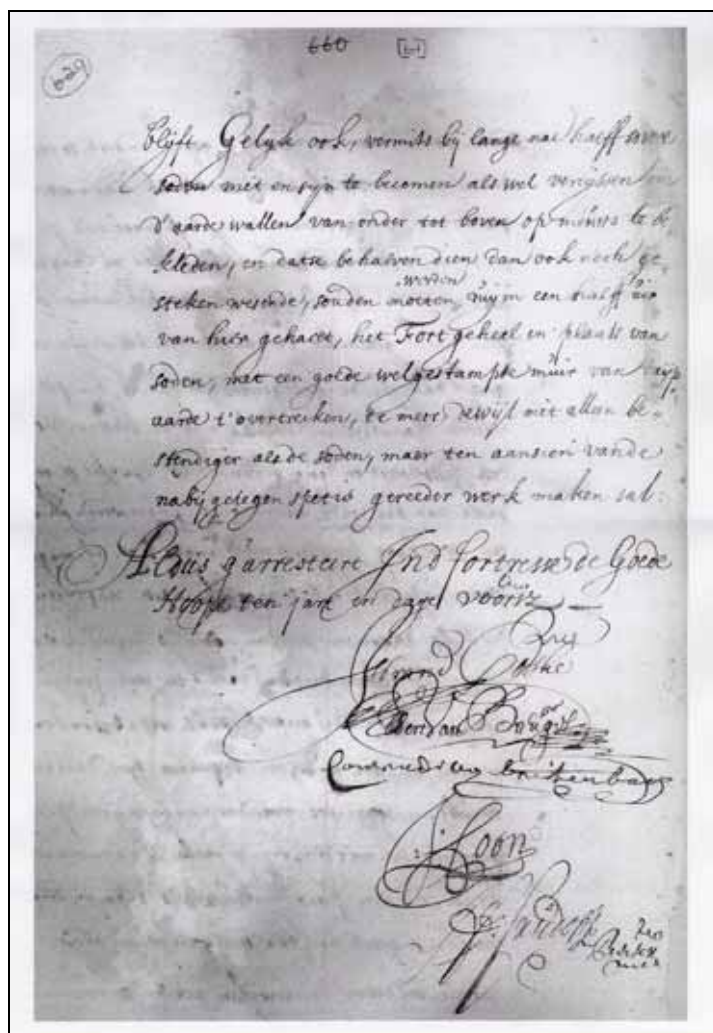


Figure 9: Resolution of 27 October 1762 (National Archive, Cape Town)

It is tempting to identify the yellow clay embankment as the *taijpaarde* referred to in the Resolutions (1672) and the *Dagregister* (1673), just predating the demolition of the fort walls. References put both the yellow clay and the *taijpaarde* in close proximity to the earthen fort. These two instances are the only times that the word *taijpaarde* was encountered and no certain explanation for it has been found so far. The exact word, or any variation on it, are not in the ‘Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal’ (WNT) which claims to include all words used in the Dutch language between 1550 and 1920. The WNT was searched differently then: because the yellow embankment is made up of clay, the heading ‘*klei*’ was searched and came up with the explanation “*kleit: verwant met Klei: verg. eng. dial. clayt en hd (16de e.) Kleit (D. Wtb 5, 1135). Klei, aarde die vet en taai is; als stofnaam, en in collectieven zin: grond die uit klei bestaat. In Vlaand’*”. The word ‘*i*’ is very similar to ‘*taijp*’ but the letter ‘*p*’ does

<sup>34</sup> Böeseken 1973, 22 May 1666.

not match. Because of this letter, the original Resolution was consulted at the archive to check if no mistakes were made during the transcription process, but the letter 'p' is most definitely part of the word.

Mrs Helena Liebenberg, an independent researcher, suggested "*dat dit dalk kan verwys na 'tjip' = tipe en 'aarde', of na 'taai aarde' = veengrond (wat die regte tipe grond vir die bou van die fortmure sou wees). In laasgenoemde geval kan die 'p' egter nie verantwoord word nie.*" Researchers of the Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie in Leiden, the Netherlands were approached and very generously offered their time. Mr Wortel was unable to find the exact word in the databases available and suggested the letter 'p' was a spelling mistake which could maybe lead back to the word 'taa'. According to the Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal, 'taa' is 'baie buigzaam, moeilik om te breek' (very pliable, difficult to break). It could thus make a sensible composition with 'aarde'. Mrs Mooijaert also pointed out that the letter combination – *aaip* or *-aip* is very unusual in Dutch. Also the phonetically similar *teip-* could not be found in databases. She tried to search the Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal, but it has not yet reached the letter T. Consultation of the Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal and some vocabulary lists came up with the word 'tjap'. 'Taip / taijp' would then be a metathesis. 'Tjap' means 'zegel' (seal) and 'tjapaarde' could then mean 'zegelaarde' or sealing earth. She notes that the oldest mention of 'tjap' as a noun is in 1752 (*sjap*) and as a verb (*tjappen*) in 1692 (*gechapt*). The word 'zegelaarde' is known in Dutch and refers to a kind of clay. The oldest mention of 'zegelaarde' in the Netherlands is 1721. These references to 'tjap' and 'zegelaarde' are much younger than the 'taijpaarde' found in the Cape archival sources so caution is advised.

The context of the yellow clay embankment matches the meaning of 'zegelaarde' but it could not be undoubtedly established. So, for now, securely dating the yellow clay embankment to 1672-73 is not possible, although likely.

In Trench 1 it would seem as if the yellow clay embankment cut through previously present layers; in Trench 2 the undercut lump of clay in Layer 13 would point to a situation where the moat had been wet and was not filled in before the yellow clay was deposited. Only small remnants of older moats have remained. Because the moat has been repaired, widened, deepened and generally reworked, none of these can be said to be the first moat. The absence of artefactual material would indicate that the moat was kept clean.

The original written sources give hardly any indication of how wide and deep the moat was. The 1653 drawing indicates that it was originally 12 feet wide and 10 feet deep. In August 1660, the moat was widened and deepened, but it is not indicated how much.<sup>35</sup> In May 1666, the moat was made 6 feet wider and 3 feet deeper.<sup>36</sup> This means that at the end of 1666, the moat would have been more than 5 meters wide and more than 3.68 meter deep. In the sections, the moat is only preserved to a depth of less than 2 meters: it would seem that the level of the Parade in this area has been lowered since 1674 and that the original surface level is no longer preserved. In the area of the Iziko excavations, however, the modern surface must have been closer to the original surface as a burial was excavated.

The width of the moat is very different between the two sections and also compared to the number obtained from archival sources. Careful plotting of the trenches and these sections on overlays may help understand the reason for this. Overlays, in conjunction with the information from the 1981 and 1991 excavations, may also help in locating the fort more accurately.

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<sup>35</sup> Thom 1952, 17, 18, 19 and 20 August 1660.

<sup>36</sup> Böeseken 1973, 22 May 1666.



**Figure 10: Overlays of different maps onto the present-day Parade**

A first attempt to more precisely locate the fort was halfway through the 20<sup>th</sup> century for the commemoration of the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck 400 years earlier. For this report, overlays were made on Google Earth, of the same maps (only the fort outline is represented, with one exception, see below). (Fig. 10) The dark blue outline represents the fort's position based on Vel 824 from 1660. For this report, no new overlay was made with this map because the stone Castle is not depicted and there is only a rudimentary outline of Heerestraat (Adderly Street). The 1950's overlay was probably based on the coastline (or at best, its assumed position).

The next map is Vel 825 from 1665. The purple outline is based on the 1950's overlay; the light blue outline is a new overlay made for this report. This new overlay is however based on a scanned photocopy which may have introduced some degree of error. The last map is Vel 828 of 1693. Of the earthen fort, only the *Kat* and the entrance of the front horn work are depicted. The red overlay was made in the 1950's; the orange elements represent the overlay made for this report. The overlays correspond relatively well with each other (the largest discrepancy is about 20 meters), with exception of the purple one.

The excavations of 1983 covered a larger area than this season's work; and the excavations of 1993 discovered a feature, the stone wall, which can be tied much better to the most detailed plan of the fort (Vel 814 from 1653) than a section of a moat which ran around the whole structure. An overlay was made of Vel 814 (fort outlined in yellow) over the present day Grand Parade, whereby the excavated wall is matched with the wall on the map and the yellow clay embankment was positioned on the berm or on the edge of the moat. (Fig. 11)

The trenches presented in this report can be positioned with gps-coordinates taken at the time of excavation (Fig 12, green lines, the gps coordinates for Trench 3 proved inaccurate so is not plotted). Additional coordinates were taken for the section drawings (Fig 12, brown lines). Furthermore, the yellow embankment in the first trench was measured in with a theodolite (Fig 12, crosses in the red oval, they coincide very much with the green line).

When these are all plotted together, there seems to be a small discrepancy, but not that big as to thwart interpretation.



Figure 11: Positioning Vel 814 (1653) based on the results of the Iziko excavations

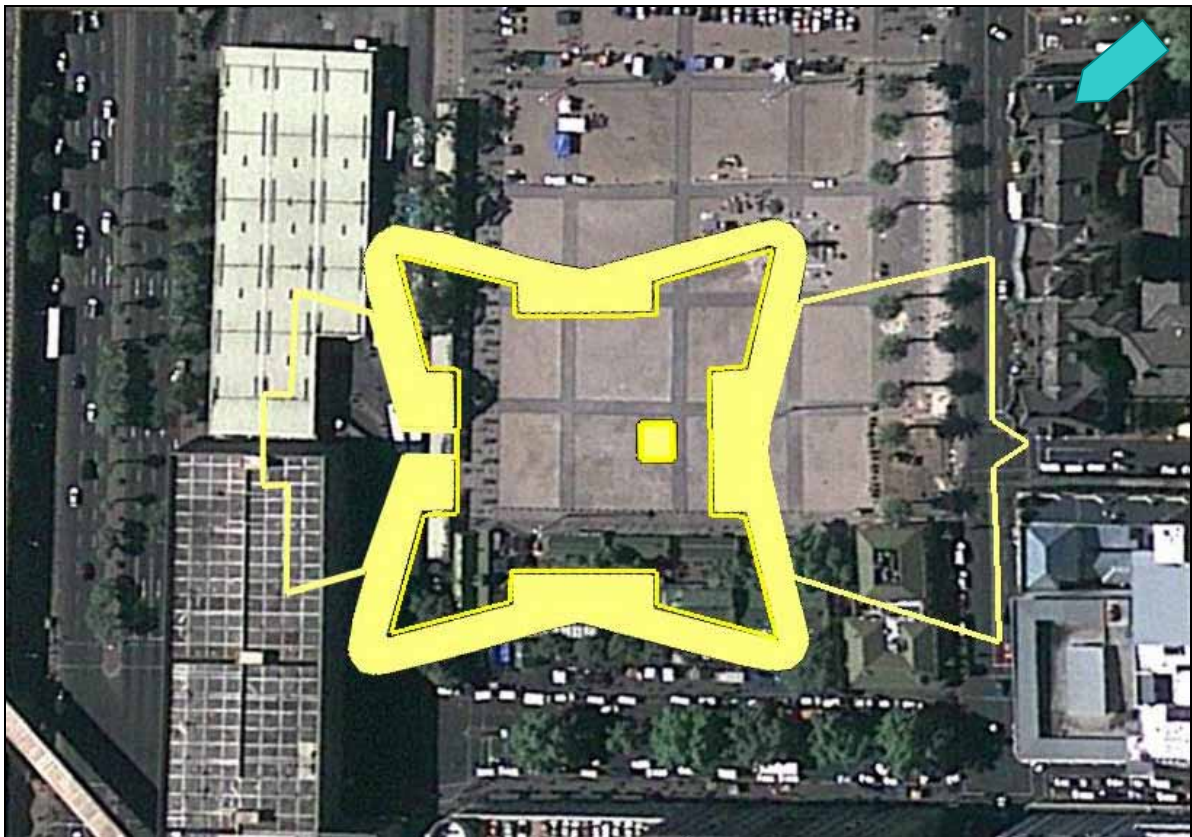


Figure 12: The location of the 2009 trenches in relation to previous overlays

The positions of the 2009 trenches fit very well with the suggested position of the fort based on the overlay of Vel 814 over the Iziko excavations (Fig 12, yellow outline). This position also explains the observation that the width of the moat is different in the sections of both trenches: trench 1 sits almost in a straight angle on the bastion, where trench 2 sits in between the fort wall and the bastion.

The position of the trenches on these overlays can also provide an explanation for the difference between trenches 1 and 2 on the one hand and Trench 3 on the other hand. Trenches 1 and 2 have a clear stratigraphy, as discussed higher; Trench 3 had a mostly natural stratigraphy. If the overlay of Figure 12 is followed, Trench 3 would be situated under rooms 'i' and 's' along the courtyard of the fort. An explanation could be found in the fact that the earthen fort was still standing while the construction for the stone Castle was ongoing. It could be assumed that the area around the Castle site, and thus also between the Castle and the earthen fort, was used as a "quarry" for soil. Since the earthen fort was still standing, the ground underneath it was left undisturbed. At least, that is, until the fort was broken down and the inner courtyard (raised by accumulation of occupational debris) was levelled to be brought to the same level as the rest of the grounds. This is promising for archaeological preservation of sunken structures (like the foundations of the *Kat* and the cellar which were dug into the soil in other areas of the inner courtyard. It would also be the best possible place to find tangible remains and artefacts of the first period of colonial occupation at the Cape, supported by the early clay pipe stem fragment and the fragment of the glass 'onion' bottle.

Figure 13 provides a view, relative to the present layout of the Grand Parade, of the full extent of the fort were it is believed to be positioned on the overlays discussed above.



**Figure 13: Estimated position of Van Riebeeck's fort relative to the present layout of the Grand Parade (indicated are the fort wall outline, the moat, the front and back hornworks and the Kat on the fort courtyard)**

## 6. CONCLUSION

The very limited archaeological intervention, both in time, resources and space, on the Grand Parade in central Cape Town in May 2009 has allowed to pinpoint at two places the moat of the earthen fort built by Jan van Riebeeck and his successor, Zacharias Wagenaer, between 1653 and 1674 under very difficult circumstances. To make the most of this information, thorough archival research was conducted, previous excavations were revisited and detailed overlays were made.

These efforts have led to an understanding of the history and construction of the moat for as far as possible with the documents at hand and the recording of events that happened at the time itself. A likely accurate date for one of the layers in the sections of the 2009 trenches can be proposed (the yellow embankment was most probably put in place in the first six months of 1673). Also, working with overlays, a very likely position for the fort can be proposed.

As important as these findings are, there are large lacunae that could not be filled during this intervention. The size of the excavation was too small to find a meaningful assemblage of cultural remains. It was also not possible to learn more about the actual construction of the fort. Although the archival research has given a written, contemporary account of this, it has not been possible to verify this with the archaeological record. The time and space allowed for excavation made it impossible to find out how much of the fort walls and inner courtyard is present.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

The excavation reported on here, and the excavations from the end of the last century, were very limited in scope and area, but nevertheless caused incremental impacts to the remaining structure of the fort. They resulted in individual pieces of a jigsaw puzzle without raising enough of the picture to a point of completion.

It is strongly recommended that in future, an archaeological intervention will be allowed the time, space and resources necessary to document this historically important structure in the best possible scientific way to prevent information loss by fragmentation. In short through nothing less than a substantive excavation of the fort footprint.

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<http://nl.wikipedia.org>

## **Appendix A: Grand Parade Report 2008**

By Hugo Pinto

In July 2008, two trenches were excavated along the Darling Street side of the Grand Parade. The first of these reopened a trench dug by members of the Archaeology Contracts Office (Dewar 2007). This trench, which was towards the east of the Darling Street side of the Parade was renamed Trench F for the purposes of the new study. The trench located at the more western point along Darling Street (roughly 22m south east of the Edward VII statue) was called Trench E.

### Trench F

This trench reopened the southern portion of 2007's Trench D – named Trench Da in that report. No new deposits were excavated, and the only purpose of the trench was to relocate the wall in order to obtain survey points on it and establish its position. The wall was re-exposed, located 1.9m from the northern edge of the Darling Street pavement (i.e. from the bollard line) and at an approximate depth of 1m (Figures 1 and 2).



**Figure 1:** Close up view of the North facing wall in Trench F. The lowest service pipe is visible directly above the wall. 1m scale



**Figure 3:** North facing wall in Trench F. Note the position of the service pipes above the wall. 1m scale



**Figure 3:** A view to the north of trench E showing the gas pipes (007) in the foreground and the power cable and its rock backfill (004) beyond them. 1m scale

## Trench E

This trench was excavated to 1m wide and 2.9m long, roughly perpendicular to Darling Street (i.e. in a north/south direction). The northwest corner of the trench is located approximately 22m from the outer paving around the base of the Edward VII statue on the Parade.

The top 35-40cm of the trench consisted of paving cobbles (context 001) bedded in white sand, the lowest layer of which was well compacted (context 002). Below this bedding layer was a makeup layer of road metal in grey, gritty gravel (context 003). This makeup layer in turn overlay a dark brown layer of silty sand (context 006) which was cut by the trench of a power cable (cut 005, filled by 004). The cut for this trench truncated two further service trenches (cuts 008 and 010). The more southerly of these two trenches (cut 008) contained possible gas pipes (fill 007) and was cut into yellow clay (context 015) (Figure 3). The deeper and more northerly of the service trenches (cut 010, filled by 009) truncated the gas pipe trench (cut 008) and cut through a series of deposits which were also overlain by the dark brown silty sand (context 006). These deposits consisted of a red-brown silty sand (context 011), a mid-brown silty sand (context 012), a red sand (context 013) and a mottled yellow-green sand (context 014). This last context was our deepest layer and still contained archaeological material (one shell). We did not excavate this layer beyond 10cm (Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** A view of the west facing section of Trench E, north of the wall (016)

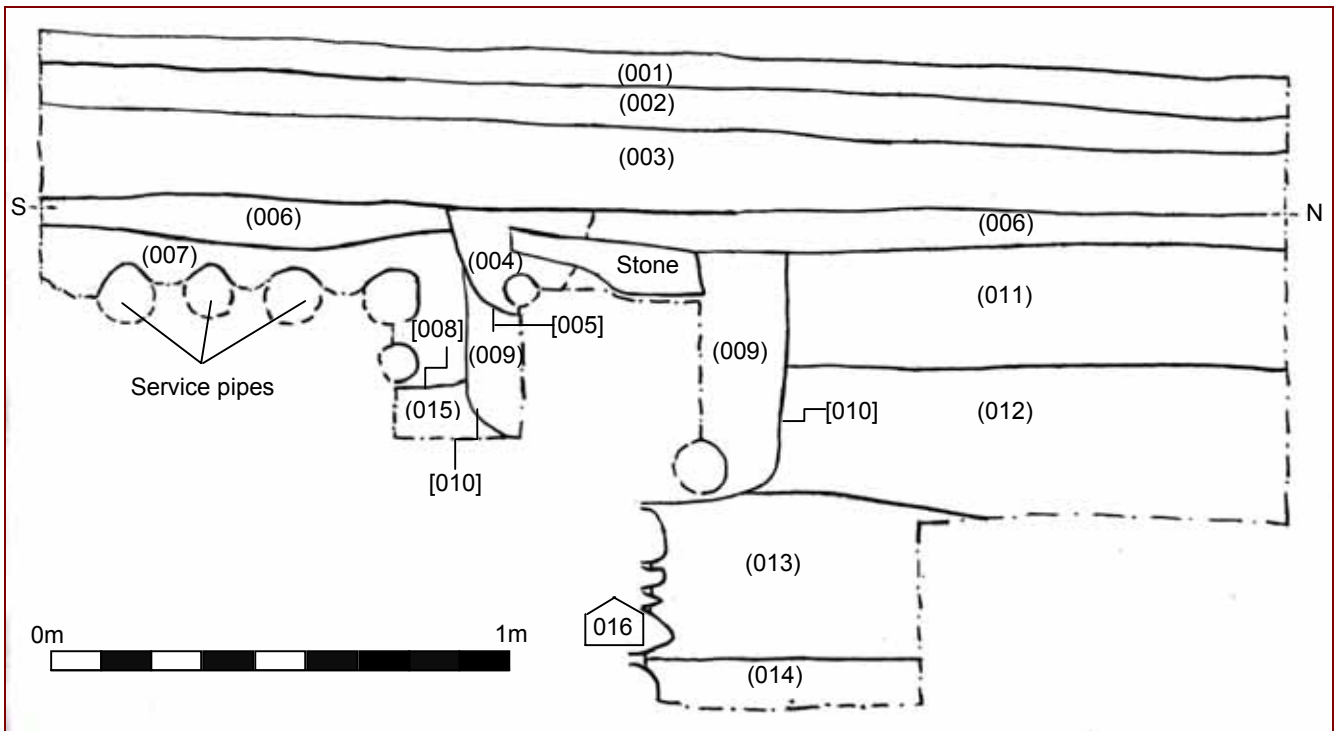


**Figure 5:** A view facing south of the wall in Trench E. Note the proximity of the service pipes to the wall. 1m scale



**Figure 6:** A close-up view to the south of the wall in Trench E. 0.5m scale

The wall (structure 016) was located at 1.8m from the Darling Street bollard line and at 1m below the present cobbled surface (Figures 5 and 6). The wall was directly beneath the deepest pipe trench (cut 010). Stones from the wall which were displaced by this truncation (Figure 3) were used as part of the backfill (fill 009) of the pipe trench (cut 010). The red sand (context 013) and the mottled yellow green sand (context 014) were the only layers physically abutting the wall.



**Figure 7:** East facing section through Trench E. Scale 1:10

### Context Record:

Context Number	Relationship	Description
(001)	O (002)	Paving cobbles
(002)	OB (001) O (003)	White sand bedding layer for cobbles
(003)	OB (002) O (004)	Road gravel and grey grit
(004)	OB (004) FO [005]	Fill of service trench [005] includes redeposited stones from wall (016)
[005]	FB (004) CUTS (006)	Cut of service trench for power cable
(006)	CUT BY [005] O (009)	Dark brown silty sand
(007)	CUT BY [010] FO [008]	Fill of service trench [008]
[008]	FB (007) CUTS (015)	Cut of service trench for possible gas pipes
(009)	OB (006) FO [010]	Fill of service trench [010]
[010]	FB (009) CUTS (011)	Cut of service trench which truncates trench [008]
(011)	CUT BY [010] O (012)	Red-brown silty sand
(012)	OB (011)	Mid-brown silty sand

	O (013)	
(013)	OB (012) O (014)	Red sand
(014)	OB (013) ABUTTS (016)	Mottled yellow-green sand
(015)	CUT BY [008]	Yellow clay cut by [008]
(016)	ABUTTED BY (014)	Inner canal wall truncated by [010]

### References:

Dewar, G. 2007. Report on the archaeological investigation of the canals at the Grand Parade, erf 4651. Unpublished report for Cape Town Partnership and the City of Cape Town.

## Appendix B: Archival chronology on the moat of the earthen fort built under Jan van Riebeeck and his immediate successors.

Extracts from:

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François Valentyn, 1726, Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop met de zaaken daar toe behoorende, Amsterdam, p 86. (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town 1971)

**10 April 1652:** Early in the morning Riebeeck went ashore, where the men have been put to work with shovels, spades, picks, mattocks and wheel barrows. The ground was found to be so loose that firm walls could hardly be made with it. Although much underwood is worked into the soil, we fear that it will be washed away by heavy rains unless we find ground suitable for rods which could be stacked on the outside; for this we shall search one of these days when the more necessary work is underway.

**13 April 1652:** ... on land work was continued on the fortification which, owing to the looseness of the soil, will have to be made firm with sods for the rainy season. For this purpose enough suitable land has been discovered, but because of the severe dryness it is still too hard to cut them.

**29 April 1652:** The northern point has to-day not yet reached the 4 feet mark owing to the hardness of the earth excavated from the ditch. Meanwhile the work of excavating the cellar of the dwelling house and store is proceeding steadily, ...

**30 April 1652:** With skipper Hooghsaet, in the excavated cellar, we laid the first stone of the supports upon which the pillars of the storehouse and dwelling will be placed.

**23 July 1652:** A strong wall of clay and heavy stone about 2 ½ feet thick and 8 feet high, intended for a kitchen, has completely collapsed as a result of the heavy and excessive infiltration of water.

**24 May 1653:** the east point named Walvis was brought almost to its required height to-day. Hope next week to tackle with fresh courage the west point, which is about 4 feet high at present, and with God's help to bring it to the required height before the end of June. Meanwhile the ground will be sufficiently softened by the rain for sods to be cut; for some time now it has been too dry to raise the said bastions any further and make them strong and permanent with sods as has been done with the whole fort, two bastions of which, at diagonally opposite corners, are now enclosed and adequately protected.

**3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> July 1653:** Yesterday the last soil was brought on to the point Oliphant, so that the entire fort and all four points have now been raised with earth to their full height. All that remains to be done is to strengthen the 2 points Walvis and Oliphant with sods on the outside to prevent erosion by the rain. Hope to complete this also within a few days, and then further to level the squares inside and the berm etc. outside the fort, which are rather uneven and hummocky at present.

**2<sup>nd</sup> August 1654:** Fine weather and wind as before. To-day the point *Walvis* fell in on one side and also the embankments at a few other places, as a result of the excessively heavy rains we have had for some days now. One of the main reasons why it caved in is the fact that, in view of the English war, the walls were raised rather hurriedly last season with many large, hard clods of earth. These, as hard as rock, had to be hacked from the moats with picks and mattocks and used on the ramparts. In the circumstances no time could be spared to break them into pieces, but now, as a result of all the rain, they are getting soft and breaking up. By building it up well with twigs and branches, we intend to raise the ramparts anew so that we hope there will be no danger of the same thing happening again. This work will take about a month or 6 weeks at the most.

**2<sup>nd</sup> April 1655:** The masonry is proceeding apace, so that we are hoping to have completed with brick by next year all dwellings and storehouses, guard-houses, etc., inside the fort. These were constructed of light wood from the fatherland, but are becoming very dilapidated.

**10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> June 1655:** (The same rainy weather and wind as before) as a result of which five roods of the embankment at the hind curtain of the fort caved in and subsided. Apparently this is going to be an annual occurrence, as the immense quantity of water that falls here during such extra-ordinarily heavy downpours threatens to wash away almost everything that stands upright. In the course of time it will become necessary to build a stone fort, which could be done gradually if only more horses were provided; ... .

**19<sup>th</sup> June 1655:** (very boisterous, rainy and windy, again from the N.W.) with exceptionally heavy downpours, as a result of which the back curtain of the fort (a part of which caved in on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant) has entirely collapsed from the one point to the other. We now intend to rebuild it with laths, interwoven with rushes, two or three feet high.

**7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July 1656:** Stormy weather and wind as before. Such continuous and heavy rain fell that the whole Table Valley looked like the open sea, the lands and gardens being all inundated and much of them washed away. The embankment of the old works of the fort has also collapsed in three places as a result of the rain, and it will take at least two months to repair the damage. But we shall then raise it with stakes and fencing, interweaving it with grass, as was done last year with the back curtain, which is firmly overgrown and has remained standing.

**9<sup>th</sup> September 1656:** all the men were sent to the forest to fetch some of the prepared palisades to be planted again in the ramparts thrown up all round the fort, as many of the old

ones have decayed and are collapsing. Harder wood is accordingly now being used to reduce the frequency of replacement, as the old poles only lasted three years. ...

**17 October 1657:** ... to undertake the digging and the damming of the river next week with the help of the masons and all other available hands, for the purpose of altering its course. It will then run on the NW side at a distance of 15 roods behind the kraal above the fort and enter the sea on the SE side far enough from the fort.

**Woensdagh den 17e October ao. 1657.** Reference code: C. 1, pp. 258-260

Ende nademael door 't affsteecken van dese luiden boven genoempt met gaders oock die noch nodigh met 't Robbejacht moeten mede gaen na de baj Saldanha &a. ten fine in onse resolutie van gister genarreert, wij ons vrij swack vinden om alles gaende te houden, de wijle oock al de timmerluiden aen Comps. Corenschuijr [4] in 't landt mede besich sijn om deselve in der haest af te maken tot berginge van het coren waer aen noch wel 4 1/2 maenden werck is, ende jegenwoordich de handen hier oock soo vol hebben aen de reparatie van 't forts wallen, stormpalen, geschuts-beddingen te vernieuwen, boven ons thuijnwerck ende landtbouw &a., Soo is verstaen het metselwerck gelijk het werck aen 't hoofft mede voor een wijle tijdt gansch ende gaer te staecken ende d' aenstaende weecke (voorsz reparatie afgedaen wesende) met de metselaers ende alle andre te practiseeren hulpe te vallen, aen 't graven ende dammen van de reviere om die van de Nieuw Westcandt *vijfthien* roeden achter 't *crael boven* [5] 't fort om te leijden ende deselve aen de zuijt oost cant ver genoeg besijden 't fort heen in zee te laten loopen, vermits deselve jegenwoordich dicht bij 't hoofft heen loopende, daer aen door 't schuijren der groote affwateringh in de regentijt veel hinder ende schade doet, welcke achterom leijdinge, met eenen dan oock sal strecken tot te meer versterckinge van 't fort, als sullende dan rontsom behalven voor aen de zeecandt een dubbelde gracht hebben, die voor 't affspoelen van onder de grondt met rijs ende tacken getuijnt, gestaeckt ende geschoeijt: mitsgaders d' op te werpen aerde buijtenwaerts geleght worden, als een conterscharp [6] om binnen 't selve tusschen de loopende reviere ende 't forts grachten oock Comps. bestiael te verseeckerder ende ruijmer, nodigh te bewaren &a.

**16 August 1659:** 'as the earthworks of the fort have only a gentle slope, so that they can easily be scaled, particularly by these nimble Hottentots, and many of the stakes of the palisade which have stood there for a long time, are rotting away and could therefore very easily be broken down if stormed, it has been agreed to erect a strong stockade around the fort on the berm, to strengthen defences. The stockade shall consist of spars 8 feet long, 4 inches wide and 2 inches thick, like those used for the cattle kraal. In order that the work may proceed apace, the free sawyer Leendert Cornelissen of Sevenhuijsen at a rate of 3 stivers each, including the sharpening of their tops, provided that they are brought to the fort by wagons of the free burghers at the Company's expense.'

**Saterdagh den 16en Angustij ao. 1659.** Reference code: C. 2, pp. 44-45

Nademael de eerde wallen van 't fort, mits de scheuijnheijt van deselve gemackelijck cunnen opgelopen worden, insonderheijt van dese rappe Hottentoots &a., ende de stormpalen langen

tyt daer in gelegen hebbende, oock veele al wat vergaen sijn, die daeromme gansch licht bij entreprinse [1] te breecken soude wesen, Soo is verstaen tot meerder versterckinge van 't fort een stercke staketsel rondtsom onder op de barm te stellen van sporten 8 voeten langh, 4 duym breedt ende 2 duym dick gelijk 't crael voor de beesten gemaect is, welcke sporten dan om dat werck oock al ten eersten te laten voortganck nemen, den vrij-houdtsager Leendert Cornelisz van Sevenhuysen sijn aenbesteet tot 3 stuijvers 't stucq te sagen ende boven scherp te maecken mits men deselve op Comps. costen door vrijel. wagens sal laten thuijs halen.

**17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> August 1660:** Nothing noteworthy happened, except that work went on apace daily on the rebuilding of the ramparts of the fort, which are old and have collapsed as a result of the heavy rains this season. The men were also working on the widening and deepening of the moat and making a dam wall in the river below the bastion Reijger, the object being to dam up the water there and lead it round to the fort. This is in accordance with the first order of Our lords and Masters issued to the Commander Riebeeck in *anno* 1651 when he left the Fatherland. When there is a good depth of water, the intention is also to use taps and chutes to draw this fresh water from the dam, which is close to the jetty, and lead it into casks.

**25<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> August 1660:** a resolution setting a reward-system in place to make the men work harder on the repairs of the fort.

**Donderdag den 26en Augustij 1660.** Reference code: C. 2, pp. 153-154

Naademael door den extraordinairen regen dit saijsoen meer als oijt te vooren staande Comps. residentie alhier gevallen, het eerste oude werck van des forts wallen (noch sonder houdt ende gevlochten thuijwerck gelijk nu geschiet, beset sijnde) meest altemaelen is coomen neder te storten, invougen daaraen al een lange wijle groot ende veel wercx voor 't volck is geweest, ende noch blijft aenhouden, behalven oock het noodig verwijden der grachten ende besettinge des waeters, met twee stijve stercke dammen, onder de reijgerspunt onderhanden genoomen: omme conform de gelaeten ordre van Myn Heere Sterthemius (op ons verthoonde project) aldaer met beter gemack ende minder spillinge ofte breecken der vaaten, door 't volck der aencomende schepen heel suiwer, schoon ende claer gesoncken water te cunnen laeten haelen, ende alsoo met eenen tot voldoeninge der medegegeven instructie onser Heeren Majores uijt 't vaderlant aen den Commandeur Riebeeck 't waeter rontsom in des forts grachten te leijden ende op te stutten, bij 't leggen deser versz dammen ende verlaten daerdoor, met den minsten arbeit ende costen best doenlijck &a.,

Soo is bij den Raadt overwogen de veele swaere moijelijkheden, van al dat werck ende 't waernemen der posten ende wachten bij nacht, al met eenen mede na overlegh van saacken goetgevonden: om het gem. werck te eerder te spoedigen ende 't volck daerinne wat meer aen te moedigen, te stellen verscheijde percken, om tot daer gearbeijt sijnde, haer als dan telckens (verstaende die aen voorsz extraordinaris werck der wallen ende grachten arbeijden) te laeten tracteeren met een vat van 't beste gebrouwen bier, ende een vette maeltijt ofte croeg (soo 't den gemeenen man noemt) ende wanneer 't alles sal weesen

g'absolveert, ijder van deselve boven d' ordinaires leeningen te verstrecken een maantgelt in contant op reeck., boven noch een generale vereeringe van twee hondert guldens, voor deselve extraordinaires arbeijders *benefens 2 mael daegs warme cost ende 's middags vleijs, vis of 't wes anders te krijgen ende 1/2 lb. rijs yder boven hun ordinaire rantsoen brooden ende costgelt &a. te laeten schaffen soo lang tot versz werck sal g'absolveert wesen.* [1]

**27<sup>th</sup> August 1660:** The wet, foul and stormy weather continues. This caused the southern end of the Walvis Bastion also to cave in and collapse completely. It was, however, part of the original construction .... Any damage is thoroughly repaired and on top of the walls we are planting stout, thick, burnt palisades of hard, durable iron-wood, which will prevent the scaling of the earth walls which have to be sloping. This is also the reason why a strong stockade is planted round the berm, with its paling driven into the bed of the moat.

**26 May 1662:** ... Naer de middag is de wall en de gor]dine tusschen de poort ende [de keel] van de punt Walvisch van [buijten] neer gestort. Tot weder oprechting van deselve is de nodighe order gestelt.

#### Letter to the *Heeren XVII*, 10 Augustus 1662

... Aangaende dese u EEdn. fortresse daer in staet tegenwoordigh alles tot deffentie (gelijck hier boven verhaelt hebben) fix en veerdigh, maer 't geduijrhig neer storten van de aerde wallen, door 't inwateren van harde regens, geven ons met deselve weder op te setten soo veel werck dat bij wijlen daarmede schier geen doorcomen aensien, ende wanneer alsulcke groote stucken, met halve gardijnen en pallisaden, 'tseffens (gelijck noch onlangs geleden bevonden hebben) soo plotselijck comt te vallen, dringht die swaerte van binnen tegen 't staket off heck dat beneden ront om de berm staet soo crachtigh aen dat 'et selve daer van gebroocken off tot in de gracht toe overbogen wort, bij welck geval dan alles bloot en soo lange voor ijder een open leggen moet, tot dat daeraen 't vereijste redres gedaen zij. De arbeit, die hier toe besteet wort, is tegenwoordigh wel licht met dese Chrij<g>s-lieden te doen, maer de nieuwe zooden die met gehuerde vrachtwagens t' elckens moet aengebracht warden, comen veel te staen, de wijle geen van alsulcke wagens, daer vier ossen voor gespannen warden, minder al seen Reael 's daeghs becomen cunnen ende menighe dach daer voor 10, 12 en meer Reaelen is comen te bedragen, 't welck langer soo doende, d' E.Compe. al vrij wat lastigh vallen sal. Om dan alsulcke gevaerlijckheden, costen, moeijte en geduijrige arbeit voortaan wech te nemen en niet meer onderworpen te wesen, wensten wij wel hertelijck dat dese vestingh rontom mochte in steen geleijt en also uijt de gracht tot boven aen de borstweringh toe opgehaelt warden, waerdoor deselve niet alleen van binnen merckelijck meer ruimte voor onse al te bekrompen pachuijsen gewinnen con, maer oock een goet vast en e<e>uwighdurend' wreck geven souw, 't welck onses bedunckens onder u EEd. Wijser oordeel gesprocken, sonder merckelijke costen daer aen te spenderen wel con ondernomen warden, te meer ons geen dienstige materialen hier toe voornamelijck bequame schilfferachtige steenen ontbreecken souden, want wij wonen tusschen steen, en hebben altijt steen bij ons, voor ons, achter ons, onder ons, boven ons, ja waer men sigh went of draijt, 't is over al gelijck als met steen besaaijt.

p 48-51, C 494, deel I, pp. 142-151

*Eenige poincten offte vragen den Hr. Zacharias wagenaer, Commandeur alhier aen d' Cabo de Goede Hoop voorgehouden door den Commissaris Huijbert de Lai Resse, om daer op in 't corte bericht te mogen hebben en daer van t' sijner tijt d' Hrn Meesters achtervolgens sijn commissie behoerlijck genouchginge te cunnen geven.*

Eerstelijck: Hoedanigh het met den bastandigheijt van 't Fort gelegen, ende hoeveel volck tot besettinge jegenwoordigh daertoe van noden is.

1: Dese Fortesse, genaemt de Goede Hoop, is onlangs geleden op verscheijde plaetsen verbeterd ende de neergestorte wallen met nieuwe pallisaden en verse zoden daerop te brengen, weder gerecht, mitsgaders de vier punten, geheeten Oliphant, Walvis, Drommedaris en Reijger, hebben wij nu met dubbelt geschut versien en deur plaets van vier op ijder derselver 8 bequame stucken gebracht, invoegen de gemelte Fortesse tegenwoordigh rontom 32 stucken versien blijft, en overall in goede posture van defentie staet. De besettinge ... In 't Fort de Goede Hoop aen d' Cabo de Boa Esperance, den **15den September ao. 1662.** (Was geteijckent) Zacharias Wagenaer.

Letter to the Heeren XVII, **16 Maj 1663**

... Dat ons EEden. Op onse gedaene voorstel hebben gelieven toe te staen en te authoriseeren dese fortresse rontom uijt de gracht met steen op te halen, sal insgelijckz behoorelijck in acht genomen werden: maer wij mogen dat groote wreck dit, en meugelijck het toecomende jaer, daer bij wel geheel uijt onsen sin stellen, ten aensien nu eerst te recht zijn comen te bevinden dat ander en noodiger wercken (die wij alle bij onse voorige groote brief genoemt hebben) dienen voor te gaen.

**Woensdag 23 Maj ao. 1663.** Reference code: C. 2, pp. 342-349

Onder verscheijde nootsaeckelijcke timmeragien off bouwercken, die soo wel binnen als bujten dese fortresse vereijsschen met den eersten (nu de meeste schepen vertrocken zijn) ter hant genomen te werden, vinden wij voornamentlijck drie derselver die boven alle andere dienen geprefereert, soo als onlangs geleden d' E. Heer Harmen Klencke van Odessen gedeligeerde jongste Commissaris alhier oock bekend gemaect, en van sijn E. daertoe volcomen last en ordre ontfangen hebben namentlijck:

De waterplaets hier bujten aen de westzijde dicht onder 't fort gelegen sal eerst uijt de gront met klipsteen 4 roeden breed ende 16 dos. diep dienen opgehaelt, en wijders op die muur rontom een borstweer van gebacken steen gebracht te werden om voor te comen dat geen beesten daeruijt meer drincken off daer door swemmen cunnen, oversulcx sal in plaets van de oude houte sluijs (daer geduerig aen te stellen zij) een met steen verwulffde do. van drie voeten wijt, en een weijnigh dieper moeten werden geleijt, opdat de doorstromende beeck te beter schot maken en alle vuylijgheyt mede wegh nemen kan, als wanneer wij dan oock na voltrocken werck willen vertrouwen, dat alle de aencomende schippers voor haer volck klaerder drinckwater scheppen, ende haer dieswegen niet meer te beclagen hebben sullen.

Het tweede werck is, dat hier binnen op de Cat de oude gedreve-solder [1] off sael recht over s' Comps.-vivres magazijn met gebackte steentjes sal dienen gevloert en bedeckt te werden, eenelijck uijt vrese dat met tabackzuijgen ('t welck van de Hottentoosen die ons vee toebrengen veel geschiet) eenigh vuer door de spleten vallende, light een groote brant

veroorzaken moght, dewijle alle onse brandewijn en veel ander brand vaerdigh goet daerin gebracht en geborgen word.

Het derde en grootste werck vinden wij mede hier bujten recht voor de Poort van 't fort, met wedersijts nieuwe wooninghen voor al het arbeidsvolck, en voornamelijck een groter sieckenhuijs, mitsgaders een ruijmer smits-winckel, en een gemeene combuijs van gebacken Steen uijt de gront hecht en sterck op te rechten, ten aensien de oude huijsen, met een enckel steentje en kleij-aerde light opgemetselt en met riet gedeckt wesende, tegenwoordig nu soo leelijck van wint en regen doorboort en vervallen staen, dat langer geen siecke noch gesunde menschen, droogh daerin rusten cunnen, ende oversulcx noch alle oogenblick voor deselve schijnen een ongelucki[ge] val te dreijgen. Edoch dewijle wij tot al sulcken hoognodigen redres hierin niet cunnen treden, voor en aleer 't hoorn off gemeenelijck 't voorwerck genoemt [2] (daer dese bouw-vallige huijskens in begrepen staen) 3 off 4 roeden verder uijtgeseth en nader aen de zeestrant gebracht wort (gelijck ons sulcx verleden jaer door den E. Riebeeck, en naderhandt oock door d' heer Commissaris Lairesse eerst voorgeslagen en hiertoe aenleijdinge gegeven is) principael uijt die insighten op dat wij door dit middel die op te setten twee rijgen [3] laege huijsen souden insgelijcx beth na voren connen brengen, om alsoo meer ruijmtte achter aen de gracht (die om dit fort loopt) te gewinnen op dat die nieuw te maken woningen aen dit fort (soo 't mogt met steen opgehaelt werden, gelijck onse Ede. Heeren Principalen tegenwoordigh daertoe schijnen t' inclineren) noch oock aen de gemelte gracht (soo die most werden breder gemaect) naderhant egeenen hinder mocht comen te geven.

Ende alhoewel wij aenvanckelijck gesint waren hierover alleen 't advijs van voorn. onse E.E. Heeren Meesters al voren behorelijck aff te wachten gelijck ons oock gemte. Heere Klencke daertoe aengeraden heeft, Soo hebben wij echter naderhant bevonden dat die vervallene ondienstige huijsen langer geen wachten noch uijtstellen cunnen lijden, gemerckt deselve niet alleen met geen stutten en stijlen van bujten en binnen langer over eijnt off staende te houden zijn, maer omdat oock de gemeene combuijs in 't gemte. voorwerck dicht aen 't staquet staende nu t' eenemael onder de voet leggende sulcken openingh gemaect heeft dat tegenwoordigh een ijder van bujten daerdoor in en uijtgaen kan, Soo is 't dat naer voorgaend' goet beraet, en behoorlijck overlegh, hierin als nu eenparig verstaen geresolveert en vastgesteld hebben, dat wij uijt die gants nootsakelijcke insigten 't veelgemelte hoorn off voorwerck deser fortresse drie roeden verder uijtwaert off nader aen de zeestrant brengen sullen als wanneer dan oock de gemt. op te rechten nieuwe huijsen, dies te gevoeggelijcker daernaer sullen cunnen gedirigeert, en op de ver-eijschte maet behorelijck verdeelt werden. Tot dien eijnde sullen 't selve met den eersten door onsen lantmeter en fiscael Hendrick Lacus laten affsteken, en daerop met alle omsigtigheijt in Godes Name daarmede *soodanigh* [4] voortgaen, als haer Ede. in 't Patria bij onse messive van 6 April jongstleden aengecundight hebben.

Boven dese vooraengetogen noodige bouw-wercken, soude oock wel wijders hier in 't fort aen de rijge steene huijsen die aen de west zijde ofte slincker hant van des Commandeurs wooningh Staen een merckelijcke verbeteringh vereijsschen ten aensien de mueren (die daer en hier over al nauwelijcx met half doorbacken steen en leem opgebouwt zijn) van de jongste swaere slagregens boven onder 't dack soo doorweijckt hebben bevonden, dat de dwarsbalcken wedersijts daerop rustende, merckelijck daarvan zijn comen neer te sacken ende omdat oock het swaere steene dack nootsakelijck heeft moeten volgen, heeft sulcx boven aen de vorst een diepe keep en over al sulcken leckte veroorsaect dat bij regentyt 't water als met emmers doorgestort wort, Invougen den boeckhouder Sr. Gabbema in sijn comptoir, noch den kranckbesoecker (die met vrouw en kinderen daeronder woont) haer niet

alleen qualijck langer daervoor connen bergen: maer loopen oock perijcul dat met 'et neerstorten van 't selve swaere dack altemael om hals raken sullen, ende alhoewel de gemelte woonhuijsen, sonder vertoeven bijna geheel behoorden vernieuwt en hoger opgetrocken off ten minsten met een geheel nieuw dack versien te werden, soo cunnen evenwel daeraen omdat ons tijt en gelegentheyt ontbreeckt, nu niet met allen doen, maer sullen in dit natte mousson noch soo lange moeten blijven staen, totdat ons hiertoe beter opportunitijt voorcomen sal; ondertusschen sullen evenwel besorgen dat soo veel bequaem timmerhout in 't bos uijtgesocht, en bij de wercke gebracht wort als daertoe van noode wesen sal.

*Aldus gedaen ende geresolveert in 't fort de Goede Hope ten dage ende jare als boven.*

*Z. WAGENAER.*

*ABRAHAM GABBEMA. 1663.*

*HENDR. LACUS.*

**17 August 1663:** ... Des avonts omtrent half ses is aen de westsijde van de poort van dir Fort voor van de punct de Oliphant een groot stuck van de wal met de borstwering en al de stormpalen comen neerstorten, waer op 't gat boven terstont met een staket hebben laten besluijten also voor tegenwoordigh 't vereijschte redres daer aen niet can gedaen worden.

**20 August 1663:** ... Daerenboven sagen hier oock in 't Fort dat in de verleden nacht de aerde wallen op drie plaetsen weder neergestort lagen, sulcx wij nu over all de handen sullen volhebben en soo weijnigh niet te herstellen vinden.

p59-62: C. 700, pp. 149-159.

*Memorie voor den E.Commandeur Zacharias Wagena[er] om sich daer na voor eerst en tot naerder ordre uijt het Patria off van Batavia te reguleren.*

... Bij die occasie dat nu spreekken van 't Fort in steen op te halen, segge dat voor als noch soo nodich niet te sijn, off kan wel uijtstel lijden, soo dat andere wercken als de smits en wagenmaekerswinck[el], timmerhuijs, combuijs, spijckerhuijs, en daer 't cleijn touwerck in gebercht wordt, dienen voor te gaan, als wesende de meeste van een noodtwendicheijt als het sieckenhuijs. ...

In 't Fort de Goede Hoope aen de Caep de Bonne Esparance, **den 7en September 1663.**

P.A. Overtwater

**25 September 1663:** ... Soo [hebben wij oock van dage begonnen een stellingh off steijger binnen 't] Fort van beneden tot boven op de wall op te rechten om aerde en soode met kruijwagens daer boven te brengen om daer mede dese wallen (die door de jongste harde stortregens op diversche plaetsen geschent en onder de voet geworpen sijn) weder over ent te setten. ...

**28 September 1663:** Des achtermiddags heft 'et weder soo hard [begonnen over de Tafelbergh te stormen] dat ons arbeijs-volck (die tegenwoordigh besigh sijn om de vervallen

wallen met aerde sodden weder op te setten) mosten uijtscheijden, also qualijck van 't stof dat haer in 't gesicht woelij, conden sien.

#### Letter to the *HeerenXVII* **21 November 1663**

... De langhdurige sware regen die in 't verlopen mousson gehad hebben, heeft jongst in Augusto en Spetember de aerde wallen van dese fortresse op vijff off ses plaetsen principalijck wederzeyts van de poort voor aen beijde de punten al weder soo geschent en onder de voet geworpen, als van te vooren noch oijt gesien zij, gelijk de veelgemelte Heeren Overtwater, Van Hoorn ende Cops met de beyde sergiant majoors van de Laen en Slooth, verscheyde malen daerom wandelende, alsoo selffs bevonden hebben.

Ende gemerckt wij uijt dit guarnisoen eerst 11 man die na Madagascar ende naderhant noch 17 ditos die lantwaert in vertrocken zijn, sijn 't samen 28 coppen, comen te missen, cunnen u Eede. licht erachten wat voortganch dit nodige herstellen met soo weijnigh volck moet gehad hebben. Echter om die gantsch noodige arbeit beter schot te doen hebben, heeft ons d' Hr. Overtwater vergunt ontrent 30 man daer voor in plaets uijt de schepen te lichten en aen lant te nemen, maer hebben aen dit nieuwe volcq weynigh hulp gehad, want deselve (sulcken swaren arbeit ongewent) mees sieckelijck geworden zyn. Evenwel hebben 't nu soo verre daer mede gebracht dat et geschut weder in de oude schietgaten heeft cunnen gestelt werden, sulcx rechtevoort niet sonderlings meer daer aen te doen vinden, als de sooden van buijten wat aff te steecken en overal affen te maecken.

Wij willen hoopen dat u Eede. bij de genomen resolutie om metter tijt oocq dese fortresse in steen te leggen, insisteren, en daer toe 't vereyste arbeidsvolcq uijt senden sullen, opdat doch eens een eijnde mogen sien van de menighvuldige reperatien <sic> die aen dese aerde wallen alle jaer gedaen moeten werden. Onderentusschen sullen van hout off bort pampier twee kleijne modellen op seecker maet laten maecken, verthonende bij 't een hoedanigh dese fortresse in haer wallen leijt en bij 't ander hoe die met steen opgetrocken sijnde, alsdan in haer muren leggen sall, off na ons en veeler ander oordeel haer des verstaende behoort begrepen te werden. Welcke beijde affbeeltzels wij u Eede. anno aenstaende per de retourvlooth gedencken (soo Godt wil) toecomen te laten, om off 't saecke was, u Eede. souden mogen verstaen dat deselve van achteren, off van ter zijden, behoorde wat meer uijtgeleijt en vergroot, off wel t' eenemael in een ander form gebracht te werden, wij alsdan op ontfangen nader last en order u Eede. begeeren dienaengaende souden cunnen uijtveren en vervullen, want onses bedunckens (onder u Eed. Wijser oordeel geseijt) isset dese vermaerde ververschplaetse (daer jaerlijcx duijssenden van Christen menschen haer comen laven en verquicken) noch wel waert, dat u Eede. dese aerde gebreckelijcke schans in een wel geproportioneerde steene fortresse quamen te veranderen, te meer om dat ons 't geluck verleden jaer doch geen nader noch bequamer gelegentheijt hier omtrent daer toe heeft willen vergunnen.

#### Letter to the *HeerenXVII*, **15 April 1664**

... In onse vorige met d' hoeckerbooth *L'Emperiale* aen u Eed. Hebben wij gewagh gemaect dat wij voornemens waren met God de voorste per dese retourvlooth u Eedn. soude hebben laten toecomen 2 pertinente affteijckeninge, 't zij van hout off bortpapier, hoedanigh Comps. Fortresse jegenwoordigh in sijn aerde wallen leijt; ende 't ander hoedat het met steen omtrocken zijnde, in sijn muijren sal comen te leggen, maer 't selve sal nu niet connen gesonden worden, vermits den Commandeur Wagenaer (die selffs de affteijckeninge daarvan soude gemaect hebben) eenigen tijt herwaerts zeer elledigh met veele pijnlijckheden ende sware accidenten door Godes hant is besoght geworden.

Tusschen wijle is het voorwerck soo verde gecomen dat het bij na over de helft van metselwerck aengaende g'absolveert is, alwaer de groote smitswinckel, darin jegenwoordigh 2 aenbeelden cunnen gaende gehouden worden, is gestelt en boven met een solder overdeekt om daerop den baes ende sijn volck te cunnen logeren, ende bij tijt van noot tot eenige andere diensten te gebruijcken. ...

**1 Julius 1664:** 't Voorsz natte weer aenhoudende, heeft veroorsaect dat de schoorsteen met de backoven van de oude combuijs buijten in 't voorwerck staende de verleden nacht neergestort is, gelijkq oocq [van de]morgen een groot stuck muijrs van de walbinnen bij de chirurgijnswinckel losgeborsten en afgevallen vonden, sulcx bij continuatie van meer regen grootelijcx te duchten zij dat de geheele gardijn aen de west zijde van dese Fortresse mede haest volgen sal.

**13 November 1664:** ... Op den middach zijn alle de soldaten met haer officiers, stercq 54 coppen van boort gecomen om hier in 't voorwercq de opgeworpen aerde uijt de gracht wech te cruijen en aen strant te brengen.

Letter to the *HeerenXVII*, **19 April 1665** (p349-350)

... Wat aengaet onse timmeragien, en voornamentlijck de vereijtschte verbeteringh aen dese Fortresse gedaen, soo seggen dat wij het nieuw begonnen voorwerck dicht aen de selve, buijten op het strant staende, eens soo verre hebben gecregen, dat het nu rontom in sijn dicke muijren beslooten leijt, te weten aen de oost-zijde met de geuvel van 't sieckenhuijs, en aen de westzijde met de geuvel van een ander rijge huijsen wederzijts van achteren met beijde trappen tot aen en in de gracht van 't Fort, maer in plaats van 2 steene beeren, die wij met eenen hadden behooren d'wars door de geseijde gracht te brengen, hebben wij twee rijge dicke palen voor eerst daerin doen oprechten, dewijle ons de Engelse oorlogsgeruchten langer geen tijt daer toe scheenen te willen toestaen. ...

Further mentions the drawings/models made of the fort, nothing specific.

...

(p351-352) Maer wij sagen kans dat in den tijt van drie jaren dit gebreckelijcke aerde Fort in een voortreffelijck steene Casteel wel conde verandert worden, bij aldien wij met u Eede. permissie noch 200 soldaten uijt de passerende schepen t' onser hulpe mochten lichten en aen landt nemen, als wanneer wij op 4 plaetsen gelijkelijck daer aen soude cunnen beginnen en dat werck in den gemelten tijt apparent oock wel voltrecken, ten aensien 't selve eenlijck in muragiewerck van buijten met enckel klipsteen (die seer wel schilfert en nu goede handelingh van becomen hebben) soude bestaen. They also ask to be provided with provisions for these extra men.

**30 Maij 1665:** Verleden nacht heeft 'et lustigh geregent dat veroorsaect heeft dat huijden morgen de borstweeringh op de punt de Oliphant weder naer jaerlijcx gewoonte is comen neer te sorten, vresende dat bij [continuatie] van soodanighe regen noch all meer van sulcke onregeltheden hooren sullen, echter nemen voor niet alleenlijck 't selve in allerijll weder op te doen maken, maer de andere do. dreijgende soodanigh voor omvall soecken te prevenieren als ons mogelijck wesen zall.

**1 Junij 1665:** Niet jegenstaende op gisteren als de gepasseerde nacht sulcke moije drooge weer geweest is, hebben hijden morgen bevonden dat oocq een stucq van de borstweeringh op de punt de Walvisch om ver gevallen was.

**2 Junij 1665:** Drooch, fraij sonneschijn weer, waermede aenstonts tot restauratie van de omvergevallen borstweeringen te wercq gingen. ...

**8 Junij 1665:** Van dage heeft den Commandeur door onsen lantmeter en fiscael Sr. Hendricq Lacus het nieuwe Cadsteel dat d' EE. Heeren Meesters ordonneren hier te bouwen volgens derselver project ons jongst per 't schip 't *Casteel van Medenblicq* toegesonden, affgesteken, sullende 't selve in vijff groote punten off bolwercken rontom dit oude Fort begrepen worden, te weten wederzijts van dit nieuwe voorwercq voor aen strant een en achter drie, maar om dat 't selve met de grachten die 82 voet wijd wesen sullen aen de westcant al te verre uijt te springen ende die rijge nieuwe borgershuijsen, die op het pleijn off de marckt staen, all ten a comen, mitsgaders alle beijde onse kalcqovers, het oude sieckenhuijs en een goet gedeelte van des E.Comps. schoone thuijn weghnemen sal, sullen wij licht daeraen eenige veranderingen moeten doen. ...

**30 Julij 1665:** Den gantschen dach heft het sulcken ongestuimigen weer geweest dat het water, 't welcq van een stijve noordwestewint crachtigh aengedrongen wierd, tot in de poort van 't nieuwe voorwercq gespoelt is.

**Maendag den 3en Augustij ao. 1665.** Reference code: C. 3, pp. 91-94

Aengesien d' Ede. Heeren Majores in het vaderlandt bij derselver missiven van 13. en 20en November ao. passato (ons op 23en April jongstleden per 't schip Amersfoort toegebracht) ons hebben gelieven bekent te maken, hoe deselve geresolveert, en volcomen beslooten hadden, om in dese Tafel-valeij een Roijale Steene-fortresse, in sulcker form en groote te doen begrijpen, als ons per overgesonden Pourtraict duijdelijck voorgeschreven, en affgebeeld was, met gansch ernstige recomandatje dat wij ons datelijck na den ontfanck van voorsz brieven, daer toe souden moeten schicken, en sonder eenich tijtversuijm een begin daer aen maken, Tot welcken eijnde dan oock geduchte Haer Ede. daer benevens ordonneren, om de soldaten die tot sulcken swaren werck voortaan stonden gebuijct te werden niet onlustich te maken, aen de selve voor alsulcke extra-ordinarie diensten, oock een extra ordinarie beloningh namelijck van 5 tot 10 stuijvers na advenant 's daechs aen een ijder genieten te laten,

Maer omdat wij zedert die ontfangen order alle onse metselaers met het voltrecken van het nieuwe voorwerck hier buijten hebben moeten besich houden, en oversulcx de verwachte dienstige gereetschappen, als noodige materialen daer toe, vermits 't ongemeen langh tarderen der vaderlantse schepen, noch niet te voorschijn gecomen zijn: heeft sulcx om die oorsaecken, als verscheijde andere considerabele poincten, tot noch toe niet cunnen begonnen worden, doch principalijck omdat voor 't funderen en leggen der voorsz fortresse, apparent eenige nootsaeckelijcke veranderingh sal moeten werden gedaen, en daerom al vooren de personeele verschijningh van de heer Commandeur Isbrant Godsken (die per 't schip Nieuw Middelburch weder uijt te comen stonth) gaern souden willen affwachten, om

sijn advijs en stem over dat gewichtige werck t' onser gerustheijt mede te mogen hebben, te meer sijn E. (na wij hooren) met eenige gecommiteerde Heeren Bewinthebberen in Den Haegh alreede verscheijde malen hier over soude sijn in conferentie geweest. ...

**8 Augustus 1665:** ... Door de langduirige harde regen die dus lange gehad hebben, is laat op den avont op de oostzijde van dese Fortresse de helft van dese gordijn comen nee rte storten 't welcq om weder op te zetten, ons ten minsten drie weken werck wesen zal.

**26 Augustus 1665:** Is door d' Hr. Gosken des achtermiddaghs den Raat vergadert ende versterckt met den schipper en ondercoopman van 't schip *N.Middelburgh* in den welcken op het voorstell van sijn E. na veele deliberation alleen verhandelt en besloten is, dat de nieuwe roijale Fortresse die d' Heeren Meesters alhier gedencken te begrijpen omtrent 60 roeden verder van dit Fort oostwaert uijt op een bequame vlackte sal geleijt worden.

**Woensdag den 26en Augustij 1665.** Reference code: C. 3, pp. 95-101

Aengesien Haer Ede. d' Heeren Bewinthebberen van de Vereenichde Nederlantse g'octroijeerde Oost-Indische Compe. onse principalen, haer om verscheijde pregnante redenen bijsonder hebben laten gelegen wesen, aen desen zijdelijcxsten houck van Africa d' Cabo Bonna Esperance, ende ter dier insichten niet alleen verstaen, het guarnisoen voor aff met goet aental volck te verstercken, neen maer oock insgelijcx beslooten, overmits d' insufficance van het oude fort tot meerder verseekeringe deser plaets, alhier crachtiger middelen van defentie in 't werck te stellen, met het begrijpen van sodanigen aensienlijcken stercke roijale fortresse, dat namaels bij overcomste van een machtigen Europiaensen vijant, daer voor niet meer en sullen behoeven te duchten, zijnde dan ten selven eijnde haer gemelte Ede. intentie, dat in plaets van het jegenwoordige aerden fort met vier punten, in conformite van het project en overgesonden affbeeltzel, een nieuwe fortresse met vijff punten sal werden gemaect, rontsom het oude fort heen, ende het welck beneden het nieuwe voorwerck verstaen is, soo lange in wesen te blijven, totdat de nieuwe fortificatie sal voltrocken zijn, om als dan daer over nader te werden gedisponeert, oirdelende in dier vougen gelijk waer is, om verscheijde insichten al vrij commodieuser soude wesen, dan wanneer het op een ander plaets sal werden verleght, maer aengemerct hare gemelte Ede. rakende de situatie sodanige kennisse niet en hebben gehad, als wel 'twerck [1] vereijst heeft, is alleen op een presupoot [2] dat de westelijcke gelegen bergen, het fort niet en conden beschadigen, veel min met canon bestrijcken, d' vooraengetogen ordonnantie in dier vougen geschiet, onder stipulatie nochtans, dat soo indien 't contrarie mochte werden bevonden, in sulcken geval het nieuwe fort soo veel oostelijcker sal werden affgesteken, dat het buijten 't bereijcken van canon blijven kan, recommanderende ten selven eijnde, voornamelijck in het verkiesen der bequaemste situatie, daer sodanigen emportant en costelijck werck sal werden bij der handt genomen, geen misslach te committeren, een zake wesende daer op insonderheijt te letten staeth, Ende het welck derhalven bij den Commandeur Isbrant Godsken t' sedert der selver aencomste, soo oock daer bevooren door den E. Commandeur Zacharias Wagenaer met allen ernst in opmerckinge genomen is geweest, sonder echter nochtans middel te cunnen sien off uijt te vinden, om haer Ede. gegeven ordre, aen d' een off d' ander zijde prompt, en na de letter te voldoen, eerstelijck en ten opsicht dat het nieuwe werck om het oude fort niet wel can werden gebracht, uijt oorsake

van de westelijcke bergen, welcke niet verder dan 67 Rijnlantse roeden van d' jegenwoordige fortresse afgelegen zijn, en van waer niet alleen bereijct: maer oock verre beneden 't waterpas de bovcant van 't pleijn der bolwercken door canon beschadicht, neen maer selffs oock van musquetten can werden beschooten, behalven dat aen dien kant, vermits d' aldaer leggende sware harde clippen, niet dan met overgroote moeijten en langh durenden arbeit, de gracht te maken is, daer bij dan oock niet eene van alle de borgers steene-huijxen soude cunnen blijven staen, en nootsaeckelijck beneven Comps. schoone nieuwe waterschortinge, coornmeulen, potbackereije &a. mitsgaders een goet gedeelte van de thuijn soude moeten werden afgebroocken-

Ende aen d' ander zijde oostwaerts was oock de vlacte van sodanige groote niet, dat het nieuwe begrijp na d' intentie der E.E. Heeren Majores van de bergen en hoochten soo verre conde afgeleijt werden, om allesints buijten 't bereijcken van 't canon te blijven.

Oversulcx ende dat haer Ede. ordre, in 't beginnen van de nieuwe fortresse, niet vermochten noch geraden condon vinden langer te traineren, is den Raedt vergadert, g'adsisteert met schipper en coopman van 't schip Middelburch, Item twee provisionele vendrichs, en wachtmeester deses guarnisoens om met den anderen t' overwegen wat ons in dese gelegentheijt van zaken ten meesten dienste der Generale Oost Indische Compe. sal te doen staen, dienvolgende dan alles wat ter materie dienen mochte exactelijck gepondereert, en geconsidereert hebbende, dewijl hier omtrent nochte elders bequaemer gelegentheijt was uijt te vinden, met eenparige stemmen goetgevonden en geresolveert, de nieuwe fortificatie te funderen recht ten midden van d' hier zijnde vlacten, waer de bakens bevorens ten dien insichte bij provisie affgesteeken zijn geweest, sodanich dat Zuijtoost en westwaerts de langsame opgaende hoochtens en bergiens allesints even naer comen zal, een plaetse sijnde daer niet alleen met wijnich moeijte een gewenschte gracht van vereijschte diepte en breete, maer oock soo veele en genoechsamen putten te graven zijn, dat men bij belegeringh geen gebreck van water sal behoeven subject te wesen, behalven dat daerenboven van de jegenwoordige waterloopiens uijt de Tafelbergh affcomende, even soo wel als aen 't oude fort sullen gedient wesen, sijnde met eenen verstaen en vast gestelt, aen het westelijcxte bolwerck eerst begin te maken, ende aen den voet tot nader overlegh een berm te laten van 20 voeten breete, omdat hetselve (voltrocken wesende) het oude fort achterwaerts, en d' voorkant 't nieuwe hoornwerck best can helpen defenderen, ende oock weder gedefendeert worden, waerbij dan oock geheel dienstich geoordeelt is, van nu voortaan, geen andere wercken bij der hant te nemen, als uijt hoogen noot en om bouvallicheijt voor te comen, ende dat alle het volck soo wel ambachtslieden als andere die eenichsints gemist en uijt te maken zijn, sullen werden geemploieert, tot calck branden, en breecken van sware steen, ten eijnde het nieuwe gebouw de vereijschte voortganck nemen mach.

**31 Augustus 1665:** ... In de verleden nacht is een groot stuck van de muer daer het afdack van de Corps du Garde op berustende was, neergestort ende om-dat die meerendeel uijtwaert op de wal is comen neer te storten, is daar van niemant, Godt danck, beschadicht geworden.

**15 September 1665:** Is in de verleden nacht vermits een sware langhduirige regen weder een groot stuck van de aarde wal aan de Oostzijde van dit Fort met stormpalen comen neer te storten, soo dat wij nu drie maanden herwaerts niet anders hebben cunnen doen als de neergestorte wallen op diversche plaatsen weder op te rechten ...

**25 September 1665:** ... Om dat gisteren met het opsetten en hoger maken van de vervallen aerdewallen rontom dese fortresse nu eens gedaen wercq sagen, hebben wij desen morgen met omtrent 100 man de ruijghte van de aangewesen plaats daar de nieuwe groote Fortresse op gefundeert warden sal) beginnen om te hacken en een stuck daervan te reijnigen.

**30 September 1665:** ... Van dage hebben wij weder een stellingh van buijten, dwars over de gracht heenen tot de punt de Walvis moeten leggen om meer affgesteken zooden daarop te cunnen brengen en met deselve rontom de borstweeringh van dit Fort van binnen 2 voeten dicker, en onder daerentegen 't bancquet soo veel te breeder te maken, ten aansien met 'et verhogen van 't selve en het inkrimpen van de vochtige zooden wij tegenwoordigh de voorsz borstweeringh boven geen 2 voeten breet en seer overgeweken hebben bevonden.

**2 Januarius 1666:** the first stone of the Castle is laid by Commander Wagenaer.

**11 Januarius 1666:** mentions the VOC clay stone bakery on a spot to the east of the Company's gardens in this Table Valley. So there was clay close by.

**27 Januarius 1666:** ... Soo hebben wij van dage oock aen de westzijde van dit Fort een derde part omtrent van de cordijn *buijtewaerts* boven van de borstweeringh aff tot beneden toe beginnen aff te nemen, ten aansien dat wreck in 't verleden regenmousson met al te weecke zooden op geseth zijnde nu in dit drooge mousson soo in gekropmpen en overgeweecken vonden dat de bortsweeringh met de palis<s>aden die daer in stecken alle oogen blick scheen ter neer te sullen storten.

#### Letter to the *Heeren XVII*, **22 May 1666**

... They describe the soil when they start digging the foundations for the stone Castle: (p377) ... , hebben wij eerst aan 't fundament van een westelijcke lantpunt 16 voeten breet beginnen te graven, vindende in 't deepen eerst drie voeten dick niet dan enckel zant, onder 't selve een gele kleijachtige aarde, en daer na een harde witte cleij tot op de diepte van 11 ½ voeten, als wanneer sich onder deselve een gewenschte vaste gront van kleijne gruijsige keij-steetjes daer oock wel groote doch altemaal losse dos. onderliepen, is comen te openbaeren ende ...

...

(p383) Wat mij belangt dese oude fortresse, daer van wij te voren gesproken en geseijt dat verleden jaer daer aen de vereijste verbeteringe over al so van buijten als van binnen behoorlijck in acht genomen en gedaen zijn, maer om dat in 't verleden drooge mouson de gragten en deselve, voornamelijk die van achteren so vol stoff en vuijgheijt gewaeijt sagen, dat daer in gras begon te wassen en men droogsvoets door gaen kan, laten wij die nu al weder 6 voeten breeder en drie dittos dieper maken. Tot dien eijnde hebben wij nu al weder 60 man van het nieuwe werksvolk moeten af breken ende daer toe gebruikken. ...

**Saturdagh den 17en Januarij 1671.** Reference code: C. 7, pp. 6-9

Ende aangesien d' interpretatie der voors. ordre bij Sijn E. den Commandeur sodanich werdt g'apprehendeert, dat Haer Ede. daarmede soo veel willen te verstaen geven, dat wij ons van d' overige 300 coppen souden hebben te dienen, gemerk[t] dat getall doch over Indien verdeelt weijnich in consideratie van d' redutabele macht die d' E. Compe. al bereets daer is hebbende, soude cunnen inporteren, ende wij hier in loco, sonder enige sterckte, daerop men sich bij attaque soude cunnen verlaten, resider[en], behalven dat onse totale macht van des E. Comps. dienaren alhier soo militaire als andere 't getall van 209 personen niet comt 't excederen, waervan dan noch eerst affgetrocken alle soo hoge als lage ministers, soo in de Regeringe, Kerckelijcken Staet als aan d' pen gebruijckt werdende, in 't getal van 20 personen, d' besettingen op 't Robben en Dasseneijlant, d' buijtenposten, d' vaertuijgen groot en cleijn, d' coornschuij, d' Houtbaeij, 's Comps. thuijnen, beest en schapen cralen, d' assaeijeurs met haere berghwerckers met zelvrs timmerluijden en 't ander ambachtsvolcq als mede verscheijde matrosen en 't constapelsvolcq in 't generael een getael van 166 coppen monterende zulx enelijck noch resteren 43 militai[re] weerbare hoofden, die tot d' wapenen g'exerceert en bij d'welcke d' wachten, soo op d' punt in de begonnen nieuwe fortresse als 't oude fortje met sijn hoornwerck, moeten waer genomen ende gedefendeert werden, Soo geeft Sijn E. den Raadt in serieus bedencken, eerstelijck off d' interpretatie van Haer Ede. ordre mede niet bij den Raadt soo danich als bij Sijn E. werdt geapprehendeert, [4] en des ja off men dan ingevolge van dien d' geseijde onse macht niet en behoorde wat defensiver te maeken, omme sulx volgens Haer Edle. ordre, tegens de gedreijgde troublen in postuijre van defensie te wesen, ende tot dien eijnde een goedt aantall van militaire personen uijt d' presente drie Bataviase schepen te lichten.

**Maandagh 16en Februarij [1671].** Reference code: C. 7, pp. 24-32

Omtrent dese gelegentheijt vorders in opmerkinge genomen, de swacke en indefensibile sterckten van dit oude fortje met sijn hoornwerk, mitsgaeders d' opgemaecte punt in d' nieuwe fortresse, tegenwoordigh van achteren noch onbesloten leggende, en daerbij onder verscheijde andere propoosten in consideratie gegeven zijnde off men ten dien opsichte niet en soude cunnen adviseren raadsaemst te wesen, bij eenige attacque den viand met alle mogelickste vlijt van land te keren, ende so veel doenlick zij, het landen te beletten, mitsdien, zulx toegelaten, ende daerop bij den viand eenige tegenbatterijen opgeworpen, [3] sodat denselven verschanst zijnde, door 't canonneren dit fort in corten tijt stondt totaliter geruineert, onder de voet geschoten ende zulx tot devotie gebracht te werden, daer in tegendeel den viand d' advenuen affgesneden, ende van het aenlanden versteken wesende, men sich vrij wat securder tot resistentie ende conservatie van vele 's Comps. effecten soude cunnen schicken.

**Saturdagh den 21en Februarij 1671** Reference code: C. 7, pp. 33-39

In conformite der resolutie van den 16en deser uijt bijzondere motijven daerin vermeldt, bij den Raad g'arresteert zijnde omme uijt de verwacht werdende Patriase schepen dit guarnisoen met een aensienlijck getal soldaeten te verstercken, en alhoewel daerdoor de becommeringe van de geringe macht der soldaten tot nog toe hier aengehouden, bij overval van een vijand wel eenigsints schijnen verlicht te werden, so comen sich egter nieuwe swaericheden, ten

reguarde waer men sodanigen macht tot behoorlijke resistentie souden cunnen emploijeren, te vertoonen, eensdeels, dat dit oude fortje uijt sijn zelven bevonden wert geensints suffiçant te wesen omme den geringsten Europaensen viand aff te cunnen weeren, ende andersints, dat de opgemaecte punt in de nieuwe fortresse, voor so veel als deselve tegenwoordig voltrocken leijt, mede niet bijsonders effectueren, jae sijn selven niet sal cunnen defenderen.

**Donderdag 27 Octobris 1672** Reference code: C. 8, pp. 56-61

Soo is nae rijpen beraade, ten meesten die[ns]te van d' E. Compe. geresolveert, om Haer Edle. desseij[n] met meerdersekerheijt bij der hand te nemen en uijt te voeren, d' comste van 't gemelde schip Hellevoetsluijs af te wachten. Ende zulx te meer, vermits nootsaekelik vereijst, niet alleen d' aangekomen militair[e], meest ongeoeffent volck sijnde, tot het gebruik der wapenen te bequamen, maer ook mede bijzonderlijk dat wij derselver hulpe tussen wijle ten hoogsten va[n] noden hebben, tot herstellingh en weder in postuir v[an] defensie brengen der rontsomme nedergestort legg[ende] sooden-wallen deser fortresse, 't geene anders, so sulx alleen met het vorigh guarnisoensvolk had moeten geschieden, een grooten reex tijt naer sich gesleept, en verhindert soude hebben, van in lange noch aan den verderen opbouw van het nieuwe fort geen begin gemaekt te connen hebben:

Invoegen dan, om de gelegentheijt van de hulpe des voors. aanwesenden volcks, niet te verwaarloosen, ook geresolveert en goet gevonden is, dewijle de reparatie van het oude aarde fort, jegenwoordigh als een molhoop leggende, niet langer kan of magh werden uijtgesteld, bijzonderlik in dese conjuncture des tijts, daar men wel van noden is, tegens de macht van eenen onverwachten viand, in goet postuir te sijn, dat daarmede met kracht voortgevaeren, en alle die tot arbeijden bequaam sijn, daarooe gebruikt, mitsgaeders voor den arbeid ijder persoon gegeven sal werden een mutske Bataviase arak, en een pont ingesoute vis 's daegs, sodanich nochtans geschikt, dat het exerceren van de nieuwe soldaten onderwijlen echter onvermindert blijft, Gelijk ook, vermits bij lange nae halff sov[eel] soden niet en sijn te becomen als wel vereijssen o[m] d' aarde wallen van onder tot boven op nieuws te b[e]kleden, en datse behalven dien dan ook noch gesteken wesende, souden moeten *worden* [3] ruim een halff uir van hier gehaelt, het fort geheel in plaats van soden, met een goede welgestampte muir van **ta[ijp]aarde** [4] 't overtrecken, te meer, dewijl niet alleen bestendiger als de soden, maer ten aensien van de nabij gelegen spetie gereeder werk maken sal.

[4] Die aanvulling is gedaan met behulp van die H.K. Die betekenis kon nie vasgestel word nie.

**Woensdag 2 Maay 1674. [1]** Reference code: C. 9, pp. 2-4

Door den Gouverneur Isbrand Goske en [2]d'E. Hr. Extraordinary Raet van India Sijbrand Abbema vertoont en in Raade gere[su]meert zijnde de materie vervat by den brief van de Caap [met] het bootje d' Posthoorn in dato 17e. September ao. passo. aen d'E. Heeren Majores na 't Patria geschreven rakende het demanteleren van d'oude fortificatie met de redenen en omstandigheden daertoe dienende, mitsgaders daerop nader ingesien hoe 'tsedert dien tijt de nieuwe fortresse in zoodanigen postuir is geb[racht] dat met het t' samen getrocken guarnisoen niet alleen veel be[ter] als 't oude en nieuwe fort t' samen te

defenderen wesen sal, m[ae]r daer neven een groote verligtinge toebrenge aen't guarnisoensvolcq, die dagelijcx swaren arbeyt doende, echter des nagts [haer] wagten moeten waarnemen, mitsgrs. soo lang het oude fort stae[n]de gehouden wert ooc beset dient en oversulcx door de gescheijden magt bij aancomste van eenigen vijand te ligter vallen soud[e], ten opsigte d' incusticance van't oude fortje, de nieuwe fortres[se] mede te vermeesteren, Soo is alles ingesien en overwogen zijnde voor een gansch dienstige en hoognodige sake aengesien to[t] prevenieringe van voorgeroerde periculen en d'onkosten die daeraen dienden te werden gedaen om hetselve staende te houden het gem. oude fort hoe eer soo beter in 't geheel te demolieeren en van zijne wallen t'ontmantelen behoudens nogtans dat de woonplaatsen en verdere commoditeijten, buijten de[geene] welcke reets door bouvalligheijt dreijgen te storten, onderwijl sullen gehouden werden in't geheel, soo lange in't nieuwe for[t] andere gebout zijn.

p130-138: C. 700, pp. 315-340.

*Memorie om den Heer Joan Bax, Gouverneur wegen d' E. Nederlantsche Oostindische Compa. aan Cabo de Bonne Esperance te strecken tot poincten van opmerckinge en soo veel des nodigh acht voor den welstandt van de Compa. sijn van te connen dienen.*

Het oude Commandeurslogement bij overcomste van vijandt, om de nabijheijt en swaare muuren van de kat ten midden tusschen de lichter huijsinge bevath sijnde, seer nadeeligh soudende wesen aan de neiuwe fortificatie, soo ben ic van expres gevoelen dat het selve bij gelegentheijt van tijt van daar geroijeert, en op dat best nut verorbert, op de hoec daar Comps. thuijn begint, ofte daar omtrent weder behoorden op geslaagen te werden om dan te dienen tot een huijs voor ouderloose kinderen, borgeren vergaderplaats, of andersints, daar toe het verstaen sal werden te emploijeren. ...

UE. dienstwillige vrunt en dienaar, Isbrand Goske

In 't Fort de Goede Hoop, **Martij 1676.**

**Saterdag adij 16en October 1677 mediteerende tot den 20en do. daaraan.** Reference code: C. 11, pp. 74-85

Presentibus omnibus.

Invoegen bij onse jonste resolutie in dato 2 October tot den 4en do. incluijs, door ons ten meesten dienste der E. Compag. is vastgesteld met de redenen daerbenevens geexpresseert om 't defect deser fortresse in der ijl op te maken, en alles sodanigh te verstercken en in postuire van defensie te brengen soo ras doenlyck is, gelijk oocq bij desselfs resolutie voormelt al bequame ordre sij gegeven, en 't aldereerste en nodigste geacht 't merendeel van onse wagens te gebruijcken om zoden tot de borstweringh aan te rijden, alsmede om de rijs uijt 'et ouwde fort hier binnen 't nieuwe aan te voeren, ende vermits geseijde wagens daarmede sodanigh geoccupeert sijn, datter weijnich of geen van dat nodige werck cunnen afbreken om steen off calckovenhoudt in voorraat te rijden (wa[a]rom bij dese tijden mede voor al dient gedacht te werden), Soo is seer nootsakelijck ende gansch dienstigh geacht tot 'et aanbrenge van geseijde hout (om ons calckbranden en metselwercq niet te doen vertragen) *als om de graft deser fortresse te verbreeden en verdiepen* [1] enige vrijluijden met hare wagens daar toe te gebruijcken, betalende aan deselve sodanigen tanto voor ijder vracht als bevorens en altijt is in gebruijck geweest, mitsgaders om 't werck alhier noch te spoediger doen voortgaen uijt Hottentots Hollant mede noch twee wagens ijder met acht treckbeesten en 3 van de cloeckste slaven en een Nederlander versien) te ontbieden, om welckers spoedige overkomste al ordre sij geschickt.

p156-171: C. 700, pp. 381-436

*Consideratien over de presente constitutie der landen aan en ontrent de Cabo de Boa Esperance gelegen en daar onder gehorende, t' zamen gestelt door den Gouverneur Generaal Rijkloff van Goens na het aanwezen met de retour-vloot alhier, en op zijn vertrek na het vaderland aan d' E. Commandeur Simon van der Stel, t' sijner narichtingh ter hand gestelt, om hem tot nader confirmatie of ordre der Heeren XVIIe na te reguleren.*

... [In the previous paragraph it is discussed that houses too close to the Castle will have to be demolished and the free burghers owning them be given a new plot of land.]

En om te thoonen dat d' E.Compe. dit ernst is, en selffs een ander wil voorgaan, soo sal het overgebleven huijs dat binnen het oude Casteel is verbleven, sonder langer uijtstel moeten afgebroken werden en geraseert, konnende veel van die materialen aan het nieuwe huijs, binnen 't Casteel geprojecteert, noch te passe komen. ...

In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, desen **24en April 1682**. Van Goens

p189-223: C. 700, pp. 437-515

*Instructie voor den Commandeur Simon van der Stel en den Raad wegen de Generaale Compa. het gebied voerende over de landen, luiden en effecten onder het Commandement en Fortresse de Goede Hoop gehoorende, om de publicque saacken daar na te bestieren, tot de Edle. Hren. Bewindthebberen representeerende den Sttat der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Generaale g'octrojeerde Compa. in de vergaderingh van 17en onse Heeren en Meesters anders comen te gebieden.*

... So men nu dese gebreecken konde verbeteren, ongetwijffelt de E.Comp. soude door het bouwen van dit Casteel vercreegen sien die verseekeringh, die sij haar heeft voorgesteld. Wat nu belanght de quade cituatie waardoor het Casteel van den naasten bergh wert onvrij gemaackt, daar tegen can men gebruijcken een affsnijdingh van de guardijn offte de tegenwoordighe wooningh van den Commandeur tot in de tegenoverstaande punt genaamt Catsenelleboge snijdend het plijn in twee even gelijcke deelen, gebruijckende dese affsnijdingh tot coornpackhuijsen en woninghen voor familien van 's Comps. dienaaren, die u door gebreck van deselve buijten moeten logieren, geheel tegen het gebruijck, 't zij dan men dat gebouw voor 's Commandeurs woningh en het tegenwoordighe tot logimenten, dan wel packhuijsen wilde schikken en bequaam maaken, en gemerckt onse Hren. en Meesters bij haar Edle. Achtb. missive, dato 24en Junij ao. 1684, UE. hebben gelieven te veroorloven een pachuijs te maaken, het welck hoe langher hoe nootsaackelijcker wert, moghen UE. vrijel. beginnen de vereijschte matrialen bij een te versamelen, soo sulcx maar den tijt en goede gelegentheijdt gedoghen wil, daar toe seer veel sal helpen en te passe comen een groote quantiteijdt goet hout en plancken van 's Comp. wooningh in 't oude Fort gestaan hebbende, met welcq aff te breecken sonder uijtstel een begin gemaackt zijnde, moet werden gecontinueert, ende dewijle met dese affsnijdingh het pleijn en de punt Buijren volcomen werdt bedeckt, soo ....

In 't Casteel de Goede Hoop, den **16 Julij ao. 1685**. H. A. V. Reede.

François Valentyn, 1726, Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop met de zaaken daar toe behoorende, Amsterdam, p 86. (Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town 1971)

...; op welke plaats het oud Kasteel, door den Heer *van Riebeeck* in 't jaar 1652 begonnen, gestaan heeft, waar van ik in 1685 nog de laatste aarde, om het geheel en al te slechten, hebben zien wegkruyen.

## **Appendix C: Inventory of cultural finds of 2009 season**

### **Trench 1**

Layer 9: 1 OES bead, diameter 4.40 mm, hole 1.74 mm

### **Trench 2**

Only 1 bag:

- Ceramic: 1 small fragment of tin-glazed earthenware, decoration is in 2 colours: black line drawings with blue infill, unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 1 fragment of tin-glazed glazed earthenware with blue underglaze decoration but painted on top of the glaze, plate
- Ceramic: 1 small fragment of Imari porcelain, has foot ring, bowl or plate
- Ceramic: 1 fragment of porcelain of a lid to a rectangular container, underglaze blue decoration, an oriental scene is still recognisable
- Ceramic: 5 fragments of underglaze blue (coarse) porcelain, plates
- Ceramic: 6 fragments of underglaze blue (coarse) porcelain, bowls
- Ceramic: 1 fragment of underglaze blue porcelain, has a square rim
- 1 small fragment of OES

### **Trench 3**

**Bag 1:** S 33° 55' 28"  
E 18° 25' 24"

- Ceramic: 8 fragments of a white and blue tin-glazed plate, glaze is flaking off severely, central panel decoration can no longer be identified.
- Ceramic: 1 fragment fine porcelain, painted decoration in blue, white and green, has foot ring, bowl
- Ceramic: 4 fragments fine porcelain, underglaze blue decoration, low-quality decoration ("running ink"), unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 3 fragments coarse porcelain, low quality blue underglaze decoration on the outside, one line in underglaze blue along the rim on the inside, 2 fragments of a bowl (one has a brown line on the rim, don't know if it is paint or underglaze), 1 fragment unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 1 fragment tin-glazed earthenware, plate?
- Ceramic: 1 fragment coarse earthenware, red clay, dark slip-layer inside, flat bottom. (English coarseware?)
- Ceramic: 1 small fragment of tile? Tin-glazed on 1 side (Dutch Majolica)
- Glass: bottom of an onion bottle
- Glass: 1 small fragment, not identifiable
- OES: 1 small fragment
- Shell: 1 *Argenvillei* largely intact ...
- Plaster: 1 fragment

- Clay pipes: 5 pipe stem fragments, undecorated: (length x stem diameter x bore in mm) 79.97 x 9.96-11.98 x 3.30 mm; 48.18 x 6.00-6.25 x 2.08 mm; 26.33 x 5.37-5.73 x 2.49 mm; 21.50 x 5.85-6.56 x 2.13 mm; 18.31 x 5.85-6.09 x 1.95 mm.

**Bag 2:** ≈10 m < 14 m

- Glass: 1 fragment, unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 4 fragments blue underglaze porcelain, 2 with footring from bowls, 1 rim, 1 unidentifiable
- Clay pipes: 4 pipe stem fragments, undecorated: (length x stem diameter x bore in mm) 49.45 x 5.69-6.35 x 1.98 mm; 46.82 x 4.69-5.34 x 2.04 mm; 29.21 x 5.85-6.74 x 2.00 mm; 26.32 x 4.86-5.18 x 2.22 mm.

**Bag 3:** 14 – 16m

- Bone: 2 fragments of long bone
- Brick: 1 fragment of a fired brick stone
- Shell

**Bag 4:** top layer and at circa 14 – 16 m

- Glass: 1 fragment of window glass; 1 fragment of bottle glass
- Bone: 7 fragments of bone, 1 tooth (cow/horse?)

**Bag 5:** 14 – 16m

- Plaster: 3 small fragments
- Musket (?) ball, diameter is 15.80 mm, it feels very light

**Bag 6:** c. 10 – 16 m

- Bone: 5 fragments of bone
- Glass: 1 small fragment, from a drinking glass, too thin to be from a bottle

**Bag 7:** top layer, c. 13 – 16 m

- Shell: 3 fragments of shell
- Bone: at least 10 small fragments of bone

**Bag 8:** top layer, c. 8m

- Shell: at least 4 fragments of shell
- Bone: 1 fragment

**Bag 9:** S 33° 55' 28"

E 18° 25' 24"

- \* Bone: 3 fragments

**Bag 10:** S 33° 55' 28"

E 18° 25' 24"

- \* Bone: at least 8 fragments

**Bag 11:** 14 – 16 m

- Slate: 1 fragment of slate

- Ceramic: 1 fragment of Chinese Imari porcelain, unidentifiable, produced from early 18<sup>th</sup> century and is relatively common on Cape sites between 1720 and 1755 (Identifying Ceramics Handbook)
- Ceramic: 1 fragment of a cup/bowl, enamelled (red/pink)
- Ceramic: 6 fragments of underglaze blue coarse porcelain, plate, bowl, unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 1 fragment tin glazed earthenware, rim, bowl?
- Ceramic: 1 fragment European stone ware, unidentifiable
- Ceramic: 1 small fragment of porcelain with a decoration laid on top after the first firing
- Clay pipe: 2 pipe stem fragments, undecorated: (length x stem diameter x bore in mm) 29.71 x 5.48-6.66 x 2.17 mm; 26.60 x 5.50-6.28 x 1.95 mm.

**Bag 12:** ≈10 m < 14 m

- Shell: 1 almost complete shell (*Patella argenvillei*), 1 small fragment
- Bone: 5 fragments of a long bone