CHAPTER TWO

Context
2.1 STUDY AREA

Marabastad, a city-sector directly to the North West of the Central Business District of Pretoria is rich in political, religious and cultural history. Remnants (both physical and intangible) of its multivalent past still survive among the bus stations and taxi stops that now characterise the area. At present, Marabastad is one of Pretoria’s principle modal interchange for public transport, which, together with the customs, rituals and traditions inherited from it’s previous vocations, dictate life in this uniquely multifarious environment.

The extent of the study area is defined as Steenhoven Spruit to the East, Proes Street to the South, D.F Malan drive to the West and the railway lines to the North (that run through the Belle Ombre Station). These boundaries are determined by elements that essentially cordon Marabastad off from the rest of the city, contributing to the area’s distinct sense of autonomy within the larger city context.
2.2

THE STORY OF MARABASTAD

2.2.1

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Summarised from Illife, 1987; Friedman, 1994; Malan, 1999; Van der Waal, 1998

Since the establishment of Pretoria in 1855, rural people have come to the city in search of employment. A great deal of these migrant workers found refuge in the village of Maraba, named after chief Maraba, situated on the North West periphery of the city between the Steenhoven spruit and the Apies River. At that time the village stretched up into the foothills of Daspoortrand. 1967 saw the establishment of Schoolplaats, the first formal Black ‘location’, to accommodate for the increasing influx of migrant workers to the area. Schoolplaats, however, soon became overpopulated and Marabastad was proclaimed as another black ‘location’ in 1888. Black residents were not allowed to own the land, but could rent it from the government at an annual fee of around four Pounds (Van der Waal, 1998: 5).

According to Van der Waal (1998:6) Pretoria allowed more rights to Indian and Coloured communities during the late 1800’s than elsewhere in the Transvaal; therefore a considerable amount of Indian and Coloured families began to settle in the city. The white population was aggrieved by the sudden influx of Indian and Coloured families to the city, which led to the creation of “Bazaars”. These were designated areas where Indians could reside, own property, trade and build religious structures. Between 1892 and 1893 an area to the South of Marabastad was proclaimed as a Bazaar. It was called the “Coolie Location,” consisting of three hundred and eighty small stands.

Around the same time an area was demarcated where the Coloured community would be accommodated. The area between Struben and Bloed Streets was proclaimed as the Cape Location/Cape Boys Location and all Coloured citizens were ordered to reside in there.

During the following decade the Marabastad location became increasingly overpopulated and in 1900 was no longer capable of accommodating any new migrants. The area between Marabastad and the Coolie Location was used as overflow space for informal settlement. This area eventually became known as New Marabastad (Friedman, 1994: 42).

Between the years of 1903 and 1906 the management of all the abovementioned locations was allocated to the Pretoria City Council. The council resurveyed the entire area in order to implement rates and regulations. It was during this time that the area attained its distinctive grid pattern: Small stands of approximately 15mx15m, grouped into blocks of six stands each, resulting in the fine grained urban fabric unique to the area (Van der Waal, 1998: 8).

The construction of the Daspoort Sewage Works over Old Marabastad in 1907 saw the resettlement of the residents of six hundred erven to the New Location to the North West of the city. The New Location later became known as Bantule (Malan, 1999: 4).

Between 1940 and 1950, the black population of Marabstad was relocated to Atteridgeville to the South West of Pretoria, after which the area was deproclaimed as a township and all remaining built fabric was demolished. From 1959 to 1976 the Indian population was relocated to Claudius and Laudium. Although it was abolished as a residential area in 1976, most of the built fabric of the Asiatic Bazaar was left intact. The Coloured residents of the Cape Boys Location were moved to Eersterust between 1962 and 1965 and all physical remnants of the location were demolished (Van der Waal, 1998: 13).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Pretoria established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Chief Maraba sets up his kraal to the West of Steenhoven spruit</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Gold discovered on the Witwatersrand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Laws passed restricting property ownership of Indians. Bazaars set up where Indians could trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>First Boer War breaks out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Marabastad and Schoolplats consolidated as one black location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Asian bazaar established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>All homes in old Marabastad demolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Channelisation of Steenhoven Spruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Natives resettlement act passed. Black citizens forced to stay in demarcated locations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Shums act passed. Old Marabastad declared slum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>National Party comes into power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Group areas act passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Concentration camp for Asians from South Africa. New Indian organisation is established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Concentration camp for Asians from South Africa. New Indian organisation is established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Cape Location established South of Blood river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Community development act starts development in Marabastad. Denize of the Theatres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Remaining residents of Marabastad displaced. Belle Ombre station is built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>New Constitution removes discriminating laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>ANC comes to power</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig 2.5 Marabastad Timeline

Fig 2.6 Marabastad in 1905: Photo taken from Daspoortrand towards the South West (Aziz-Tayob, 2002)
2.2.2 CULTURAL HISTORY

2.2.2.1 The ‘Marabi’ Culture

The Marabi culture originated and flourished in the slumyards and locations around the main urban centres of the Transvaal during the 1930’s. According to John Illiffe (1987) the name was derived from Marabastad. It is a culture born out of hardship, one that stands in defiance of the context that gave it birth and yet cannot be understood without it, a culture that thrived in a wildly illicit, yet good-natured social arena. Illiffe (1987:128) explains that “‘Marabi love’ was illicit, a ‘Marabi girl’ wanted a good time. But Marabi meant more. It meant youth and modernity. It meant freedom of the town. It meant freedom of towns not yet in the grip of the state. It meant hope and ambition not yet crushed.”

The word ‘Marabi’ is synonymous with the rowdy parties (timiti) and street culture that formed the centre of township life. At the core of this vibrant culture is music, its own unique musical style, together with all of its fantastical limbs: wild dancing, casual sex, drinking illegally brewed beer and the sharing of it’s illegally gotten gains at ‘stokvels’ (informal credit unions). The elements of the Marabi culture all came together to create a strong community identity, grounded in the non-violent resistance of oppression.

In Modikwe Dikobe’s ‘The Marabi Dance’ (1984) and Christopher Ballantine’s ‘Marabi Nights’ (1993) detailed accounts are given of Marabi music. People flocked to the shebeens and dancehalls where the Marabi bands would play, therefore music played an invaluable role in the development of the culture. Marabi (music) is a unique style of music which incorporates American ragtime blues, jazz and swing into traditional African music. This distinctive blend came about as much per chance as by intention. The musicians in the townships were generally unschooled in formal music and merely interpreted foreign styles through their own musical framework, which, at the time, was traditional African music. The reasoning behind their adopting these American styles is important in comprehending the spirit in which the music was performed. Jazz is synonymous with rebelliousness, defiance and ‘sinful’ behaviour. Blues is associated with perseverance in the face of hardship and Swing with rowdy, unadulterated fun, despite the adversities of life.

Marabi music formed the foundation upon which a great deal of contemporary South African popular music was developed. Mhanqana, Kwela, Bubblegum and Kwaito are known derivatives of Marabi music, establishing the Marabi culture as one of South Africa’s most influential contributors to the country’s musical heritage.

Famous artists that have contributed to the international acknowledgement of Marabi music through their interpretations thereof are:

- Hugh Masekela - Various albums from 1964 to present
- Miriam Makeba - Various albums from 1960 to 2006
- Yvonne Chaka Chaka - Various albums from 1985 to present
- Brenda Fassie - Various albums from 1981 to 2004
- Paul Simon and Ladysmith Black Mambazo - Graceland, 1986
2.2.2.3

Timiti dance parties

Along with the music came the parties or ‘Timiti’ where people would drink illegal beer, dance wildly and interact socially. These parties were generally held in dancehalls or beerhalls and were often the target of police raids. By hosting ‘Timiti’ the dancehall/shebeen became the primary locus for community interaction, offering a place where social concerns could be discussed since there was no formal town hall or community centre.

2.2.2.4

Illegal beer brewing

In ‘A history of Africans in Pretoria’ (1994), Michelle Friedman discusses the important political role of illegal beer brewing in the context of Marabastad. Not only did the illegal brew fuel the Timiti, it created independent economic opportunity for an otherwise severely limited community. For these reasons the brewing of beer became an important symbol of defiance and independence. Police raids on the beerhalls were common, as well as frequent searches of homes suspected of housing breweries. Friedman argues that the frequency of the raids suggest that the government was aware of the economic capacity of illegal brewing enterprises and the empowering effect they had on the community.

In ‘Bioscopes and Achaar’ (2008) Dr. Muthal Naidoo illustrates how the brewing of beer did not only create economic opportunity for black community of Marabastad, but also greatly benefited the Indian traders of the area. The Indian owned shops (blacks were not allowed to own property) sold the corn and malt that they needed to brew the beer, but were not allowed to buy in bulk. These operations took place ‘behind closed doors’ so to speak, but the income generated from it contributed greatly to the development of the infrastructure of Marabastad.

As established in Chapter 1, UNESCO’s definition of intangible heritage includes the culinary arts and all of its material aspects, therefore it could be argued that the brewing of beer in Marabastad should be considered as an essential part of its intangible heritage and should therefore be conserved/heralded accordingly.

Therefore this dissertation argues that the beers themselves, their recipes, their names, their social and cultural connotations and their role in the political history of Marabastad are to be celebrated in any undertaking concerning the intangible heritage of the area.

To conclude, the names of some of the beers
(Friedman, 1994: 157)

-Ma-trek-my-broek-uit
-Skokiaan
-Klim-in-die-boom
-Lilian’s brew
2.2.2.5

Cultural Diversity

The grouping of diverse racial and cultural groups into such close proximity to one another due to the pre-described living areas created a place with an almost unprecedented richness of cultural diversity. The remaining fabric bares testimony to the remarkable way in which different cultures and religions harmoniously co-existed in the small area assigned to them. The religious structures across Marabastad act as landmarks that embody the multivalent character of the place. The Aga Khan (no longer active) and Mogul Street Mosques serve the Islamic community and the iconic Miriammen Temple is still used by the Hindu community today. Steenhoven spruit and its surrounding landscape hosts the Zionist church each Sunday while the abundant Muti stalls and Traditional healing shops serve traditional African beliefs and customs.

In addition to the religious structures, there are still elements that testify to the area’s once vibrant and festive cultural history. Much of the area’s way of life has survived. The streets are still alive with the smells, sounds, colours and activities that embody the spirit of the place. Poverty and neglect (lack of formal development) has allowed layers of meaning to remain visible through time while new layers are constantly being added. The flotsam of bygone era’s still riddle the area in the form of old signboards and building facades, suggesting that beneath the exterior there may still live a forgotten culture. Fig 2.10 is structured is such a way as to prompt the viewer to ‘discover’ diverse landmarks, historical remnants and cultural activities as one would upon a visit to Marabastad.
2.3 THE STORY OF THE THEATRES

The most apparent examples of the historical remnants mentioned in the previous section are the two theatres in Boom street - The Orient Picture Palace and the Empire Theatre (which now hosts shops). These theatres were once part of a trio of theatres that formed the backbone of the Marabastad social scene. (See Fig 2.11 and 2.13) The third theatre, and main focus of this dissertation, was called the Royal Theatre and stood on the corner of 5th and Grand Street, around the corner from the other two. Following is a short account of how these theatres came about, how they contributed to the cultural history Marabastad and finally, how they came to their demise (summarised from Naidoo, 2008).

Built in 1905, the Orient had hosted social events from its very beginning. It started out as a double storey building with shops on the street-front and a small dancehall upstairs. A much larger double volume dancehall was added at the back in 1915. During the late 1930’s the property was put up for sale and the building was bought by Mrs Athiammal Chetty, a widow and mother of six sons. She and her sons were all hawkers, but by pooling all their money together they could make the monthly instalments of fifty pounds a month.

The dancehalls were kept intact and a grocery store was opened in the front. The family took advantage of the trade restrictions against black citizens who were subject to severe curfews and limitations as to where and what they could buy as well as during which times. The store was kept open twenty four hours a day and they sold to any citizen (albeit behind closed doors). The Chettys also took advantage of the fact that blacks were not allowed to buy bulk amounts of corn and malt which they needed to brew beer. Soon they were making enough money to obtain screening rights for films upon which the large dancehall was converted into a movie theatre.

As their business grew they bought all the rights to show films in the location and obtained the Empire and Royal Theatres from the Keshavjee family. The Chettys then had a monopoly on the theatres in the location. These theatres were more than cinema’s “they also provided venues for social, cultural, educational and political events” (Naidoo, 2008: [s.p]). While the Orient had fixed seating, the Empire and Royal Theatres were loose-fit halls which would be cleared out on demand to host a Marabi party, a wedding, a community meeting or any other large social event that was required. The police often raided the Chetty’s theatres, looking for illegal alcohol, prostitution and curfew violations.
As these “theatres” thrived the Chettys’ business prospered from the selling of beer brewing products and snacks, especially Achaar. The Achaar sales, in fact, went so well that they had to change the yard behind the Orient theatre into an Achaar factory where they would produce up to 30 000 25l containers per month — to be exported to various countries.

The films shown in the Chetty’s theatres supplied the Marabi musicians with inspiration, as discussed by Ballantine in ‘Marabi Nights’ (1984): “for jazz and vaudeville artists, films were an apparently infinite source of things to be emulated or developed: ideas, melodies, songs, routines, dance steps, styles of presentation, ways of dressing, ways of playing; and of course they also provided ways of estimating local achievement.” He continues to explain how cinema was an important part of life in the townships since they provided the repressed society with tales of hope and aspiration: “black South Africans were watching films long before the invention of the sound movie in the late 1920’s ... By the 1930’s, there were a number of commercial cinemas for blacks ... and in most of the townships free films were shown out of doors, even on cold winter nights. Despite the controls of strict censorship, the movies had an impact difficult to overestimate” (Ballantine, 1984: 13).

It was with the enforcement of the Group Areas Act (affecting Indians during the early 60’s) that the Chetty’s theatre empire was brought to its knees. The Royal Theatre was demolished under the pretext that a highway was to be constructed through the property, but it was the only building to be razed in the area. The highway was never constructed and the electricity to the other two theatres was cut. The Chetty’s, along with the rest of the Indian population of the Asiatic Bazaar were relocated to Laudium and Claudius.

In 1964 the government claimed ownership of all Indian property in the area and it was only some 30 years later, in 1995, that the Chettys (descendants of the original Chetty brothers) could reclaim their lost property.

The author met the owner Mr. Sandha Chetty on a visit to the Orient theatre on 9 June 2011 and Mr. Chetty intends to re-instate the Orient as a cinema.

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1 Achaar - The Hindi term for pickle. Predominantly made from mango, salt, spices and oils. (About.com)
2.4
MARABASTAD TODAY

2.4.1
URBAN FABRIC

The last remaining original historic fabric remains in the area between Bloed and Mogul Streets. (See Fig 2.14 & 2.15) The built fabric dissipates to the South to expose large dusty tracts of land used mainly as parking for taxi’s. To the North the fine grain of the original grid ends abruptly in Mogul Street, to the North of which most of the large scale transport interchanges are located. The remaining original fabric is in varying states of disrepair but generally still very much active and lively. The fine historical grid pattern and small erven has resulted in an area with a dense built fabric that is very pedestrian friendly, with a number of North South avenues having been closed to vehicular traffic and turned into ad-hoc open air markets. The unique urban fabric, enclosure within distinct boundaries and the palpable sense of history present in the area lends Marabastad a distinct autonomy that distinguishes it from the rest of Pretoria.
2.4.2 PUBLIC TRANSPORT

Today pedestrian activity in Marabastad is primarily dictated by the presence of large scale modal interchanges of public transport. Each morning the area floods with commuters travelling from outlying townships by bus or train to come to work in/around Pretoria (See Fig 2.16). From Marabastad the commuters take taxi’s to their places of work. The area again floods during the late afternoon when everybody returns home. Besides the heightened activity during the mornings and afternoons, Marabastad remains highly active throughout the day with informal trade and socialising the dominant commercial activities. Fresh produce stalls and informal restaurants are most abundant – serving the throngs of commuters passing through each day. Shebeens are plentiful in the area and are ceaselessly active.

The following list indicates the influx of people through the area each day by way of public transport (Aziz Tayob Partnership, 2002:138).

1. Putco bus rank- 12 000 persons/day
2. 7th St. Informal taxi rank- 500 persons/day
3. Bazaar St. Informal taxi rank- 3 500 persons/day
4. Belle Ombre train station- 24 000 persons/day
5. Belle Ombre bus stop- 9 000 persons/day
6. Belle Ombre informal taxi rank- 700 persons/day
7. Proposed BRT terminal- 11 150 persons/day
8. Proposed BRT stop- 11 150 persons/day
9. Jerusalem St. Informal taxi rank- 3 500 persons/day
10. Jerusalem St. Informal taxi rank- 3 500 persons/day
2.4.3 HERITAGE CONSERVATION AREA

In his 1991 report “Marahastad of die Asiatiiese Bazaar: Geboue en Plekke van Belang” Professor Schalk le Roux classified the buildings of Marabastad in terms of their conservation/preservation value. After determining the area with the most valuable heritage content the heritage conservation area was stipulated. Figure 2.21 illustrates the proposed conservation area along with a legend indicating the classifications of the buildings in terms of heritage value.

Of specific importance to this study is the classification of the Orient and Empire theatres as irreplaceable landmarks which should be appropriately reprogrammed.
Fig 2.22
Life in Marabastad today, Photostudy
Author

Fig 2.23
Layering of analysis data
Author with fellow student Darryn Botha
A detailed section through Boom Street illustrates the fundamental workings of the built fabric of Marabastad. When viewed from the front façade, most of the buildings of Boom Street convey simplicity and apparent legibility, however, the section reveals a complex series of thresholds that determine different levels of interface, public engagement, privacy, safety, function, concealment/unveiling of experience, permanence/adaptability and historical layering.

When considered individually, each layer divulges information about the mechanisms that drive the architecture of Marabastad. The following analysis documents the vertical layering from street-front through the building towards unseen courtyards and workshops at the back, with particular consideration for the spaces created between thresholds and how they are programmed (See Fig 2.22 -Overleaf).

- **Boom Street**

Three lane vehicular one way from West to East. Traffic lights control traffic effectively, assisting pedestrian movement across the road.

- **On street parking**

Taxis occupy the majority of the parking, therefore commuters are constantly getting on and off along the entire length of the road, thereby keeping energy levels uniform along it. The curb is therefore occupied by informal traders selling goods to people waiting or arriving.

- **Tree line**

The line of Jacaranda trees offers both a visual filter and a definite sense of threshold. They offer cover to the traders, waiting commuters and pedestrians walking along the sidewalk.

- **Colonnade/Arcade**

The colonnade creates another definite threshold to pass through before reaching the covered arcade that runs along almost all of the facades along Boom street in Marabastad. The space between the colonnade and the shopfront is a popular area occupied by informal traders. The shop owners don’t mind this at all, in fact they promote it, often placing signs that read: Hawkers Welcome. There still exists a unique reciprocality between the shop owners and thehawkers in Marabastad. The shop owners buy goods wholesale and sell them to the hawkers. Where it is not taken up entirely by hawkers the arcade offers shaded walking space along the shopfronts.

- **Evolving backrooms/workshops**

Concealed from the public eye, the areas behind the shops are used for a multitude of uses. Liberated from the façade, these spaces are highly adaptable and can change to accommodate programmatic requirements, thereby enabling the longevity of the building. Uses for these spaces are infinite – from housing through workshops to shebeens.

- **Additions/Informal housing**

Many of the buildings have shed-like additions behind them – also concealed from view from the main road and these too accommodate a variety of uses. They are the least permanent and can be altered or removed without much trouble.

- **Enclosed courtyard**

The tightly knit built fabric creates hidden courtyards nestled within the small blocks.
2.5 PROPOSED FRAMEWORK

2.5.1 SUMMARY OF THE AZIZ TAYOB & URBAN DESIGNERS FRAMEWORK

A comprehensive Integrated Spatial Design Framework (ISDF) for Marabastad was compiled in 1998 by Aziz Tayob Architects Inc. & Meyer Pienaar Tayob Architects & Urban Designers and was again revised in 2002. The primary objectives of the framework may be summarised as:

- The development of vacant areas on the periphery of Marabastad.
- The development of the area as a unique tourist destination.
- Re-integration of Marabastad into the CBD.
- To facilitate optimum land restitution to correct past injustices.
- Revival of the area's historical character and to facilitate cultural continuity.
- Conservation of remaining historical fabric.
- Re-introduction of a residential component to Marabastad.
- Provision of social support facilities and recreational areas.
- Upgrading the service infrastructure of the area and addressing social concerns.

The following statement summarises the governing principle of the ISDF:

“The urban environment is here seen not as a designed stage set, but as the physical manifestation of social interaction, and the urban design exercise as an enabling mechanism which will help steer the reciprocal relationship between a community and its built environment into a spiral of growth on all fronts” (Aziz Tayob, 1998).

Since the abovementioned framework is currently the intended one for implementation this dissertation intends to respond to the context thereof. Of greater importance to this dissertation is the sensitive treatment of the existing historical fabric of the area.
Fig 2.24
Aziz Tayob ISDF Model
Black: Existing Fabric
White: Proposed
Author with fellow student Darryn Botha.
The site under investigation is the (now vacant) site of the old Royal Theatre on the corner of 5th Avenue and Grand Street. The intention is to investigate the possibility of returning to Marabastad the network of theatres that once provided a pivotal platform for the Marabi culture (See Fig 2.26).

2.5.2.1 Site description

The site has been vacant since the demolition of the Royal Theatre in 1967. The only built fabric on the site is Lallie’s Ladies Bar – a popular shebeen (See Fig 2.27). The site is currently occupied by informal restaurants where meat and chicken are cooked over open fires and served with pap to passers by. All of the areas associated with a formal restaurant are present: ‘kitchen’, washing area, seating areas, service counters and even toilets in the form of temporary ablution stalls which are converted from shipping containers. Ash and soot from the cooking fires cover the entire site. The block has been consolidated with its Eastern neighbour which hosts the Miriammen temple complex, 5th avenue having been covered up between them. The walls of the Tamil Hall and the printing press adjacent to the site creates an impermeable negative edge. The site consists of six 15mx15m stands but now also includes the area once occupied by 5th avenue.

The South Western corner of the site is on the corner of Bloed and Jerusalem Streets, which in the new framework, will be the first primary vehicular access point into the historical conservation area of Marabastad, therefore attaining an important role in announcing destination.
2.5.2.2

Statement of significance for the site

1. Historical: It is the site of the old Royal Theatre which played an important role in the development of the Marabi culture together with the Empire and Orient Theatres.

2. Cultural: The theatre culture was an important part of township life. The films showed at the theatres were important sources of inspiration to the community but also provided Marabi musicians with the foreign material which they incorporated into their music. The loose-fit nature of the theatres meant that it could be appropriated as places for social gatherings and meetings. Theatre halls were used to host the wild dance parties that personified the culture thereby acting as the primary physical loci of the Marabi culture. The theatres were also known suppliers of the products required to brew the beer that fuelled the parties and did much to sustain the independent economy of the area.

3. Architectural: The site today houses a current locus of the remaining intangible qualities of the Marabi culture in the form of the shebeen. The informal restaurants on the site are also indicative of a way of life that is unique to the area and should be taken into consideration (See Fig 2.28 & Fig 2.29).

4. Political: The theatres were often raided by police targeting illegal activity like pass offences, curfew violations, prostitution and the possession of illegal alcohol. The theatre was demolished under the pretext of a highway scheme to be constructed through the site. The theatre was the only structure that was demolished and the highway was never built. The electricity to the other two theatres was also cut off, thereby displacing the Marabi culture from its physical locus.

5. Religious: The site is directly adjacent to the Mirriammen temple complex, an iconic landmark of Marabastad. The customs and rituals of the Hindu religious practice therefore have to be regarded in the approach to the proposal.

6. Physical: It falls within the heritage area as proposed by Professor Schalk le Roux in his 1991 survey of heritage structures in Marabastad wherein he suggests that the sites of the theatres are important historical landmarks which should be appropriately re-programmed. The site is situated on the corner of Bloed and Jerusalem Streets, which is the primary vehicular access point into the historical area when approaching from the CBD.