

THE ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BIBLE AS CULTURAL TEXT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF AFRIKANER NATIONAL IDENTITY

By

Louis H. Barnard

M. Phil in Visual Arts (Illustration)

UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH



SUPERVISOR: LIZE VAN ROBBROECK

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature:

Date:

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a critical analysis of Afrikaans illustrated children's Bibles as cultural texts in Afrikaner nationalist discourse. Christian Calvinism was a distinct signifier in Afrikaner nationalism and served as an instrument in the construction of Afrikaner national identity. I propose in this study that Afrikaans children's Bibles encoded the principles of Afrikaner nationalism and were used as didactic tools for the configuration of an exclusive national consciousness. A potential pitfall in the analysis of Afrikaans children's Bibles as nationalist texts is the fact that these books were translated from Dutch or English into Afrikaans. However, the act of translating the Bible, 'the Word of God', into Afrikaans served to confirm the 'totem' of Afrikaner Christian-Nationalism. The appropriation of the Bible re-contextualized the 'Holy Scriptures', placing them within the milieu of Afrikaner national identity and consciousness: language and religion thus became interrelated catalysts in the social construction of Afrikaner national consciousness. Finally, my own reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible – in opposition to conventional illustrated children's Bibles – is put forward and discussed as a postmodern text that encodes a radically different post-Apartheid conception of identity.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis sentreer om ‘n kritiese analise van Afrikaanse geïllustreerde Kinderbybels as kulturele tekste in Afrikaner-nasionalistiese diskoers. Christen Calvinisme het ‘n beduidende rol gespeel in die daarstelling van Afrikanernasionalisme en was instrumenteel tot die konstruksie van die nasionale identiteit van die Afrikaner. My uitgangspunt is dat Afrikaanse Kinderbybels verweef is met die fundamentele beginsels van Afrikanernasionalisme en dat hierdie Bybels gebruik is om op didaktiese wyses ‘n eksklusiewe nasionale bewustheid te bewerkstellig. ‘n Moontlike struikelblok tot hierdie ondersoek bestaan egter as gevolg van die feit dat hierdie geïllustreerde Kinderbybels vertaal is vanuit Nederlands of Engels na Afrikaans. Maar by wyse van die vertaling van die Bybel, ‘Die Woord van God’, word die totemisme van die Afrikaner Christen Nasionalisme bevestig. Die toe-eiening van die Bybel in Afrikaans plaas dus die ‘Heilige Skrifte’ in ‘n nuwe konteks, naamlik binne die milieu van die nasionale Afrikaneridentiteit en bewustheid: taal en geloof word dus verwante katalisators in die sosiale konstruksie van Afrikaner-nasionalistiese konsep en bewussyn. Ten slotte word my eie herbedenksel van die Afrikaanse Prentebybel – in teenstand tot konvensionele geïllustreerde Kinderbybels – na vore gebring en bespreek as ‘n postmodernistiese teks wat onderstreep is deur ‘n radikale gedifferensieëerde post-Apartheid identiteitskonsep.

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INTRODUCTION

The nation is at once assumed to be a rich and inalienable relationship of specific compatriots; at the same time it connects anonymous strangers most of whom will probably never even pass each other in the street. It is a ‘concrete’ relationship ... and yet abstract across time and space in ways that leave us culturally oblivious (James 1996: xi)

This thesis is a critical analysis of Afrikaans illustrated children’s Bibles¹ as cultural texts in Afrikaner nationalist discourse. As a critique of modern nationalism, it departs from Ernest Gellner’s proposition that “Nationalism is not the awakening of a nation to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist” (cited in Anderson 1983:15). This thesis recognises nationalism as a construct and systematically interrogates the collective identity of the nation as a discursive paradigm. In particular, it pays attention to the ways in which religion formed a ‘fixed’ cultural ‘object’ in Afrikaner nationalism, to which the Afrikaner populace ascribed nationalist meaning and attached particular cultural ideals. In this regard, it is proposed that the illustrated children’s Bible played a particularly important role in the ideological interpellation of Afrikaans children. Finally, my own reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible² is discussed as a postmodern text that encodes a radically different post-Apartheid conception of identity.

National identity and consciousness, as constructed phenomena, are produced through the assimilation, inclusion and exclusion of various cultural texts. Christian Calvinism was a distinct signifier in Afrikaner nationalist discourse and served as an instrument in the construction of Afrikaner national identity (Van der Watt 1997:42).³ I thus propose that Afrikaans illustrated children’s Bibles encoded the principles of Afrikaner nationalism; and that these were used as didactic tools for the configuration of an exclusive national

¹ In illustrated books (illustrated children’s books, Bibles or children’s Bibles), the role of illustration is that of being informative or decorative. In illustrated children’s books, the narrative can continue successfully without depending on the aid of visual, illustrated material.

² In contrast to illustrated children’s books, the narratives in picture books (picture Bibles) are dependent on illustrations and clear visual communication. The term ‘picture book’ refers mostly to experimental or postmodern picture books. The relationship between image and text is well integrated where written text, together with illustration, serve as communicators for the narrative.

³ According to Liese Van der Watt’s analysis of the Voortrekker monument in Pretoria, Afrikaners were convinced that they were chosen by God to live in a ‘Promised Land’ (1997:36).

consciousness.⁴ According to Piet Grobler, there have always existed educational, religious and political pressures on children's books (2004:42). The illustrated children's book, be it secular or Biblical, is an influential medium which developed historically as "an alternative to adult literature ... with which to entertain and teach children" (Van Niekerk 2004:5). The visual and textual elements of illustrated children's Bibles were used in the social construction of the ideal homogenisation of 'nation', and served as catalysts conveying the "Message of Nationalism" (Fishman 1972:44).

The first complete translation of the Bible from Dutch into Afrikaans was made in 1933 (Olivier 2006:1). However, illustrated Dutch children's Bibles were being translated into the Afrikaans language before this initial conversion in 1933. *Die Kaapse Kinderbybel of Die Geskiedenis van die Bybel op die Eenvoudigste Wyse Voorgedra veral vir Huiselik Gebruik* (1920-?) (Fig. 1) is one of the earliest Afrikaans translations of the children's Bible. J.H. De Bussy states:

Hierdie *Kaapse Kinderbybel* is 'n vertaling in Afrikaans van die oue Kinderbybel wat elkeen in Suidafrika ken. Omdat daar nog geen Afrikaanse Bijbel is, het ons die tekse en gedeeltes wat woordelik uit die Bijbel oorgeneems is, onverandered gelaat Ons hoop dat die Afrikaanse Bijbel gouw genoeg sal klaar wees, om daarvan gebruik te maak bij die herdruk van hierdie Kinderbybel. (1920-?: xi)^{5 6}

By translating the Bible into Afrikaans, the religious 'totem' of Afrikaner Christian-Nationalism was confirmed. It is therefore essential to discuss the nature of the Afrikaans language⁷ as being a distinct signifier of Afrikaner identity. Language and religion are interrelated catalysts in the social construction of Afrikaner national consciousness. However, I wish to focus specifically on the images found in Afrikaans illustrated children's Bibles. I will question the ideological underpinnings of these Biblical images and narratives, and discuss their functionality as a 'national medium'.

⁴ "... children's literature began to develop in response to the needs of the educational system, the result of which is the strong grip of the educational system on children's literature and the major part it plays in its formulation" (Shavit, cited in Van Niekerk 2004:11).

⁵ This and all subsequent translations of Afrikaans and Dutch are done by me.

⁶ [This *Kaapse Kinderbybel* is a translation in Afrikaans from the old Children's Bible which everyone in South Africa knows. As there is not yet an Afrikaans Bible, we have left texts and scriptures which have literally been taken from the Bible, unchanged We hope that the Afrikaans Bible will be finished soon enough to be used with the reprint of this Children's Bible.]

⁷ According to nationalist theory, it is held that there is an "inseparability of the God-given link between language and nationality" (Fishman 1972:49).

A potential pitfall in the analysis of Afrikaans illustrated children's Bibles as nationalist texts is the fact that these books were translated from Dutch or English. The fact that they were not produced specifically for Afrikaner consumption complicates my argument that they served to entrench Afrikaner nationalist values. It can be argued, however, that although most of the images in Afrikaans children's Bibles were not produced by or for Afrikaners, it is likely that only those children's Bibles that reflected a certain nationalist message were chosen. According to Stephen Prickett, Western societies have viewed the Bible as a translated book which reminds communities that it is about people of another time and place, who belonged to other societies and who spoke different languages (1996:52). It is essential to observe the Bible as a translated text, since translation was and remains an effective means of literary appropriation⁸ (Prickett 1996:52). Apart from the technical complexities caused by translation (due to the fact that languages never have direct linguistic equivalencies), translation also changes the totality of a work simply by appropriating it into a new context (Prickett 1996:52). Within this frame of appropriation, I view the illustrated children's Bible within the Romanticised ideology of nationalism, where "it was responsible not merely for much Romantic literary theory, but had, in the process, been so irrevocably altered by the new hermeneutic assumptions it had engendered that it became ... virtually a different book from that of centuries before" (Prickett 1996:xi). The translation of the Bible into Afrikaans thus re-contextualised the 'Holy Scriptures' within the milieu of Afrikaner national identity and consciousness. I consider that the illustrated children's Bible, within the context of Afrikaner nationalism, became a medium for political communication and propaganda through which citizens, adults and children alike, formed a strong "psychological identification with the nation and internalised national symbols" (Paletz 2004:29).

It must be taken into consideration that the 1930s and 1940s were vital periods in the establishment of Afrikaner nationalism and consciousness. According to Hermann Giliomee, "The 1930's saw an upsurge in the interest in Afrikaner history that would

⁸ Jonathan Bate states: "The history of appropriation may suggest that Shakespeare is not a man who lived from 1564 to 1616 but a body of work that is refashioned by each subsequent age in the image of itself" (cited in Prickett 1996:1). Prickett continues, "If that is true of the Romantic use of Shakespeare, it is doubly so of the Bible, which during the eighteenth century underwent a similar but altogether more profound 'refashioning'" (1996:1).

ultimately lead to the development of a distinctive nationalist school of South African history” (2003:432). The centenary commemoration of the *Great Trek* in 1938 and the inauguration of the *Voortrekker* monument in 1949 laid the foundations of a new generation of Afrikaners who sought to rediscover themselves through acknowledging both the “... heroism and the suffering of war” (Giliomee 2003:432). This consciousness transmuted into political power when the Nationalist party won the 1948 election, in which D.F. Malan launched a major re-organisation of South African society in accordance with Afrikaner nationalist ideals (Cooper 1987:193). In 1994, the Afrikaner regime was officially abolished by democracy and a ‘new South Africa’ was heralded in.

In this thesis I refer specifically to selected Afrikaans illustrated children’s Bibles dating from the late 1940s until the introduction of democracy in 1994. In Chapter One I discuss the concepts of ‘nationalism’, ‘national consciousness’ and ‘national identity’, as they apply to the ‘Afrikaner’. I provide a concise outline of Afrikaner nationalism as a historical construct and consider how religion and language became the primary keys around which Afrikaner identity was organised. In Chapter Two I discuss the Modern picture book as a didactic medium, and how the images in selected illustrated children’s Bibles served as vehicles for communicating the ‘Good Message’ of nationalism. In Chapter Three I discuss my own work, and suggest that the conventions of Afrikaner Christian-Nationalism can be challenged by the introduction of postmodern religious depictions and narratives.

This thesis was inspired partly by an article *The Body in Fiction: Afrikaner Nationalism and Popular Children’s Literature in the 1940’s* by Irma du Plessis, in which Afrikaans children’s books are discussed as tools for the construction of the imagined community of the nation. The historical, Afrikaans children’s Bible, placed within a literary context, embodies popular fiction “... as a regime of discourse through which ideas and ideologies of Afrikaner nationalism were disseminated to a wider audience” (Du Plessis 2005: 4). In this thesis, therefore, I concentrate on the intertextual confluence of religion, illustrated children’s books and Afrikaner nationalism.

CHAPTER 1

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

Men do not become nationalists from sentiment or sentimentality ... they become nationalists through genuine, objective, practical necessity, however obscurely recognised. (Gellner, cited in Day & Thompson 2004:11)

1.1. The Concept of National Identity

Although Gellners' argument states that national identity becomes imperative as a matter of practical necessity – thus emphasising its expediency and functional value – it is important to recognise that modern nationalism is facilitated by patriotism and ethnocentric cohesive sentimentality.⁹ In order to grasp the concept of the illustrated children's Bible as a cultural text in the social construction of Afrikaner identity, it is essential to understand this romanticised ideology of modern nationalist discourse. According to Hayes, "Nationalism is an obvious and impelling movement in the modern and contemporary world" (1960:1). Schlesinger describes the concept of national identity as a specific form of collectivity that is "... one of inclusion that provides a boundary around 'us' and one of exclusion distinguishing 'us' from 'them'" (cited in Paletz 2004:28).¹⁰ This thesis endorses the notion that nationalism is an ideological myth constructed¹¹ by members of a group sharing a common history and societal culture. Nationalism may be defined as a fusion of patriotism with a consciousness about

⁹ According to James G. Kellas, "Nationalism and ethnic politics display characteristics of emotion and intensity which appear to derive from instinctive behaviour, and from a human predisposition to show loyalty to 'in-groups' and hostility to 'out-groups'" (1998:7).

¹⁰ According to K.R. Minogue, "Nationalism is a political movement which seeks to attain and defend an objective we may call national integrity" (1969:25). Nationalism demands 'freedom'. This demand suggests that nationalists feel themselves oppressed. From this freedom/oppression complex of ideas we may extract a general description of nationalism: "It is a political movement depending on a feeling of collective grievance against foreigners. The nationalist grievance must be collective. And the collectivity must be nation" (Minogue 1969:25).

¹¹ When I refer to the social 'construction' of the 'nation', I consider the process of 'construction' as, "... a dual phenomenon which is produced essentially 'from above', but which cannot be understood unless also analysed 'from below'" (Hobsbawm 1990:10). The nationalist view, "'from above' includes governments and the spokesmen and activists of the nationalist movement, but the view 'from below' involves the ordinary persons who are interpellated by their actions and propaganda" (1990:10).

nationality¹² (Hayes 1960:2). Gans claims that members of cohesive organisations willingly adhere to their established culture with the objective of sustaining it for generations (2003:1). A nation, therefore, consists of a symbolic community which sanctions certain cultural ideals in order to evoke nationalistic fervour.

Evans declares, “In recent years ‘The Nation’¹³ has come to be seen not merely as the object of political, geographical or economic analysis, but as one of *cultural* analysis” (Boswell & Evans 1999:1). ‘Nationalism’ is a term used to describe the concepts of ‘national identity’ and ‘national consciousness’ so much so that ‘nationalism’ becomes transposable and interchangeable with ‘national consciousness’. Furthermore, ‘nationalism’ “... denotes the set of ideas and sentiments that form the conceptual framework of national identity” (Greenfeld, cited in Motyl 2001:251). I consider nationalism as a system of overlapping social structures, such as gender, class, religion and linguistics.¹⁴ Greenfeld states, however, that the modernist notion of national identity may be referred to as “fundamental identity” (cited in Motyl 2001:251), which is believed to be applicable to various social spheres in life, and to which other identities are subordinate.

Nationalism is grounded in the ideology of the modern nation-state. Modernist discourse implies that the nation-state describes a large category of people with more or less uniform culture. Cultural identity is thus coterminous with ‘national consciousness’ “... which implies a common ancestry ...” (cited in Motyl 2001:106). A nation is therefore most frequently a cultural community which involves a group of people who feel themselves to be bound together by ties of history and common ancestry (Kellas 1998:3).

¹² “*Nationality* is a word derived from the Latin *natio*’, implying a common racial descent, but few, if any, modern nationalities consist of a distinctive ‘race’ in the biological sense” (Hayes 1960:2). According to Hayes, “nationality receives its *patriotism* and individuality, not from geographical or biological race, but rather from cultural and historical forces such as language or traditions” (1960:3).

¹³ The ‘nation’ is regarded by most sociological studies neither as a primary nor an unchanging social entity. Hobsbawm regards the ‘nation’ as a cohesive ‘body’ which belongs, “... exclusively to a particular, and historically recent, period It is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the ‘nation-state’” (1990:9).

¹⁴ According to Minogue, “‘Nation’ seemed further a more single and unified idea than ‘people’ ...” (1969:10). Minogue states that “The nation *was* the interests of everyone, by contrast with the plurality of classes, religions, corporations and perhaps regions which the state might obtain” (1969:10).

According to nationalist ideology, the sole principle of “... political exclusion and inclusion follows the boundaries of the nation – that category of people defined as members of the same culture” (Erikson 2002:101). Nationalism may be described as an inclusive system with the “... elaborate beliefs, values and behaviours which nationalities develop” (Fishman 1972:4). The concept of national consciousness is thus based upon the illusive premises of socio-cultural collectivities and their supposedly unique and distinctive characteristics. This construction of a national ‘self’, as mentioned earlier, involves the exclusion and segregation of selected alterities which appear to intimidate that identity. Xenophobia¹⁵ (“An unreasonable fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers ...” (cited in Motyl 2001:593)) is a primary element in the process of constructing a national identity. A comprehensive phenomenon, xenophobia is used to foster a sense of national ‘supremacy’ and exclusivity. It establishes virtual precincts around a national community in order to evoke an imagined homogeneity. All identities are comprised of a ‘self’ and an ‘other’. Disassociation is therefore an inevitable requirement of all identity formation, including ‘nation’.

In the settler colonies and in the post-colony, the notions of ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ are considerably more complex. Without delving into the definitions of colonial and post-colonial theory and their relation to nationalism in too much depth, it is important to note that colonialism is regarded as the settling of communities from one country in another (Childs & Williams 1997:227), while post-colonialism is conceived as a set of discursive practices involving resistance to colonialism and colonialist ideologies and legacies (Childs & Williams 1997:232). Nationalism – with regard to colonial expansion into other countries – implies the allegiance to a ‘motherland’, which is imagined as *sovereign*,¹⁶ thus evading any independent cohesion or union amongst the settlers in question. One must also take into consideration the effect colonisation had upon the native communities of the colonised region, the exploitation of the geographical territory,

¹⁵ According to the *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* Volume II, “Xenophobia is often the driving force and rallying cry behind nationalism. Hatred and fear of those of a different nationality can lead to fighting, political, militant or emotional, for one’s own nationality” (Motyl 2001:593). “Nationalists attempt to gain power or drum up support by using xenophobic rhetoric, or attempt to fan the flames of existing hatred. Xenophobia is found throughout the world, from the America’s to Europe, from Asia to Africa” (Motyl 2001:593).

¹⁶ A nation is an imagined political community which is “*sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely ordained, hierarchical dynastic realms ...” (Benedict Anderson, cited in Rajan & Mohanram 1995:3).

together with an organised interference in its rule and culture. In Child and Williams' *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory*, it is suggested that "... the colonial powers fundamentally disrupted many indigenous cultures and identities in the past" (1997:13). Therefore, the struggle towards independence of the colonial settlers from an autonomous 'mother country' was reflected in a similar struggle by the native cultures. Furthermore, the term 'post-colonial' in relation to national construction covers all the cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day (Bill Ashcroft, cited in Childs & Williams 1997:3). The complexity of defining 'nation' in relation to the settler colonies is extended further if one considers that, in South Africa, an uneasy alliance existed between descendents of settlers of different national origin. The settlers in South Africa were of mixed European heritage; Dutch, German, English and French, thus complicating the possibility of social cohesion. National 'unity' and consistency is thus imaginary and can be defined as a metaphorical construct (Frederic Jameson, cited in Rajan & Mohanram 1995:3).

1.2. Ethnicity and Nationalism

Because Afrikaner nationalism centres on the ethnic identity of the Afrikaner, it is necessary to define ethnicity and its relation to national self-construction. Although ethnicity often predates national construction, within the context of national perceptions and ideologies, ethnicity suggests a common societal culture "... whereby a group of people share the basics of life" (Hastings 1997:167).¹⁷ According to Hastings, ethnicity occurs in an 'inter-marrying' society based upon a common ancestry which tends to define itself in terms of its common ancestors and very often some specific 'myth' of origin or of the particular land occupied by the ethnic group in question (1997:168). This definition implies that ethnicity relies upon a chronological tracing of a central line of historic consciousness from the present to the past. This line of historical ancestry intentionally excludes peripheral histories within a common geographical area.

¹⁷ Ethnicity in the collective community is based upon shared cultural rituals: "... the rituals of birth, marriage and death, the customs of courtship, the proverbs, songs, lullabies, shared history and myths, the beliefs in what follows death and in God, gods or other spirits" (Hastings 1997:167).

The construction of collective identity has received strong criticism from post-modernists who argue that "... national identity is just another form of group identity available on the 'free market of identities'" (Bekker & Prinsloo 1999:15). 'Primordialists', on the other hand, state that communal identification is based upon the "... sharing of collective memory, history, myths and symbols, and allegiance to a shared 'homeland'" (Bekker & Prinsloo 1999:15). Therefore, the assimilation into a shared community of culture constitutes various elements which provide the "... decisive criteria of belonging" (Hastings 1997:173). However, national identity cannot be simplified into ethnic, cultural, political or territorial identity. According to the *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* Volume II, despite its constructedness, national identity remains "... real and powerful"¹⁸ (cited in Motyl 2001:361), and has an effect on people regardless of the theoretical explanations put forward for its existence.

Nations seek to establish seamless links between the state and the cultural entity of the ethnic group in order to be empowered to create abstract communities. Frederik Barth suggests that, when described as an ascriptive and exclusive group, the continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of an ethnic boundary (1969:14).¹⁹ An ethnic group is a culture-bearing unit that shares fundamental cultural values isolating the social entity from others through racial difference, cultural difference, social separation, language barriers and spontaneous or organised enmity (Barth 1969:11). The ethnic constituent relies upon segregation²⁰ and cultural exclusivity. Ethnicity in relation to nationalism is therefore an illusive enclosure that sees the boundary of 'nation' as circumscribed by the boundary of an ethnic group (Motyl 2001:151). Ethnicity and nationalism place emphasis on an individual's ancestry, descent and community of birth as primary components of the 'homeland'. Summers defines the ethnocentrism of ethnic nationalism as "... putting the values and norms of the own culture in the judgment of others" (cited in Motyl 2001:152). Therefore, the ethnic group as a cohesive identity

¹⁸ Hastings states that cultural symbols such as "National anthems, flags and histories can grip one within a vice of irrationality unless they are balanced by other loyalties, both those closer to the ground of ordinary living and those more universal" (1997:184).

¹⁹ "Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for all recruitment but by a continual expression and validation, need to be analysed" (Barth 1969:15).

²⁰ "Territorial: confinement (and different legal status)" (Pieterse, cited in May, Modood & Squires 2004:37).

regards its own culture as holding a superior position to others, thereby excluding other ethnic identities, even though they are contained within the borders of the nation state, thus creating 'local alterities'.

The relationship between ethnicity and the nation-state is particularly problematic in the colonial/post-colonial nation. As the settlers in seventeenth-century South Africa, during colonial expansion, consisted of members from different European heritage, the Afrikaners' desire to create a common societal ancestry and ethnicity remains problematic. According to Jan Nederveen Pieterse, the main factor that makes cultural differences problematic is if and how these intersect with power relations (cited in May, Modood & Squires 2004:34). Afrikaner national identity, constructed from white, non-English South Africans, may have unshackled itself from British colonialism and external dominion, but in itself it took the form of "internal colonialism, xenophobia, and chauvinism, imposing a monocultural regime and [practising] suppression and discrimination of minorities and deliberate uneven development across regions" (Pieterse, cited in May, Modood & Squires 2004:34). Afrikaner ethnicity, as a post-colonial construct produced from various European influences, implies a complex process of hybridity. The assimilation and appropriation of cultural texts in order to create a common ethnicity constitutes the irregular hybridisation of Afrikaner construction, which adopts "chameleon identities for the sake of mobility or gain" (Pieterse, cited in May, Modood & Squires 2004:35).

1.3. Afrikaner Grand Narratives

A nation is a group of people who feel themselves to be a community²¹ bound together by ties of history, culture and common ancestry. Nations have 'objective' characteristics which may include a territory, language, religion, or common descent ... and 'subjective' characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of nationality and affection for it. (Kellas 1991:3)

²¹ "[The nation] is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequity and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, cited in Kellas 1991:1).

The statement above delivers a general description of nationality and collective consciousness, and is useful in the unpacking of Afrikaner identity. As already mentioned, for national identity to exist amongst a group of individuals, a common ancestry is often mobilised. Historical descent became the primary foundation of Afrikaner nationalism. Here I do not wish to delve into the history of the Afrikaner people in detail, but will give a brief overview: various situations that occurred in South African history contributed toward the deepened "... sense of peoplehood that the Afrikaners held of themselves" (cited in Motyl 2001:5). A unilateral account of history became the inevitable 'Grand Narrative' for Afrikaner national identity and consciousness:

Colour, incident, tragedy and comedy, defeat and victory, joy and sorrow ... our earliest history is full of the most gripping human interest There is gold not only on our earth, but still more in our history. (Kitto, cited in Giliomee 2003: xiii)

According to Giliomee, "There was indeed drama, heroism and magnanimity in Afrikaner history, but also oppression, greed and the dehumanisation of others" (2003:xiii). The so-called 'Afrikaner people' were derived from a settlement founded in 1652 by the Dutch East India Company at the tip of Africa (Giliomee 2003:xiii). Most of these settlers were colonists and immigrants from Western Europe who became farmers in the Cape during the latter part of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth century.²²

The *Great Trek*²³ became a major cultural text in the development and construction of Afrikaner national identity. This particular historical event narrates the Afrikaners' resistance to British dominion and imperialism. According to F.A. van Jaarsveld, it has often been asserted that the *Great Trek* ensured the continuance of the 'Afrikaner nation' and Afrikaner *taal*²⁴ (1961:18). The emigration of the Boers from the Cape Colony into

²² "These settlers had enlisted as soldiers or sailors in service of the Dutch East India Company and became free burghers ... the first colonial peoples to cut most of their family and community ties with Europe and to develop a distinct sense of self consciousness; they made the new land genuinely their own" (Giliomee 2003:xiv).

²³ "The *Great Trek* received much attention from both popular and academic historians, especially as the commemoration of the event in 1938 approached. Van Wyk Louw's choral play *Die Diepe Reg* (The Higher Justice) portrayed the Voortrekkers as heroes and heroines who follow the 'call of their blood'" (Giliomee 2003:432).

²⁴ [Language].

the wilderness to seek a haven where they could be "... free from what they regarded as intolerable oppression, is a unique event in the history of modern colonisation" (Theal 1887:59). It would, however, be a distortion to suggest that the Voortrekkers left the Colony as a group of people with a developed sense of 'national consciousness' (Van Jaarsveld 1961:21-22). The growth and development of national self-assertion was rather a *result* of the Great Trek than a cause of it. The degree of national consciousness that existed before the 'exodus' stood in direct relationship to the many grievances against the British authorities.

It was during the 1938 centenary that the *Great Trek* assumed symbolic significance. Then, when a 'need' for a unified national consciousness arose, the idea of an Afrikaner 'volk' was derived. The symbolic relevance of the *Great Trek* was manifested in 1949 when the *Voortrekker* monument was unveiled as a commemoration of this exodus into the wild interior of the land (Giliomee 2003:xiii). The *Great Trek* became a primary emblem for the Afrikaners and an anti-imperial declaration. Events such as 'The Battle of Blood River', where the Afrikaners fought a party of Zulu warriors and gained victory, also became one of the key narratives "... from which they created the mythology of their special place" (cited in Motyl 2001:5). The religious significance of these events was of prime benefit for the Afrikaners. The *Great Trek* was employed as a narrative associating the Afrikaners with the Israelites of the Old Testament. 'The Battle of Blood River' was likened to the 'Ode of the Covenant', which served as 'proof' that the Afrikaners were 'God's chosen people' (these issues are dealt with in depth under subsection 1.6. below).

In addition, the Anglo-Boer War became another majestic tale for the Afrikaner *volk*. The suffering experienced, and the intolerable cruelty of the oppressors, the bitterness of defeat and the humiliation of flight were combined with the sweet taste of victory when the burghers went out to meet the 'enemy' (Grobler 2004:7). According to J.E.H. Grobler, "There was hardship, heat, cold, want, hunger, but also pleasure, gratitude for small mercies when the suffering was eased for a while" (2004:7). The war was used as a unifying factor for Afrikaner national consciousness in the early twentieth century. The 'grand narration' of historical events affecting the Afrikaner thus became the primary foundation for Afrikaner identity and *volkseenheid*. The desire for political self-

determination in an independent nation-state found expression in the Biblical tale of God's chosen people in search of the 'promised land'.

1.4. Afrikaner Identity as 'Catch-Up' Nationalism

The ideology of Afrikaner nationalism grew out of a common desire for independence generated by the inferior social and economic position occupied by the Afrikaner under British dominion. Vatcher states:

When peoples with cultures at different levels of development come face to face, the less developed culture tends to be absorbed by the more highly developed one, and the people associated with the former are assigned, temporarily at least, an inferior place in the emerging society. (1965:3)

Although the above-mentioned statement is a highly teleological modernist argument which assumes 'levels of development' between cultures, it becomes evident that Afrikaner nationalism is based upon the exclusion of selected alterities, namely the Imperialistic British,²⁵ and the 'primordial' black cultures of 'Dark Africa'. As a result, "English speakers and blacks were identified as historical enemies and therefore perceived to be contemporary threats in the drive towards *volkseenheid* and a future republic" (Van Der Watt 1997:39). In particular, Afrikaner nationalism can be described as a form of 'catch-up' nationalism, in which an interiorised sense of social and cultural inferiority towards the British colonisers is expressed in the desire to 'prove' equality. Kellas states: "Central to all aspects of political nationalism is ... [t]he desire to overcome social and political systems of domination and exclusion, in which nations other than one's own wield predominant power" (1998:8).

Where modern European nation-states often corresponded to existing ethnic, linguistic and cultural boundaries, the Afrikaner nation-state was a colonial invention. As an invention of the twentieth century and by-product of colonisation, 'Afrikaner identity' can be regarded as the epitome of modern nationalism. The concept of Afrikaner identity

²⁵ In a highly Imperialist tone, Vatcher states "... the greatest threat to the Afrikaner, or Boer, did not come from any group native to Africa, but rather from Europe. The English brought with them a culture that, in relation to that of the Afrikaner, was undeniably superior" (1965:3).

was largely based upon the illusive construct of a modern ‘nation state’.²⁶ There can be no question of cultural or linguistic homogeneity in the ‘multi-cultural’ arena of the post-colonial state. According to Val Plumwood, the ‘trap’ for post-colonial identity lies in the logic of colonisation which creates complementary and, in advanced cases, complicit subordinate identities in and through colonisation (1993:61). The recuperation and declaration of subordinate identity is one of the key problems for the colonised (Plumwood 1993:61). Hence Afrikaner nationalism was perforce radically exclusive.

This perceived national exclusivity had to be protected by an imagined *laager*²⁷ constructed by the Afrikaner nationalist hero. According to Vatcher, cultural clashes drew the Boers closely together, forced them to define their attitudes, and produced a togetherness and sense of belonging and, more especially, a determination to rise above their perceived inferior status (1965:4). Categorising and stereotyping²⁸ of groups and societies became the primary xenophobic strategy for Afrikaner nationalists. This becomes evident in various Afrikaner nationalist writings, such as *Rasse en Rassevermenging: Die Boerevolk Gesien van die Standpunt van die Rasseleer* by Dr. G. Eloff (1942) where the hierarchical categorisation of racial groups was perceived as absolute truth. Dr. Eloff expresses his view in a highly modernist tone:

Die handhawing van die suiwer-ras tradisie van die Boerevolk moet teen alle koste en op alle doeltreffende maniere beskerm word as ‘n heilige pand aan ons toevertroue deur ons voorgeslag as deel van Gods plan met ons volk. Enige beweging, skool of individu wat hierteen misdryf moet as ‘n rasmisdadiger deur die owerheid doeltreffend mee afgereken word. Daarenteen moet die inboorling en kleurling – volgens ons Christelike oortuiging soos toegepas deur ons voorouers – as minderbedeeldes, dog nietemin as skepsels van

²⁶ According to James, “Although the modern nation continues to be experienced as a concrete, historically condensed relation between people, it is only through a constitutive lift in the level of abstraction that it is possible to feel comradeship with a national mass who, except for one’s personally known network of associations, will largely remain anonymous strangers” (1996:39).

²⁷ “In the old days of native wars Voortrekkers drew their wagons into a circular *laager*. Within its protection men defended themselves against the impis of the Zulus or the Matabele. Today their descendants seek to retreat into a new *laager* made up of laws and restraints as if they could thereby be protected against the turmoil of a multi-racial society” (De Kiewiet, cited in Vatcher 1965: i).

²⁸ “While subordinate groups are not completely without influence on how they are stereotyped, the decisive categorizing power lies within the dominant group or groups since they have greater access to the media. It is largely in their interests that social hierarchy is established, and it is their interests to keep it that way” (Bekker, Dodds & Khosa 2001:149).

God, behandel word. Die voorgedyskap moet een wees wat die strengste toets kan weerstaan. (1942:104)²⁹

Furthermore, British dominion and assumed ‘superiority’ over the Boers resulted in a burning desire to ‘prove’ the Afrikaners’ mastery of Western standards and the ideology of modern progression. Cultural texts aspire to portray the Afrikaner volk as a modern civilised nation. The partial adoption of exclusively Western standards and norms of British civility is, however, a problematic strategy since it can be seen as reifying the ‘superiority’ of the British. However, this identification is ambiguous since Afrikaner nationalism is also based on a rejection of British colonisation, and places emphasis on being fundamentally African. The insistence on indigeneity (as signified by the term ‘Afrikaner’) supports the Afrikaners’ claims to legitimate ownership of the land. These notions are evident in Afrikaner cultural ‘totems’ and structures, such as the *Bybelmonument* outside Grahamstown, which commemorates the British Settlers’ presentation of a Bible to the Voortrekker, Jacobus Uys, and his followers (Swart 1989:69) (Fig. 2). I interpret this memorial as representing the Afrikaner and the British settlers as equals. Swart states that the monument depicts an open book suggesting a Bible (1989:69). Thomas Philipps and W.R. Thompson are represented on the left page, whilst the Voortrekker, Jacobus Uys, and his family are depicted on the right, placing them in a reflected opposition. Although the images are portrayed as acting in a ‘friendly’ manner and placed within a common environment, the British and the Voortrekkers are still portrayed as dichotomous groupings separated from one another.

²⁹ [The maintenance of the pure race-tradition of the Boerevolk must at all costs and by every effective means be protected as a holy pledge entrusted to us by our forefathers as part of God’s plan for our nation. Any movement, school or individual that acts against this, must be regarded as a racial criminal by the people and be effectively dealt with. Conversely, the natives or the coloureds – according to our Christian conviction as applied by our ancestors – must be handled as an inferior minority, yet nonetheless as God’s creatures. This guardianship must be one that is able to surpass any difficult trial or tribulation.]

1.5. Language and Afrikaner Nationalism

By the nineteenth century, the language ‘Dutch-Afrikaans’³⁰ was extremely diverse by region, dialect and social class (Hofmeyer, cited in Marks & Trapido 1987:96). Not only did it absorb considerable terminologies from indigenous languages and the various languages spoken by slaves in the Cape, but it also picked up linguistic elements of German, French and English. Significantly, the variety of terms used to describe this hybrid language pointed to a strong association with poorness and ‘colouredness’ (Hofmeyer, cited in Marks & Trapido 1987:96).³¹ Afrikaans was viewed as a ‘low language’ and unacceptable for academic purposes. Educated Afrikaners had not used the Afrikaans language during British colonial expansion in South Africa. Only in the early twentieth century was Afrikaans acknowledged as having literary status.³² By 1905 journalists in various centres throughout the four colonies of South Africa had started using Afrikaans in their newspapers (Hofmeyer, cited in Marks & Trapido 1987:103). It became a ‘national task’ to ‘professionalise’ the Afrikaans language (Hofmeyer, cited in Marks & Trapido 1987:104), and to motivate individuals to find occupational mobility on the basis of their linguistic and cultural skills.

It is evident that language is a primary socio-cultural unit in the process of national construction. A nation’s identity resides in the preconceived notion that language is a defining characteristic of nationality (Fishman 1972:3). According to the *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* Volume II, “Language is a crucial element of culture because it is part of it at the same time that it is endowed with the ability of naming it” (Motyl 2001:282). The

³⁰ Giliomee states that the use of the Dutch language in South Africa itself was extremely poor (2003:211). By 1880, hardly any Afrikaner children received any instruction in Dutch (Giliomee 2003:211). It was stated in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* in 1873 that Afrikaner children were “... Growing up with less care bestowed upon them than upon the beasts of the field – without the ability to read or write in their mother tongue ... without the knowledge of God who made them ...” (cited in Giliomee 2003:211).

³¹ According to Herman Giliomee, the Afrikaans language was referred to by imperialists such as R.B. Fisher as a ‘bad sort of Dutch’, ‘broken language’ or a ‘kombuistaal’/‘kitchen’ language (Giliomee 2003:53). “Afrikaans was also considered a *dialect* rather than a language which had a fragmented knowledge of Dutch” (Giliomee 2003:53). This dialect was considered by imperialists as different in geographical and racial terrain “according to the Cape dialect, and even the corrupt dialect of the Hottentot” (Burchell, cited in Giliomee 2003:53).

³² According to the *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* Volume II, D.F. Malan insisted that the nation must “... raise the Afrikaans language to a written language and make it the bearer of Afrikaner culture, history, national ideals and use it to raise people to a feeling of self respect and to the calling to make a worthier place in world civilisation” (cited in Motyl 2001:5).

concepts of linguistics and ‘national identity’ are ‘equal forces’, and inseparable entities co-existing within a common arena. Language is essential for evoking nationalist fervour. The collusion of language and nationalism creates “... powerful, and often pathological allegiances to a cultural ideal” (Boswell & Evans 1999:1).³³

Clearly, within a multilingual context such as South Africa, this notion of a national language presents numerous problems. The Afrikaners’ nationalist quest entailed, inter alia, the establishment of Afrikaans as the dominant medium of communication in the multilingual Apartheid-state, and the exclusivity of the Afrikaans language became the key issue around which Afrikaner identity was organised. It was the aim of various Afrikaner nationalists to induce pride in the official use of the *taal* of the Afrikaner (Vatcher 1965:11).

The national language, within an Afrikaner perspective, had to be preserved from English infiltration as a dominant cultural phenomenon. According to J.G. Von Herder, the Afrikaner felt that “... language ought to be worshiped and preserved from foreign contamination” (cited in Motyl 2001:282). It is therefore assumed that there is an “inseparability of the God-given link between language and nationality” (Fishman 1972:49). The Afrikaans *taal* became a “spiritual exhalation of the nation” (Edwards 1995:129). Language reaches its ideological pinnacle in nationality, as it is clearly pictured by members as more crucial than the other symbols and expressions of national identity. Language becomes a description or “Link with the Glorious Past” (Fishman 1972:44). It was felt that “... in its mother tongue every people honours itself; in the treasury of its speech is contained the character of cultural history” (Fishman 1972:25). It is significant, however, that this exultation of the history of Afrikaans entailed the occlusion of its roots, as a language spoken predominantly by slaves. In order to support the racial exclusivity of the category ‘Afrikaner’, ‘coloured’ Afrikaans speakers were systematically written out of Afrikaner nationalist history.

³³ According to Duranti, “We are born with the ability to learn languages. However, the context in which we learn them, the manner in which we use them, and the extent to which they help or hinder us in achieving our goals is culturally mediated” (Duranti 2001:1). The eighteenth century German romantic Von Herder states, “... each nation is endowed with a particular language that binds the souls of the members of the nation and allows for their communion” (cited in Motyl 2001:282). From this statement, it becomes evident that modern nationalists perceive language as an instrument through which the collective experience of national identity is performed.

Isabel Hofmeyer states that the manufacture of an Afrikaans literary culture "... was an important terrain in which nationalist ideologies were elaborated" (cited in Marks & Trapido 1987:95). The fabrication of the Afrikaans language and literature in the changing social relationships of the early twentieth-century South Africa, became the root of 'Afrikaner identity' and united all white Afrikaners into a 'monolithic *volk*' (1987:95). Afrikaans as a language and social category drew together certain people who traditionally constituted themselves in provincially and regionally diverse ways (1987:95). Afrikaner nationalism, a post-colonial construct, was therefore exclusively assimilated and constructed into a radically 'unique' minority.

1.6. Christian Calvinism as Signifier of Afrikaner National Identity

During the *Great Trek*, the Voortrekkers lead by Andries Pretorius gained victory over the troops of the Zulu king, Dingaan, on 16 December 1838 (Kitsner, cited in Sundermeier 1975:73). The battle was named *Blood River*, and the day was dedicated to God as a 'Sabbath Day', due to a vow taken by the Voortrekkers. According to Kitsner, the vow had to be taken following the example of the saints in the Bible, and people neglecting it would incur God's punishment (cited in Sundermeier 1975:73). The commemoration of the battle of *Blood River* was subsequently recognised as a 'holy day' for the Afrikaner *volk* who observed 16 December every year as "... a day of thanksgiving for the deliverance which God had granted to his covenant people" (cited in Sundermeier 1975:73).³⁴

Toward the end of the 1940s the above-mentioned 'holy' day came to be known as 'Geloftedag'; suggesting, according to the national Reformed church, not a victory of the whites over the blacks; but rather a victory of Christianity over heathenism (cited in Sundermeier 1975:74). However, it is doubtful whether this declaration was convincingly 'non-racial'. I believe it was seen as conclusive 'proof' that God blessed the Afrikaners' mission to obtain land and civilise the 'savages'. According to Charles Bloomberg, the Afrikaners believed that "God demarcated territories for each nation and decided how

³⁴ Now the Day of Reconciliation.

long they should live there” (1990:14). The Bible contains many verses that can, expeditiously, be used to foster nationalist sentiment:

And He made from one [common origin, one source, one blood] all nations of men to settle on the face of the earth, having definitely determined [their] allotted periods of time and the fixed boundaries of their habitation (their settlements, lands and abodes). [Acts 17:26 (The Amplified Bible 1987:1278)]

Historical events, such as the *Great Trek* and the battle of *Blood River*, were closely interwoven with Biblical ‘spirituality’. In this dissertation, I will analyse Afrikaans illustrated children’s Bibles as examples of the ‘spiritual sentimentality’ of the Afrikaner *volk* as one of the “Nations that will endure forever” [Matthew 24:7-13 (The Amplified Bible 1987:1110)].

According to the *Encyclopaedia of Nationalism* Volume II, the Afrikaners compared themselves to the “... Jews in the Bible, and thought of themselves as the ‘chosen people’ whose suffering would eventually be redeemed” (Motyl 2001:5). Undoubtedly, Afrikaner identity derived in part from the ideology of an Old Testament people unified and chosen by God.³⁵ The religious devotion of the Afrikaner *volk* is evident in numerous national symbols in South Africa, such as in the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria (Fig. 3). The monument was constructed with the intention to serve both as a tribute to the Voortrekkers and as a visible symbol of the omnipotence of God (Grobler 2001:2). According to Van Der Watt’s analysis of the Voortrekker monument, the Afrikaners were convinced of their status as a ‘Godly People’ elected to live in a ‘Promised Land’ (1997:36).³⁶ The *Great Trek* – as a major cultural grand narrative – was viewed by the Afrikaners as a re-enactment of the Biblical Exodus, and served as ‘proof’ of the “triumph of ‘civilisation’ over the ‘evil’ forces of nature” (Van Der Watt 1997:36).

³⁵ Paul Kruger, an Afrikaner nationalist leader influenced by orthodox Calvinism, was “... more closely associated than any other leader with the concept of the Afrikaners as a Chosen People like the Ancient Hebrews, with a covenant with God to fulfil a divine plan” (Atkinson, cited in Giliomee 2003:177).

³⁶ According to Moerdijk – the designer of the Voortrekker monument in Pretoria – there was also a similarity between Abraham, who left the land of his birth to find a new country, and the Voortrekkers, who left the Cape Colony to found their own state free from British control (cited in Grobler 2001:14).

It must, however, also be kept in mind that Afrikaner Christian Nationalism served primarily to entrench secular powers:

Nationalism is a 'religion of law' which proclaims its law as gospel, which has a political creed, ... driven by a direct and extremely massive consciousness of being 'chosen', with an over-estimation of what the nation and its culture have achieved, and with a 'messianic' claim to be the centre of everything and to carry out its mission. (Gloege, cited in Sundermeier 1975:8)

Modernity is generally regarded as a 'critique of religion' where, if a phenomenon or theory could not be proved scientifically, it was not considered worthy of concern. Yet Christianity survived as the dominant religion of the West, and played a major legitimising role in the colonial process. Similarly, Afrikaner nationalism as a comparatively modern phenomenon has always subscribed to the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church (Meiring, cited in Sundermeier 1975:56). Nationalist ideologies and sentiments were reflected in the church to which the majority of the white colonists belonged (1975:56). The church was the 'holy' cenotaph which bound together the so-called 'Chosen People' of South Africa. According to Meiring, "... the experience of the church and the people were to be closely interlinked" (1975:56). Calvinist theologian, G.B.A. Gerdener states, "It is doubtful whether any single factor mentioned in the Afrikaner's history contributed more to our civilisation and culture than the Dutch Reformed Church" (cited in Sundermeier 1975:56). The church and the Afrikaner nation were thus mutually supporting systems:

The Church was responsible for the spiritual well-being and the loyalty of the colonists and their families as well as their slaves and in later times – for the spiritual care of the black tribes in the vicinity. Conversely the state would take care of the Church. (Meiring cited in Sundermeier 1975:56)

Christianity and Nationalism, within the South African context, were strongly associated with the notions of Western 'progress', 'civilisation' and the inevitability of 'development'. The modernist ideology of 'progress' or 'licensing differences'³⁷ became

³⁷ According to Errington, the idea of progress is grounded in the understanding of 'licensing'. Errington refers to the ideas of eighteenth century thinker, Linnaeus. According to Errington, Linnaeus "... attempts

the fundamental standards to which Afrikaner Christian-nationalism ascribed. According to Vatcher, a form of ‘ethnic licensing’ was evident in early twentieth-century Afrikaner Nationalist policy where it was believed that, “... the separation and distinction of different racial groups was ordained by God at the time of creation and should be respected” (1965:110). The *Great Trek* received its ‘status’ due to the Afrikaners’ views of the ‘Voortrekker heroes’³⁸ as ‘holy’ martyrs whose task was to take the Dutch Bible – an emblem of Western authority – along with them into the interior of ‘Dark Africa’. The colonial Reformed church became a validation for the heroic Voortrekker presence in the ‘wilderness’. It can be argued that the Voortrekker protagonists were elevated to a Christ-like status, lead by God into the desert to be tempted by the evil forces of nature, and to overcome as powerful conquerors.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson notes the similarity between religion and nationalism, where we can detect the ‘seeds of territorialisation’ through the faith of ‘great religiously-imagined communities’ (1983:24). Nationalism is evocative and sentimental by nature, and it is partly in religion that this sentiment resides.

According to Plumwood, Christianity (within a colonial context) embraced the desire to control nature (1993:106).³⁹ Christianity included the “... tendency to view the material world as alienated, as evil, or as having at best meaning and significance as an instrument to a separate, higher spiritual realm” (Plumwood 1993:106). The epic journey into the interior of Africa was experienced as the triumph of progressive civilisation over the ‘sinful’ wilderness. Thus, the Afrikaners felt that the church, “was accompanying them all along the way. The people on trek, *was* the Church on trek” (Meiring, cited in Sundermeier 1975:57). Van Der Watt states:

in his ‘System of Nature (1735)’ to construct a comprehensive taxonomy of everything in God’s world” (1998:10).

³⁸ Every single Voortrekker was considered a faithful hero and member of the Church. The Voortrekkers saw themselves in the position of Israel of old, the people of the Lord threatened and attacked from all sides by the heathen (Sundermeier 1975:57).

³⁹ Within the context of this thesis, I view ‘nature’ as a category of exclusion. To be defined as ‘nature’ in this context “... is to be defined as passive, as non-agent and non-subject, as the ‘environment’ or invisible background conditions against which the ‘foreground’ achievements of reason or culture (provided typically by the white, western, male expert or entrepreneur) take place” (Plumwood 1993:4).

In addition, within the framework of Calvinism – the variant Christianity adhered to by most Afrikaners – this reference to the Christian faith became a rationale for Afrikaner appropriation and ownership of the land ... the Voortrekkers are God’s chosen people entrusted with the special task of Christianising the ‘heathen’⁴⁰ in the interior of the land. (1997:43)

This resonant statement by Treurnicht confirms the central premise of this thesis, where religion, particularly Christianity, is ideologically loaded with nationalist fervour.⁴¹

Indien jy glo ... dat God vir daardie eenaardige individue wat ons volke noem, ‘n taak het, indien jy glo dat jy as identifiseerbare volk moet voortbestaan om jou spesifieke roeping te vervul, is dit reg om jou volk se onderskeidende kenmerk, sy eenheidsgevoel, sy nasionalisme, sy identiteit, te verwaarloos? Dit raak jou Christelike plig – ‘n opdrag van God – om jou volk te eer en ‘n patriot te wees. (Treurnicht, cited in Botha 1986:131)⁴²

In order to ‘build’ the imagined political community of the nation, various tools are required. Nationalist discourse attempts to construct fixed symbols⁴³ that serve as markers, signifiers or props to which a specific message is ascribed. Meanings are assigned to symbols, which evoke an emotional patriotism within a collectivity. Symbols are necessary for the “... construction of social cohesion, the lawful establishment of political authority, and the inculcation of beliefs and conventions of behavior” (Motyl 2001:522). It is from this perspective, that I regard Christian Calvinism,⁴⁴ and the symbols related to this dogma, as political emblems used to evoke nationalist fervour in

⁴⁰ According to Haasbroek, “... the church recognized the ‘existing difference in rank and station’ and, in ‘numerous instances’, allowed separate buildings for non-whites.... It was the church’s duty to spread the Word among the heathen ...” (cited in Giliomee 2003:176).

⁴¹ “National aspiration, the search for identity, the aim of self-preservation; the spirit of the times – such ideals may claim partial loyalty, but in so far as the voice of Jesus Christ is clearly heard above them all” (Sundermeier 1975:150). Although this statement is not a historical Afrikaner Calvinist declaration, it demonstrates the nationalistic sentiments attributed to Christianity.

⁴² [Unless you believe ... that God has a task for those unusual individuals whom we call nations, unless you believe that you as an identifiable nation must endure in order to carry out your destined calling, is it right to neglect your nations’ specific characteristics, its feeling of unity, its nationalism, its identity? It becomes your Christian duty – a command from God – to honour your nation and to be a patriot.]

⁴³ “Symbols are those images, objects, conditions and activities which involve belief, values and attitudes that are utilized by individuals and groups in social intercourse to achieve objectives through influencing or controlling behaviour” (Smith, cited in Motyl 2001:521).

⁴⁴ “The ideological roots of Afrikaner Nationalism are to be found in the Calvinist religion of the early white settlers who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the mid-seventeenth century” (Hexham 1981:1).

the Afrikaner national community. I hold that the symbolic functions of Afrikaner Christian-nationalism were extended into the emblematic characteristics of illustrated children's Bibles. At this point in this thesis I propose to examine the function of their images and texts as communicative media used to create national consciousness.

CHAPTER 2

THE ILLUSTRATED CHILDREN'S BIBLE AND AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

For most children the picture-book precedes the story-book and for them these early forms of communication often become interpreters of the world which they have yet to discover for themselves. (Whalley & Chester 1988:11)

2.1. The Modern Illustrated Children's Book

Illustrated children's books and picture books play an integral role in education as an instructive tool. Afrikaner Nationalism is a product of Modernity, and the Afrikaans illustrated children's Bible was a major contributing element in the construction of Afrikaner social identity. It is, therefore necessary to position the children's Bible within the perimeters of modern illustrated children's books and picture books as didactic tools instructing children. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is necessary to briefly introduce the history of the illustrated children's book and picture book with specific reference to modern illustrated books of the early twentieth century.

Since the modern illustrated book is informed by Modernist discourse, it is necessary to provide a brief discussion of the Modernist episteme. According to Roland Barthes, the modern social sciences were "... informed of *contingency* ... while believing to narrate the *order* of nature" (cited in Turner 1996:399). Modernist discourse can be regarded as an attempt to harness the 'chaotic' and 'disruptive' nature of the universe by creating systems with distinct boundaries and perimeters. Ihab Hasan states that Modernism strives to "... identify and isolate the forces of unreason ..." (cited in Cahoon 2003:415). Modernism is a rationalist discourse, pursuing the attainment of 'absolute truth' and reason (Greybe 2004:12). Modernism celebrates the faith in human rationality, which, through science seeks to establish objective 'truths' (McGowan 1991:1).⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Modern theories are based upon the Renaissance ideology of human enlightenment. However, in opposition to the Renaissance humanists, the system of Modernism aspires to be "... logical, rational,

McGowan asserts that Modernity⁴⁶ is "... cast back upon itself without the possibility of escape" (1991:3). Humanist intellectualism⁴⁷ and the notion of 'progress' are primary components of Modernist discourse. Ihab Hasan defines Modernism as "... that large spiritual enterprise including philosophic, social, and scientific thought ..." (cited in Cahoon 2003:415). Through this definition, it can be argued that reason itself becomes a kind of religion or spiritual object for Modernists. Modernism can also be described as a scientific system used to "... combat the forces of 'unreason' through the power of intellect" (Harry Levin, cited in Cahoon 2003:415). As already mentioned, Modernists wish to harness contingency through rational logic and categorical definitions.

The most important aspect of Modernist discourse, for an analysis of the Afrikaans illustrated children's Bible as a highly Modernist phenomenon, is the notion of 'progress' and the search for a single, coherent description of the world. The ideology of 'progress' and the Modernist desire to establish order and structure, prompt an incessant drive to eliminate the haphazard and annihilate the spontaneous. It was in this climate of Modernist instrumental rationalism, with its drive to order, that the modern children's book originated. Children's literature played an instrumental role in these objectives:

Unlike adult literature, canonised children's literature began to develop in response to the needs of the educational system, the result of which is the strong grip of the educational system on children's literature and the major part in its formulation. (Zohar Shavit, cited in Grobler 2004:42)

Children's literature came into existence in printed form in the eighteenth century, flourishing in Britain and America in the nineteenth century because of specific

objective, and above all, universal. This was to ensure [its] 'scientific-ness', and to essentially secure 'truth'" (Greybe 2004:11).

⁴⁶ According to Greybe, "There is a semantic difference between the concepts of 'modernity' and 'modernism'. *Modernity* refers to the specific historical period classified as 'modern', whilst *Modernism* refers to the typical *modern* culture of the time. The same distinction can be made for 'Post-modernity' and 'Post-modernism'" (2004:10).

⁴⁷ According to McGowan, "the humanist intellectual's social and political position can be understood only within the context of Modernity itself, where Modernity is understood as the condition in which the Modern society must legitimate itself by its own self-generated principles" (1991:3).

developments in society (Butts 1992:x).⁴⁸ The notions of ‘self-improvement’ and ‘ethical moralisation’ were evident in illustrated books, such as *Little Red Riding Hood* by Walter Crane (Fig. 4), which appeared in 1873. According to Van Niekerk, *Little Red Riding Hood* is “... typical of a moralizing story where the child is warned to always be obedient to her parents and be wary of strangers” (2004:11). Similarly, these attitudes became evident in illustrated religious books, such as Catherine Sinclair’s ‘Hieroglyphic Bible’ *A [Sun]day [Letter]* (Fig. 5) published in 1863, which was seen as “... an enjoyable way of imparting the scriptures” (Alderson 1986:24).⁴⁹ According to Alderson, Catherine Sinclair adapted the Bible in one of several hieroglyphic letters where she uses illustrations both to denote objects and to represent syllables, thus conveying the ‘Good Message’ interactively to the child (1986:24). Dennis Butts observes:

The Evangelical Movement, with its genuine Christian faith and equally genuine desire to uphold most of the *status quo* deeply affected children’s stories at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. (1992:x)

The perceptions of ‘moralisation’, ‘self-development’ and the aspiration towards ‘improvement’, which was evident in Western children’s literature from the Mid-Victorian era up to the early twentieth century, is a direct reflection of the Modernist notion of progress and the ceaseless coercion towards structured order and control. As will be demonstrated later, these beliefs were also apparent in Afrikaner nationalism and served as primary implements in the construction of Afrikaner national identity. Alan Powers declares that Modernism in the early twentieth century “... involved interest in folk art, children’s creativity, and other manifestations of the primitive, children’s books, or sophisticated reworkings of them ...” (2003:48). Simultaneously, the schism between

⁴⁸ Dennis Butts states, “The gradual spread of education from the latter half of the eighteenth century onwards, first through the Sunday School Movement, and then through the faltering steps towards providing state education, meant that more children learned to read” (Butts 1992:x).

⁴⁹ Various religious and instructional books had appeared earlier in history. *The Fables of Aesop* (Fig. 6) which was published in Amsterdam in 1659 included some of the first illustrated animal stories (Whalley & Chester 1988:11). These fables were used by parents to instruct and ‘moralise’ children on social and ‘ethical’ behaviour. Animals were depicted in various situations in which a specific message could be learnt. An example is *Lion, Goat and Vulture* where a lion and a goat are quarrelling at a drinking pool, thus preventing one another from quenching their thirst. Eventually a vulture circles slowly above them waiting for one of the creatures to die. Both the lion and the goat decide to stop quarrelling and to drink from the pool together. The fable ends with the message: *When a common danger threatens, it is best to stop quarrelling* (Geddes & Grosset 1993:55).

adult and children's literature narrowed as illustrated books were developed that were ostensibly for children, but were largely intended for adult enjoyment (Powers 2003:48). Illustrated books and picture books were created not merely for didactic purposes, but often carried political messages. An example is Edy Lagrand's *Macao et Cosmage* (Fig. 7) published in 1919 which supposedly conveyed a French nationalist political message which, according to Alan Powers, could be comprehended by both children and adults (2003:48). Evgeny Steiner writes of children's books and illustration:

Children's books and, accordingly, the illustrations in them, were aimed at an audience numbering thousands, and by virtue of that fact alone had a much broader social impact than so-called easel painting, which despite the slogan 'Art – to the masses' was doomed to remain largely an art for the elite. More important, works made for children had particular significance for the builders of the new world, since here it was not a matter of re-forming the intended audience, but of forming them in the first place, both aesthetically and socially. The role played by the children's artist was immeasurably greater than that of the 'adult' easel painter. (1999:7)

Steiner's analysis of Soviet children's books demonstrates that illustrated books for toddlers and young children played a major role in the modernisation of the masses and that leading figures in the art world in the 1920s became involved in their production. Russian Constructivist children's literature from the early twentieth century was ideologically loaded in order to reflect the so-called "powers-that-be in the Soviet Union" (Steiner 1999:3). Examples include *Our Kitchen* (Fig. 8) by Nikolai Lapshin, *Railroad* (Fig. 9) by Alisa Poret and *Engines Rampant* (Fig. 10) by Nikolai Ushin. Their relevance is evident as the narratives, both visual and textual, reflect the veneration for industrialisation, political power and modernisation, thus depicting 'progress' as the primary goal of Modernism. Russian Constructivism was designated by Lenin as the official art for the state: "[J]ust like heavy industry and the Red Army, art must be organised and moulded into an effective instrument that can be used as part of an integral State plan" (Golomstock 1990:22).

From the above-mentioned example, it becomes apparent that modern children's books were viable instruments for the communication of national consciousness and

propaganda. By adding a socio-political message to children's literature, the intention may not have been to create an immediate nationalist sentiment amongst children, but it was assumed that it "... would become so as years and decades passed, and children ... entered adult life" (Steiner 1999:7). As Afrikaner identity was rooted in Christian Calvinism and Biblical sentiments, one may infer that the Afrikaans illustrated children's Bible was a relevant vehicle to convey the message of Afrikaner nationalism during the early twentieth century in South Africa. Although I do not propose that the publication of illustrated Bibles in South Africa deliberately conveyed Afrikaner nationalist sentiments, I regard the illustrated children's Bible as a modern illustrated children's book which contributed to the ideology of a "... disseminated group that turned into a form of 'mass consciousness'" (Du Plessis 2006:1).

2.2. Bible and Image

It was Poortman who declared, "De prent is in dienst van de Goede Boodschap" (1983:40).⁵⁰ According to Robertson, "Substantial changes have taken place since the early Christian era in the means of communicating the Bible" (2001:2). Verbal communication and the art of 'storytelling' were the primary means of conveying narratives to recipients. Oral communication precedes the 'written word' as a form of disseminating Biblical content from one person to another. Biblical scriptures, narratives and "... prophecies of the Bible were evidently preserved by memorisation until they were written down" (Brown, cited in Robertson 2001:3). Robertson observes that "Christ never wrote down anything, but that His disciples memorised his sayings" (2001:3).⁵¹ It was only after the 'oral period', when scribes documented Biblical narratives and prophecies in manuscripts through calligraphic writing in the early fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that Biblical texts were codified in writing. Although the art of writing existed well before Christ, Medieval manuscripts were the earliest Biblical texts to assume book format (Fig. 11).⁵² In these early books, medieval texts were written out "...

⁵⁰ [The picture is in service of the Good Message.].

⁵¹ By way of example, Hebrews 1:2 states "... in the last of these days He has spoken to us in [the person of a] Son ..." (The Amplified Bible 1987:1424).

⁵² According to Julia B. Holloway, the "study of books and book binding is called 'codicology', from the 'codex', or bound book with pages, a predominantly Christian practice taking over from the cumbersome, Egyptian, Greek and Roman scrolls" (2006:2).

impermanently on hinged wax tablets ... then entered upon parchment and vellum for posterity” (Holloway 2006:5). Poortman states:

Naast het gesproken woord is het schrift het belangrijkste menselijke communicatie middle. Het schrift biedt meer dan het gesproken woord, het overwint tijd en ruimte. (1983:17)⁵³

It was only when the printing press and the science of ‘type-cutting’ originated in the early 1600s (Walsh 2002:2),⁵⁴ that the printed word became “... another method of communicating the Bible” (Robertson 2001:3). According to Robertson, there was great excitement in the Western world “... about the potential impact of print in encountering Biblical content” (2001:3).⁵⁵ However, this dissertation does not focus exclusively on the typed or printed word, but the interrelationship between word and image in selected children’s Bibles. Pictures and images have long been primary forms of communicating Biblical narratives (Robertson 2001:3). Cornelius declares: “Contrary to the common view, the ancient people of Israel, who gave the First Testament, were not without images or art. The same may be true of Primitive Christianity” (cited in Robertson 2001:3). Pictures evolve into “... word-pictures, where the recipient, i.e. reader, is helped to form the picture in his or her own mind, and take the form of visual pictures” (Robertson 2001:3). Evidently, Biblical texts and images are inseparable components in the conveyance of a specific message.

This escalation of development from an oral, ‘storytelling’ culture, to a written culture and, at length, a print culture changed society. Significantly, according to Robertson, “In oral culture people are limited to being together as a brotherhood, a print culture encourages individuality” (Robertson 2001:5). However, within the context of national identity as a constructed phenomenon, printed images or typed texts served as integral tools for the construction of homogeneity and ‘brotherhood’. Printed images and texts are

⁵³ [After the spoken word, writing became the most important medium in human communication. Writing offers more than the spoken word over time and space.].

⁵⁴In the 1800s, the speed of printing and typesetting increased with the mechanical desire for ‘development’ during the industrial revolution in Europe (Barnard 2004:19). Typography was introduced in its supreme functionality as a medium for mass communication. Type could be produced and reproduced through mechanically advanced technology in order to convey a certain message (Walsh 2002:2).

⁵⁵ “Martin Luther referred to printing as ‘God’s highest and extremist act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward’” (Scott, cited in Robertson 2001:3).

media available to private households where specific messages can be delivered directly. These messages may have had more impact on the development of national consciousness than oral communication with large masses of people. Printed transmissions are didactic tools which could build national, homogenous consciousness by targeting the individual.

As already mentioned, the first complete translation of the Bible from Dutch into Afrikaans was made in 1933 (Olivier 2006:1). The relevance of illustrated Dutch Bibles is evident as these texts were ready for translation for Afrikaner consumption. To a population with only limited literacy, the images in these texts were particularly important. Poortman declares that the illustrations found in Biblical texts often were of greater significance to societies than the printed word: “Over bijbeldrukken is veel geschreven ... terwijl toch de illustratie vooral in vroegere eeuwen van grote betekenis is geweest voor de kennis van de Heilige Schrift” (Poortman 1983:40).⁵⁶

One of the earliest forms of depicting Biblical narratives was through Dutch, relief-woodcut printing techniques (Poortman 1983:34). An early Dutch woodcut, dated 1493 and entitled *Offer van Abraham*, from *Schedels Wereldkroniek* (Fig. 12), depicts Abraham and his son, Isaac, travelling to Moriah, where Abraham was to offer his son to God as a burnt offering upon one of the mountains.⁵⁷ Later in the narrative, “The Angel of the Lord called to him from heaven and said ... do not lay your hand on the lad or do anything to him; for now I know you fear *and* revere God ...” (Genesis 22: 11-12 [Amplified Bible 1987:26]). The narrative is portrayed in its entirety within the woodcut illustration. Both Abraham and Isaac are depicted twice in the print; their journey into the wilderness on the right, and the offering at the altar on the left, where the angel prevents the sacrificial proceedings. This image serves as an example of how images were used to communicate scripture to an illiterate audience, as it recounts a Biblical story without printed texts or words.

⁵⁶ [Much has been written about the printing of the Bible ... however, in previous centuries, the illustrations proved to have greater meaning before any knowledge of the Holy Scriptures.]

⁵⁷ “[God] said, Take now your son, your only son Isaac, whom you love, and go to the region of Moriah ...” (Genesis 22: 2 [Amplified Bible 1987:26]).

Poortman declares that the oldest illustrated Dutch Bibles, entitled *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Armenbijbel* (Fig. 13) and *de Spiegel* (Fig. 14), were published in the vicinity of 1440 (1983:42). The *Armenbijbel* and *de Spiegel* are a collection of illustrations and texts which portrayed the Gospel of Jesus Christ from His birth till His ascension into heaven (Poortman 1983:41). The motive behind these early illustrated Bibles was to reflect the traditional murals and medieval stained glass depictions in European churches, and print them in a book format which was more legible for illiterate Christian recipients (Poortman 1983:41). Printed Biblical words and texts were combined with these images in order to convey ‘de Goede Boodschap’.⁵⁸

These early illustrated Dutch Bibles demonstrate the close collaboration between image and text in print media. Print media in itself reflects modernisation and the notion of ‘progress’ and ‘development’ (Barnard 2004:19). The interrelationship of image and text in Biblical illustration was essential to the development of Afrikaner national consciousness (this will be demonstrated in subsection 2.3. below).

2.3. The Afrikaans Illustrated Children's Bible and Afrikaner Nationalism

Illustrated books as part of children’s literature are deeply rooted in the interest, concerns and values of society. According to Dennis Butts:

Children read books for their stories ... to find out what happens next, and for many children the most potent form of storytelling they experience in their early childhood is the folk or fairytale, with its identifiable hero or heroine, and its familiar pattering of narrative events, such as the loss of parents, the acquisition of a faithful companion, an educational initiation, a quest, and a triumphant conclusion. (1992: xii)

Butts states, “Children’s literature itself evolved in response to certain broad movements in society ...” (1992:x). As Afrikaner nationalism evolved as a demarcated identity within the broad South African populace, illustrated books and children’s literature became necessities to teach Afrikaner children self-discipline, self-control, self-improvement and, above all, the Christian values which were prerequisites for Afrikaner

⁵⁸ [‘The Good Message’].

national consciousness.⁵⁹ Francoise Coetzee asserts that nationhood and children's literature are inseparable entities that combine to evoke nationalist perception (1985:1). Coetzee expresses the magnitude of the role of children's literature upon Afrikaner identity: "Die een is die volkseie van die Afrikaner en die tweede is die kinderboek" (1985:1).⁶⁰ Coetzee states that it is important to connect the two.⁶¹ The New York Council on Interracial Books states:

In any given society, children's books generally reflect the needs of those who dominate society. A major need is to maintain and fortify the structure of relations between dominators and dominated. The prevailing values are supportive of the existing structure. (Cited in Cilliers 1993:40)

It becomes evident that children's literature is ideologically loaded and is used as a vehicle containing national sentiment: "Heel spesifiek, is Afrikaanse kinderlektuur draer van die Afrikaanse bodem, kultuurarbeid en volksaard, dit wil sê die Afrikaanse volkseie" (Coetzee 1985:2).⁶²

The Afrikaner nationalist educator, Dr. Carl August Lohann, decreed that South African children's literature had to be highly national and uncontaminated by foreign influences (1967: 31). This is ironic, since the majority of Afrikaans illustrated Bibles was not produced in South Africa. For example, *Oom Attie se Slaapyd Stories* (Fig. 15), an illustrated religious story book for young Afrikaans-speaking children, published in 1945, is a translated copy of the original English version. Translation was the primary method of appropriating religious children's books for Afrikaner nationalist purposes. Afrikaans literary production in the early twentieth century was limited, and most texts used in the

⁵⁹ According to du Plessis, the *Keurboslaan* series, a collection of fiction books for boys, were used to "... build support for an Afrikaner republic based on Christian and nationalist principles and to unite white Afrikaans speakers under the umbrella of the Afrikaner nation" (2006:21). These books were used as didactic tools, encouraging school boys to play sport, exercise, and to cultivate their national heritage. However, du Plessis suggests that the afore-mentioned values of encouraging Afrikaans boys to be healthy, virile and active were used as remedy for 'perverse' sexual practices (2001:30). "Whilst masturbation and other sexual practices pose a particular threat to the nation ... the practices of subjecting desire and disciplining the body may translate into particular benefits for the nation" (2006:30).

⁶⁰ [First is the national identity of the Afrikaner, and the second is the children's book.].

⁶¹ "Dit is belangrik om die twee met mekaar in verband te bring en te kyk hoe die een in die ander vergestaltung kry" (1985:1) [It is important to bring the two together and to see how one finds expression in the other.].

⁶² [More specifically, is Afrikaans children's literature, bearer of the Afrikaans base, culture of work and national character, in other words, the Afrikaans national consciousness.].

construction of Afrikaner National identity were therefore ‘borrowed’. The publication industry in South Africa was immature and few children’s books contained illustrations (Lohann 1967:47). The Afrikaans publication industry appropriated selected Western children’s Bibles and translated them into Afrikaans, re-contextualising them to suit the requirements of the Afrikaner nation. The appropriation of ‘foreign’ books into the South African context was then denied and these texts regarded as ‘authentic’ South African literature. This is evident in Sir Percy Fitzpatrick’s *Jock of the Bushveld* (Fig. 16) illustrated by E. Caldwell, which was published in the late nineteenth century. Although both Sir Fitzpatrick and Caldwell were not South Africans, *Jock of the Bushveld* was regarded as a purely South African novel by the Afrikaner society. Lohann states, “Hoewel Caldwell dus nie ‘n Suid-Afrikaner was nie, kan sy illustrasies met reg as Suid-Afrikaanse besit beskou word: die onderwerp is tipies Suid-Afrikaans en die sketse is plaaslik gedoen” (1967:55).^{63 64}

In *Oom Attie se Slaapyd Stories* by Arthur S. Maxwell, a variety of illustrations proclaim nationalist themes and sentiments as the images are placed alongside translated texts.⁶⁵ This religious story book consists of narratives depicting children, either within a modern or Biblical environment, where they interact with adults such as parents and grandparents, or Biblical figures such as Christ. In the introductory, full-colour illustration *Oom Attie Vertel Stories Aan ‘n Groep Kinders* (Fig. 17) by Harry Anderson, a central adult, male figure – *Oom Attie* – is seated in an armchair, surrounded by five

⁶³ [Although Caldwell was evidently not a South African, his illustrations and sketches can rightly be declared South African: the design is typically South African and the sketches were done locally.].

⁶⁴ South African writer, N.P. van Wyk Louw, counters the notions of appropriating ‘foreign’ texts as ‘authentically’ South African: “Om ‘n buitelandse skryfwyse oor te neem en hier aan te wend, is om ‘n donkievel oor die springbok te trek, waardeur sy eie bevallige bewegings belemmer word en niks as potsierlike boksprings verkry word nie” (cited in Lohann 1967:31). [By adopting a foreign writing style and applying it over here, it is like putting the rawhide of a donkey over a springbuck, whereby its own particular movements are retarded and nothing but farcical buck jolts are obtained.].

⁶⁵ It must be taken into consideration that Arthur S. Maxwell was an important representative for the Seventh Day Adventist Church and not devoted to the Calvinist dogma. Books from so-called sectarian movements would be rejected by the Dutch Reformed Church and critically viewed as blasphemous texts which could impede the development and growth of national consciousness amongst the Afrikaner youth. Furthermore, it must be taken into account that various Afrikaner churches shared negative views towards illustrated children’s Bibles due to the fact that these texts included oversimplification of Biblical scripture and that there was strong opposition to any depiction of Christ. However, as these views changed and children’s Bibles became accepted as viable means to educate Afrikaner children in the Christian Calvinist faith, it may be argued that although books such as *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories* were not produced for Dutch Reformed Afrikaans children, it could have blindly been appropriated into the Afrikaner Dutch Reformed community and broadly accepted as a Calvinist text.

children sitting on his knees and on the floor. *Oom Attie* is wearing a business suit with spectacles, while the children are dressed in ‘modern’ children’s attire. The electric lamp placed on the cabinet on the right, the blinds and the green curtains on the left indicate that the characters are placed in modern bourgeois surroundings.

Although the illustration is published in a modern illustrated Biblical story book, it does not depict a Biblical narrative. However, it does reflect the prevailing sentiments and ideologies which were primary rudiments for Afrikaner Christian nationalism. The central adult figure, clothed in the authoritative apparel of the bourgeois male, becomes the conveyer and instructor of a particular message. The suit, alongside the electric lamp, becomes a symbol of modernisation and the notions of ‘progress’, which were prerequisites for the construction of Afrikaner national identity. The suit, tie and glasses become the copter of civility and education. The children are clearly there to imbibe the adult’s ‘wisdom’, ‘knowledge’ and ‘experience’, thus placing the adult/teacher upon the ideological plinth as ‘hero’ and instructor of religious consciousness. This sentimental depiction of arian children – neat and groomed, listening attentively, and mostly blonde – adopts the social realist style used in Soviet art and propaganda (Fig. 18).⁶⁶ The adult/instructor becomes synonymous with the Afrikaner teacher or school principal whose primary method of *Opvoeding* and *Onderwys*⁶⁷ was to build religious perception amongst Afrikaner children and prepare them to become members of a republic based on Christian and nationalist principles (Du Plessis 2006:21).

According to Du Plessis, it was strongly believed in Afrikaner society that a kind of distance between teacher/school principal and pupil was to be maintained at all times (2006:29): “Die hoof is ‘n streng dissipel van selfstandigheid en wat te veel intiemheid tussen onderwyser en leerling sien as iets wat in die sterkste mate afgekeur moet word” (Krogh, cited in Du Plessis 2006:29).⁶⁸ Yet, ‘*Oom Attie*’ depicts a close relationship

⁶⁶ “In the 1930’s era of Stalinism, Constructivism was suppressed as un-Marxist ‘formalism’. The official party line adopted a propaganda style of heroic realism, named socialist realism” (Appignanesi & Garrat 1995:29). “Social Realism is an artistic movement, expressed in the visual and other realist arts, which depicts working class activities as heroic” (Wikipedia 2006:1).

⁶⁷ [Education and Teaching].

⁶⁸ [The principal is a devout disciple of independence and one who regards intimacy between teacher and pupil as something that should be strictly disapproved of.].

between teacher and child. The term 'Oom',⁶⁹ spares the character the need for authoritative distance of teacher or school principal instructing Christian Nationalist morality, beliefs and values. 'Oom' demonstrates the tendency in Afrikaner society to use familial terms even for non-family. The ideology of the Afrikaner nation as 'one big family' is reflected. The bourgeois nuclear family became the model of the 'ideal' Afrikaner family unit. The older male patriarch was viewed as the cornerstone of Afrikaner culture and the leader of the Afrikaner family.⁷⁰ By way of example, Proverbs 1:8 states, "My son, hear the instruction of your father ..." (The Amplified Bible 1987:700). Although the illustration *Oom Attie Vertel Stories Aan 'n Groep Kinders* is not a South African one, it reflects an idealised composition or unit of cohesiveness towards which Afrikaner nationalism aspired.

According to Coles, the 'political socialisation' of children is apparent in numerous societies: "Nothing is new about the notion that children ought to be systematically educated politically" (1986:24). National ideology and sentiment is customarily induced in children through a commandeering figure such as *Oom Attie*. Coles declares, "The child starts out with the inclination to idealise important national figures, and more broadly, the country as a whole, its history and its institutions" (1986:25). As such, Afrikaner children were encouraged to develop national and political 'attitudes': notions such as "the President is good beyond challenge" (1986:27) or that South Africa is "the best country in the world" (1986:27) were mantras Afrikaans children were raised with. The intention of socialising children politically is to gradually, yet ultimately, affirm their national consciousness (1986:27):

After the exuberant half-political fantasy of some of our children at the intuitive stage, the political outlooks become a rehash, sometimes an interesting rehash to be sure, of well-known themes from adult politics. Even the reassertion of personal control over political materials in adolescence is a flattened, rather chastened control, with little quality of political imagination. (Connell, cited in Coles 1986:27)

⁶⁹ [Uncle].

⁷⁰ This reference to the Afrikaner male patriarch as the 'family leader' is derived from the idea of *pater familias* which is Latin for father of the family (Hernandez 2006:2). Hernandez states, "The *pater familias* was the eldest or ranking male[s] in a Roman household Fathers during ancient Roman times had a prominent place as the family doctor in their families ..." (2006:1). Thus, the *pater familias* had absolute power over life and death in the family unit (Hernandez 2006:2).

The notions of social cohesion being taught by a ‘wise’, centrifugal, authoritative father figure are further extended in illustrations such as *Jesus en die Kinders* (Fig. 19) in the same publication. As the narratives in the book progress, the stories start reflecting Biblical depictions and content. In *Jesus het die Kinders van Alle Nasies Lief* (Fig. 20), Christ is depicted wearing a white robe seated beneath a stone arch. He is surrounded by children from supposedly different nations. The scene is placed within a preconceived, historical Biblical environment. The children are wearing garments and robes which are typical of numerous Biblical depictions. In the illustration, Christ is teaching and instructing the children. The accompanying text states “‘Bring hulle,’ het Hy liefdevol gesê. ‘Laat die kindertjies na My toe kom ...’”⁷¹ (Maxwell 1945:361).⁷²

Jesus Het Die Kinders Van Alle Nasies Lief implicitly becomes an extension of this introductory illustration. Both *Oom Attie* and Christ are seated and depicted as focal characters. Both are encircled by a group of children and, like Christ, *Oom Attie* is instructing and teaching the children surrounding him. Therefore, it may be argued that the white male of modern Western society observably becomes endowed with a ‘Christ-like’ status. Within the frame of Afrikaner ideology, the modern Afrikaner ‘hero’ evolved as an extension of the Voortrekker patriarchs who were elevated by the Afrikaner populace as ‘godly’.⁷³ Giliomee states that the Voortrekkers were “... portrayed as heroes or heroines who followed the ‘call of their blood’” (2003:432). Indirectly, Afrikaner ideology shares similarities with the Romantics of the nineteenth century in Europe who conceived of themselves as “... independent geniuses above the common mien. They claimed to possess an almost divine gift ...” (Eisenman 1994:188).

According to the title of the illustration, Christ loves children from *every* nation, yet the majority of the children depicted here are white and there is no indication that they are

⁷¹ [“Bring them”, He said lovingly. “Let the little children come to Me ...”].

⁷² “But He said, Leave the children alone! Allow the little ones to come to Me, and do not forbid *or* restrain *or* hinder them, for of such [as these] is the kingdom of heaven composed” (Matthew 19:14 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1102]).

⁷³ According to Errington, Linnaeus’s ‘Great Chain of Being’ becomes a spatial arrangement in which the white male is at the top, almost within reach of the angels, while other races are at the bottom, poised as a linkage to the animal world (Errington 1998:10).

from different nationalities. A token black boy is situated amongst the white children, presumably fulfilling the function of representing the ‘diverse nations’ of the world. The black boy’s facial features are markedly different to those of the white children: his nose is slightly larger and flatter while his lips are somewhat bigger. These, ‘typical’ features are patent examples of stereotyping (Pieterse 1992:11). Prejudice is expressed through social representations and archetypes, as stereotyping is based on simplification and generalisation (Pieterse 1992:12). Stereotyping seeks to establish ‘fixed’ constructs within society by creating predetermined “... social boundaries and devices of domination” (1992:12).⁷⁴ The black boy in the illustration is becomes a simplified or ‘reduced’ depiction based upon the “... denial of individuality” (1992:11), and he is made to stand for his entire race. The fact that this is the only illustration including a black child suggests that his inclusion was pure expediency. He represents ‘the diversity of nations’. The dominant presence of arian children suggests white normativity.

Unlike the white children, the black boy is wearing a white robe similar to that of Christ. The black boy’s head is covered by the hood of his robe, which again is similar to Christ’s hood. It may be argued that these Christ-like garments render the boy a reflection of the image of Christ. However, one must take into consideration the Afrikaner context in which this illustration is positioned. It may be contended that the black boy is covered with the contrasting white cloth to conceal his black body. Jan Nederveen Pieterse states, “In the writings of several of the church fathers of Western Christendom, the colour black began to acquire negative connotations, as the colour of sin and darkness” (1992:24). As already mentioned, the Voortrekkers considered it their ‘holy task’ to Christianise the ‘heathen’ or ‘savage’ as a means of conquering the ‘evil’ forces of nature through ‘civilisation’ (Van der Watt 1997:36). The boy becomes equivalent to the non-Western ‘primitive’ who is delivered from his ‘primitive’ nature by modernist Christianity and ‘progressive enlightenment’.⁷⁵ The ‘Otherness’⁷⁶ of the black boy is also accentuated by

⁷⁴ “Sometimes stereotypes are held to be true, and in fact a kind of primal image or archetype, in other words, not an expression of prejudice but rather a reflection of the inherent essential characteristics of the group in question” (Pieterse 1992:12).

⁷⁵ The notion of the Bible and Christianity viewed as emblems of ‘progressive enlightenment’, was expressed in *Die Kaapse Kinderbybel of Die Geskiedenis van die Bybel op die Eenvoudigste Wyse Voorgedra veral vir Huiselik Gebruik* (1920-?) (Fig.1): “Die kinders weet dat daar ‘n Bijbel is, dit wil sê ‘n heilige boek, waarin God sê wat Sij wil is. Als ons geen Bijbel had nie, sou ons wees als die blinde Heidene, wat niks weet van God en die hemel en hul siele nie. Maar uit liefde tot ons, het God ons met als

his singularity amongst the white children. The white robe signifies that he is evidently ‘Christianised’ and appropriated into ‘civilisation’. Christianity becomes associated with modernism as a means of ‘development’, ‘progress’ and, ultimately, ‘improvement’ (Barnard 2004:10). The Afrikaners’ quest for a ‘White Man’s Country’ (Giliomee 2003:279) was supported by Calvinist Christianity, which proposed that both white and ‘non-white’ people were to worship the same God, but that this should be done separately (2003:117).

In the illustration *Jesus, Die Kindervriend* (Fig. 21) by Vernon Nye, Christ is again represented as a central figure encircled by a group of young children. He wears His traditional, ‘religious attire’: white robe and sandals. However, the children are wearing ‘modern’ clothes. The boys are dressed in dungarees and collared shirts, while the girls wear frocks with ribbons in their hair. The figures are depicted in a meadow landscape with green grass and yellow flowers in the foreground, while fields and pastures extend into the hills in the background.⁷⁷ The boy on the left is presenting Christ with a toy aeroplane, while the girl on the right indirectly ‘imitates’ Christ as she holds her doll in her left arm similar to the way Christ holds another of the boys.

Within the Afrikaner context, the illustration becomes emblematic of Afrikaner ideology and consciousness. The juxtaposition of the ‘modern-day’ children interacting with the ‘typical’ ‘historical’ depiction of Christ is the commanding element within the illustration. The fusion of modern rudiments with historical, Biblical elements becomes symbolic of the Afrikaners’ fixation with history and Christian moral precepts. According to Giliomee, the Afrikaners sought to rediscover themselves through acknowledging God

die dinge bekend gemaak in Sij heilige Woord” (De Bussy 1920-?:1). [The Children know that there is a Bible, that is to say, a Holy Book, where God tells us what His will is. If we didn’t have a Bible, we would be like the blind Heathens, who know nothing about God, Heaven or their own souls. Because of love for us, God made known to us all these things through His Holy Word.]

⁷⁶ The ‘progressive’ ideology of the West rendered ‘the other’ as the epitome of ‘unprogressed’ humanity. The ‘primitive man’ in Africa was placed at the bottom of the ‘Great Chain of Being’. It was during British colonisation and the administration of territories that the so-called ‘other’ was conceptualised as inferior (Errington 1998:11). The Afrikaners appropriated this concept after South Africa was released as a British colony and utilised it as a justifying factor for Apartheid and Afrikaner ‘exclusivity’.

⁷⁷ With reference to the Romantic landscape artists of the nineteenth century, landscape painters were considered to “... reconcile self and other, self and society, nature and society through the unique procedures of landscape mimesis and idealization” (Eisenman 1994:189).

and history, thus glorifying their past and justifying their ‘superior’ position within the broad South African populace (2003:432).

The neat, bourgeois clothes of the children signify the typical church or Sunday school attire of twentieth-century Western society.⁷⁸ Thus, the notions of ‘morality’ and ‘discipline’ amongst Afrikaner children are evident in their portrayal in *Jesus, Die Kindervriend*. The notions of ‘progress’ and ‘development’ are implicitly reflected by the image of the boy presenting his toy aeroplane. The plaything becomes the quintessence of productivity as it denotes industrialisation.⁷⁹ It must also be taken into account that the toy is a ‘male toy’ being presented by a young boy. The above-mentioned ideology of ‘progress’ through industrialisation and technology was considered a purely ‘male-driven’ phenomenon, produced through the perceived superiority of the modern, white man. Afrikaner society aspired towards the ideal modern society, pursuing greater productivity and the spread of prosperity amongst its members (Smith 2002:1).

In contrast, the girl on the right (imitating Christ in the way she holds her doll) symbolises the ideological ‘mother figure’. As Christ is represented as a figure who loves all children, the illustration may suggest that young Afrikaans girls, as potential mothers, should imitate Christ. The social position of Afrikaner women in the early twentieth century was that “... of full-time wives and mothers, staying at home and employing a servant” (Giliomee 2003:376). Women occupied no offices in the Dutch Reformed Church, thus their influence in Afrikaner community life in the towns and cities increased (Giliomee 2003:376). According to Giliomee, the church encouraged women to see their main role as “... the anchor of their family whose place was at home” (2003:376).

Jesus, Die Kindervriend becomes highly gendered with regard to the typical middle-class clothing worn at the time. This is reflected by the hyper-femininity of the girls with curled hair and ribbons, dresses and frills. In contrast, the boy’s clothes and short haircuts are very masculine. Similarly, the toy aeroplane and doll become symbols of masculinity

⁷⁸ As already mentioned, education started in the eighteenth century in Western society through the Sunday School Movement (Butts 1992:x).

⁷⁹ Modern societies were in pursuit of “constant technological progress ... [which] required keeping ahead of accelerated consumption, as is the flexibility to switch from exhausted resources to new ones. Incessant change becomes central to cultural experience” (Smith 2002:1).

and femininity. These notions are likened to gender representations in Nazi propaganda of the early twentieth century. According to Goebbels (Hitler's Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda), the "proper and natural sexual division of labour' ... assigned 'clearly distinct domains for men and women ...'" (cited in Haste 2001:74). With reference to Nazi nationalism, Afrikaner men and women would be equally respected, "but in their separate domains" (Haste 2001:74). The construction of Afrikaner national identity involves gender-related phenomena.⁸⁰ Haste states that it was expected, "In marriage, family and motherhood ... women would find their true vocation in service of the whole nation ..." (2001:74). He continues:

Women served the will of the nation – and that will was male The nationalist Social movement is an emphatically male phenomenon as far as political power is concerned We believe that every *genuine* woman will, in her deepest feelings, pay homage to the masculine principle of National Socialism. Only then will she become a total woman! (Haste 2001:74)

The Bible can be used expediently to foster gender roles in Afrikaner Christian Nationalism:

Vroue, wees aan julle eie mans onderdandig, soos aan die Here. Want die man is die hoof van die vrou, soos Christus ook Hoof is van die gemeente; Hy is die Verlosser van die liggaam. (Efésiërs 5:22-23)⁸¹

The illustrated children's Bible *Aan Moeder se Knie* (Fig. 22), published in South Africa in 1953, translated by Minnie Postma and illustrated by D. Gringhuis, affirms through its title the above-mentioned role of Afrikaner mothers as "... bearers of the Afrikaners' cultural and nationalist aspirations" (Giliomee 2003:376). The title *Aan Moeder se Knie*⁸² indicates the mother's responsibility to educate young children in Biblical and religious behaviour. According to William W. Anderson, "Children learn not only their language and religion and morality but their politics at their mother's knee" (cited in Coles 1986:342). Unlike the fusion of modern and Biblical imagery in *Oom Attie se Slaapyd*

⁸⁰ According to Whitehead, Bannerji and Mojab, "... national identities and dominant forms of moral regulation associated with national cultures have been mediated by gender identities" (1991:3).

⁸¹ "Wives, be subject (be submissive and adapt yourselves) to your own husbands as [a service] to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife as Christ is Head of the church, Himself the Saviour of [His] body" (Ephesians 5:22-23 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1379]).

⁸² [Upon Mother's Knee].

Stories, the book *Aan Moeder se Knie* is purely an illustrated children's Bible containing selected narratives from the Old and New Testaments. The source of the original book is vague, as the publishers have excluded its initial publication information and appropriated the illustrations and texts as uniquely South African. The initial author is also excluded from the book's title page.

The illustrations in *Aan Moeder se Knie*, either depict Biblical characters in social situations or in natural, 'wilderness' environments. An example is that of Jacob embracing his son (Fig. 23). The illustrations are plausible extensions of various Biblical texts. However, viewed within the context of Afrikaner ideology, national sentiment and the Christian moral precepts to which Afrikaner nationalism aspired, these images assume very particular resonances.

In the illustration *Adam het die diere een vir een gestreel en elkeen 'n naam gegee* (Fig. 24), Adam is depicted as a nude, muscular male with long dark hair surrounded by wild animals.⁸³ He is holding an American bald eagle in his left hand, while stroking a tiger with his right, obscuring his legs, genitals and buttocks.⁸⁴ An inquisitive brown fawn looks up at him from the right, while a fish leaps from a pond in the foreground. The scene involves a large tree in the background and a green pool in the forefront. Adam and the animals stand upon undergrowth strewn with twigs and 'exotic' flowers.

Adam's racial prominence is not clear. His yellow, bronze-coloured skin and long black hair are reminiscent of aboriginal, primitive Red Indians of North America. The image is a primitivist fantasy. It is an idyllic representation of 'primitive' man in harmony with nature.⁸⁵ Prejudice towards the so-called 'savage'⁸⁶ or 'non-white' was visualised by the

⁸³ "God said, Let Us [Father, Son, and Holy Spirit] make mankind in Our image, after Our likeness, and let them have complete authority over the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, [tame] beasts, and over all of the earth, and over everything that creeps upon the earth" (Genesis 1:26 [The Amplified Bible 1987:2]).

⁸⁴ According to Hastings, exposing the genitals of characters in children's books or picture books was considered offensive by numerous adults (Hastings 2005:1). Librarians and teachers reacted by either "... removing the books from shelves, or covering the ... offending genitalia with marker[s], tape[s] or other methods of obscuring [them]" (Hastings 2005:1).

⁸⁵ "Primitivism is therefore a significant indicator of modern European presuppositions about non-European societies. The twentieth century saw the waning of the optimistic vision of continuous and unlimited progress in favour of an outlook that became increasingly sceptical of the Enlightenment project. This dystopian vision of modernity was accompanied by the idealisation of 'the primitive'. Although a paradisiacal idealisation of pre-modern societies has occurred since the Enlightenment, the utopian vision

West with the belief being that they "... are 'closer to nature', more emotional, sexually uninhibited, more ... childlike, superior athletes, and so forth" (Pieterse 1992:11). According to Pieterse, superior condescension became the tone which predominated in modernist, Western discourse (1992:34). Hegel (1770-1831) held that, "The Negro represents natural man in all his wild and untamed nature" (cited in Pieterse 1992:34). However, Adam's racial ambiguity is the result of the whiteness of his face and his Western facial features. That Adam's one hand rests on the tiger, while on the other is perched the bald eagle, indicates not only a 'primitive' harmony with nature, but dominion. It may be argued that the illustration depicts white 'superiority' as not being 'at one with nature', but as having 'control' and 'taming' the 'dark', contingent, 'natural world'.

The Biblical story of Adam and Creation was frequently employed by the Afrikaners to evoke Christian nationalism and sentiment. According to Coetzee, "[D]ie leer van die Skepping is in Genesis 1:28, waar die mens van sy Skepper die opdrag kry om die aarde te onderwerp en daaroor te heers" (1985:1):⁸⁷

En God het hulle geseën, en God het vir hulle gesê: Wees vrugbaar en vermeerder en vul die aarde, onderwerp dit en heers oor die visse van die see en die voëls van die hemel en oor al die diere wat op die aarde kruip. (Genesis 1:28 [Die Bybel, Nuwe Vertaling 1983])⁸⁸

Since Afrikaner nationalism is a Modernist institution, the illustration (within the perimeters of Afrikaner ideology and consciousness) may be read as an attempt to impose 'development' on the non-Western world (Cahoone 2003:8). Modern consciousness

of the world of the 'primitive' as prelapsarian paradise acquired new momentum in the twentieth century as travel and tourism actively promoted such dreams. Simultaneously, a discourse of the irredeemably savage 'primitive' continued to be disseminated in order to justify and fuel the colonial scramble for Africa" (Van Robbroeck 2006:70).

⁸⁶ "The prehistory of the savage belongs to Europe itself. The underlying idea seems to refer to the distinction, not so much between town and country as between cultivated and uncultivated land or 'nature'" (Pieterse 1992:30)

⁸⁷ [The study of Creation is in Genesis 1:28, where man receives the command from his Creator to subjugate the earth and to rule over it.]

⁸⁸ "And God blessed them and said to them, Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it [using all its vast resources in the service of God and man]; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, the birds of the air, and over every living creature that moves upon the earth" (Genesis 1:28 [The Amplified Bible 1987:2]).

equates 'rationalism' and 'humanism' with science, technology and industrial production (Cahoone 2003:8). The imposing figure of Adam in the wilderness becomes by extension a metaphor for the Voortrekkers' excursion into, and appropriation of, 'Dark Africa'.

The accompanying text of the illustration asserts, "Adam was lief vir diere. Hy was nie vir hulle bang nie en hulle was nie vir hom bang nie" (Postma 1953:15).⁸⁹ The animals surrounding Adam in the illustration are depicted as submissive; tamed by the presence of the male human figure. According to Pieterse, white superiority was justified by Western culture which likened Africans to animals (1992:39).⁹⁰ If the African is to nature as the Westerner is to culture, then Adam could be made to stand for the Afrikaner 'taming' the black man (it was believed that "their [blacks] natural Temper is barbarously cruel ... and that they exactly resemble their Fellow Creatures and Natives ..." (James Houston, cited in Pieterse 1992:40)). The 'supremacy' of the white man, a preconceived notion of Afrikaner nationalism endorsed by British control in the nineteenth century (Giliomee 2003:282), epitomises modernism's desire to harness the contingent spheres of nature through 'regulation' and 'control' in order to 'prove' superior advancement.⁹¹

This is also evident in the Biblical narrative *Simson, die Sterk Man* (Postma 1953:66). In the illustration, *Simson was so sterk dat hy 'n leeu doodgemaak het* (Fig. 25),⁹² Samson is depicted in a similar manner to Adam – a muscular white man with long dark hair. However, unlike Adam, Samson is not showing affection towards the animals in the portrayal. The brawny man is wrestling with a ferocious lion in a yellow, grassy field. A large vulture with a purple crest soars threateningly above both man and beast. Two other menacing vultures appear in the top, right-hand corner of the composition. Samson's robust body and sturdy facial expression indicate that he shows no fear towards the lion or the vultures. The accompanying text indicates that the strong man was feared both by

⁸⁹ [Adam loved the animals. He didn't fear them and they didn't fear him.].

⁹⁰ The bestiality of Africans had been a theme in earlier reports by voyagers who spoke of the native peoples as 'like to brute beasts', or as 'rude and beastlie', or as 'bestiall without foresight' (Pieterse 1992:40).

⁹¹ According to Giliomee, "white supremacy depended on will rather than the substance of power" (2003:282).

⁹² "And the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and he tore the lion as he would have torn a kid, and he had nothing in his hand ..." (Judges 14:6 [The Amplified Bible 1987:304]).

man and beast: “[H]ulle was almal baie bang vir hierdie sterk Israeliet” (Postma 1953:66).⁹³

Within the sphere of Afrikaner nationalism the caption, *Simson was so sterk dat hy ‘n leeu doodgemaak het*, could be read as a parable of white ascendancy. The notion of white, male ‘supremacy’ and the imposition of authority over the natural world are palpable conceptions in Afrikaner consciousness. According to Plumwood, “... the male body is made rational by being made the instrument of rationality which transforms nature” (1993:38). Since the Afrikaners believed in ‘superior white power’ (2003:280), it becomes apparent that Afrikaner nationalism viewed ‘non-human’ nature as that which must be ‘tamed’ by ‘reason’ and ‘progress’. Within the dualist human/nature paradigm – where the ‘savage’ becomes synonymous with the wilderness – the Afrikaners considered it their duty to crush their “... barbarous neighbours from one ocean to the other ... and then will be the time for a Christian people to tame and civilise them” (Giliomee 2003:280). Samson’s muscular body and strapping features also indicate that white Afrikaner ‘superiority’ was linked to physical health and bodily strength.⁹⁴ Dr. G. Eloff states in the highly modernist and racist anthropological study *Rasse en Rassevermenging: Die Boerevolk Gesien van die Standpunt van die Rasseleer*: “Dat daar ‘n sterker liggaamsbou aangetref word onder die Boere is nie onwaarskynlik nie. Vandaar ons prestasies veral op die gebied van rugby-voetbal” (1942:53).⁹⁵

These notions of physical and mental superiority of the white ‘races’ are also evident in the illustrated children’s Bible *Die Nuwe Kinderbybel*,⁹⁶ By J.L. Hurlbut, translated by Olivera Hildebrand, illustrated by May Hillhouse and published in 1961. Hildebrand asserts that “Die illustrasies is van ‘n hoë kunsgestalte en bevat die skoonheid en grasiae waarin kinders hul verlistig” (1961: i). He adds:

⁹³ [They were all very scared of this strong Israelite.].

⁹⁴ Eloff states “Dat die Boer goed gebou is is nie aan te twyfel nie” [That the Boer is well-built is not in question] (1942:54).

⁹⁵ [That there is a stronger physique present among the Boers is not unlikely. From this come our achievements especially in the field of rugby-football.].

⁹⁶ [The New Children’s Bible].

Hierdie boek word aangebied met die vaste oortuiging dat dit beslis 'n aanwinst vir die besitter sal wees en met die bede dat dit 'n middle in die hand van die Ouer, Onderwyser en Christenwerker mag wees om die kind na die Here Jesus te lei. (1961: i)⁹⁷

In the illustration *Noag se Ark* (Fig. 26),⁹⁸ the bearded figure of Noah (imaged as a white man clad in 'typical' Biblical apparel with a staff in his right hand) stretches his arms towards the sky. The wooden ark rests on a mountain towards the right of the page, as wild animals, including giraffes, elephants, camels, bison, lions and geese approach from the left. The vast wilderness extends into the horizon, and bushes, shrubs, rocks and trees occupy the foreground. Noah is depicted in a state of spiritual ecstasy, and assumes a stance reminiscent of a stereotypical hero or conqueror. The text includes, "Nadat Noag uit die ark gekom het, het hy vir hom 'n tuin gemaak en 'n wingerd geplant"⁹⁹ (Hildebrand 1962:13).¹⁰⁰

This image of Noah is reminiscent of panoramic scenes depicted from the Afrikaners' history by W.H. Coetzer (Fig. 27 & 28).¹⁰¹ The panorama is connected with the rigidly stratified panoptic vision that was characteristic of modernists with regard to nature. According to Brown, panoptic vision reflects the way "in which South African artists have explored their attitudes and relationships with the land and this country" (2006:1). The emphasis upon Noah's cultivating the land could imply the Afrikaners' compulsion towards 'progress' and development, in the 'dark' country they wish to possess. The image of Noah, stretching his arms towards the sky and across the barren wasteland, suggests the ideal male pioneer/farmer of Afrikaner Nationalist imagery. Noah's whiteness and religious fervour add to the Afrikaners' ideology of being a nation

⁹⁷ [This book is presented with the strong conviction that it will definitely be an asset for the owner, with the prayer that it will be a means for the parent, teacher or Christian-worker to lead the child to the Lord Jesus.].

⁹⁸ [Noah's Ark].

⁹⁹ [After Noah left the ark, he made himself a garden and planted a vineyard].

¹⁰⁰ "And Noah began to cultivate the ground and he planted a vineyard" (Genesis 9:20 [The Amplified Bible 1987:11]).

¹⁰¹ N. Diederichs describes the works of W.H. Coetzer as follows: "'n Volk in beweging word voorgestel. Maar hierdie beweging is geensins gelykmatig nie... 'n Stryd teen die natuur, teen barbaarse magte en die harde eise van onverbiddelelike omstandighede word aangeknoop" [A nation on the move is depicted. But, this move is in no way gradual A struggle against nature, against barbaric powers and extremely difficult situations is undertaken] (cited in Coetzer 1947:19).

ordained by the ‘will of God’: “As daar ooit ‘n bewys is dat die Boerevolk ‘n Godsbestemming in hierdie land het dan is dit ons rassesaamstelling” (Eloff 1942:50).¹⁰²

Though the images in *Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel Met Toeligting* (Fig. 29),¹⁰³ published in 1973, were done by European illustrator, Janusz Grabianski, this illustrated children’s Bible was considered a uniquely South African text. According to A.J. van Wijk, “*Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel* is uit ‘n behoefte begore. Dit is nie ‘n verwerking van ‘n bestaande Kinderbybel nie, maar is opnuut vir Afrikaanse kinders geskryf ...” (cited in Grobbelaar 1973:1).¹⁰⁴ The ‘exclusivity’ of Afrikaner Christian nationalism and the purported ‘superiority’ of the Afrikaner nation were endorsed by Afrikaans children’s Biblical texts. A.J. van Wijk asserts that *Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel* is “boeiend vir die moderne kind ...” (cited in Grobbelaar 1973:1),¹⁰⁵ and declares “Ek is daarvan oortuig dat dié Kinderbybel met seën en vrug begruik sal word ... en vertrou dat sy plek in baie huisgesinne in Suid-Afrika sal inneem” (cited in Grobbelaar 1973:387).¹⁰⁶

In the illustration *Die Eerste Dag: Wêreld, Waters, Lig* (Fig. 30),¹⁰⁷ an imposing flash of white light detonates from within the black void of the page. Shards of yellow, blue and pink light pierce the surrounding darkness as the central white axis expands into the black abyss. The accompanying text states, “God sê: ‘Laat daar lig wees’. ‘n Gloed breek deur die duisternis” (Grobbelaar 1973:8).¹⁰⁸

Although the abstract illustration contains no stereotypical depictions of archetypal figures, its symbolism utilises the dualistic construct of light and dark. As Afrikaner ideology is preoccupied with the notions of white supremacy, this dualism is particularly significant. Although the symbolism of light and dark in itself had nothing to do with skin

¹⁰² [If there ever is proof that the Boerevolk has a Godly destination in this land, then it is our racial disposition.].

¹⁰³ [The Big New Children’s Bible with Explanations].

¹⁰⁴ [*Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel* is born from a necessity. It is not a reconstruction of an existing children’s Bible, but is written anew for Afrikaans children ...].

¹⁰⁵ [absorbing for the modern child ...].

¹⁰⁶ [I am convinced that this children’s Bible will be used with blessing and (will bear) fruit ... and trust that it will find its place in many households in South Africa.].

¹⁰⁷ [The First Day: Earth, Waters, Light].

¹⁰⁸ “And God said, Let there be light; and there was light” (Genesis 1:3 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1]).

colour, "... in the course of time it did acquire that connotation" (Pieterse 1992:24).¹⁰⁹ According to Robert Coles, the *racial* ideology was inculcated in all white children in Apartheid South Africa (1986:200).¹¹⁰ Coles declares, "Race, rather than language or culture or religious tradition, is the true mainstay of nationalist sentiment" (1986:200).¹¹¹ The colour black was associated with the devil and a demon, just as white was coupled with godliness, righteousness and serenity (Pieterse 1992:24). The piercing light in the illustration *Die Eerste Dag: Wêreld, Waters, Lig* implicitly symbolises the Afrikaners' conviction of white (Christianity and light) as being triumphant over the 'dark', 'evil' forces of nature. The so-called 'black demon' or the tradition of the devil as being a 'black bugaboo' was evidently transferred to the 'primitive' black African (Pieterse 1992:24). Thus, the Afrikaners' belief in their arian superiority over the 'black' or 'coloured' was reaffirmed. The ideology of Apartheid shared by the members of the Afrikaner *volk*, "backed by power and force willingly exerted ... comes to be connected to a boy's, a girl's nationalist awareness" (Coles 1986:200). Christian, as well as historical references were used to verify this belief, and the Anglo-Boer War "had etched white-black and white-coloured divisions starkly" (Giliomee 2003:278).

Similar connotations of whiteness with redemption and blackness with sin are evident in the illustration *Die Eerste Klip* (Fig. 31).¹¹² Christ, clothed in white, is separate and dissociated from the murky crowd and gloomy surroundings. A cowering female figure trembles before Him as he reaches compassionately towards her. The supplementary text includes, "'Ek veroordeel jou ook nie,' sê Jesus, en dan wys Hy haar die weg wat sy moet bewandel: 'Gaan heen, en sondig nie meer nie'" (Grobbelaar 1973:329).¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ "The symbolism of light and darkness was probably derived from astrology, alchemy, Gnosticism and forms of Manichaeism" (Pieterse 1992:24).

¹¹⁰ It must be taken into consideration, from a psychological position, that children are generally afraid of the dark (blackness) as they cannot see properly in the darkness/night-time. Darkness breeds uncertainty in children and, by not being able to see, creates fear. By no means do I indicate that children make direct racial connotations between light and dark. However, it is possible that these connotations were encouraged by racist Afrikaner parents and educators who imparted images with light/dark content to children.

¹¹¹ "In the end, all white children of South Africa stare at black people, or coloured people, and invoke Apartheid" (Coles 1986:200).

¹¹² [The First Stone].

¹¹³ ["I too don't judge you," said Jesus, and then He showed her the way in which she should walk: "Go forth, and sin no more"]: "When Jesus raised Himself up, And Jesus said to her, Woman, where are your accusers? Has no man condemned you? She answered, No one, Lord! And Jesus said, I do not condemn you either. Go on your way and from now on sin no more" (John 8:10-11 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1222]).

Biblical scripture states: “I am the Light of the world. He who follows Me will not be walking in the dark, but will have the Light which is Life” (John 8:12 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1223]). In no way do I imply that that these Biblical scriptures are indicative of nationalist sentiment or that that the Gospel of Christ insinuates whiteness as superior to the black ‘savage’ or dark ‘barbarian’, but within the perimeters of Afrikaner ideology and consciousness, white and black were irrevocably associated with the colour of human skin. Although Christ is the central figure in the Biblical narrative, His depiction in white garments not only highlights His position as the Son of God, but ultimately intimates the symbolic association of whiteness as being superlative. Pale skin was considered ‘God-given’ and was deemed as ‘advanced’, in opposition to the darker skin tones of ‘aboriginal’ Africans, thus confirming the Afrikaners’ fixation with being a ‘chosen people’. Dr. G. Eloff articulates this view as follows:

Gewapen met ‘n sterk gestel ... en ‘n volhardende geaardheid met meeste van die eienskappe van die Noorderras, ‘n afkeer vir verbastering, ‘n volk gewortel in hierdie land deur aanpassing en tradisie wat trek oor 10 geslagte – siedaar die voorwaardes vir selfhandhawing, siedaar die gronde van my geloof in die Boer en sy toekoms in hierdie land deur ons vaders as ‘n kosbare pand aan ons toevertroue vir die opbouing van ‘n Christelike blanke beskawing met voorgdyskap oor die gekleurdes. (1942:61)¹¹⁴

My premise – that Afrikaner national consciousness was established (inter alia) through appropriated illustrated children’s Bibles – is borne out by Richard van Emden who states that, “Adult patriotism had always permeated down to children” and that the Church and the Nation were “... fused together in impressionable young minds as the bulwarks upon which the nation state’s security, peace and prosperity rested ...” (van Emden 2005:12-13).

¹¹⁴ [Armed with strong authority ... and a persistent disposition, with most of the characteristics of Northern races, an aversion for hybridisation, a nation grounded in this land through adaptation which stretches over 10 generations – appear the conditions for self-maintenance, appear the foundations of my belief in the Boer and his future in this land entrusted to us by our fathers as a precious pledge for the building of a white, Christian civilisation with guardianship over the coloureds.]

These notions become apparent in the illustrated story book *Verhale oor Kinders Van Die Bybel* (Fig. 32)¹¹⁵ by Hilda I. Roston, translated by Marianne Peacock, illustrated by Clive Upton and published in 1978. In the story book children are taught religious piety and devotion towards scrupulous values, ideals and beliefs. Essentially, the book depicts children from narratives in the Bible who adhere to the ‘will of God’ and ultimately become influential leaders of ‘God’s chosen nation’. In the illustration *Samuel, Die Helper* (Fig. 33),¹¹⁶ Samuel is depicted as a young, white boy with black hair and dark eyes. His hands are brought together in prayer and he gazes upwards. His visage, garments and hands are illumined by a vivid white light pouring across him. His wide eyes and half gaping mouth give his face an expression of awe, trepidation and wonder. Samuel is depicted in a stone-walled chamber with a wooden bench in the background. On the straw-scattered floor, a green bowl and pitcher are placed before the seat. A blue and white striped robe hangs from the ceiling at the left, while a brown mantle covers Samuel’s feet in the forefront. The accompanying text states: “Samuel het grootgeword en hy was ‘n groot leier en regverdiger van God se volk” (Roston 1978:18).¹¹⁷ The original text reads: “And Samuel grew; the Lord was with him and let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord” (1 Samuel 3:19-20 [The Amplified Bible 1987:324]). This cannot be interpreted as a nationalist text. Yet, in the accompanying Afrikaans text, the use of the words ‘*volk*’ and ‘*leier*’¹¹⁸ firmly transforms this Biblical story into an Afrikaner nationalist parable.

Within the Afrikaner nationalist framework, the image becomes emblematic of how national sentiment is transmitted and diffused from adults to a younger audience. Samuel is depicted as submissive and receptive to the white light radiating upon him. He therefore meets Cole’s description of a child as a being with ‘keen ears’ who “picks up exactly his father’s mixture of patriotism ...” (Coles 1986:32). The earnestness of Samuel (illustrated as a poor Hebrew servant boy) alongside the complementary text explaining his destiny as a leader of God’s chosen people, suggests the Afrikaners’ fixation with

¹¹⁵ [Stories about Children of the Bible].

¹¹⁶ [Samuel the Helper].

¹¹⁷ [Samuel grew up and became a righteous leader and judge of God’s people.].

¹¹⁸ [nation and leader].

being a people who suffered and consequently were blessed by God as a conquering nation. Thus, suffering proper parental discipline was thought to inculcate proper nationalist attitudes within the young. Samuel is depicted as a boy without any inclination to question, but as acquiescent to ‘political socialisation’ (Coles 1986:32). Ultimately, younger generations were considered the potential leaders of the Afrikaner *volk*. Samuel projects the role-model for the ideal future leader of ‘the volk’: earnest, solemn and seriously devoted to the ‘nation’s destiny’ (Coles 1986:32).

The notions of compliance, obedience and submission towards a national ideal are cultivated. According to Van Emden, a son becomes synonymous with his father as a patriotic man (2005:11). The Afrikaner child – particularly the Afrikaner boy – was infused with the national loyalty and religious piety of his father, in accordance with Biblical and Afrikaner patriarchal values. By way of example, John 5:19 states:

So Jesus answered them ... the Son is able to do nothing of Himself (of his own accord); but He is able to do only what He sees the Father doing, for whatever the Father does is what the Son does in the same way [in His turn]. ([The Amplified Bible 1987:1215])

The conception of ‘boy as hero’ (Van Emden 2005:11), as exemplified by an authoritative Biblical figure, expresses the ideology of service to ‘God and Country’ (2005:13). These perceptions are evident in the illustrations from the narrative *Dawid, Die Skaapwagterseun* (Fig. 34 & 35),¹¹⁹ where David is depicted as a young, arian boy with blonde hair attending his sheep.¹²⁰ In the frame of Afrikaner nationalism, the illustrations of David, in the meadows and pastures of the untamed wilderness with the flock of sheep he is guarding, resonate with the nationalist fervour that was encouraged among Afrikaner boys for, “a taste of outdoor adventure within the framework of healthy Christian discipline and obedience” (Van Emden 2005:13). In the final illustration of the narrative (Fig. 36), David – clad in a white robe and with bare feet – genuflects submissively to the aged Samuel. A female figure dressed in robes with a covering over her head watches admiringly as Samuel anoints the young boy kneeling before him.

¹¹⁹ [David the Shepherd boy].

¹²⁰ Dr Eloff states in a highly bigoted tone that arian characteristics amongst the Afrikaners ‘proved’ ‘superiority’: “Wat nou opval onder die Boere is die hoë persentasie blouogige mans ... met ligte hare” [What is now taking place among the Boers is the high percentage of blue-eyed men ... with light hair] (Eloff 1942:55).

Samuel is depicted with grey hair and a beard – his brown garments contrasting with the striking white apparel of young David. The accompanying text states “Dawid het gewonder waarom hy gekies is. Hy het geweet God sou hom help om eendag ‘n goeie koning te wees, net soos God hom gehelp het om ‘n goeie skaapwagter te wees”¹²¹ (Roston 1978:34).¹²²

Coles declares that nationalist stories – be they religious or secular – were idealised, and with accompanying illustrative pictures “all meant to tell generation after generation of boys and girls about a nation’s history” (1986:200). Jingoistic patriotism and nationalistic zeal were transmitted to Afrikaner children through visual media, such as the above-mentioned illustration. David teaches children to become ‘good citizens’ and to encourage “self-government, self-discipline and loyalty” (Van Emden 2005:14). In this way, Coles declares, “strong collective memory ... [works its] way into the nationalist awareness of children” (1986:200).

The title of the illustrated children’s Bible *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* (Fig. 37)¹²³ by Juliana Nothnagel, illustrated by Angus McBride and published in 1981, resonates with nationalist partisanship and sentimentality. On the cover, the possessive ‘*Ons Eie*’,¹²⁴ positioned over the sentimental image of Christ accepting fish and bread from a boy amidst a crowd of men and women unequivocally declares the Biblical narrative an exclusive Afrikaner narrative.¹²⁵

Since Afrikaner social unity was essentially derived from *The Great Trek* and *The Battle of Blood River*, as ‘Grand Narratives’ evoking the Biblical Exodus excursion, it is significant that this illustrated children’s Bible includes an image of the Israelites *trekking*

¹²¹ [David wondered why he was chosen. He knew that God would help him to be a good king one day, just like when God helped him to be a good Shepherd.].

¹²² “Then Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David in the midst of his brothers; and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward ...” (1 Samuel 16:13 [The Amplified Bible 1987:338]).

¹²³ [Our Own Bible for Toddlers].

¹²⁴ [Our Own].

¹²⁵ “There is a little boy here, who has [with him] five barley loaves and two small fish Jesus took the loaves, and when He had given thanks, He distributed to the disciples and the disciples to the reclining people; so also [He did] with the fish, as much as they wanted” (John 6: 9-11 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1217]).

though the wilderness. In the illustration *Die Israeliete Trek* (Fig. 38),¹²⁶ the Israelites are depicted as a throng of people moving diagonally from the bottom left-hand corner towards the top right-hand corner of the double-page spread. The diminutive characters are depicted in ‘Biblical attire’ as they travel with their sheep, goats, cattle and horses.¹²⁷ Moses, clad in white with a staff in his left hand, conducts the multitude towards the Promised Land with his right.¹²⁸ The bird’s eye-view perspective of the scene eliminates all signs of individuality and the Israelites are portrayed as one unified, national consciousness. The accompanying text states, “Die trek gaan maar stadig. Dit is ‘n ver ent. Hulle moet stap. En daar is nie eens ‘n pad nie. Maar die Here sorg dat hulle nie verdwaal nie” (Nothnagel 43:1981).¹²⁹

Although I do not want to suggest that this image was intended to convey nationalist sentiment originally, the ideological portrayal of the Voortrekkers’ excursion through the South African wilderness is evoked for any Afrikaner viewer. The illustration *Die Israeliete Trek* becomes analogous with images such as the *Andrews se Lewersout: Die Groot Trek Na Gesondheid* (Fig. 39) and the *Shell: Die Voortrekkers 1838-1949* advertisements (Fig. 40), which were commercials printed in the centenary celebration edition of *Die Huisgenoot* magazine.¹³⁰ In these adverts, the Voortrekkers are shown as a peripatetic group with their ox-wagons progressing through the untamed, ‘barbaric’ wilderness. Viewed within the ideological Afrikaner paradigm, the Biblical illustration *Die Israeliete Trek* replicates the Voortrekkers venture towards independence and ultimate national sovereignty. The ideal nation is portrayed as a uniform mass proceeding ‘onward’ as a ‘national organism’. Thus, the Israelites’ flight from Egypt was appropriated and equated to Afrikaner autonomy. According to Giliomee, these sentiments were expressed by Afrikaner nationalists: for instance, “‘n Volk help homself

¹²⁶ [The Israelites leave Egypt].

¹²⁷ “The Israelites journeyed from Rameses to Succoth, about 600 000 men on foot, besides women and children. And a mixed multitude went also with them, and very much livestock, both flocks and herds” (Exodus 12: 37-38 [The Amplified Bible 1987:83]).

¹²⁸ “And Moses said to the people [earnestly] remember this day in which you came out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage and bondmen . . .” (Exodus 13: 3 [The Amplified Bible 1987:83]).

¹²⁹ [The long journey to the land of freedom took a very long time. They had to walk all the way. And there was not even a proper road. But God made sure they wouldn’t get lost.].

¹³⁰ After the turn of the twentieth century, *Die Huisgenoot* became a primary Afrikaans media magazine for the Afrikaner *volk*. It is therefore not surprising that this magazine offered various nationalistic themes in its articles, publications and advertisements. In 1938, *Die Huisgenoot* issued a publication devoted to the centenary commemoration of *The Great Trek*.

(A people rescues itself), a call that Kestell made, soon captured the imagination” (2003:436). Possibly, the alleged similarities between these Biblical and Historical events were conveyed through the image of the trekking Israelites to Afrikaner children. By attributing Biblical nuances to *The Great Trek*, it was assumed that religious fervour would make “... the volk mightily aware of its own existence” (Giliomee 2003:433). Sheila Paterson states:

To the Boers the Old Testament was like a mirror of their own lives. In it they found the deserts and fountains, the drought and plagues, the captivity and the exodus. Above all they found a Chosen People guided by a stern but partial Deity through the midst of the heathen to a promised land. And it was the Old Testament and the doctrines of Calvin that moulded the Boer into the Afrikaner (Cited in Hexham 1981:1)

Similar notions are implicit in the illustration *Jesus en Satan* (Fig. 41).¹³¹ Christ is depicted in His white garments as He stands alone in the vast desert landscape. He is turned away from the viewer as He gazes into the extensive horizon towards the left of the page spread. On the right of the composition, the shadow-profile of a man’s head is cast upon a large boulder. The horn protruding from the sinister apparition indicates that the image signifies Satan trying to tempt the Son of God. The text includes, “Nadat Johannes vir Jesus gedoop het, gaan Jesus op ‘n dag alleen die woestyn in. Hy bly veertig dae en nagte daar. In die woestyn is alles vaal en droog ... Nou is my kans dink Satan”¹³² (Nothnagel 1981:161).¹³³

This image of *Jesus en Satan* exemplifies the Afrikaner’s obsession with conquering nature as a contingent realm which must be Christianised and submitted to ‘progress’ and development. Throughout the Old and New Testament, the wilderness is associated with evil, temptation, exile and punishment:

And you shall be driven from among men and your dwelling will be with the living creatures of the field. You will be made to eat grass like the oxen, and seven times [or

¹³¹ [Jesus and Satan].

¹³² [After John had baptised Jesus, Satan had his chance. Jesus went to the desert to be alone and to think about the work he must do. He stayed in the desert for forty days. In the desert, everything was dry and dead ‘Now is my chance,’ thought Satan].

¹³³ “Then Jesus was led (guided) by the [Holy] Spirit into the wilderness (desert) to be tempted (tested and tried) by the devil” (Matthew 4:1 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1076]).

years] shall pass over you until you have learned *and* know that the Most High [God] rules in the kingdom of men and gives it to whomever He will. (Daniel 4:32 [The Amplified Bible 1987:985])

And the woman [herself] fled into the desert (wilderness), where she has a retreat prepared [for her] by God, in which she is to be fed *and* kept safe for 1, 260 days (42 months; three and one-half years). (Revelation 12:6 [The Amplified Bible 1987:1490])

Satan is viewed as ‘akin to nature’ and the wilderness. In a colonial and Apartheid context, Satan becomes associated with the black ‘savage’ as a malicious, wicked and iniquitous presence. The bestiality of the pagan African is a colonial theme adopted by Afrikaner society which regards native peoples as ‘black fiends’ or as ‘bestial without foresight’ (Pieterse 1992:40). Through association, the image of Christ in the wilderness signifies the Voortrekker ‘hero’, with his white canvas ox-wagon travelling through the dark, ‘barbaric’ wilderness in order to ‘Christianise’ the ‘heathen’.¹³⁴

In the illustration *Jesus se Vriende het mekaar Lief* (Fig. 42),¹³⁵ a variety of nationalist sentiments occurs. The illustration reveals a group of exclusively white people of various age groups depicted in ‘Biblical apparel’ praying together. All the characters kneel on the ground with their hands locked in prayer. An elderly, bearded white man on the left leads the religious devotion. The text is as follows, “Die gemeente is baie lief vir mekaar. Hulle help mekaar. As iemand honger het, gee hulle vir hom kos. As iemand siek is, sorg hulle vir hom. As iemand alleen is, gaan kuier hulle by hom”¹³⁶ (Nothnagel 1981:176).

I believe that this portrayal of a group of arian people united in prayer signifies the ‘family unit’ or the unification of the Calvinist church congregation as the foundation upon which Afrikaner identity was constructed.¹³⁷ The family unit was a major ideological force in Afrikaner national discourse. The extended family unit promotes the

¹³⁴ The ox-wagon – the vehicle of transport used by the Voortrekkers during the *Great Trek* – becomes symbolic of the Trekkers’ imposing presence in the African landscape.

¹³⁵ [Jesus’ Friends Love One Another].

¹³⁶ [These friends of Jesus love one another. They help each other. If someone is hungry, they give him or her food. They care for the sick. And they visit the lonely people.].

¹³⁷ Prof. G. Cronjé states, “Die gesindheid wat ‘n gesin teenoor die kerk en die godsdiens openbaar, het ‘n belangrike en in die algemeen deurslaggewende betekenis vir die rigting, die gestendigheid en die gehalte van die gesinslewe” (1958:7). [The disposition which the family reveals to the church and their faith, has an important, and generally, determinant meaning for the direction, calibre and quality of family life.].

ideal of physical health, attractiveness, fertility and progressive integration (Barnard 2005:5).

In the illustration *Jesus Kom Weer* (Fig. 43),¹³⁸ the equation between Christian and arian identity is elaborated. Heaven, the idyllic ‘Promised land’, is viewed as an essentially ‘white realm’, where the ‘saintliness’ of the white *volk* could thrive independently from ‘foreign’ contamination:

En wanneer Hy weer kom, sal Hy ‘n nuwe aarde maak. Dit sal alles baie mooi wees. Baie mooier as die pragtige tuin waarin Adam en Eva gewoon het. Baie mooier as die wêreld waarop ons nou woon. (Nothnagel 1981:190)¹³⁹

It is significant that, when *Ons Eie Kleuterbybel* was republished in English, in 1997, as *My Very Own Bible for Toddlers* (Fig. 44), the skin colour of selected characters from the above-mentioned illustrations was altered to include some token black people (Fig. 45 & 46). This racial alteration of the characters, after the fall of Apartheid in 1994, manifestly demonstrates the politically and ideologically loaded nature of the illustrated children’s Bible in South Africa. By re-appropriating these images and rendering some of the figures as black, the democratic and multi-racial ideology of the ‘New South Africa’ is communicated.

Nationalist sentiment and religious piety, fervour and zeal continue to play a role in contemporary socio-political consciousness. The religious image not only refers to Biblical texts, but discursively reflects the socio-political environment in which it is produced or appropriated. Thus, the Bible and the illustrated children’s Bible become utilitarian tools used advantageously for Afrikaner advancement.

¹³⁸ [Jesus Will Come Again].

¹³⁹ [And when He does come again, He will give us a new earth. Everything will be very, very beautiful. Much better than the garden where Adam and Eve lived in the beginning. And much more beautiful than the earth as we know it now.].

CHAPTER 3

CHALLENGING THE CONVENTIONS OF AFRIKANER CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM

The by now ubiquitous image of South Africa as the 'rainbow nation' seems to have caught the public imagination. It symbolises the 'new' South Africa, the imaginary nation being constructed in the post-Apartheid era. (Baines 1998:1)

3.1. Post-Apartheid Nationalism: The Ideology of the 'Rainbow Nation'

March 1994 marked the defeat of Afrikaner nationalism and the fall of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. South Africa's transition into democracy, egalitarianism and acceptance as a member of the community of nations has been accompanied "... by a quest for a new national identity" (Baines 1998:1). The reconstruction of national consciousness and the repositioning of national identity affirm the ideological disposition of the 'new' South Africa as a 'rainbow nation'. Post-Apartheid South African national identity is discursively produced through the ideology of multiculturalism and proposes a "... multi-level nationalism where people can reconcile national and communal identities" (Miller, cited in Baines 1998:3). Since nation building seeks to create a sense of belonging to the broader South African community, an essential concern must be the eradication of the Apartheid mentality which still lingers, particularly in the minds of Afrikaners who supported the previous Afrikaner nationalist regime. It is therefore imperative to acknowledge cultural diversity and to accommodate cultural and ethnic minorities (Baines 1998:5). Since my own work seeks a fundamentally new representation of Biblical narratives within the post-Apartheid context, I wish to discuss the ideology of the 'rainbow nation'.

Religious values and symbols were also utilised in the reconstruction of the post-Apartheid South African nation. Desmond Tutu is regarded as being the first to refer to

South Africans as the ‘Rainbow People of God’.¹⁴⁰ The image of a rainbow resonates with the symbolism of South African indigenous cultures and presumably draws on the Old Testament story of the flood, where the rainbow symbolises God’s promise not to pass further judgment on humankind (Baines 1998:1).¹⁴¹ Christianity persists as a primary tool for South African nationalist construction: “Theological thinking encapsulates matters of peace and reconciliation as well as our responsibility for the environment and the socio-economic transformation of our newly democratised society” (Bam 1995:3).

Gary Baines asserts that a new South African national identity is being constructed through the forums of public discourse (1998:2). South African media have assumed the responsibility for “... communicating the message of national unity” (Baines 1998:3). According to Baines “This is epitomised by the repetitive jingle on SABC-TV: ‘*Simunye* – We are one” (1998:4). The post-Apartheid nation is ideologically loaded with notions of multiculturalism. As cultural bearers, “the media have been crucial in disseminating the rhetoric of ‘rainbowism’” (Baines 1998:5).

According to Wolfram Kistner, the democratisation process during the first non-racial election and the installation of a new government system were the primary instruments for transforming South Africa into a new country (1994:1). Nonetheless, South African society still grapples with the legacy of its past as an Apartheid state. Kistner states that “People who have implemented, sustained and supported the Apartheid policy are still active in a great diversity of public offices without having distanced themselves from their past” (1994:1). Before the introduction of democracy in South Africa, various Afrikaner nationalists felt threatened by the flourishing conception of a multi-cultural nationalism. The notion of democracy was regarded as dangerous liberalism, while social equality and the proposition of a unified nation threatened the Afrikaner *volk*:

¹⁴⁰ “Archbishop Desmond Tutu is usually credited with coining the phrase ‘the rainbow nation’. As chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, Tutu is associated in the public mind with the process of reconciliation and nation building” (Baines 1998:1).

¹⁴¹ “I set My bow [rainbow] in the cloud, and it shall be a token *or* sign of a covenant *or* solemn pledge between Me and the earth. And it shall be that I bring clouds over the earth and the bow [rainbow] is seen in the clouds” (Genesis 9:13-14 [The Amplified Bible 1987:11]).

Gelykstelling maak van die Swartes terroriste. Daarom glo ek aan Apartheid. Ons nooi die Swartes om ons wolkekrabbers op to blaas deur hulle by ons toe te laat, verteenwoordiging te gee en te sê hulle is gelyk. (Van den Berg, cited in Marais 1990:50)¹⁴²

It must also be taken into consideration that in South African society, as in many other societies, people are confronted with multiple personal identities (Venter 1998:1). As most national identities are founded on a common language, religion, ethnic heritage and historic legacy, the construction of a new multi-cultural South African national identity is complex and multi-faceted. Using a "... cultural ethnic criterion as the defining principle of South African national identity" (Venter 1998:1) is particularly problematic in the new South Africa. Albert Venter proposes that, "instead of an enforced civilisationally based ethno-cultural identity, South Africans should strive for an ideological identity" (1998:16). This ideology should be based upon a practical patriotism which is non-conflictual and promotes a shared South African identity. The major dilemma with multi-cultural national identity is to reconcile the shared land with a communal vision or experience of historical time (Venter 1998:16). Although South African citizens have accepted the sharing of a common space, the greater predicament will be "... to develop a shared sense of history" (Venter 1998:16).

3.2. Postmodernism and the Picture Book

According to contemporary illustrator, Piet Grobler, there is a distinct difference between 'children's books' and 'picture books'. Grobler states the so-called 'picture book' is a visual, narrative medium "... that is not limited to a group, but talks to children and adults on different levels" (2004:44). The 'children's book' becomes a mere reader restricted only to the specific 'children's category' (Grobler, cited in Van Niekerk 2004:12). The definition of the picture book is a postmodern phenomenon. This is emphasised by Schwartz who proposes that contemporary picture books, from being merely didactic tools, have transformed into to vehicles that have to be "... aesthetically,

¹⁴² [Equality turns Blacks into terrorists. It is for this reason that I believe in Apartheid. We invite the Blacks to blow up our skyscrapers by allowing them among us, giving them representation and stating that they are equal.]

psychologically and educationally satisfying ... to embody different appeals, means [and] speak in different tongues to young people and to adults” (cited in Van Niekerk 2004:12).

Illustrator John Burningham states:

I don't think there's that great gulf between children and us ... I don't say 'I'm doing it for the kiddies'. The interesting thing is that they aren't tactful at all – if they don't like something, they won't bother with it. But equally adults buy these books and, if they bore them, it's absolutely hopeless. (Cited in Bayley 2005)

Children's literature was not always a separate category from adult literature. Kiefer states, "... people were not differentiated into age groups before the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and there existed no separation between adult and children's literature” (cited in Van Niekerk 2004:11). It was only during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' Enlightenment¹⁴³ where the specific and newly recognised needs of the 'child' were mirrored as different to those of an adult (Van Niekerk 2004:11). Therefore, the picture book has evolved from being a medium communicating to both children and adults alike, to being an exclusively didactic tool during modernist discourse. By contrast, contemporary picture books provide elements of intertextuality and multi-layers of meaning interpreted by both adults and children. Postmodernism creates a seamless relationship in the picture book's functionality as a means of communicating to both adults and to children.

Postmodernism is a vast and often conflictual field.¹⁴⁴ I therefore focus only on specific aspects of the discourse in order to situate my own work as a reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible in opposition to conventional illustrated children's Bibles (this is discussed below under subsection 3.3.). According to Laura J. Colker, “Traditionally, picture books have been characterised by illustrations that are focused and uncluttered” (2006:1). These

¹⁴³ Enlightenment philosophy is the ideology of modernity where the realisation of rationality is perceived in the minds and actions of men (Smith 2002).

¹⁴⁴ “When most philosophers use the word ‘postmodernism’ they mean to refer to a movement that developed in France in the 1960s, more precisely called ‘poststructuralism’, along with subsequent and related developments. They have in mind that this movement denies the possibility of objective knowledge of the real world, ‘univocal’ (single or primary) meaning of words and texts, the unity of the human self, the cogency of the distinctions between rational inquiry and political action, literal and metaphorical meaning, science and art, and even the possibility of truth itself. Simply put, they regard it as rejecting most of the fundamental intellectual pillars of modern Western civilisation” (Cahoone 1996:2).

‘conventional’ picture books follow a linear left-to-right movement across the page (2006:1). Goldstone proposes that this formula found in “... nearly every beloved picture book ...” (cited in Colker 2006:1) does not apply to contemporary picture books published in the last two and a half decades as they “... run contrary to the aforementioned characteristics” (cited in Colker 2006:1). Postmodern picture books such as *The Stinky Cheese Man and Other Fairly Stupid Tales* (Fig. 47),¹⁴⁵ *Hubert Horatio Bartle Bobton-Trent* (Fig. 48)¹⁴⁶ and *Whadayamean* (Fig. 49)¹⁴⁷ do not have a “... clear, traditional, linear story structure or a sweet and innocent tone” (Goldstone, cited in Colker 2006:1). Goldstone states that such books mock rather than model oral tradition (cited in Colker 2006:1). Contemporary picture books – which have been termed ‘Postmodern’ – are insurgents of traditional picture book structure (Colker 2006:1).

Since postmodernism can be broadly defined as a phenomenon which draws attention to the “... interconnectedness of our modern world and embraces multiculturalism” (Colker 2006:1),¹⁴⁸ a postmodern picture book can be describe as one which stretches and supersedes the boundaries of “... what we expect a picture book to be like” (2006:1). According to Colker, “Both the author and the illustrator employ devices that defy the reader’s expectation” (2006:1). The haphazard interplay of image and text become initial elements in postmodern literature which challenge the reader to come up with his or her own meaning (2006:1). Colker states, “[E]ach reading of a book may cause a reader to construct a new and different meaning” (2006:1).

The notion of intertextuality found within postmodern picture books involves ‘multi-literacy’. Anstey poses that literacy is “... no longer an appropriate term because it focuses just on language” (cited in Colker 2006:2). Multi-literacy involves, “... being literate about illustrations as well as language” (2006:2). Postmodern theory recognises

¹⁴⁵ By Jon Scieszka and Lane Smith (1992).

¹⁴⁶ By Lauren Child (2004).

¹⁴⁷ By John Burningham (1999).

¹⁴⁸ “Its most well-known political manifestation is the attempt to make contemporary culture acknowledge and respond to ‘difference’, or ‘otherness’, under the names *feminism*, a vastly influential intellectual movement, and *multi-culturalism*, which as a program has been primarily a phenomenon in the field of education. Both of these movements overlap with postmodernism, so that some feminists and some multi-culturalists are postmodernists while others are not” (Cahoone 1996:19).

that texts (either visual or textual) are palimpsests¹⁴⁹ where meaning is based on, or superimposed over, the traces of other earlier meanings. In ‘multi-literate’ picture books, the idea of ‘reality’ becomes nullified, redundant and “... has been supplanted by the endless procession of simulacra” (Wikipedia 2005:1).¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ Postmodern texts surpass the fixed notions of ‘truth’ and “... generate constant re-appropriation and re-contextualisation of familiar cultural symbols and images, fundamentally shifting our experience away from ‘reality’, to ‘hyperreality’” (Wikipedia 2005:2).¹⁵² Therefore, postmodern picture books can be regarded as “... having outwardly playful mismatches between the text and the pictures The inconsistencies are regarded as ‘intentional’ and exaggerate the irony that ... always existed between the two media in this form” (Colker 2006:1). Colker states “Children typically notice and enjoy the inconsistencies” (2006:1).

As already mentioned, postmodern authors and illustrators employ various devices, such as “nontraditional ways of using plot” (Colker 2006:1) and “new and unusual design and layout”, to achieve this “different style of book” (2006:1) which challenges the reader’s perception of how books are read conventionally. In brief, I will discuss the use of postmodern devices in contemporary picture books. I extend the use of these devices within the analysis of my own creation of the Afrikaans picture Bible.

Burningham’s picture book, *Whadayamean*, unifies a variety of postmodern concepts within the visual dialects of the narrative. The basic plot of the story depicts an unseen God, who returns to earth subsequent to a long rest after creating it. God wishes to inspect the state of the planet, and in doing so, causes the world population to fall into a deep sleep. However, two young children, a brother and sister, are not affected by the mass slumber. God invites the children on a journey across the world to inspect the

¹⁴⁹ **pālī’mpšēst** *n.* Writing-material or manuscript on which original writing has been effaced to make room for other writing (Sykes 1978:635).

¹⁵⁰ Derived from **simulate**, *sim’ūlāt*, *v.t.* to imitate: to counterfeit: to pretend: to assume the appearance of without the reality; **simulā’crum** *n.* (pl. –**cra**), (shadowy or deceptive) likeness of something (Sykes 1978:849).

¹⁵¹ Jean Baudrillard poses that “... the border between art and reality has been utterly vanished as both have collapsed into the universal simulacrum” (cited in Appignanesi & Garratt 1999:54). “The simulacrum is arrived at when the distinction between representation and reality – between signs and what they refer to in the real world – breaks down” (Appignanesi & Garratt 1999:55).

¹⁵² Hyper-reality involves phenomena in which images and texts “... breed incestuously with each other without reference to reality or meaning” (Appignanesi & Garratt 1999:55).

planet's condition with Him. Being very displeased with the state of the earth, God gives the two children an important task: they have to change the socio-economic and political condition of the planet by encouraging the adults to stop their arguments.

Although the picture book is filled with signs¹⁵³ and symbolic meaning encompassing postmodern thought, I have chosen two double-page spreads for discussion. On page 5 and 6 (fig. 50), two children, possibly illustrated in oil or acrylic-paint on glass, are depicted having breakfast under a large cedar tree. On the left, a photographic reference to the sun emerges from beneath the layers of glass and paint. In the text, God asks the children, "Why are you not asleep like everyone else?" (Burningham 1999:5). It may be argued that the layering of paint upon glass and photographic material ultimately refers to the layered, intertextuality of meaning in postmodern picture books. According to Penni Cotton, "... in postmodern picture books the gap between fiction and reality is made explicit and metafictional dialogue can show readers how representations of reality are constructed and ascribed with meaning" (2005:2). However, I wish to focus on the naivety of the portrayal of the children under the cedar tree on the right, and the question God is imposing upon them. The children, although childish in their depiction, are given a status 'superior' to 'everyone else' by God (Burningham 1999:5). 'Everyone else' refers to adults. The adults' disagreements lead to the basis of the narrative where God encourages mere children to change the socio-political instability of the world. According to Cotton, "[T]he ways visual images are constructed ... become part of every child's encounters with adult views of how 'children' speak, act and perceive the world" (2005:3). Postmodernism places children upon an equal footing with adults. Cotton states:

Drawing attention to characteristics, activities and events by adults can address issues of whether portrayals of social life fit available descriptions of childhood culture. For child readers, such an interpretation would involve not only an immersion in child-culture but also possibly an appreciation of how adults view children. (2005:3)

In the double-page spread depicted on pages 25 and 26 (fig. 51), the boy and girl encounter "... the people who said they speak to God" (Burningham 1999:26). On the

¹⁵³ According to Marcel Danesti, "a *sign* refers to a representative image or icon that indicates a specific message towards a specific audience" (cited in Sebeok 1994:12).

left, the children are placed among these religious leaders representing various Faiths in the world. Behind them, religious buildings are constructed from religious texts and scriptures. The religious leaders ask “Whadayamean” (Burningham 1999:26), when the children tell them to stop quarrelling among themselves. When the children reply, “God said to tell you” (Burningham 1999:26), the religious leaders obey.

As already mentioned, postmodern picture books address children as equal to adults. The religious adults are depicted as threatening characters, towering over the children. In the text on the right, they call the boy and girl “foolish little children” (Burningham 1999:26). Beneath the text, however the children convince the adults finally to realise their faults. Eventually, they rest on their haunches ‘reducing’ their ‘adult status’ to the perspective of children. The gulf between child and adult has consequently been removed. Comparable to earlier images discussed – such as *Oom Attie Vertel Stories Aan ‘n Groep Kinders* and *Jesus Het Die Kinders Van Alle Nasies Lief* – where authoritative adult figures are depicted as commandeering instructors/educators of children, the socio-political roles of adult/child are swapped and repositioned.

According to Cotton, children gain satisfaction from identification and participation with the text (2005:2). This element of interaction is evident in Burningham’s *Whadayamean*, where text becomes image on the left illustration: chapels, mosques and synagogues are constructed from the scriptures of religious manuscripts. Steven Heller states that “Word + Picture = Impact” (cited in Swanson 2002:136). In the illustration, the gulf between ‘word’ and ‘picture’ is eliminated by using words to create a picture. Postmodern picture books “... often ‘prise open the gap’ between words and pictures, pushing them apart and forcing readers and viewers to work hard to forge the relationship between them” (Cotton 2005:2). According to Anstey, characteristics of postmodern picture books include “Intertextual reference which requires the reader to make connections to other books or knowledge, in order to better understand the text” (cited in Wikipedia 2006:1). Consequently, postmodern picture books “... may allow students to increase their ‘self-knowledge about reading’ and ... students might be able to use this knowledge in strategic ways as they read” (Wikipedia 2006:1).

Postmodernism is a haphazard and hybrid assembly of concepts which adopts eclecticism¹⁵⁴ and contingency. In contemporary picture books it becomes evident that both writers and illustrators have embraced postmodernism and introduced it "... by undercover means into public libraries, schools and homes that might otherwise have resisted the concept" (Powers 2003:98). The postmodern aspects of picture books reveal a layered, intertextuality of meaning within visual narratives. Authors and illustrators have presented layers of references in books to entertain both children and adults (Powers 2003:98). As a result, the postmodern aspects of picture books refer to the plurality of codes in these narratives, which leave them open to an ambiguous plurality of meaning (Barthes, cited in Cotton 2005:1). According to Colker, "a postmodern storybook has the potential to extend the definition of reading comprehension to new, unexplored levels" (2006:2). Hence, "such books may be useful in allowing teachers to use texts that encourage students to draw upon their own identity and use this knowledge to read strategically" (Wikipedia 2006:1).

3.3. The Postmodern Picture Bible

Since postmodernism is defined by most philosophers as a rejection of the "... fundamental intellectual pillars of modern Western society" (Cahoone 1996:2), my proposition for an Afrikaans postmodern picture Bible (as a means of challenging the conventions of Afrikaner Christian nationalism) is based upon a rejection and subversion of modernist Christianity and aims "... to undermine established educational and political authorities ..." (1996:2).¹⁵⁵ It must also be taken into consideration that contemporary picture books – be they religious or secular – compete with television, computers, video games and masses of other visual media. Similarly, "a gulf exists between contemporary culture and the Christian faith" (Boeve 2003:6). Therefore, Christianity and the Bible

¹⁵⁴ Eclecticism or 'junk postmodernism', "is the degree zero of contemporary culture: one listens to reggae, watches Westerns, eats McDonald's food for lunch and local cuisine for dinner, wears Paris perfume in Tokyo and 'retro' clothes in Hong Kong; knowledge is a matter for TV games. And it's the same for art-kitsch, confusion and 'anything goes'. In the absence of any aesthetic criteria, money is the only yardstick. All 'tastes', like all 'needs', are attended to by the market" (Appignanesi & Garrat 1999:47).

¹⁵⁵ According to Cahoone, "Unless theological transgression becomes genuinely subversive, nothing fundamental will change. What is needed is a critical lever with which the entire inherited order can be creatively disorganized. It is at this point that deconstruction becomes a potential resource for the a/theologian" (1996:19).

need some form of “religious activation” (Armin 2006:1)¹⁵⁶ in order to “... reach more people” (2006:1) and “... entice more participation” (2006:1). This “... effort in making the Bible cool” (2006:1) is evident in *Postmodern Bible Stories: Sunday School Never Looked Like This* (Fig. 52) which is a collection of “... key stories from the Old and New Testament as rendered by 30 illustrators accompanied by their statements on their work and preceded by punchy introductions” (Armin 2006:2) (Fig. 53, 54, & 55). Although Armin states that the book *Postmodern Bible Stories* is “...a package better left wrapped” (2006:4), its relevance is evident as the narratives (both visual and textual) reflect a movement away from rigid, authoritative dogma towards a contemporary, unconventional representation of the Bible.

Armin states, “... without passing any judgment, religion (of all kinds and in all forms) has always relied on packaging” (2006:1). Although I agree with this statement, the aim of my work is not to ‘package’ the Bible by trying to make it ‘cool’ or “... upping the volume on the mainstream knob” (2006:1). Nor is it a superficial means of repositioning Christianity for “... a smoother ride down people’s throats” (2006:1). I view my own work rather, as a reaction to the Biblical narratives I was exposed to as I child. It becomes a means of challenging Afrikaner children’s Christian literature by asserting that the Bible is a book which can be interpreted differently by various individuals. Furthermore, my aim is not to subvert Bible stories, but rather introduce them to postmodernism by employing a contemporary, postmodern style. In this way, my work becomes a postmodern, “... meta-fictive book ...” where, “... the reader is intentionally made aware of the way that the book calls attention to itself” (Wikipedia 2006:1).

Postmodern Christianity is not relativistic. In other words, we most definitely do believe in absolutes. The difference is that while modern theology saw ‘truth’ as being defined by a set of rigid dogmas and codified doctrines, postmodern Christians see the truth of Christ as being embodied in the story of the person of Christ. ‘Truth’ is discerned not by accepting and mechanically repeating a set of doctrines, but by the experience of how the story of Jesus changes the community of Jesus. That does not mean that doctrine is not

¹⁵⁶ According to Armin, “Activation is a term used to specify an audience or space that needs to be ... activated. From an empty corner of a sports arena that can be activated with a mini Hooters to a kid in a playground getting free samples of the latest in sport shoe technology” (2006:4).

still important, but rather that people today experience ‘truth’ in a more organic, narrative way. (Richardson 2005:1)

In my own work I wish to bridge the gap between Christian narratives and present-day South African society by recontextualising the Afrikaans picture Bible as a postmodern text. The result of recontextualisation in the Christian tradition is not so much ‘more’ tradition but rather creating a ‘different’ tradition (Boeve 2003:23).¹⁵⁷ Boeve asserts “what is commonly held to be the Christian tradition (and in so far as this tradition is still being passed on, the Christian narrative) is viewed differently in the contemporary context” (2003:102). Afrikaner nationalism aimed to establish rigid cultural symbols through the Christian Calvinist tradition. Through my work I aim to challenge the conventions of Afrikaner Christian nationalism as I believe that ‘detraditionalisation’ incorporates a fundamental reconstruction of identity. Boeve states “the Christian narrative [has] worked its way through a variety of successive contexts, continually recontextualising along the way” (2003:24). My own reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible contains radically recontextualised Biblical narratives placed within the frame of contemporary South African society. Although this picture book does not deliberately convey post-Apartheid nationalist statements, I position my work as a postmodern text which encodes distinctive post-Apartheid conceptions of identity. Apart from viewing my work within the sphere of South African identity and postmodern Christianity, I essentially investigate the work as a picture Bible which adopts a postmodern style.

My reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible – titled *{Wie Is Dit?}*¹⁵⁸ – humorously depicts selected characters from the Bible, focusing particularly on the Old Testament. As already mentioned, the depiction of various characters in Afrikaans illustrated children’s Bibles published during the Apartheid regime reveals some form of ‘cohesive identity’. However, it could be argued that the Biblical characters in *{Wie Is Dit?}* reflect particular modes of ‘personal identity’ (Fig. 56-68). According to Venter, personal identity is formed “... by a multiple set of influences throughout the life of an individual. In society,

¹⁵⁷ “The term ‘tradition’ refers to the subject, the process, and the content of the transmission of faith through which the identity, the continuity, and the productive unfolding of the message of revelation in the community of faith is made possible” (Beinert, cited in Boeve 2003:20).

¹⁵⁸ [Who Is This?].

an individual has many ‘identities’: some are private, some are public” (1998:2).¹⁵⁹ As a critical response to the construction of national identity through Christian dogma in Afrikaans children’s literature, the individuality of the characters portrayed in *{Wie Is Dit?}* poses a new ideological conception of identity in post-Apartheid South Africa. The aim is not to blaspheme by being derisive towards Biblical scripture. Instead, I propose an ultimate shift from the hackneyed images traditionally found in Biblical narratives towards fundamentally unconventional representations within a postmodern ‘open narrative’.¹⁶⁰ I don’t wish to analyse and discuss every illustration in extensive detail, but rather view the works in their entirety. I refer to selected examples and analyse them with reference to postmodern devices used in contemporary picture books. I also view these images as ‘unofficial’,¹⁶¹ visual dialects which encompass a radically different representation of Biblical scripture.

The illustration *{Dit is Adam. Dit is Eva}* (Fig. 56)¹⁶² encompasses a variety of postmodern notions. Both Adam and Eve are depicted individually, on either side of the double-page spread, as they converse via cellphone. The speech bubbles protruding from Adam’s cellphone and Eve’s mouth contain apples, suggesting that Adam is coming home to eat his supper. Both characters are shown in bizarre landscapes indicating the Garden of Eden. The nude, ‘comic-like’ characters are wearing fragments of modern clothes, as indicated by Adam’s collared shirt and Eve’s apron (signifying their gender). Adam is carrying a briefcase, as he is supposedly returning home from work. A serpent is portrayed in the bottom right-hand corner wearing a chef’s hat, as if he had a hand in the cooking.

Through the ‘comic-like’ quality of Adam and Eve – implied by the flat use of colour, their bulbous eyes, sausage-like lips and stiff, iconic posture – the preconceived notions of Biblical portrayals in Afrikaans children’s literature are confronted. Humour becomes

¹⁵⁹ “The political, philosophical and moral question is ... how much of this identity is freely chosen, how much is socially conditioned (private) and how much is enforced politically (public)?” (Venter 1998:2).

¹⁶⁰ The ‘open narrative’ is a narrative which allows itself to be influenced by postmodern critical consciousness, “thus providing it with concrete form” (Boeve 2003:91). According to Boeve, postmodern ‘open narratives’ have “a degree of contingency about them, something accidental, something closely related to the context in which we find ourselves” (2003:93).

¹⁶¹ I imply that the environment in which it is placed for interpretation by consumers determines the ‘officiality’ of a visual dialect and that its ‘official’ or ‘unofficial’ status is in a constant state of flux.

¹⁶² [This Is Adam; This Is Eve].

a central device as is the tendency in postmodern visual and textual literature.¹⁶³ According to Patrick O’Neil, “It has become a ... commonplace to qualify postmodern literature as essentially humorous or ludic ...” (2006:1). Postmodern humour entails, “... the making of jokes that are not funny but work on our sub-conscious through what we expect to happen” (Legbage 2006:2) and where childish thrills are “... completely and utterly pointless” (2006:2). Thus *{Dit is Adam. Dit is Eva}* points to a convergence between postmodernism and the comic vision (Olsen 2006:1). According to Lance Olsen, “Both the comic and the postmodern attempt to subvert all centres of authority – including their own Through radical incongruity of form and vision both seek to short-circuit the dominant culture’s repressive impulses” (2006:1).

It can be argued that *{Wie is Dit?}* contains elements of comic book culture (as revealed through the use of speech bubbles by the comic-like characters). Without discussing in detail the history and origins of comic book culture, it is important to note that comics were (and in some societies still are) considered a ‘low’ form of western art.¹⁶⁴ Comics were regarded as controversial and were therefore governed and censored by certain organisations (Pustz 1999:3). As a result the so-called ‘underground’, ‘unofficial’ comic or graphic-novel emerged into society.¹⁶⁵ According to Matthew J. Pustz, these ‘underground’ narrative illustrations serve as a “... separate culture within the larger one ... working in opposition to their mainstream counterparts” (Pustz 1999:2). *A History of Comic Art: Comics, Comix & Graphic Novels*, by R. Sabin, suggests that the term ‘underground’ states that these comics “... had nothing to do with the mainstream – in fact, in many ways they were antithetical to it” (1996:92). ‘Underground’ Comix¹⁶⁶ spoke to the “... counter-culture on its own terms, which meant dealing with subjects like drugs, anti-Vietnam protests, rock music and, above all, sex” (1996:92). Similarly, the Comix-movements’ tradition of revolt and contestation involved a profane and synical attitude

¹⁶³ “More than anything else, postmodernism is an attitude, and that attitude is definitively **ironic**. It revels in comedy and exalts the spirit of parody and play. It treats monuments of tradition, in particular, with irrelevance” (Koch 2006:3).

¹⁶⁴ Western comics have developed in America and Europe from the 1940s to the 1950s as a medium of ‘mass’ rather than ‘class’ culture (Thompson & Lupoff 1973:10).

¹⁶⁵ The late 1960s in America and Britain saw the emergence of ‘underground comics’, “... a new wave of humorous, hippie-inspired comic books that were [as] politically radical as they were artistically innovative” (Sabin 1996:92).

¹⁶⁶ The new comics became known as ‘comix’, both to set them apart and to emphasise the ‘x’ for X-rated (Sabin 1996:92).

towards religion. Although *{Wie Is Dit?}* is not a comic or comix book dealing with these socio-political issues, it is a picture book which blatantly entails comic elements. By fusing comic culture with Christianity, *{Wie Is Dit?}* becomes a postmodern representation of Biblical scripture. It is these elements, I believe, that would commercially be least likely to appeal to a ‘sophisticated’ Afrikaner nationalist taste. The unlikely combination of humour and satire in the depictions of Biblical narrative becomes central to re-representing the religious picture book. As Thompson and Lupoff note:

There’s a thin line in comics – or in any other art form, for that matter – between that which is *funny* and that which is merely *silly*. As the artist moves through various forms and devices of humor he approaches closer and closer to a specific line, and when he reaches farce the line is like the proverbial razor’s edge. (1954:18)

In the illustration *{Dit Is Moses}* (Fig. 57), a variety of intertextual signs is fused within the Biblical account. Moses, a black character depicted in contemporary clothes, kneels before the burning bush on the right. The flames of the bush are constructed from graph paper, fragments from Afrikaans Biblical scriptures, ink and paper. The illustration, combined with collage and the irregular formality of text surrounding the character of Moses, depicts an unusual representation of the story in Exodus.

According to Colker, postmodern picture books make use of unconventional ways of using narrative, plot and setting, “... which challenge reader expectations and require different ways of reading and viewing” (2006:1). The fusion of different media such as ink, paint and collage becomes a distinct signifier of postmodern systems. According to Piet Grobler, collage is a relevant vehicle in which to express the notions of postmodernism in contemporary picture books (Artist’s welcoming address at exhibition opening, 12 April 2006).¹⁶⁷ Feika Klootra states that collage is “perhaps the first postmodern art form” (2006:1) which has provided “... a visual thread to the (de)construction of mass and personal imagery” (2006:1). As collage involves the collaboration of fragments from various unrelated sources, *{Dit Is Moses}* reflects postmodern eclecticism. *Wikipedia* states, “... postmodern art does not approach this fragmentation as ... undesirable, but rather celebrates it” (2006:3).

¹⁶⁷ Collage is a process which involves the affixing of paper or objects to a two-dimensional surface.

As already mentioned, postmodernism fundamentally shifts our experiences from “... ‘reality’ to ‘hyperreality’” (Wikipedia 2005:3). The illustrations in *{Wie Is Dit?}* make use of bits from a well-known Afrikaans publication of the Bible together with pictures, stationary, graph paper, and a variety of hand-painted fonts within a ‘non-conforming’ Biblical representation. Colker states that postmodern children’s literature makes use of “[n]ew and unusual design and layout” (2006:1). The chasm between the ‘familiar’ and ‘unfamiliar’ is bridged to reveal an indefinable ‘unreality’ (Cotton 2005:2). Fragments from Afrikaans Biblical reference become an ‘intertextual link’ which creates a multi-layered eclectic stratum, encoding elements from past Afrikaner Christian nationalism within a miscellaneous representation of the Bible. Colker argues that “contesting discourses (between illustrative and written text) ... require the reader to consider alternate readings and meanings ... in order to access the available meaning” (2006:1). Cotton states:

Intertextual links discovered by children are not simply of a literary nature. Reading applies to a greater number of representational forms than ever before: pictures, maps, screens, design graphics and photographs are all regarded as vehicles for text These visual and textual ‘clues’ can then be heuristically used as a device for shaping discussions, which create relations between children and cultural texts. (Cotton 2005:2)

In the illustration *{Dit Is David. Dit Is Goliath}* (Fig. 58), a vast array of postmodern elements is revealed in the reconstruction of the Biblical narrative. The haphazard illustration combined with the chaotic, irregular formality of text, depicts the Bible story of David and Goliath. David and Goliath are placed on opposite pages as the small ‘Biblical hero’ humorously aims to defeat the imposing Giant with a *kêttie*.¹⁶⁸ David is consciously depicted as much smaller than the ‘hulk-like’¹⁶⁹ portrayal of Goliath. This is emphasised by the set of scales on which these two characters are placed. To the right of the illustration, a series of ‘markers’ (indicating a ‘measuring strip’) emphasises Goliath’s

¹⁶⁸ [‘Slingshot’].

¹⁶⁹ According to *A History of Comic Art: Comics, Comix & Graphic Novels*, Marvel published *The Incredible Hulk* in 1962, about a scientist, the tormented Bruce Banner, who gets ‘zapped’ by radiation in an accident and becomes a super-strong green brute (cited in Sabin 1996:74).

size. Both characters are placed against different coloured flat backgrounds, emphasizing their differences in size and stature.

As it is not the purpose of *{Wie Is Dit?}* to relate a linear narrative throughout the book, I particularly focus on the postmodern use of indeterminate text in the illustrations (signified by spaces between text which invite the reader to fill them in). According to Colker, “indeterminacy in written or illustrative text ... requires the reader to construct some of the text ...” (2006:1). Thus, the reader is involved with constructing meaning. It must also be taken into consideration that these texts are written in Afrikaans. As language and religion were the primary bases for Afrikaner consciousness, the ‘sacred’ ideology attached to the Afrikaans language is effaced. In *{Dit Is David. Dit Is Goliat}*, text is arbitrarily scattered across the illustration quoting scriptures from the Bible. As already mentioned, postmodern picture books encourage a multi-literate mode of understanding from the reader. Thus, the postmodern notion of bridging the boundaries between visual and textual media is emphasised by the layout of the illustrations and text in its format.¹⁷⁰ The text surrounding the characters is an amalgamation of striking, hand-painted typography placed alongside crumbling scriptures from the Bible. According to Jim Davies, postmodern illustration is “... woven into the text, rather than a decorative accompaniment” (cited in Relph-Knight 2006:18). By involving readers in the “... production of textual meaning, these texts can teach literary and cultural codes and conventions and hence empower children to read more completely” (Cotton 2005:3). The visual and verbal components of postmodern picture books involve a dialogue between text and image. This is encouraged by the use of a variety of different fonts and typographical elements. Postmodern picture books involve:

... a ‘bricolage’ of visual quotations, which interplay with the text, producing realistic pictorial conventions to represent fantastical situations, blurring textual distinctions between fantasy and reality. (McCallum, cited in Cotton 2005:3)

¹⁷⁰ According to Lin-Marie Van Niekerk, “the layout of text and illustration ... has a narrative influence” (2004:22). Nodleman states that “... book designers can work to affect our attitude by choosing where ... they place text” (cited in Van Niekerk 2004:22).

These visual ingredients allow the reader to make intertextual associations between current texts and those that have been read or experienced earlier (Cotton 2005:3). According to Wilkie, texts of quotation "... are probably the simplest level at which child readers can recognise intertextuality" (cited in Cotton 2005:3). The illustrations in *{Wie Is Dit?}* are ultimately linked to decipherable depictions of Biblical accounts through which readers could explore and encode a varied range of meaning. This picture book recognises that adult and child readers could make ambiguous postulations and assumptions about stories or Biblical narratives with which they have previously identified. Through the knowledge of intertexts, children will have different experiences of reading and are likely to have a 'circular memory of reading' (Barthes, cited in Cotton 2005:3). Cotton states:

They will begin to relate not only to images which function as the equivalent of simile or metaphor but also [intertextually], returning to characters and actions already discovered in other childhood literary worlds. (2005:3)

Evidently, the characters in postmodern picture books have the ability to influence the narrative's development, "... usually stepping beyond the boundaries of the story itself" (Cotton 2005:5). In the illustration *{Dit Is Maria}* (Fig. 59), these notions are apparent. The Virgin Mary is depicted as an exaggeratedly pregnant woman, whilst the angel Gabriel is portrayed as a black nurse performing a sonar scan. To the right of the depiction, the sonar machine reveals that Mary is bearing the 'Saviour of the world'. Although this is a bizarre and unlikely representation of the Biblical nativity, two halo's hover above their heads indicating that they are patently 'holy'. Through the intertextual dialogue between the comic-like characters and the texts surrounding them, this re-representation of 'The Holy Mother' thus moves away from conventional Bible-storytelling techniques.

{Dit Is Maria} employs the notions of postmodernist parody and satire by depicting a 'non-conforming' image of 'The Virgin Mary'. The introduction of natal technology in the depiction of Mary reveals the use of deliberate incongruity in postmodern texts. Parody in visual and written text, "... imitates another work in order to ridicule, ironically comment on, or poke affectionate fun at the work itself, the subject of the work, the

author or fictional voice of the parody, or another subject” (Wikipedia 2006:1). Thus, *{Dit Is Maria}* reveals a mode of “... challenging accepted notions by making them seem ridiculous” (Wikipedia 2006:1), in line with the postmodern practice:

In the postmodern sensibility, blank parody, in which an artist takes the skeletal form of another work and places it within a new context ..., is common. Pastiche is a closely related genre, and parody can also occur when characters or settings belonging to one work are used in a humorous way.... (Wikipedia 2006:2)

According to Cotton, “... excess is a common metafictional strategy in picture books by which the incredible becomes plausible” (2005:5). In *{Dit Is Maria}*, the ‘over the top quality’ of Mary, heavy with child, tests the preconceived ‘literary norms’ of illustrated children’s Bibles from the past. Thresholds established for the representation of religious characters from the Bible are dismantled. Within postmodern children’s literature, absurd events can happen: “The imagery becomes increasingly extravagant, going well beyond the bounds of realism ...” (Cotton 2005:5). To go outside the limits of realism through excess – as portrayed by the exaggerated weight of Mary – could manifestly show the importance of religious beliefs in society. Furthermore, the illogical introduction of a sonar machine within a Biblical narrative surpasses previous culturally determined interpretations of scripture. Postmodernism blurs the distinctions between fact and fiction (Eagleton 2006:1). Accordingly, this deliberate, erroneous inclusion of technology within the Afrikaans picture Bible could allow children to “enter a world full of ‘literary surprise’ and this initiates them into ... proficiency in intellectual autonomy” (Cotton 2005:6).

The angel Gabriel is depicted as a black character. The predetermined notions of ‘purity’ and ‘supremacy’ as exclusively white phenomena, are dissipated. In the illustration *{Dit Is Maria}*, by repositioning ‘that which is holy’ as black, both light and dark are given equal footing. *{Dit Is Maria}*, however, still remains problematic as the angel Gabriel is only partially subversive. Although it was not the intention for this illustration, the black angel still receives an expedient role of being a supporting character, while the main character, Mary, is patently white. According to Schwartz, picture books must promote equality of race or sex (cited in Cilliers 1988:28).

Furthermore, I believe that post-Apartheid South Africa is in need of unprejudiced picture books which communicate to children and adults from different races and can assist in eradicating preconceived misconceptions found between cultures. Although the illustration remains problematic, the portrayal of a black angel will, I believe, stimulate among black and white children and adults, discussions which are relevant to the individual fields of reference of each.

As Christianity in South Africa gradually shifts from the rigid dogma produced by Afrikaner nationalism, the picture Bible should also evolve as a radically new representation of religious narrative. According to Heap, postmodern picture books take “text off the page and into the culture to turn ‘boring maps’ into ‘meaningful texts’; where comprehension is building bridges between the new and known” (cited in Cotton 2005:4). By introducing postmodern notions to the Afrikaans picture Bible, a variety of old and new conceptions are re-contextualised within South African children’s Biblical narrative. I believe that South African postmodern picture books function as vehicles which disseminate relevant social and cultural systems to post-Apartheid society. However, as Cotton states, adult and child readers of postmodern picture books:

... need to sort out what kind of possible world the story is to be taken to represent Children need to be in tune culturally and intellectually with the text and willingly search for the ‘cultural logic’ which may often be represented to them in postmodern picture books. (2005:4)

CONCLUSION

Social identities are especially fluid in the new South Africa. Whites, for instance, feel marginalised in having to renegotiate their identities from a different position within society, from an altered relationship to state mechanisms, and to material and symbolic recourses. (Steyn, cited in Baines 1998:9)

In this thesis I argue that Afrikaans illustrated children's Bibles, published during the Apartheid regime, expressed nationalist sentiments adopted by the Afrikaners as "exclusively ... bound by their own blood ties ... to be children of South Africa (D.F. Malan, cited in Coombes 2000:166). I suggest that the consumption and interpretation of children's Bibles within a white Afrikaner audience reflect Afrikaner nationalist patriotism, and that the Afrikaans illustrated children's Bible ultimately served as a cultural text which assisted in the construction of Afrikaner national consciousness.

South Africa was and remains a multi-cultural society. The concept of an idyllic 'Rainbow nation'¹⁷¹ – where 'new' national identity aspires toward a seamless unity among cultural entities within South Africa – remains highly abstract and illusive. However, the fall of the Apartheid regime and the purging of Afrikaner consciousness remain central to the re-construction of post-Apartheid national identity. As an Afrikaans-speaking, white South African, I believe my own personal identity to be evolving with the "changing configurations of national identity" (Baines 1998:10). Furthermore, as a Christian aiming to rediscover a new conception of religious identity, I find it necessary to investigate and promote greater understanding of the various ideological connotations of religion and national consciousness. Post-Apartheid nationalism uses Christianity as a signifier of the ideal 'Rainbow Nation'. Thus, Christianity, from forming the basis of Afrikaner consciousness, has been repositioned to being the source of reconciliation within the new South Africa. A submission made during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission states the Calvinist Church's position in post-Apartheid South Africa:

¹⁷¹ According to Baines, "[T]he rainbow implies the co-existence of individual and collective identities; a representation of different cultures and of a shared South Africanness" (1998:10).

Ons will ... getuig dat ons werklik glo dat die Here ware vergifnis, versoening en heling in ons land kan bewerkstellig. (Cited in Bosman 1998:35)¹⁷²

In my own reinvention of the Afrikaans picture Bible, I suggest a fundamental transition from the Afrikaner nationalist and religious depictions discussed and viewed above, to an essentially different representation of characters in contemporary children's Bibles. As Christianity – together with religion in general – remains a foundational element in South African society,¹⁷³ I propose that the introduction of a postmodern picture Bible would be a relevant vehicle for examining the ever-changing and fluid nature of contemporary South Africa. I believe that it is the function and responsibility of South African picture-book makers to create books which reflect (in ways which incorporate humour, satire, parody or serious undertones) the relevant social concerns currently prevalent not only in South Africa, but also the international community.

The position of the Afrikaner in contemporary South African society is indefinable. During the initial phases of establishing a post-Apartheid South African identity, remembering the past became the major issue of reconciliation. Smit states, “In remembrance and confession Christians experience ‘the liturgy of liberation’. Without such remembrance and such acknowledgment or confession there can be no freedom and no reconciliation” (cited in Bosman 1998:38). Remembering the past could help resolve the prevailing social predicaments evident in South Africa; however, to persist in awkward, guilt-ridden notions of ‘dealing with the past’ could inhibit the repositioning of democratic South African consciousness.¹⁷⁴ Within the context of this study, to free traditional Bible stories and the Christian message into the open eclecticism of postmodernism (thus, into a new context to speak to South Africa), might encourage South Africans to engage with a new perception of themselves and each other by

¹⁷² [We want to ... bear witness that we truly believe that the Lord can bring about true forgiveness, reconciliation, healing and union in our land.]

¹⁷³ “It is in forging the common values and vision that the Church has a major contribution to make. Not only by articulating the values but primarily by incorporating them in the process of nation building and socio-economic reconstruction” (Wiseman L. Nkuhule, cited in Bam 1995:5).

¹⁷⁴ “Dealing with the past is an act of desperation – trying to find alibis for our predicaments, *trying to understand and explain ourselves* – the feeling we have about our past. It means to dig as psychological archaeologists into the ruins of our past to reconstruct our lives and to reinterpret the past from different sides” (Du Toit, cited in Bosman 1998:38).

experiencing the 'Good Message'/'Word of God' in fresh, new ways. Since I believe that the rigid conception of Afrikaner identity has little relevance to the re-construction of a 'new' South African consciousness, postmodern picture Bibles become a means of challenging conventional Afrikaner children's Christian literature by stating that the Bible is a book which can be deciphered in different ways by various individuals.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1:
Unknown illustrator. 1920-?. Title page from *Die Kaapse Kinderbybel of die Geskiedenis van die Bybel op die Eenvoudigste Wyse Voorgedra veral vir Huiselik Gebruik* by De Bussy, J.H. Cape Town: V/H J. Dusseau & Co. (De Bussy 1920-?: title page).



Fig. 2:
Die Bybelmonument from *Afrikanerbakens* by Swart, J.M. (ed). Aucklandpark: Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (Swart 1989:69).



Fig. 3:
Photograph of the Voortrekker Monument from the website *Die Voortrekkermonument* by Maritz, G. 2006. [Online] Available: http://www.kappiekommando.co.za/article_view.php?articleid=153 [2006, September 20].

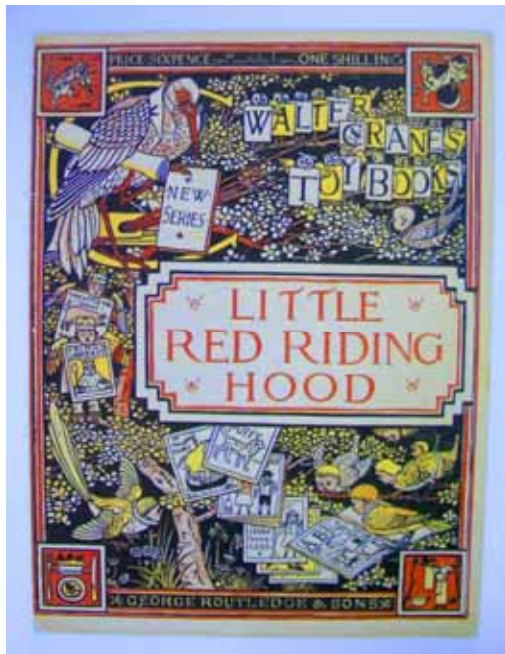


Fig. 4:
Crane, W. 1873. Front cover of *Walter Crane's Toy Books: Little Red Riding Hood* from *Children's Book Covers: Great Book Jacket and Cover Design* by Powers, A. London: Octopus Publishing Group Ltd. (Powers 2003:18).



Fig. 5:
Sinclair, C. 1863. Double-page spread from *A [Sun]day [Letter]* from *Sing a Song of Sixpence: The English Picture Book Tradition and Randolph Caldecott* by Alderson, B. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Alderson 1986:24).



Fig. 6:
Unknown illustrator. Image from the website *Tales from Aesop's Fables* by Crawford, G. 2006. [Online] Available: http://www.jack-of-all-trades.ca/jack_transform.htm [2006, July 27].



Fig. 7:
Legrand, E. 1919. *Macao et Cosmage, ou l'Expérience du Bonheur* from *Children's Book Covers: Great Book Jacket and Cover Design* by Powers, A. London: Octopus Publishing Group Ltd. (Powers 2003:48).



Fig. 8:
Lapshin, N. 1927. Cover of *Our Kitchen* by Chukovsky, N. from *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books* by Evgeny, S. 1999. Washington: University of Washington Press.



Fig. 9:
Poret, A. 1929. Double-page spread from *Railroad* by Vvedensky, A. from *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books* by Evgeny, S. 1999. Washington: University of Washington Press.

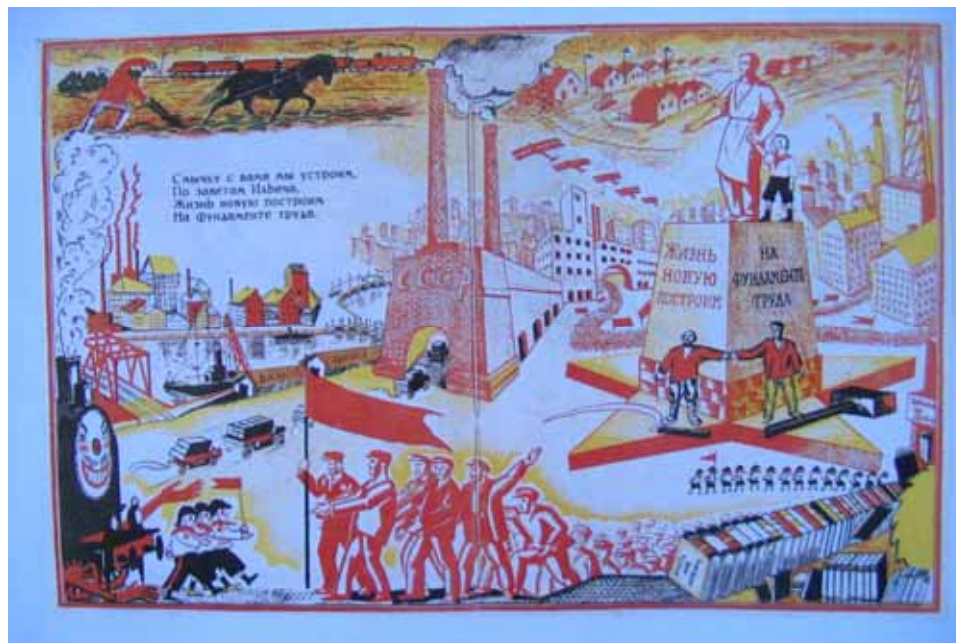


Fig. 10:
Ushin, N. 1925. Double-page spread from *Engines Rampant* by Orlovets, P. from *Stories for Little Comrades: Revolutionary Artists and the Making of Early Soviet Children's Books* by Evgeny, S. 1999. Washington: University of Washington Press.



Fig. 11:
Unknown illustrator. *Een blad van de Delfste Bijbel 1477* from *Bijbel en Prent Deel 1: Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* by Poortman, W.C. 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum (Poortman 1983: 56).



Fig. 12:
Unknown illustrator. *Houtsnede: Offer van Abraham uit Schedels Wereldkroniek 1493* (naar K.B. 1478) from *Bijbel en Prent Deel 1: Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* by Poortman, W.C. 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum (Poortman 1983: 34).



Fig. 13:
 Unknown illustrator. *Een blad uit de Armenbijbel 1440-?* from *Bijbel en Prent Deel 1: Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* by Poortman, W.C. 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum (Poortman 1983: 43).



Fig. 14:
 Unknown illustrator. *Een blad uit de Spiegel 1440-?* from *Bijbel en Prent Deel 1: Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* by Poortman, W.C. 's-Gravenhage: Boekencentrum (Poortman 1983: 43).

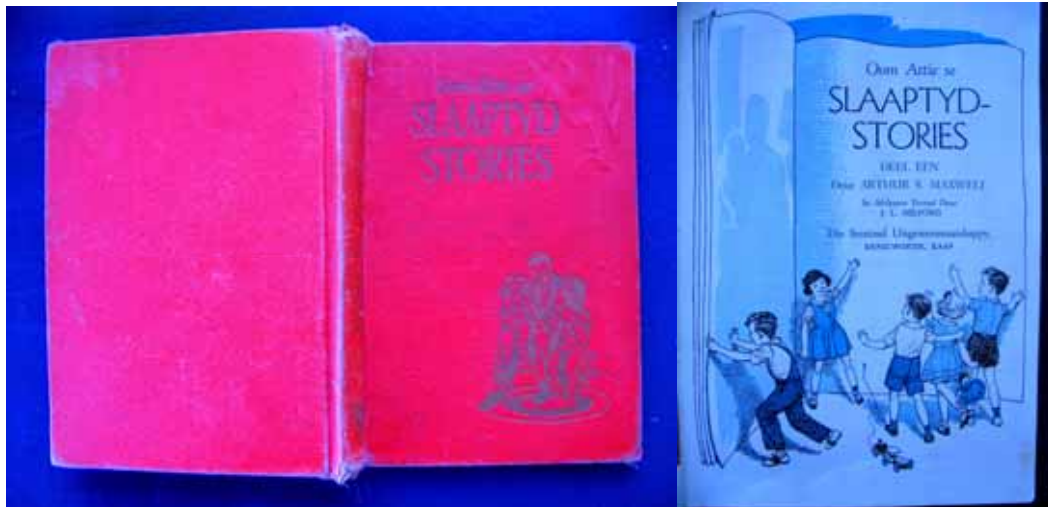


Fig. 15:
Unknown illustrator. Cover and title page of *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories* by Maxwell, A.S. Cape Town: Die Sentinel Uitgewersmaatskappy (Maxwell 1957: cover & title page).

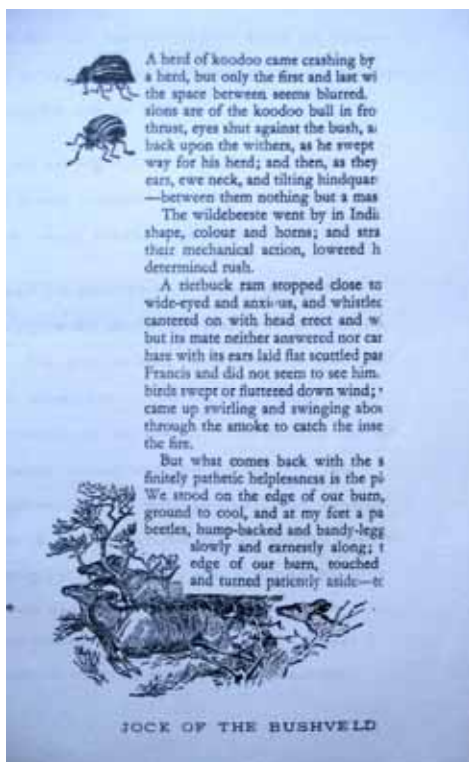


Fig. 16:
Caldwell, E. Illustration from *Jock of the Bushveld* by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick from Die Illustrasie van Suid-Afrikaanse Kinderlektuur – ‘n Waardebepaling by Lohann, C.A. University of Potchefstroom: Dissertation (Lohann 1967:55).



Fig. 17:
Anderson, H. *Oom Attie Vertel Stories aan 'n Groep Kinders* from *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories* by Maxwell, W.S. Cape Town: Die Sentinel Uitgewersmaatskappy (Maxwell 1957: 2).



Fig. 18:
Unknown illustrator. Cover of *Russian Paintings* presented by Gebr. Douwes Fine Art from the website *Douwes Fine Art*. [Online] Available: www.douwesfineart.com/dfa-web/catalogues.html [2006, September 25].



Fig. 19:
Unknown illustrator. *Jesus en die Kinders* from *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories* by Maxwell, A.S. Cape Town: Die Sentinel Uitgewersmaatskappy (Maxwell 1957: 359).



Fig. 20:
Rudeen, H. *Jesus het die Kinders van Alle Nasies Lief* from *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories*
by Maxwell, A.S. Cape Town: Die Sentinel Uitgewersmaatskappy (Maxwell 1957: 360).



Fig. 21:
Nye, V. *Jesus, die Kindervriend* from *Oom Attie se Slaapydstories* by Maxwell, A.S. Cape Town: Die Sentinel Uitgewersmaatskappy (Maxwell 1957: 322).



Fig. 22:
Gringhuis, D. Front cover of *Aan Moeder se Knie: Bybelverhale vir die Kleintjies* by Postma, M. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Ltd. (Postma 1957: cover).

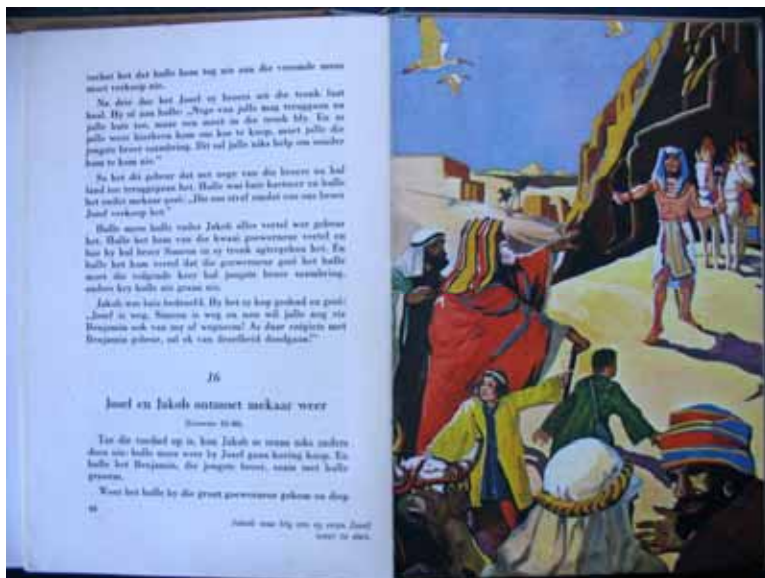


Fig. 23:
Gringhuis, D. *Jakob was bly om sy seun Josef weer te sien* from *Aan Moeder se Knie: Bybelverhale vir die Kleintjies* by Postma, M. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Ltd. (Postma 1957: 44-45).



Fig. 24:
Gringhuis, D. *Adam het die diere een vir een gestreel en elkeen 'n naam gegee* from *Aan Moeder se Knie: Bybelverhale vir die Kleintjies* by Postma, M. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Ltd. (Postma 1957: 14).



Fig. 25:
Gringhuis, D. *Simson was so sterk dat hy 'n leeu doodgemaak het* from *Aan Moeder se Knie: Bybelverhale vir die Kleintjies* by Postma, M. Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Ltd. (Postma 1957: 67).



Fig. 26:
Tora, C. *Noag se Ark* from *Die Nuwe Kinderbybel* by Hildebrand, O. Roodepoort:
Christelike Uitgewersmaatskappy (Hildebrand 1962: 12).



Fig. 27:
Coetzer, W.H. 1952. *Blijde Vooruitsicht* from the website *Suid-Afrika: Reenboë en Woestyne*. [Online] Available: http://members.tripod.com/~Meerkat_2/tapess.html [2006, September 27].



Fig. 28:
Coetzer, W.H. 1952. *Oor die Drakensberge* from the website *Suid-Afrika: Reenboë en Woestyn*. [Online] Available: http://members.tripod.com/~Meerkat_2/tapess.html [2006, September 27].

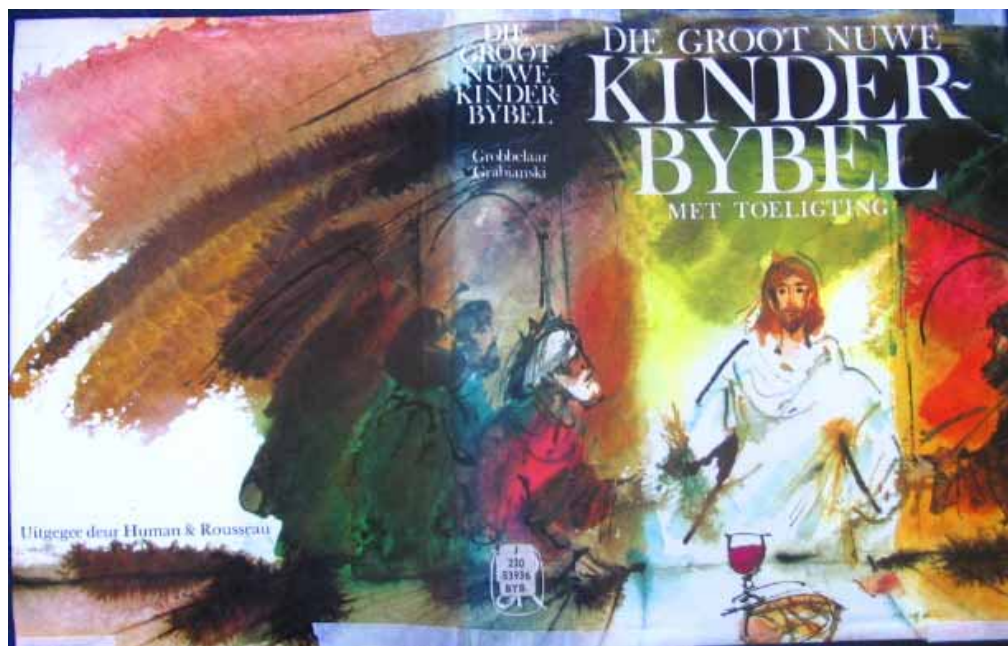


Fig. 29:
Grabianski, J. Cover of *Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel Met Toelighting* by Grobbelaar, P.W. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau (Grobbelaar 1973: cover).

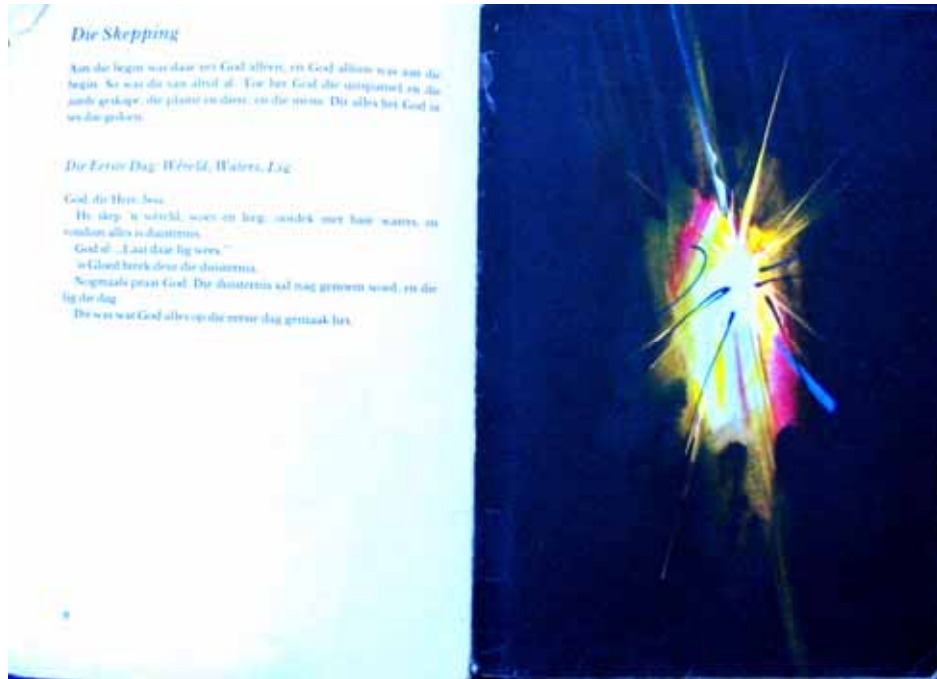


Fig. 30:
 Grabianski, J. *Die Eerste Dag: Wêreld, Waters, Lig* from *Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel Met Toeligting* by Grobbelaar, P.W. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau (Grobbelaar 1973: 8-9).

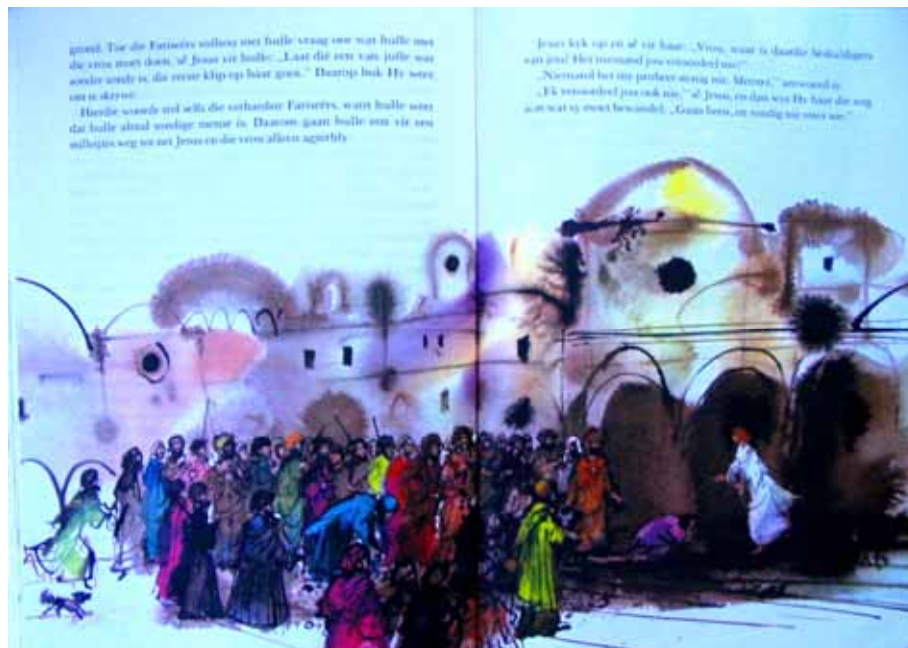


Fig. 31:
 Grabianski, J. *Die Eerste Klip* from *Die Groot Nuwe Kinderbybel Met Toeligting* by Grobbelaar, P.W. Kaapstad: Human & Rousseau (Grobbelaar 1973: 328-329).



Fig. 32:
Upton, C. Cover of *Verhale oor Kinders van die Bybel* by Rostron, H.I. Loughborough: Ladybird Books Ltd. (Rostron 1978: cover).



Fig. 33:
Upton, C. *Samuel, Die Helper* from *Verhale oor Kinders van die Bybel* by Roston, H.I. Loughborough: Ladybird Books Ltd. (Rostron 1978: 18-19).



Fig. 34:
Upton, C. Double-page spread of *Dawid, Die Skaapwagterseun* from *Verhale oor Kinders van die Bybel* by Roston, H.I. Loughborough: Ladybird Books Ltd. (Rostron 1978: 28-29).

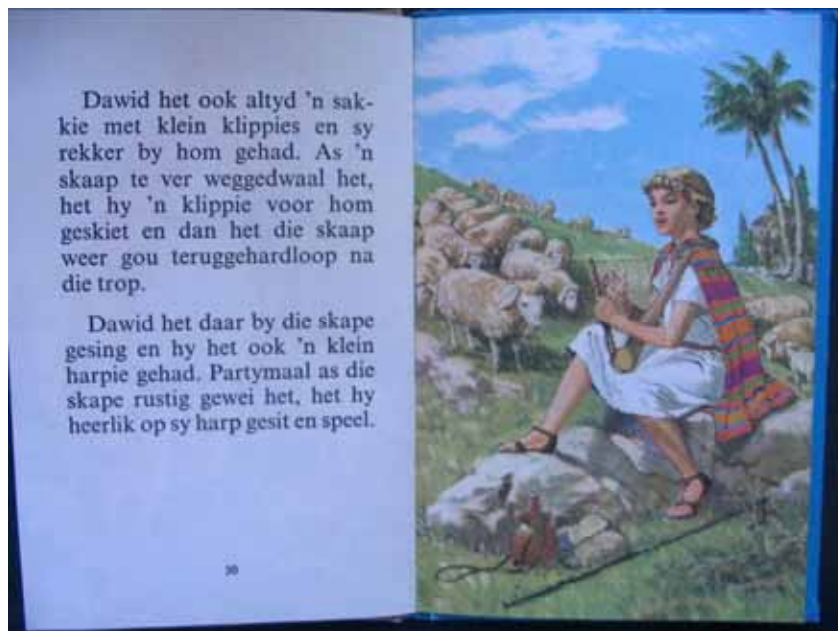


Fig. 35:
Upton, C. Double-page spread of *Dawid, Die Skaapwagterseun* from *Verhale oor Kinders van die Bybel* by Roston, H.I. Loughborough: Ladybird Books Ltd. (Rostron 1978: 30-31).



Fig. 36:
 Upton, C. Double-page spread of *Dawid, Die Skaapwagterseun* from *Verhale oor Kinders van die Bybel* by Roston, H.I. Loughborough: Ladybird Books Ltd. (Rostron 1978: 34-35).



Fig. 37:
 McBride, A. Cover of *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers (Nothnagel 1981: cover).

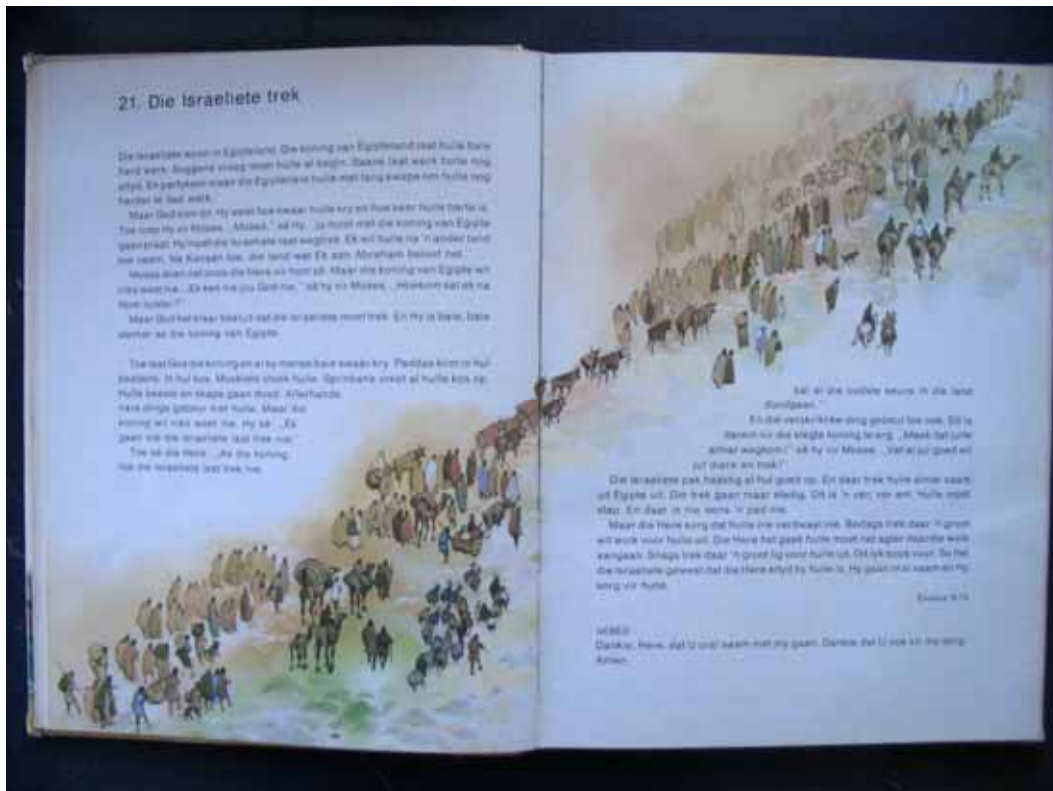


Fig. 38:
 McBride, A. *Die Israëliete Trek* from *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town:
 N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers (Nothnagel 1981: 42-43).



Fig. 39:
Andrews Se Lewersout, Die Groot Trek Na Gesondheid. Colour magazine advertisement,
 420 x 590 (Die Groot Trek, Gedenkuitgawe van *Die Huisgenoot*, December, 1938:100).



Fig. 40:
Shell, Voortrekkers. Colour magazine advertisement, 420 x 590 (Monument Uitgawe, November 25 van *Die Huisgenoot* 1949:36).



Fig. 41:
 McBride, A. *Jesus en Satan* from *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers (Nothnagel 1981: 161-162).

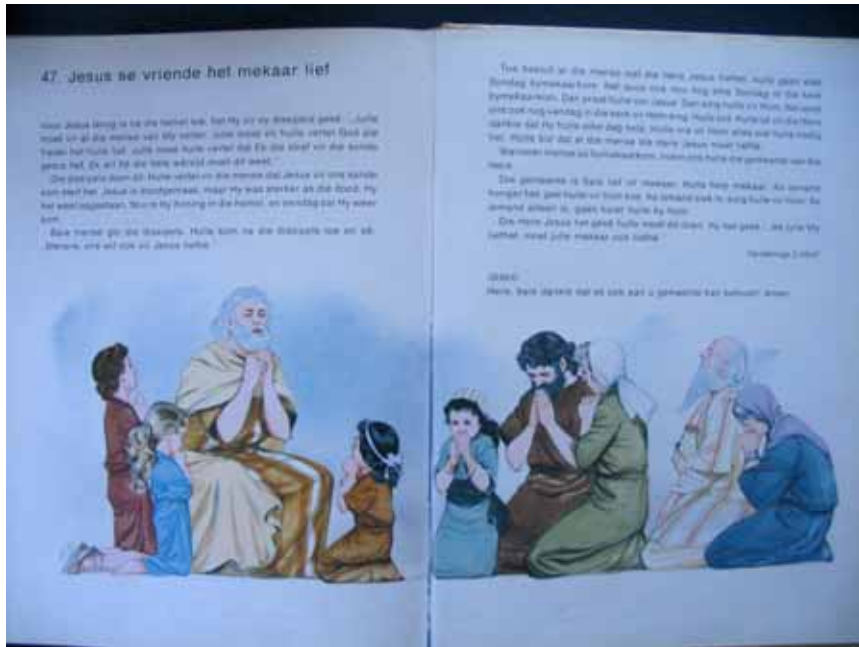


Fig. 42:
 McBride, A. *Jesus se Vriende het mekaar Lief* from *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers (Nothnagel 1981: 175-176).

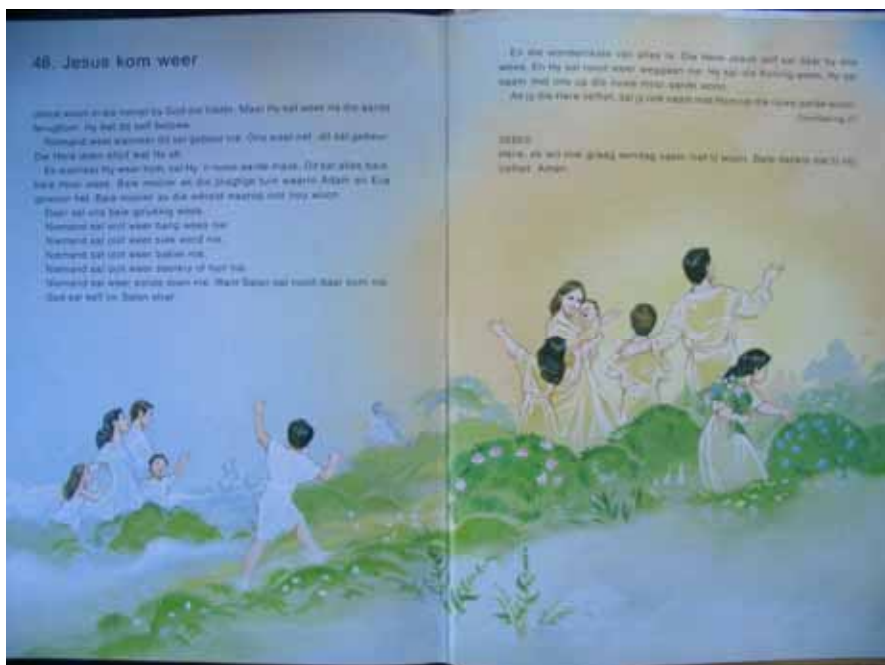


Fig. 43:
 McBride, A. *Jesus Kom Weer* from *Ons Eie Kleuter Bybel* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: N.G. Kerk-Uitgewers (Nothnagel 1981: 190-191).

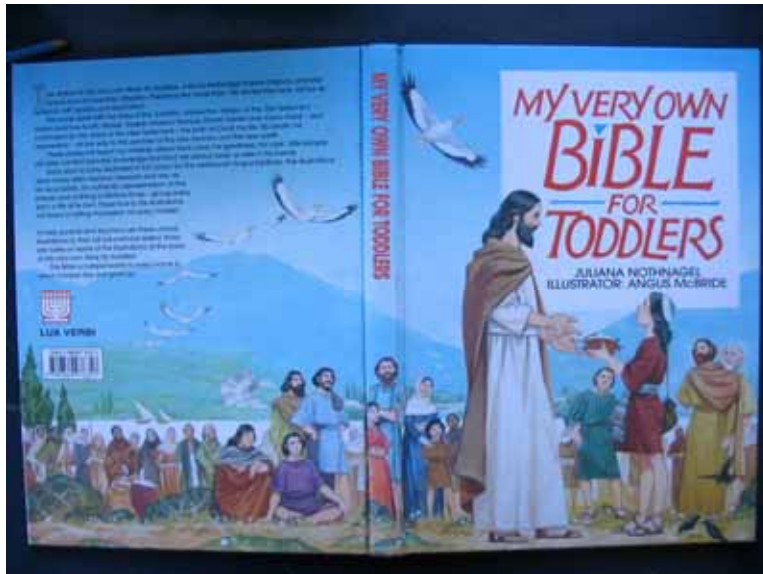


Fig. 44:
 McBride, A. Cover of *My Very Own Bible For Toddlers* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: Lux Verbi. (Nothnagel 1997: cover).

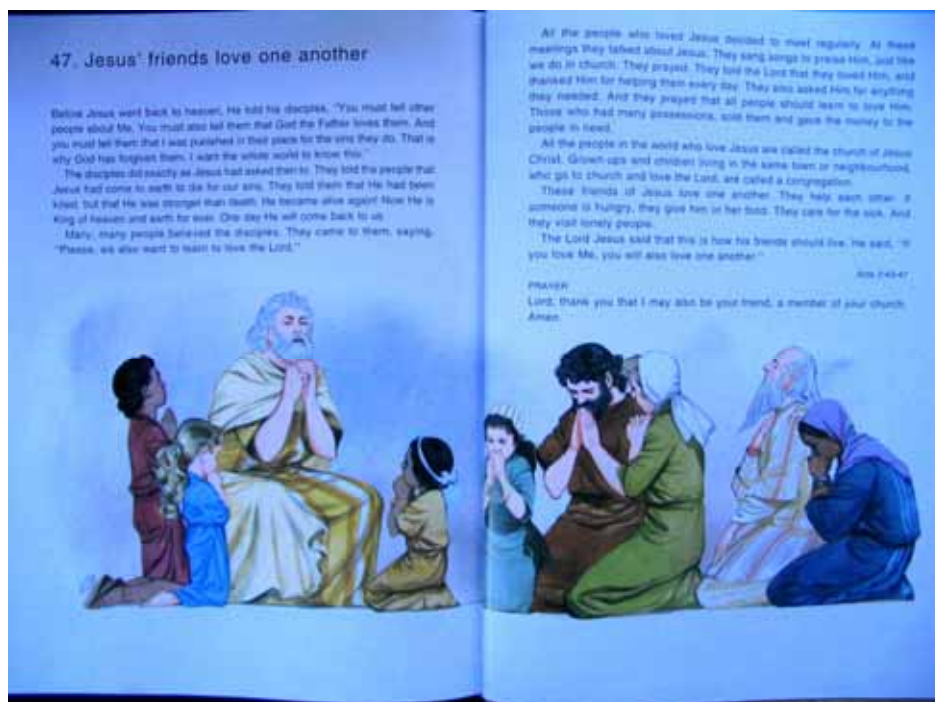


Fig. 45:
 McBride, A. *Jesus' Friends Love One Another* from *My Very Own Bible For Toddlers* by Nothnagel, J. Cape Town: Lux Verbi (Nothnagel 1997: 190-191).

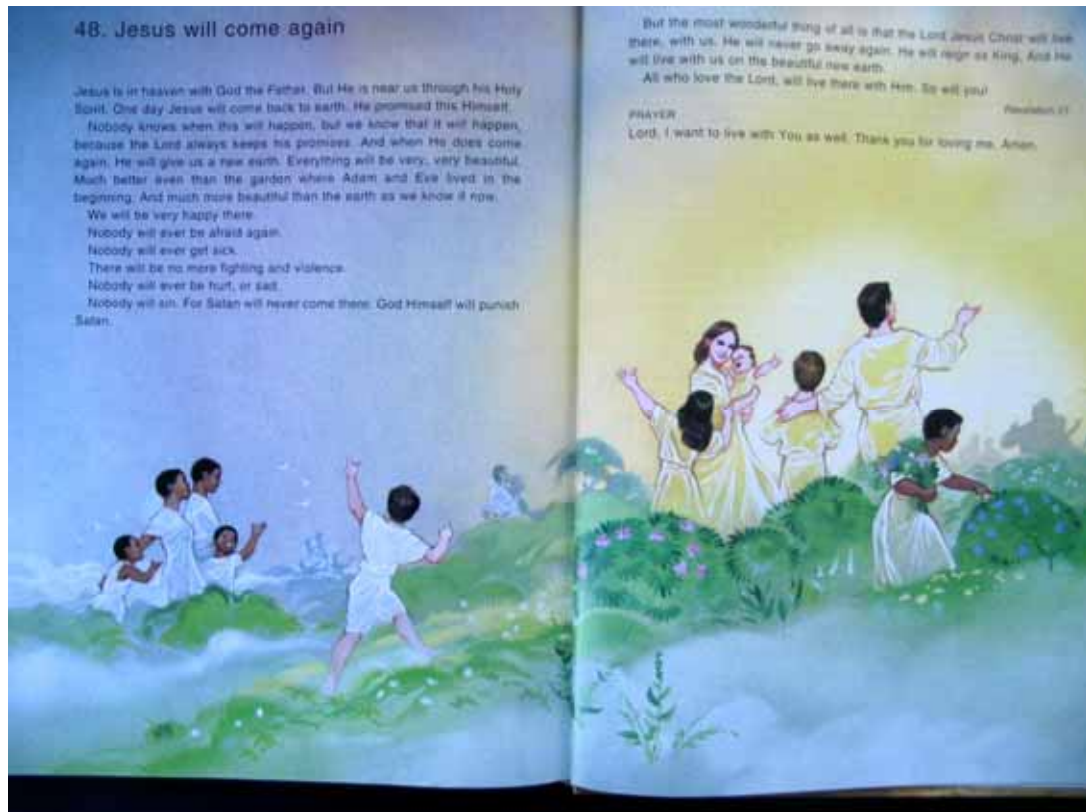


Fig. 46:
McBride, A. *Jesus Will Come Again* from *My Very Own Bible For Toddlers* by Nothnagel,
J. Cape Town: Lux Verbi (Nothnagel 1997: 190-191).

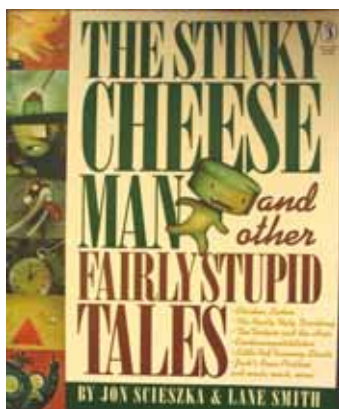


Fig. 47:
Smith, L. 1992. Cover of *The Stinky Cheese Man and Other Fairly Stupid Tales* by Scieszka, J. London: Penguin Books Ltd. (Scieszka & Smith 1992: cover).

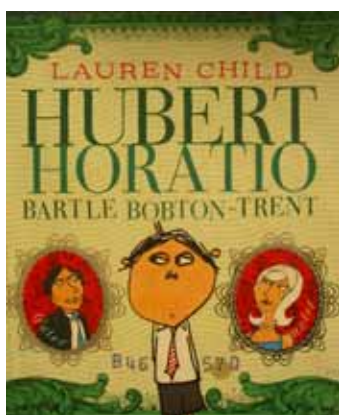


Fig. 48:
Child, L. 2004. Cover of *Hubert Horatio Bartle Bobton-Trent* written and illustrated by Child, L. London: Hodder Children's Books (Child 2004: cover).

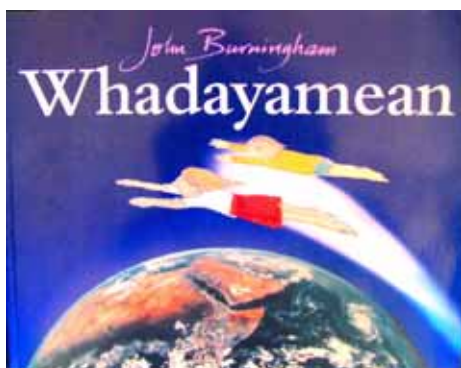


Fig. 49:
Burningham, J. 1999. Cover of *Whadayamean* written and illustrated by Burningham, J. London: Random House Children's Books (Burningham 1999: cover).



Fig. 50:
 Burningham, J. 1999. Double-page spread from *Whadayamean* written and illustrated by Burningham, J. London: Random House Children's Books (Burningham 1999: 5-6).

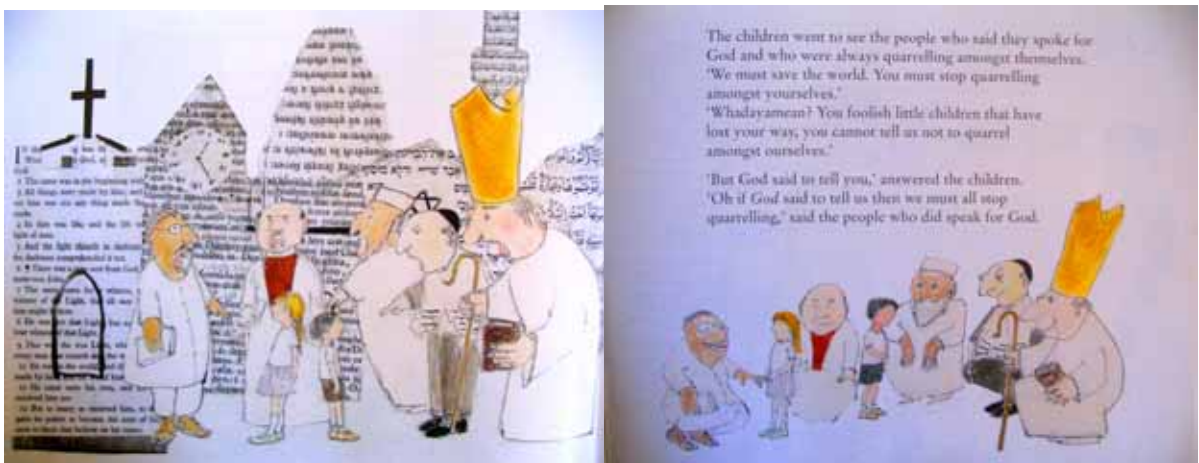


Fig. 51:
 Burningham, J. 1999. Double-page spread from *Whadayamean* written and illustrated by Burningham, J. London: Random House Children's Books (Burningham 1999: 25-26).



Fig. 52.

Unknown illustrator. Cover of *Postmodern Bible Stories: Sunday School Never Looked Like This* by Relevant Media Group. 2003. from the website *Postmodern Bible Stories: Book Review* by Armin. [Online] Available: <http://www.amazon.com/Postmodern-Bible-Stories-Sunday-School/dp/0976817519> [2006, October 04].



Fig. 53:

Crowle, R. 2003. *Jonah Goes Overboard* from the website *Postmodern Bible Stories: Book Review* by Armin.. [Online] Available: <http://www.underconstruction.com/speakup/archives/002724.html> [2006, September 19].



Fig. 54:
 Collenberger, C. 2003. *The Snake* from the website *Postmodern Bible Stories: Book Review* by Armin. [Online] Available:
<http://www.underconstrction.com/speakup/archives/002724.html> [2006, September 19].



Fig. 55:
 Hayes, A. 2003. *God Speaks* from the website *Postmodern Bible Stories: Book Review* by Armin. [Online] Available:
<http://www.underconstrction.com/speakup/archives/002724.html> [2006, September 19].



Fig. 56:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Adam. Dit is Eva}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 57:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Moses}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 58:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Dawid. Dit is Goliath}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 59:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Maria}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 60:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Noag}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).

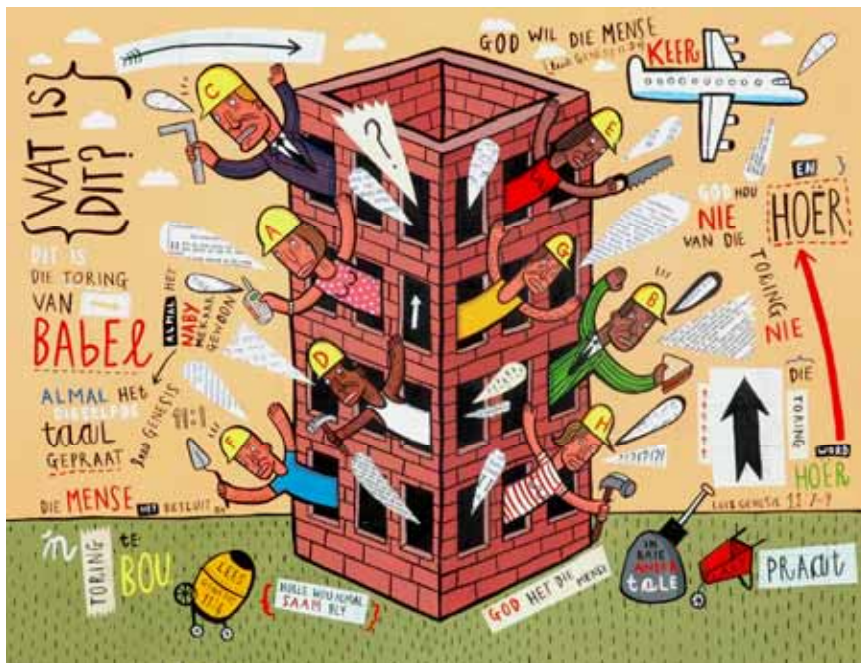


Fig. 61:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Die Toring van Babel}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).

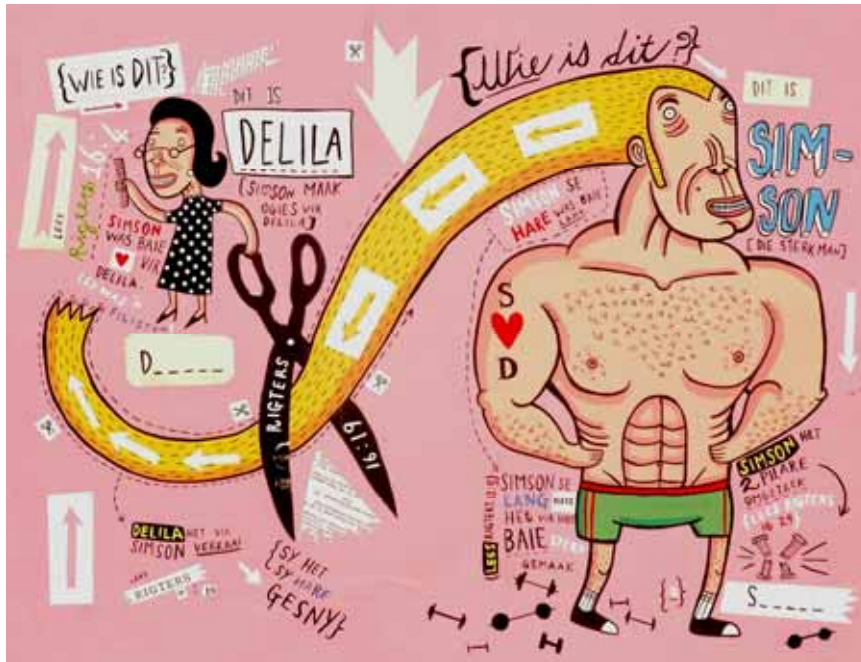


Fig. 62:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Simson. Dit is Delila}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 63:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Job}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).

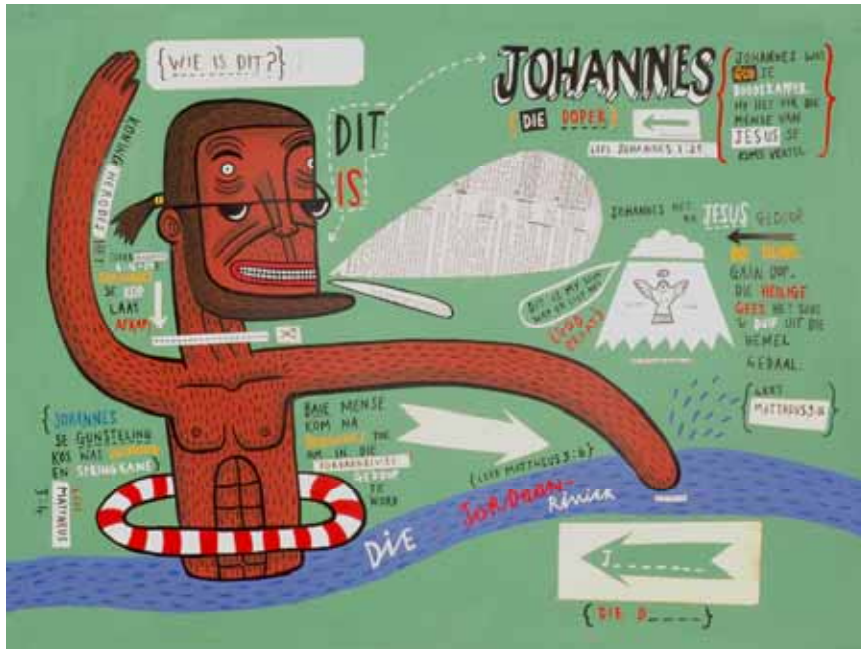


Fig. 64:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Johannes die Doper}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).

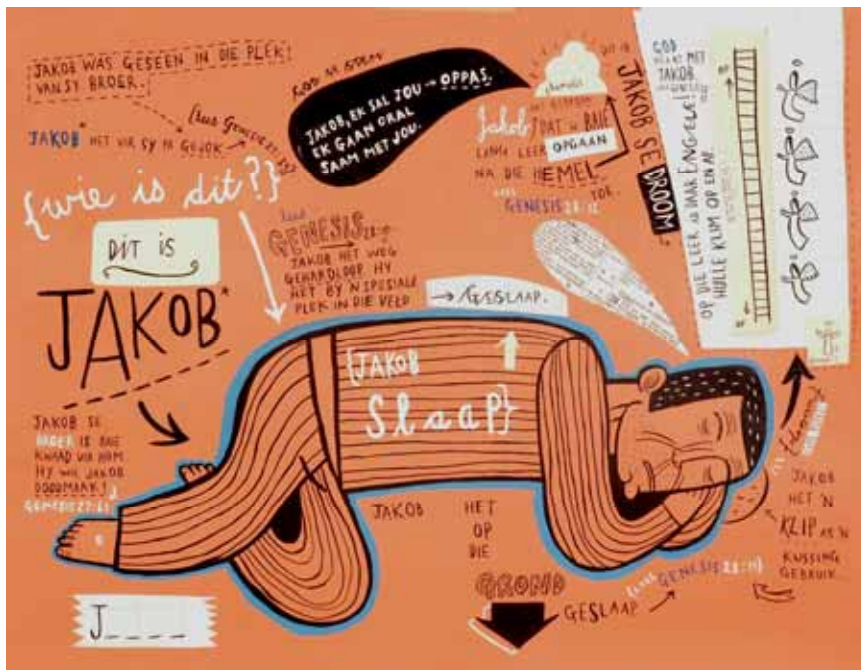


Fig. 65:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Jakob}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 66:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Abraham. Dit is Isak}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).

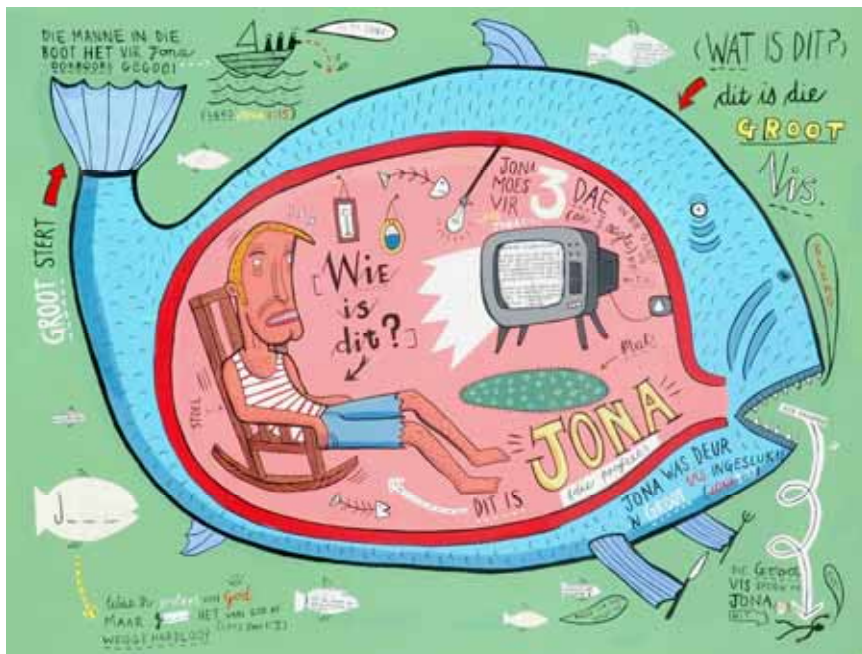


Fig. 67:
 Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Jona}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).



Fig. 68:
Barnard, L.H. 2006. *{Dit is Daniël}* from *{Wie Is Dit?}*. Gouache, ink and collage on paper, 38 X 50 (unpublished work).