

'LEEFSTYL-BYBEL VIR VROUE': AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING WOMEN AMIDST A PARADIGM SHIFT

C Landman
University of South Africa

Abstract

Dutch-Afrikaans women in South Africa have inherited the worst and the best from Dutch piety. On the negative side they have become heir to the guilt-ridden, self-humiliating piety of the Dutch pietists from the seventeenth century, and the patriarchal politics of Abraham Kuyper from the early twentieth century. However, lately Afrikaans-speaking women theologians in South Africa have been positively influenced by the work of Dutch feminist theologians, such as Catharina Halkes and Riet Bons-Storm. This work led to the publication of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* (2003). This commentary on the Bible, written from a woman's point of view, was written by six Afrikaans-speaking women theologians; their aim was to heal, empower and, indeed, surprise Afrikaans-speaking women with information on the roles played by women in the Bible. It is hoped that this publication is affecting a paradigm shift amongst Afrikaans-speaking women that will stimulate their public agency as women of faith.

1 AFRIKANER WOMEN'S DUTCH HERITAGE

1.1 Dutch piety of the seventeenth century

For more than 300 years, Afrikaner women – white, South African women of Dutch descent – have inherited the worst of Dutch piety. Their first major inheritance was the pessimistic, guilt-ridden piety of the 'Nadere Reformasie'. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the 'bevindelijke' religion of the Dutch pietists no longer found a market in enlightened Europe, the books of these pietists were shipped to Dutch colonies, of which South Africa was one. Hester Venter (b1750), living on a border farm in the Cape, reported in her diaryⁱ to have read Bernardus Smijtegelt's *Het gekrookte riet*. And from Susanna Smit's (1799-1863) diary,ⁱⁱ it is clear that the women took the works of

Wilhelmus a'Brakel with them when they undertook, with their families, the trek to the north at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since the 1750s then, all the ego-texts of Afrikaner women displayed the same *topoi*:

... an obsession with hell, Satan and personal sin, fantasies of God's physical presence and care, the experience of regular divine visions, the habitual reference to the self in humiliating language, the use of biblical verses as *deus ex machina*, and a strong suspicion of the threat of many personal enemies, including Satan and the heathen.ⁱⁱⁱ

These *topoi* have been characterising the literary expressions of Afrikaner women's piety up to the present-day paradigm shift. During the 1980s and 1990s, a time when Afrikaners were financially secure, local male publishers of religious literature targeted suburban Afrikaner women with the so-called 'pink books' ('pienk boekies'). These books were given this name by local women theologians – in a derogative way, of course – for the inevitable display of pink roses on their covers, reflecting their sugar-coated contents. These books contained the same piety as the 'bevindelijkes' centuries before, and earned their male publishers millions.

It is against this restrictive and submissive piety inherited by Afrikaner women from seventeenth century Dutch pietism, which has not changed in 300 years. These six Afrikaans-speaking women theologians reacted when they published the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* in 2003. Their vision was to instigate a paradigm shift amongst Afrikaans-speaking women, towards a religious experience of self-worth.

1.2 The patriarchal theology of Abraham Kuyper

Since they were conditioned, by the 'bevindelijke' piety of the seventeenth century, to blame themselves and their own personal sins for any hardship they endured, Afrikaner women struggled during subsequent centuries to mentally survive political and structural evil, such as the British concentration camps of the early 1900s. This is clear, inter alia, from the diaries of Alie Badenhorst (1866-1908)^{iv} and Johanna Brandt (1876-1964).^v Badenhorst reported that at the height of the misery in the concentration camps, when the women were not even allowed to bury their children and pigs feasted on their flesh, a male *dominee* visited them and told them that the war and the concentration camps were punishment for their personal sins.

However, worse was to come and it came in the form of the Dutch theologian and statesman, Abraham Kuyper (d1921).

This was the Afrikaner women's second inheritance from Dutch piety: Kuyper's ideas on the apolitisation of women. In summary, Kuyper developed a profile of a 'natural woman' from the Bible, who was politically inept since her strength naturally lay in her lower body, while the man, by nature and God's grace, possessed sharpness of mind.^{vi} Applying this ideological insight to his times, Kuyper argued that it was unnatural for women to vote, since it was ordained in the Bible that the head of the family ('gesinshoofd') should vote on behalf of the whole family. Kuyper was reacting against the claims of Dutch women to 'vrouwenkiestrecht', a right they eventually obtained in 1918. Kuyper's thoughts, as expressed in his book *De eerepositie der vrouw* (1914), became extremely influential in South Africa through Kuyper's student, JD du Toit, a prominent theologian from the *Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika*, who was also known for his religious poetry under the name of Totius. In 1920, Du Toit, with the help of Kuyper's arguments, advised both his church and government that it was God's scriptural will not to allow women to vote, a recommendation that was immediately accepted and implemented both by the church and the state.

JD du Toit's sister, Marie du Toit, wrote a sober little book to refute Kuyper's arguments in which she appropriately used Biblical sentiments in her argument. The book, entitled *Vrou en feminist* (1921), was the only book in Afrikaans ever to carry the word 'feminist' in it. Throughout the book, Marie du Toit described (Afrikaner) women "not only as intelligent but also as living beings, who do not unthinkingly belong to a prescribed type, but who have a contribution to make to the contexts to which they belong".^{vii} She argued that Afrikaner women needed to have a social agenda which could be dealt with at a political level. She asserted that this social agenda needed to include the following: equal education possibilities for girls and boys; laws which allowed married women to have a say over their children; the abolishment of the exploitation of the female workforce; state subsidies for needy mothers; and equal pay for equal work. However, Marie du Toit's book was immediately suppressed and thus had no effect on the position of women in the church and state.

It was the ideas of Kuyper and JD du Toit which determined the political future of Afrikaner women.^{viii}

In 1918, when Dutch women obtained the right to vote, Afrikaner women received the *Nasionale Vrouemonument* from their men in honour of their suffering during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). To celebrate the erection of this monument, notoriously phallic in shape, Willem Postma, another dominee from the Gereformeerde Kerk, was asked to write the history of Afrikaner women. He did this in a book entitled *Die boervrouw moeder van haar volk* (1918) with the aim of pointing out to Afrikaner women that their history testified to the fact

that their souls were too pure for politics. Complimenting Afrikaner women for not running after the foreign ideas of overseas women who wanted the vote, he himself acknowledged the influence of Kuyper on his work.^{ix}

For most of the twentieth century, Afrikaner women remained captured in the stereotype of the good wife, who was too pious to be political. When Afrikaner men, quoting Kuyper's idea of 'soewereiniteit in eie kring', gave birth to the system of apartheid (1948-1994), Afrikaner women remained silent. Local Calvinism, moulded on the ideas of Abraham Kuyper, was as sexist as it was racist. For almost fifty years it allowed only the voices (and writings) of white men to be heard and read.

It was against the voicelessness of Afrikaner women, their apolitisation, their disempowerment by means of Biblical arguments and the myths surrounding their history that the authors of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* reacted. The vision of the authors was to empower Afrikaans-speaking women towards political agency.

1.3 Good news at last: The influence of the Dutch feminist theologians

During the 1980s and 1990s, Afrikaner women entered the ecclesiastical and academic scene in South Africa albeit in limited numbers. This was also a time during which the authors of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* became ecclesiastically and academically active, while also being exposed, in one or another way, to the work of contemporary Dutch feminist theologians.

In 1981, Yolanda Dreyer, one of the main authors of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*, was the first woman to be ordained in the *Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk van Afrika*. In 2000, she was appointed as Professor in Practical Theology at the Theological Faculty of the University of Pretoria, the first and still the only woman to teach in this Faculty. In her doctoral work, *Pastoraat aan vroue* (1998), she was influenced extensively by the work of Prof Riet Bons-Storm of the University of Groningen.

Christina Landman, co-author and editor of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*, was appointed in October 1980 to the Department of Church History at the University of South Africa. In 1990, she became the first South African born woman to become a Professor in Theology in this country. In 1991, Landman went to the Catholic University of Nijmegen to study feminist theology, training which was unavailable in South Africa at the time. At the time, Catharina Halkes had just retired from this university, and her influence was still strong. During Landman's stay at Nijmegen

Hedwig Meyer-Wilmes was in charge of the programme for feminist theology.

Being a church historian, Landman was particularly interested in Grietje Dresen's doctoral work entitled *Onschuldphantasieën*.^x In this work, Dresen described how European women reclaimed their innocence through religion after having been exposed to political crimes. Landman argued that the opposite was true of Afrikaner women; they internalised guilt in their isolated and patriarchal circumstances, and this led to political impotence.

Landman returned to the Netherlands the following year (1992) to write *The piety of Afrikaans women, diaries of guilt*.^{xi} She stayed in Kampen, since it was there (and elsewhere in the Netherlands), in the Theology Faculty library that the ego-texts of Dutch-Afrikaans women were housed. (These texts were not obtainable in South Africa.) In this book, Landman tried to expose the features of Afrikaner women piety as explained above, to indicate the relationship between this form of piety and the socio-political powerlessness of Afrikaner women, and eventually to express the relationship between local Calvinism and local sexism. This book, published in 1994 (now ten years ago), was met with anger by Afrikaner society. The publisher, Unisa Press, who initially asked for the author to renounce feminism in the foreword before publication was possible, refused to reprint the book in spite of demands from outside the Afrikaner community.

It was during a visit to the Netherlands in 1996, when Hedwig Meyer-Wilmes presented Landman with a copy of *Met eigen ogen: Commentaar op de Bijbel vanuit het perspectief van vrouwen* (1995),^{xii} that the idea of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* was born. Landman was convinced that Afrikaner women would never enter into a paradigm shift and reconsider their own socio-political worth if the Bible itself was not presented to them as a women-engaged and women-friendly text. As pietists, the Bible stood at the centre of the Afrikaner women's belief system. Their piety was a belief system to be respected, but also one in urgent need of deconstruction. A paradigm shift could only be initiated by placing the Bible on the side of women. This view eventually led to the publication of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*.

This, then, turned out to be the third great influence of Dutch religiosity on Afrikaner women's understanding of themselves and their experience of their faith. This time, it was a sound and healthy influence. It was the influence of Dutch feminist theologians, mediated by Afrikaans-speaking women theologians themselves.

2 THE 'LEEFSTYL-BYBEL VIR VROUE'

2.1 The initiative

It was neither Dreyer nor Landman who approached a publisher with the idea of publishing a *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*. Instead, it was the Cape Town-based publisher of religious works, Lux Verbi, who reacted to Dreyer and Landman's public criticism of the rosy, 'bevindelijke' literature available to Afrikaner women during the 1980s and 1990s. This publisher and, in particular, Estelle Steenkamp, approached local women theologians to visualise and commence working on this project, which was to effect a shift in women's religious literature. The project took more than three years to complete (2000-2003).

2.2 The contents

The *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* contains the text of the 1983 Afrikaans translation of the Bible, with commentary from women theologians, the format of which will be briefly explained.

2.2.1 *The Biblical text in Afrikaans*

The first Afrikaans translation of the Bible was published in 1933. Up to then, the Afrikaner faith community had made use of a Dutch translation, the 'Statenbijbel'. Twenty years later, in 1953, the existing Afrikaans translation was slightly altered to include more recent modes of expression. Fifty years later, in 1983, the translation was once again adapted to include modern language usage. The 1983 translation is a conservative, albeit not quite literal, translation of the Bible from Greek and Hebrew sources into Afrikaans.

The *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* retains this translation, which is accepted by all the Afrikaans-speaking churches as official. This is because this translation is popularly regarded as inspired by God. The Afrikaner faith community also feared that the women theologians working on the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* were changing the sexist expressions in the text into inclusive language. ("Het julle nou al die hy'e in sy'e verander?" was the most common question asked of those who worked on this Bible.) Retaining this text eventually proved to give credibility to the women theologians' commentary, which was added as insertions into the Biblical text. Since this commentary is now seen as explaining the Bible, and not changing it, the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* has found wide acceptance amongst Afrikaner women as it is no longer seen as being contrary to their piety.

2.2.2 Commentary

Inserted into the text – and clearly marked as not part of the text – the women authors present different types of commentary on the Biblical text. Their focus is on women's roles and issues:

- There is an introduction to each book of the Bible in which the roles played by Biblical women in this particular book are brought to light and explained.
- Myths which Afrikaner women were made to believe were 'based' on the Bible are exposed as such.
- Life issues pertaining to the lives of women of faith are highlighted from the Biblical text.
- Portraits of women from the Bible are given, especially women who are not well known. The *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* contains 112 such portraits.

These categories are filled with content according to the aim described above, that is, to shift the piety of Afrikaner women away from guilt and self-humiliation, to self-expression and public agency.

2.3 Aims

The specific aims which the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* wants to achieve should be clear from the above. Here they are explained in more detail.

- The *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* intends to build women's self-esteem by exploring the Bible as a woman-friendly text. Where the text deals with women in an unfriendly way, Biblical women's reactions and resistance to the patriarchal system are pointed out, although their resistance was necessarily subversive rather than public.

The introductions to the books of the Bible and the portraits of Biblical women are used in order to achieve this aim; they emphasise the legitimate and important roles played by women in Biblical history.

- The second aim of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* is to reverse the apolitisation of Afrikaans-speaking women by converting their private issues into public ones.

The rubrics of the 'life issues' ('lewenskweessies') are used to this effect. Also, the category of "myths" lends itself to explaining the

harmful beliefs to which Afrikaner women were exposed and gives rise to healing alternatives.

- The third, and probably the main, aim of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* is to empower Afrikaans-speaking women to read the Bible with their own eyes. For centuries, they were kept captive by the Biblical interpretation of the official white, male exegetes of their churches. Simultaneously, the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* wants to broaden Afrikaans-speaking women's knowledge of Biblical interpretation and to inform them of the work done by women theologians in Europe, America and elsewhere in Africa. For the authors it is of special importance to expose Afrikaans-speaking women to the work of (other) African women theologians, thus reminding them that they are not Europeans but Africans, with a proud heritage of Biblical interpretation. The aim of this Bible is not to make the women better Afrikaners, but to incorporate them as Afrikaans-speaking Africans into the global discourse on the various identities of female faith.

Afrikaans-speaking women have fallen behind in this global discourse. When the modern feminist movement started in the 1970s in Western Europe and Northern America, women's freedom was defined in terms of the three aims of political, social and economic liberation. Now, thirty years later, Afrikaans-speaking women have not as yet realised a single one of these aims. Was the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* the beginning of the realisation of aims defined thirty years ago by women elsewhere in the world who have, in the meantime, moved dramatically towards fulfilling these aims? This is the question we shall try to answer when we come to the end of this article.

2.4 The authors

Who were the women chosen to execute these ambitious aims and write 800 printed pages of text as a commentary on the Bible from a woman's point of view?

Because of a scarcity of Afrikaans-speaking women theologians, six women eventually took on and completed this somewhat awesome task. They took on this task in addition to their teaching and ministerial responsibilities. Four of the women are professional academics, the other two are ministers ('dominees').

Prof Yolanda Dreyer has, after her DTh in Practical Theology, completed a second doctorate in New Testament. She wrote the commentary on 11 books of the New Testament. Dr Lilian Meyer-Nortjé is a lecturer in New Testament (in the Department of Biblical Studies) at the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit. She wrote the commentary on

another 9 books of the New Testament. These two women were well equipped for their task because of their training, teaching and academic publications on the New Testament. Prof Christina Landman holds a Master's degree in early Christian Greek; she is not primarily a New Testament scholar, however, but a Church Historian in which she holds a doctorate (DTh). She published a book in 1998 in which she popularised the Biblical scholarship done by contemporary feminists in America, Europe and Africa for an Afrikaans audience. The book is called *Nagstukke* and was in defiance of the *Dagstukke*, the so-called pink books referred to above, with which Afrikaner women were bombarded at the time. This publication stimulated Landman's interest in feminist Biblical scholarship and she consequently wrote the commentary for 6 New Testament books and 14 Old Testament books. The remaining book of the New Testament, Ephesians, was provided with commentary by Prof Elna Mouton. In 2000, Mouton became the first woman to be appointed as Professor in the Theological Faculty at the University of Stellenbosch. She has recently been appointed Dean of the Faculty, the first woman to hold this or a similar position within the theological field in this country. Mouton chose only to do this one book because of the increasing academic demands on her time.

Commentary on the books of the Old Testament was written by four women, two of whom are full-time ministers ('dominees') in the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa. The one is Rev Ronell Bezuidenhout, who previously taught Biblical Studies at the University of Port Elizabeth. She handled 9 of the books. The other is Rev Carin van Schalkwyk, who wrote the 'life issues' on 12 of the prophets. Both these women are in the final stages of their doctoral studies. Apart from the work done on the Old Testament by Landman, Prof Julie Claassens wrote the commentary on 10 of the Old Testament books. Trained at the University of Stellenbosch, she now teaches as an associate professor in Biblical Sciences at St Norbert College, Green Bay, in the United States of America. She holds a doctorate in Old Testament Studies. Dr Frances Klopper, senior lecturer in the Department of Old Testament at the University of South Africa, holds a doctoral degree in this field and wrote the commentary on the prophet Naham.

With these six authors (and two minor ones who only commented on one book each), the talents of almost all women holding postgraduate degrees in Biblical studies in South Africa were involved in the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*.

The publisher added indexes to make the commentary accessible to the reader in search of specific information. Finally, the text was sent to leading male Biblical scholars and male church leaders for 'external control', as the publisher called it. The scholars were to check the 'facts' presented, while the church leaders were asked to check the

'ideology' displayed in the commentary. The publisher's hidden agenda – understandable within the fundamentalist and sexist context into which the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* was launched – was to co-opt academic institutions and churches to support the Bible to ensure that it was not condemned from the start.

2.5 Sources

Which were the sources used to realise the aims of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*?

With the scarcity of women theologians, as discussed above, the commentary provided for the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* was not based exclusively on primary research. The women theologians' main contributions were, in the first place, to make research done by African, American and European women available to Afrikaans-speaking women, and, in the second place, to apply this information to the context of a new audience, that is, Afrikaans-speaking women. The authors, then, were partly original in research and mainly original in application. The originality of the application was severely hindered by the decision of the publisher to buy and translate parts of the applied material of the *Women's life Bible*.^{xiii} This publication, quite frankly, did not subscribe to the ideals of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*. Because the authors of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* were few, and had limited access to time and sources, it became necessary to introduce this source, which brought 'pink' (ie fundamentalist, neo-pietistic material) onto the pages of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*, which were often in opposition to the insights of the authors.

Sources which impacted healthily on the work of the authors were *Met eigen ogen* (and its original, *Women's Bible Commentary*)^{xiv} and *Women in Scripture: A dictionary of named and unnamed women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*.^{xv} These, of course, were supplemented with numerous works from contemporary scholarship, as indicated in the bibliography of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*.

In short, then, the sources used by the authors reflect the best of contemporary feminist scholarship in Biblical studies; however, because of shortage of time and human power, the authors were forced to incorporate a limited amount of translated material from the *Women's life Bible* which, as I have said, often contradicted the original aims of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*.

3 RECEPTION AND PARADIGM SHIFT

Landman as the final editor of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* was a risky choice. Because of her previous publications, she was known as a liberal, that is, an 'anti-pietistic', theologian. However, the publishers were determined to sell this product. They did this by giving the publication an unthreatening name, and by defusing Landman's public image. The name of the publication, *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* (and not something like *Vroue-Bybel*), was chosen to convince buyers that this publication would not threaten their basic faith.

In the marketing of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue*, Landman spoke to booksellers, potential buyers, and was interviewed over the radio. It was emphasised that this was not a new translation of the Bible, but an exploration of the women-friendliness of the Bible. The word 'feminist' was clandestinely avoided. It was said that the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* is for women who believe that God has a heart for women. This is a Bible for women who are looking for the practical guidance they need to live a Christian lifestyle and for those who are looking for quality in their faith. It is also for women who are curious about the Bible and the world of women in the Bible. It is for women who regard their relationships as important and are looking for Biblical insights in this regard. It was also said that the Bible is for men who wanted to deal respectfully with the spiritual needs of women. The Bible is for dominees and pastors who take inclusive preaching seriously.

In the marketing speeches, it was furthermore emphasised that the voice with which the women theologians speak in the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* is a pastoral one. It is not a radical voice, but a responsible, mature and informed voice. In short, it was said, the women speak with a healing voice.

During the Christmas period of 2003, the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* sold 15 000 copies in 21 days. It shattered all previous records for a Bible-with-commentary in the Afrikaans market. Another 10 000 copies had to be printed in a hurry. This was almost unthinkable in the light of the smallness of the market, and the fairly high price of the product; the Bible sells at R380-00 (\$65).

In 2004, the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* was one of four books shortlisted for the Recht Malan Prize for Non-fiction (M-Net/Via Africa Prizes). It was the first time in the 50 years of its existence that a religious book was shortlisted for this prize. It did not win the prize. However, on 18 September 2004, the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* won the Christian Booksellers of South Africa's Book of the Year Award. A year before, these booksellers had often refused to sell books written by Landman, Dreyer and Bezuidenhout. Times have changed.

Finally, the question has to be answered whether the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* has indeed brought about a paradigm shift amongst Afrikaans-speaking women. Were the authors not forced to bend over too much to accommodate traditional piety?

A systematic study has, of course, not been done yet on the influence of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* on Afrikaans-speaking women's piety and faith practices. However, from reviews and oral feedback, it seems that this Bible might have started a process of healing and empowerment, a process whereby Afrikaans-speaking women are healed of their past, empowered towards a healthy spirituality which allows them a strong socio-political voice, and surprised with knowledge about women in the Bible hitherto unknown to them. If *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* has made only one, small step in this direction, we can indeed start speaking about a paradigm shift.

The authors of the *Leefstyl-Bybel vir vroue* are satisfied that, through this commentary, Afrikaans-speaking women are finding new words to express themselves as religious beings. They are also confident that this Bible has distributed, into the faith community, knowledge that is good and healthy.

4 WORKS CONSULTED

Badenhorst, A M 1923. *Tant' Alie of Transvaal: Her diary 1880-1902*. Translated by Emily Hobhouse. London: Allen & Unwin.

Brandt, J 1905. *Het concentratie-kamp van Iréne*. Amsterdam/Kaapstad: Dusseau.

Dresen, G 1990. *Onschuldphantasieën: offerzin en heilsverlangen in feminisme en mystiek*. Nijmegen: SUN.

Landman, C 1994. *The piety of Afrikaans women: Diaries of guilt*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.

Meyers, C (ed) 2000. *Women in Scripture: A dictionary of named and unnamed women in the Hebrew Bible, the Acryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*. Boston: NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Newsom, C A & Ringe, S H (eds) 1995. *Met eigen ogen*. Introduced by Mieke Heijerman & Caroline Vander Stickele. Zoetermeer: Meinema.

Newsom, C A & Ringe, S H (eds). [1992]1998. *The Women's Bible Commentary*. Nashville, TN: Nelson.

Venter, H 1952. *De ondervindelijke bekeeringsweg van de zalige vrouw Hester Venter*. Kaapstad: Van de Sandt, De Villiers & Tier.

END NOTES

-
- i Hester Venter, *De ondervindelijke bekeeringsweg van de zalige vrouw Hester Venter*. Kaapstad: Van de Sandt, De Villiers & Tier, 1952.
- ii *Handwritten diary*. Manuscript in the Voortrekker Museum, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.
- iii Christina Landman, *The piety of Afrikaans women*. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1994, 12.
- iv AM Badenhorst, *Tant' Alie of Transvaal: Her diary 1880-1902*, translated by Emily Hobhouse, London: Allen & Urwin, 1923.
- v Johanna Brandt, *Het concentratie-kamp van Irène*. Amsterdam: Kaapstad: Dusseau, 1905.
- vi Christina Landman, *The piety of Afrikaans women*. Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1994, 112.
- 7 Ibid, 114
- viii Ibid, 110-116.
- ix Ibid, 5-6.
- x Grietje Dresen, *Onschuldphantasieën: offerz in en heilsverlangen in feminisme en mystiek* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1990).
- xi Ibid.
- xii *Met eigen ogen* is a translation of Carol A Newsom & Sharon H Ringe (eds), *The Women's Bible Commentary*. Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992. The Dutch translation is expanded for a European readership, and introduced newly by Mieke Heijeman and Caroline Vander Stickele. It is published by Meinema, Zoetemeer in 1995.
- xiii Carol Nylstrom (ed), *Women's Life Bible*. Nashville, TN: Nelson.
- xiv Carol A Newsom & Sharon H Ringe (eds), *Women's Bible Commentary*. Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992/1998.
- xv Carol Meyers (ed), *Women in Scripture: A dictionary of named and unnamed women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*. Boston, NY: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.