RECYCLING GHOSTS

REIMAGINING C. LOUIS LEIPOLDT' S PLAY: DIE LAASTE AAND (1930)

by
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Abstract

Post-colonial South Africa is haunted. More specifically, contemporary white Afrikaner identity is tormented by ghosts - as vestiges and reminders of the tyrannical injustices of the past. This study investigates how C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) can be reimagined and adapted to create a hauntological allegory that speaks to white Afrikanderdom in post-colonial South Africa. The act of looking back into the past and critically engaging with specific histories, affords a chance for a dialogue between the past and the present.

This study consists of three parts. In the first part, I contextualise the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). To do so, I broadly discuss South Africa's colonial history and unpack the social and political context of South Africa in the 1930s (the time period in which the source text was written), with specific reference to white Afrikaner identity and Afrikaner nationalism. I then provide a brief overview of white Afrikaans theatre history, positioning C. L. Leipoldt and *Die Laaste Aand* amidst the growing nationalism of the 1930s.

In the second part of the study, I turn my attention to the concept of adaptation, followed by magic realism, which I use as the central mode of adapting the source text. Magic realism is a literary and theatre genre that aligns with postcolonial sensibilities. Its capacity for transfiguration, metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification and transgressing linear time, amongst others, offer strategies for such an adaptation. After contextualising South Africa's colonial history and locating *Die Laaste Aand* and C. L. Leipoldt in the 1930s, I will analyse *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

Based on my play analysis, I conclude that *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), seems to contain extra-realist elements that justify the use of magic realism in my adaptation. I use the concept of the ghost as a central metaphor in creatively engaging with the colonial past that is haunting the postcolonial, and arguably post-colonial, present. In part three of the study, my playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) is presented and discussed as a collage of historical and intertextual references hauntingly buried beneath the transformations of the reimagined and adapted playtext. In its refraction of white Afrikaner identity, *Dryfhout* (2021) not only presents a hauntological allegory for contemporary South Africa, but positions post-colonial white Afikanerdom as a hauntology in and of itself.

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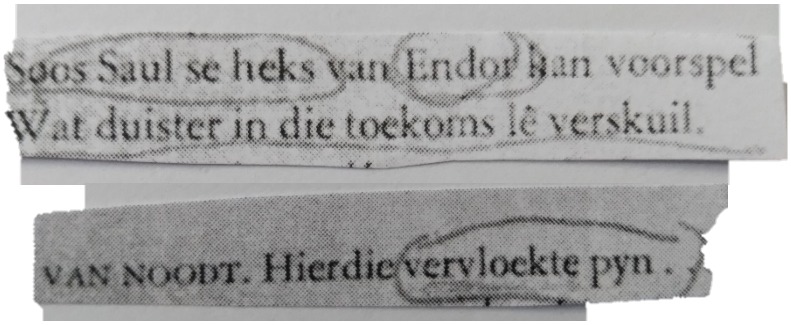

C. L. Leipoldt, *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Post-colonial[1] South Africa is haunted. More specifically, contemporary white Afrikaner identity is tormented by ghosts - vestiges and reminders of the tyrannical injustices of the past. This study investigates how C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)/ The Last Evening can be reimagined and adapted to create a playtext[2] that allegorically[3] speaks to the haunted current day post-colonial, and postcolonial, South Africa. This study will use magic realism[4] as a postcolonial literary and theatre genre, to reimagine and adapt the source text.

My positionality is that of a young, contemporary white Afrikaner woman. White as a racial marker implies the ethnic group of people with 'light skin', formally defined by (but not limited to) the Apartheid[5] regime's (1948-1994) social categorisation of race with its associated political power,

[1] According to Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (1995: 167) post-colonialism locates specific moments in the trajectory of history that constitute a society or country moving beyond of colonialism, while postcolonialism deals with the after-effects and legacy of colonialisation and its socio-political impact on cultures, societies and identities that have been subjected to some form of colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 1995: 167). Bhambra (2014: 115) states that postcolonialism "emerged as an intellectual movement", developed around the theories of amongst others, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak.

[2] A playtext is defined as a theatre based script or text that is meant to be performed. A playtext is considered a "spur to production" (Leach 2008: 18). The playtext articulates a multiplicity of signs for the theatre production that aims to create interpretative meaning. The term text is described as a "word for anything which is 'inscribed': an 'inscription' being a way of ordering or packaging pieces of experience" (Leach 2008: 18). A playtext includes detailed stage directions and can often include set descriptions, indicate characters, dialogue and ways of speaking particular lines. Playtexts can also contain a playwright's ideas for staging the scene. The playwright of a playtext can be considered "a poet and a craftsman, not a mere writer of plays, he or she [or ze] understands the 'world of images' being created in this script" (Leach 2008: 18). Playtexts can create "poetic dramatic images, fashioned by a poet-dramatist" (Leach 2008: 19). The playtext in itself can be considered an artistic product created by the 'maker' or crafts[person]" (Leach 2008: 18-21).

[3] The word allegory originates from the Greek word *allegoria* that refers to "a veiled figurative language" (Dupriez 1991: 21). In contemporary discourses the term allegory is understood as an extended metaphor that is often used to critique systems of power and engage with human nature. Allegories often make use of personification to represent complex ideas or to simplify the abstract, the spiritual or mysterious (Dupriez 1991: 21). Allegories are rooted within the 'real' and are informed by specific temporal and social locations (Copeland & Stuck 2010: 267). An allegory is a way of representing complex ideas and experiences, rendering them immediate through the dramatisation in fiction (Gillie 1972: 382).

[4] I acknowledge research that unpacks more subtly the differences between the terms magic realism, and magical realism. For example, researcher Maggie Anne Bowers in her book *Magi(cal) realism* (2004). However, these two terms are often used as synonyms, both referring to the literary genre that situates itself between the dichotomy of reality and the imagined, ultimately presenting the fantastical as real (Wandama 2016: 3). Magic realism uses transformative modes such as metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification to create magic elements (Wandama 2016: 3). I discuss magic realism in Chapter 3.2: Magic Realism.

[5] Apartheid (1948-1994) was informed by Enlightenment philosophies of humanity, in which being white skinned came to mean normality and universality. Furthermore, studies on eugenics 'scientifically validated' white superiority. Eugenics, a Western scientific method, saw the white race as superior to other races (Steyn 2004: 144-147). Whiteness refers to invisible structures and regimes of truth that produce and uphold white power,

supremacist impulses and privileges. White Afrikaners – descendants from mainly Dutch, as well as French or German settlers in the Cape during the latter part of the seventeen century and the first half of the eighteen century - constructed their identity as distinct from black African identities and "Anglo whiteness" (Van der Westhuizen 2018) ultimately rejecting their 'European-ness' and self-identifying as a community belonging to South Africa (Oliver 2017: 5). By the late 1800s, the Boers were regarded as "an inferior or degraded class of colonist" (Keegan 2001:460). It has to be noted that whilst the West[6] was shifting away from "direct colonialism" in the mid-20th century, South Africa shifted to Apartheid, an "intensified form" of colonialism (Van der Westhuizen 2018). Cultural identifiers includes the use of the Afrikaans language, "the desire and love for land (as epitomised in the farm); a pervasive sense (and accompanying narrative) of survival; a strong sense of family; a sense of political conservatism; and a dominant religious position occupied by Christianity, especially in its Calvinist form…" (Annette Combrink (in Viljoen, Lewis & Van Der Merwe, 2004: 4) cited by Broodryk 2016: 64). (In Chapter 2: Historical overview, I continue to discuss and unpack the historical markers of the white Afrikaner identity)

In the article *Positionality in Practitioner Research* (2012), Throne defines positionality as a researcher's reflection of "one's own place within the many contexts and subjectivities of viewpoints" in an academic space. By acknowledging one's positionality you are critically interrogating your relationality with your research content and self-reflectively understanding the lived context that informs your "research voice" (Throne 2012: 56, 57). My positionality stands in specific relation to the role of the coloniser in the context of South Africa's colonial history, as well as to the role of oppressor and curator of apartheid (see Chapter 2: Historical Overview). I revisit the past not as a site of nostalgia but as a site of critical reflection.

The act of looking back into the past and critically engaging with specific histories, affords a chance for a dialogue between the past and the present. In creating a playtext intended for performance in

privilege and dominance, as well as modes of engagement with the social world that perpetuate privilege and society. It manifests in socio-political, cultural and economic structures and behaviour. Whiteness is often tied to colonialism, racism, homophobia and sexism. Further, it is tied to "the politics of globalisation" (West & Schmidt 2020: 9).

[6] The term 'Western' or West in this context refers, broadly to those countries that shared a series of fundamental socio-political ideologies, and is not inherently linked to geographic location. It refers, but not exclusively, to central and Western Europe, Canada, Australia, New-Zealand, the United States of America (Hawthorn 2000: 374) and South African due to its colonial and Apartheid history and associated thinking rooted in European modernity.

a theatre, I invoke theatre's potential for revision and critique. In the article *Introduction: Return, Rewrite, Repeat: The Theatricality of Adaptation,* Margherita Laera (2014) writes that:

> theatre returns, it always does. It returns to places where it has already been before and to times in which it has already appeared. And while it does so, it sends us too, the spectators, to those places and times, performance after performance. Theatre also rewrites. It constantly does. It rewrites history, relationships, stories and rules. It refashions beliefs, recycles old and used objects and reassembles them into new embodied experiences. Above all, theatre repeats, and incessantly so. It repeats itself and the act of returning and rewriting, as though it were struck by an obsessive compulsion to reiterate and re-enact, again and again, the vestiges of its past. In so doing, it adapts itself to present contingencies and situations, like an animal species struggling to survive through evolution (Laera 2014: 1).

I am adapting, reimagining and recycling *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into playtext, *Dryfhout* (2021) that not only aims to allegorically speak to the haunted "contingencies" (Laera 2014: 1) of the post-colonial and postcolonial South African present, but also positions post-colonial white Afrikanerdom as a hauntology in and of itself.

This study consists of three parts. In the first part I give a broad historical overview of South Africa's colonial[7] history as well as locate post-colonial moments in the historical trajectory. In order to avoid the dangerously apolitical nostalgia that revisiting the past may conjure, I discuss postcolonial theories that inform my analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) and that validate my choice to adapt and reimagine a source text to create a hauntological postcolonial allegory.

I give a broad and necessarily incomplete overview of South African theatre history, specifically noting the history of Afrikaans theatre and how colonialism influenced theatrical storytelling. I pay specific attention to white Afrikaner nationalism during the 1930s to address the milieu in which C. L. Leipoldt wrote *Die Laaste Aand*. Nationalism is a political ideology based on the belief that people with "common characteristics such as language, religion and ethnicity constitute a separate and distinctive political community" (Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffin 2007: 259). Nationalism takes the following into account: opposition to foreign control, "the consciousness of belonging to a particular nation" or race and "pride in the nation's culture, traditions, institutions and achievements" (Ashcroft, Griffins & Tiffin 2007: 260). In South Africa, the National Party (founded in 1915) actively propagated Afrikaner

[7] The term colonialism refers to the development and expansion from a central imperium that creates colonies under their authority (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 40). Ndovu-Gatsheni (cited in Omar 2020: [sp]) views colonisation as an event: "people (colonists) coming, conquering, and dominating other people at a particular moment, and administering people colonially, until the colonised fight and push them back" (Omar 2020: [sp]). South Africa is one of the countries that endured the effects of Dutch and British colonisation (See Chapter 2: The Voyage).

nationalism that gained momentum after World War I (Grundlingh 2019: [sp]). The growth of Afrikaner nationalism and its propaganda of white supremacy became the cornerstones of apartheid (Grundlingh 2019: [sp]). In the dissertation, I will position Afrikaner nationalism alongside white Afrikaner history and theatre history (See Chapter 2: The Voyage and Chapter 3: Magic realism).

In part two of the dissertation, I turn my attention to adaptation and magic realism. Margherita Laera (2014) writes that:

> …adaptation, in relation to theatre can be practiced in various modalities such as the dramaturgical practice of turning, for instance, a novel into a play script, a domain traditionally covered by playwrights. It also covers the work of directors and their *mise en scène*, that of actors in performance and rehearsals, that of translators in transferring a text from one language to another, and that of audiences in co-authoring and responding to a piece (Laera 2014: 2).

I align my application of adaptation[8] with Margherita Laera's definition of the term that uncovers words such as transformation, reimagining and recycling - describing a process of uncovering the past and changing it into a new form to be used in the present (Laera 2014: 1). Reimagining, as a strategy of adaptation, to me means that a story is told from a different perspective in order to explore, reinterpret and reposition ideas surfacing in the text and to make new connections between ideas. The freedom in the reimagining process allows for creative modifications.

I will discuss the concept of imagining and reimagining and its capacity for transformation further in Chapter 3: Magic realism, where I specifically discuss magical transformative elements in fairy-tales and fantasy genres. In the book *The fantasy film* (2010), Katherine Fowkes writes that the fantasy genre insists on "imaginative re-visioning" (2010: 9). Furthermore, fairy-tale scholar Jack Zipes states that transformation is a key motif in fantastical genres (Fowkes 2010: 8). This study will uncover magic realism as a postcolonial literary genre that facilitates imaginative transformations. I understand transformation as a process that is concerned with the future and which marks change. The term transformation implies a shift or a conversion and stands in relation to concepts such as adaptation,

[8] In Chapter 3.1: Adaptation, I will further define and unpack the term 'adaptation'. This study will not explicate the different modalities of adaptation as it pertains to theatre but does acknowledge the abundance of scholarly output with regards to adaptation modalities in theatre. Adaptation, with regards to theatre is defined, unpacked and explored in various scholarly articles such as *Performing adaptations: essays and conversations on the theory and practice of adaptation* (2009) edited by Michelle MacArthur, Lydia Wilkinson and Keren Zaiontz, *Translation and adaptation in theatre and film* (2014) by Katja Krebs, *Translation, adaptation and transformation* (2012) by Laurence Raw, *International Faust studies: adaptation, reception, translation* (2008) by Lorna Fitzsimmons, *Bastard or playmate?: adapting theatre, mutating media and the contemporary performing arts* (2012) by Robrecht Vanderbeeken, Christel Stalpaert, David Depestel and Boris Debackere, *Adapting and translation for the stage* by Geraldine Brodie and Emma Cole (2017) and Frances Babbage's *Adaptation in contemporary theatre; Performing literature*, among others.

recycling, and reimagining (Ashcroft 2001: 2). I will specifically identify key elements of the genre such as metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification, as well as how the genre breaks the rules of linear time and space, and ultimately allows for the existence of ghostly characters (see Chapter 3: Magic realism). Magic realism will ultimately guide my adaptation process.

In order to engage with the source text with the aim of adapting it, I discuss the prolific white Afrikaans writer C. L. Leipoldt as an ambivalent figure in South African and white Afrikaans history. Christian Frederik Louis Leipoldt (1880-1947) is renowned for his major contributions to white Afrikaans literature, the South African medical journals and as an important figure in South African culinary arts. The playtext *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) avails itself as a text to be revisited from a post-colonial present, because Leipoldt chose to set his play during the hight of Dutch colonial governance of the Cape Colony and he wrote the play at a time when Afrikaner nationalism strongly manifested.

The play is set specifically in and around the Castle of Good Hope in the early eighteenth century. The Castle of Good Hope was built by the Dutch East India Trading Company during the age of imperial exploration, at the height of the first era of colonial trading pursuits and was the central point for all activities on land and sea between Africa and the East (Op't Hof & Paap 1963: 13). During that period, the castle was the official residence of the governor appointed by the company (Op't Hof & Paap 1963: 13). The play follows the oppressed character Martha's journey into the Castle of Good Hope to avenge her son (who is destined to be hung for treason) by killing Governor Gysbert Van Noodt. She ultimately fails to enact her revenge because Van Noodt mysteriously dies in his armchair before she can carry out her plan. Notably, key characters in the play are based on historical colonial figures, such as the alleged tyrannical Governor Pieter Gysbert van Noodt (1681-1729) who occupied the seat of governance in Cape Colony from 1727-1729.

The historical account of Pieter Gysbert Van Noodt has gradually been transformed into myth - a ghost story. Leipoldt resurrected the historical accounts of Van Noodt during the onset of apartheid and the rise of white Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaans texts of the 1930s are often seen as an ode to whiteness and a mouthpiece for Afrikaner Nationalism (Coetzer 2001: 83). I argue that *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), opens up aporia[9] that point to the possibilities of subversive readings of white Afrikanerdom.

[9] Aporia is discussed and defined through a plethora of scholarly output and appears in discussions of literature, Greek myths and theory, rhetoric, philosophy and language. Scholars who unpack and define the term include George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), J. Smith's *Mystical* Rhetoric (1657), Herbert Smyth in *Greek Grammar* (1956), William Harmon in *A Handbook to Literature* (2006), Valiur Rahaman, in his book *Interpretations: Essays in Literary Theory* (2011) post-structuralist philosophers such as Jacques Derrida (1993) and used in analytical philosophy by Nicholas Rescher (2009), to name a few.

The Greek term 'aporia' refers to the expression of doubt and indecision. The term, as applied to the reading of a text, has been associated with deconstructive criticism, in particular with Derrida's theory of *différance*. It denotes "a point of undecidability, which locates the site at which the text most obviously undermines its own rhetorical structure, dismantles, or deconstructs itself" (Derrida 1993: [sp]). The term refers to those places in a reader's/audience's experience of a text where incompatibilities surface and where the undecidability or inherently contradiction of meanings surface. Multiple possibilities for interpretation are opened up (Hawthorn 2000: 15).

Informed by the analyses, in part three, this study will uncover *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt: 1930) as a text that is dense with intertextual references of cultural myths, fairy-tale motifs and historical accounts that validate and inform magic transfigurations for the adapted playtext. Utilising the magic realism's capacity for transformation and reimagining, this study will adapt C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) into a playtext titled *Dryfhout*.

Lastly I unpack how the adapted, reimagined magic realist playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) can be interpreted as a postcolonial allegory that speaks to haunted contemporary South Africa, specifically the tormented, contemporary white Afrikaner identity that is grappling with the tyrannical colonial ghosts of the past. In its refraction of white Afrikaner identity, *Dryfhout* (2021) presents a hauntological allegory for contemporary South Africa, and positions contemporary white Afrikanerdom as a hauntology in and of itself.

1.1. A ghost story

This study begins with a ghost story. In a recent article in *Taalgenoot,* titled *Ware Wolhaarstories*, Anja van den Berg (2019: 50) discusses the phenomenon of South African ghosts. She cites Mariette van Graan, a professor at UNISA specialising in ghost stories and their significance in Afrikaans prose. Van Graan discusses the complexities of the white Afrikaans ghost, "a unique and layered character with a difficult past and whose presence reflects a harsh history" (2019: 50). Van Graan continues by discussing specific examples of ghosts that appear in various places in South Africa. She remarks on the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town that is reportedly one of the most haunted places in South Africa (2019: 50). Supposedly, there is a myth of a cruel, fuming apparition, who is believed to be the remembrance of Governor Pieter Gysbert van Noodt, who mysteriously died in 1729 (2019: 50).

Figure 1: Ink drawing of Van Noodt's chair (Van der Merwe 2020).

Governor van Noodt unjustly accused seven soldiers of desertion and overruled the court council decision, when they voted for a lighter form of punishment (Hardie 2015: [sp]). Van Noodt ultimately sentenced the soldiers to their death, stating: "they shall hang…I take it upon myself" (Du Toit 1895: 22). Before facing the gallows, one soldier allegedly turned his head to the governor's house and shouted: "Governor van Noodt, I summon you in this very hour before the judgement seat of omniscient God, there to give account for the souls of myself and my companions!" (Du Toit 1895: 22). After the execution, the council members went to Van Noodt's office and to their shock they found the governor dead in his armchair. Van Noodt's armchair as a cultural artefact is still preserved as part of the collection at the Castle of Good Hope (Du Toit 1895: 23).

Ghosts, described as visible relics of the dead, are often accounted for in the folklore of many cultures by being referred to as a "scary spirit of the unsettled dead" that returns and disturbs the life of the living and haunts unjust memories (Lee 2017: 1). Ghosts can represent tormented messages from unjust pasts (Stableford 2009: 173). In stories they are often depicted as ominous characters embodying "shadowy warnings" that punish those who disturbed the peace (Stableford 2009: 174).

Carl G. Jung (1875-1961) defines the shadow[10] archetype[11] (Jung 1938: 131) as the unknown, often repressed aspect of the subconscious mind (Bazilevsky 2015: 2). Jung developed theories pertaining to the subconscious mind, which harbours dreams, the imaginary, memories and how they reveal complex psychoanalytical truths (Bazilevsky 2015: 2). This study, however, focusses on archetypes and symbolic interpretation in the context of literature studies that stem from Jung's theories. In the study *Psychology of the unconscious* (1917 and revisited in 1926, 1938 and 1943) Jung wrote: "The personal unconscious contains lost memories, painful ideas that are repressed…, subliminal perceptions…and finally contents that are not yet ripe for the consciousness. It corresponds to the figure of the Shadow so frequently met within our dreams" (Jung 1938: 103). Throughout the ethos of Jung's work, he defines the shadow self as the inferior, unconscious personality that is repressed in opposition to the superior conscious personality that is displayed. In the book *Internal conflict in nineteenth-century literature: reading the Jungian shadow,* Ştefan Bolea states that the shadow:

> is the inner devil we have committed in the basement of our being, afraid of his aggressiveness and force…Moreover the shadow can be defined as the dark side consisting not just of little weakness and foibles, but of a positively demonic dynamism…the shadow can be defined metaphorically as a stain on the soul that we try hard to conceal…the shadow can be compared to a cauldron full of seething excitations (2020: 17).

In *The Book of symbols* (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 788), ghosts are discussed through Jungian theory as symbolic imaginings of the 'shadow' (Jung 1938: 131):

> The dead appear in our dreams apparently as personifications of unconscious complexes and vital energies undergoing processes of change, conflict, or integration. Thus, these ghosts are sometimes reinvigorated, or they are shadowy, warning. They may be removed, disengaged, loving, needy or menacing. Often, they appear for poignantly brief reunions to show us something not available to our conscious sight or to remind us of something of value we've forgotten...

I draw from Jung's notion of the shadow in my theorisation of ghosts as well as on Derrida's (1993) notion of hauntology. I refer back to the shadow archetype in Chapter 3.2: Magic realism and Chapter 4.3: A Reflection of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

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[10] Jungian scholar Mario Trevi locates Carl Jung's first "indirect" use of the term *shadow* in a study titled: *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* (1911-1912) and explicitly indicates the first use of the term in 1912 in his study *New Paths in Psychology*. Jung uses Freudian notions of repression (*verdrangung*) and resistance (*widerstand)* to unpack how and why the shadow is supressed and banished to the subconscious by the ego. The ego, according to Jung, refuses to acknowledge the presence of the shadow and what the shadow represents, in an effort to attain and maintain the illusion of an "ideal" personality. Jung states that the shadow wants to be acknowledged and in order to attain a "healthier" psyche the ego should acknowledge and merge with shadow (Bolea 2020: 16-20).

[11] The noun, archetype, stems from two Greek words *arche* (origin or old) and *typos* (pattern or type) (Bazilevsky 2015: 1) (Also see Chapter 3.2 Magic realism).

1.2. Hauntology

The symbol of a ghost signifies the process of being haunted, or a visitation - whether by the past, other texts, or silenced voices. The ghost inhabits a disjointed time-space in which the ghost passes on memory and trauma - binding the present to other times, texts, or voices. In this sense, the ghost points to the co-existence of past and present. Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) coined the term hauntology or "hantologie" in his book *Spectres of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International* (Derrida 1993:10). The term hauntology is a composite of ontology and haunting. In the article *Hauntology: a not-so-new critical manifestation* (2011), Andre Gallix states:

> In *Spectres of Marx* (1993), where it first appeared, Jacques Derrida argued that Marxism would haunt Western society from beyond the grave. In the original French, "hauntology" sounds almost identical to "ontology", a concept it haunts by replacing - in the words of Colin Davis - "the priority of being and presence with the figure of the ghost as that which is neither present, nor absent, neither dead nor alive (2017: [sp]).

Ontology[12] is a philosophical discipline, specifically a branch of philosophy that uncovers the nature and structure of "reality" (Staab 2009: 2) or "the science of being" and of what "haunts": spectres, "ghosts" (Ramond cited in Pecastaing 2013: [sp]). Ontology views being in terms of "self-identical presence", a ghost or spectre "cannot be fully present" as "it has no being in itself but marks a relation to what is no longer or not yet'' (Hagglund 2008: 82). The spectre is "on the border between becoming and forgetting" (Ras 2017: 3). Hauntology thus refers to the "spectral trace" of ontology as the spectre or ghost is simultaneously present and not present (Davison and Muppidi 2009: 63), not alive but also not dead. The spectre, as Derrida states, is

> …some "thing" that remains difficult to name: neither soul nor body, and both one and the other. For it is flesh and phenomenality that give to the spirit its spectral apparition, but which disappear right away in the apparition, in the very coming of the revenant or the return of the spectre (Derrida 1994, 5).

Hauntology demonstrates that "'being' is not equivalent to presence" (Fisher 2013:44). However, hauntology draws attention to the "ghostly presence of the silent" and "the unease that past and future provokes in the present" (Benjamin & Chang 2009: 63). In doing so, it offers a way of thinking about the presence of absent figures or events.

[12] Scholars and philosophers who contributed to theories of ontology are René Descartes (1596-1650), Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Christian Wolff (1679-1754), Author Schopenhauer (1788-1860), Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), Martin Heidegger (1889-1976), Nicolai Hartman (1882-1950), Rudolf Carnap (1891-1970) and Willard Quine (1908-2000) to name a few.

The presence of absence[13] is a philosophical notion that tries to uncover "states of being" (Zlomislić 2007: 36). The terms presence and absence are intertwined in a dichotomy and depend on the other regarding their definitions (Zlomislić 2007: 36). Jacques Derrida states that there is absolute absence and absolute presence and that one can "trace" presence (Zlomislić 2007: 37), alluding to the idea that when absolute absence comes in contact with absolute presence, presence leaves traces behind - it never fully dissolves into "nothingness" or reverts back to absolute absence (Zlomislić 2007: 36, 37, 38). Contemporary South Africa is perforated with colonial traces or the presence of absence of colonialism - the ghost of the past.

To haunt is to journey interstitially, perpetually conjuring the past into the present. Ghosts and hauntings, by blurring the distinction between presence and absence, change "ontology (the study of being) into its near-homophone hauntology" (Hamilton [sa]: 3). Hauntology further centres on the idea that ghosts disrupt linear chronology, and by implication, the notion of history (Derrida 1994: 4). Mark Fisher, in his essay *What is hauntology*, (2012: 18) explains how hauntology is simultaneously concerned with "the past, the present and the future":

> Provisionally, then, we can distinguish two directions in hauntology. The first refers to that which is (in actuality is) no longer, but which is still effective as a virtuality (the traumatic ''compulsion to repeat,'' a structure that repeats, a fatal pattern). The second refers to that which (in actuality) has not yet happened, but which is already effective in the virtual (an attractor, an anticipation shaping current behaviour).

[13] In works such as *Of Grammatology* (1967), *Writing and Différance* (1967) and *Speech and Phenomena* (1967), Jacques Derrida, founder of deconstructionist theory, uncovers the presence of absence in his studies on metaphysics (understood as philosophies that endeavour to comprehend reality) and *différance* (which mainly concerns itself with language and meaning).

Figure 2: The ghost of Gysbert Van Noodt at the Castle of Good Hope (Van der Merwe 2020).

In the figure of the ghost and in the process of the haunting, the line between presence and absence is blurred and the unity of space and time disrupted. In this way, the notion of hauntology can acknowledge that the trauma of colonialism is prolonged (Coly 2019: 15) and active in the present. The ghost or spectre appears through the "fault lines, fissures, infiltrations' that operate in the coloniser's 'cultural and political apparatus'" (Taylor 2011: 33). Taylor (2011: 31) argues that the idea of "spectrality is useful for African, Asian and any other colonised peoples whose legacies of political and cultural repression, and often genocide, have spawned memories…of ancestors, ghosts, and haunting presences" (2011: 31). The spectre is both an accusation and a call for remembrance, accountability and action (Taylor 2011: 24). If Governor Pieter van Noodt's spectre is 'present' in the contemporary (supposedly) post-colonial, what accusations does he represent? What is Van Noodt's ghost's "call for remembrance" (Taylor 2011:24)? What does he signify of "accountability" (Taylor 2011:24) specifically in relation to white Afrikanerdom? As previously stated, in Chapter 4: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) the ghost of Governor Van Noodt, will be unpacked as possibly symbolising the ambivalent white Afrikaner's shadow self - a tyrannical coloniser.

Hauntology can thus be applied as a lens, methodology, organising principle or framework through which to acknowledge and be responsive to a past which is both in, and not in, the past. I will use hauntology as an organising principle of my engagement with how South Africa's colonial past is hauntingly present in contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial South Africa.

1.3 The title of the dissertation

The title of this dissertation is *Recycling Ghosts*. In the article *How to recycle ourselves through art: rubbish inspirations in contemporary art* (2014), Fatma Aykanat discusses the concept of recycling and its conceptual interpretation and meaning making properties. Recycling is concerned with a proses of transformation (Aykanat 2014: 11). The process begins with by 'finding' that which has been discarded, lost, broken, forgotten – "so called dead materials" (2014: 11) that function as vestiges of decay. Fatma Aykanat interprets these exiled materials as "vast assemblages composed of cultural objects". Furthermore, these objects "materialise memories" and "traces of our very existence" (2014: 13, 14). In the book *Interpreting Objects and Collectables,* Suzan M. Pierce writes that objects have that capacity to "narrate the past" (1994: 20), functioning as signs carrying messages for the present (1994: 20, 21).

I posit that a 'ghost', as a literary device can be a recyclable symbol. Its definition casts it in alignment with that which is exiled, discarded, lost, forgotten, or broken. Ghosts, similar to recyclable objects, can be interpreted as vessels for memories, carrying a message from the past, intruding into the present. Furthermore, Fatma Aykanat writes that decomposable objects - the discarded - are found in "marginal spaces of the house, attics and cellars, you forget about it, and it somehow grows anarchically" (2014:14). In the book *Poetics of Space* (1958) Gaston Bachelard, following Jung, considers marginal spaces symbolically capable of harbouring "memories" and "fear" (1958: 10, 17, 18, 19). Ghosts, as previously stated can be the discarded; exiled objects and ghosts are both inhabitants of the same spaces.

Recycling entails "a process of transformation, transfiguration, mending, combining, collaging, and interweaving" after the discarded artefacts have been identified or found, leading to the construction of a new creation for a new purpose (Aykanat 2014: 12). Within the "material configuration" there is an interactive relationship with the discarded object or "dead material" whereby the 'recycler' is "discovering its stories'" or the memories it harbours (Aykanat 2014: 12). The process of recycling resurrects the old and the discarded and through the process of resurrection the past is "brought back into life" (Aykanat 2014:1). When one rearranges or reorganises the found, discarded material, the new creations have the capacity to create new meaning and have new interpretations (Aykanat

2014:13). However, the past, memories and stories attached to the original artifacts have not dissolved (Aykanat 2014:13). The new and recycled creation is constructed out of layers of history and therefore the past is present within the recycled creation, demonstrating a hauntological sense of existence. In Chapter 6: *Dryfhout* (2021), A hauntological, postcolonial allegory and Chapter 3.2: Adaptation, I discuss how the process of recycling and adaptation exemplifies the principles of hauntology and the presence of absence.

This study ultimately intends to reimagine and adapt C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) into a playtext that can be interpreted as a hauntological postcolonial allegory. My sketches map my visual understanding of the historical and theoretical frameworks I investigate, my own journey through the dissertation and provide core visual anchors that assisted me in visualising and imagining my own playtext.

1.4 Research question

How can magic realism be used to create a hauntological, postcolonial allegory in reimagining and adapting C. Louis Leipoldt's *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)?

1.4.1 Sub-questions

- What is hauntology?
- What is colonialism, post-colonialism and postcolonialism?
- How did the above impact South African history and Afrikaans theatre history?
- What is adaptation – focussing on recycling and reimagining - in the context of the research?
- What is magic realism?
- Which elements of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) may open up aporia that justifies the use of magical realism as means of reimagining and adapting the play?
- How can white Afrikanerdom be described as hauntology in and of itself?

1.5 Research approach

This study is situated in a qualitative research paradigm and as such, uses qualitative methods Qualitative research approach implements the critical analysis of an artefact, artwork or in the case of this study an artefact of literature. Qualitative research also implies the unpacking of the artefact in the context of its time period, culture, and language to conclude the significance of its content (Munro 2014: 68). The qualitative methodologies that I will use is a literature review and practice-based research.

A literature review consists of, and aims to, "provide the background to and justification for the research undertaken" (Bruce 1994: 218). In a literature review the scholar "extracts and synthesises the main points, issues, findings and research methods which emerge from a critical review of the readings" (Nunan 1992: 217) with the intent to construct a "coherent argument which leads to the description of a proposed study" (Rudestam and Newton, 2007: 63).

Following the literature review, I analyse the play *Die Laaste Aand* written by C. L. Leipoldt (1930) in accordance with my literature review. A literature analysis of a play entails the investigation of a text's characters, action, setting and objects as well as locating the playwright's style, genre, language and tone (Cardullo 2015: VII). Furthermore, a play analysis interprets symbols to locate key themes and motifs (Cardullo 2015: VII). My analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) is guided by my intention to adapt and reimagine Leipoldt's text and to present a creative component in this study.

Creative practice "has developed into a defined focus of research activity - as process" and/or "product", as well as "discourse in various disciplines" over the past few decades (Skains 2018: 85). Skains states that "all research endeavours can be argued to be 'creative', and conversely all creative practice can be argued to incorporate research and knowledge development, however implicitly". Separate and distinct types of practice-related research have gradually emerged "across a variety of disciplines" (Skains 2018: 82). Skains (2018: 86) draws on the work of Graeme Sullivan's (2009) to present areas in which practice-based research is applicable. The area relevant to my research is the the "conceptual" area (Skains 2018:86). The conceptual area refers to artists giving "form to thoughts in creating artefacts that become part of the research process" (Sullivan 2009: 50 cited in Skains 2018: 86). In this dissertation, the artefacts are my sketches that I made as my literature review developed, and my playtext. My sketches are thus integral to my journey towards creating the playtext and some are also integral to the playtext. This area aims at developing an understanding of the creative artefacts themselves, which I articulate in my reflection on my playtext.

Practice-based research is a messy space where "messiness and messing things up" (Campbell and Farrier 2015: 83) can describe the methods and processes of practice-related research[14]. The "messy area" surfaces when researchers have unpacked established formations and notions of knowledge, "are aware of the dawning of the new" but have not made sense of it yet (Mellor 2001: 456). The

[14] Campbell and Farrier (2015) make this statement in the context of queer practice-as-research. However, the principle is applicable to other modes of practice-related research.

details of the practice unravel as the research develops. The messy area interweaves practitioner knowledge, personal experience, practical judgement, creativity and intuition, to offer multiple and new ways of seeing (Cook 2014: 7).

1.6 Research ethics

As this is a literature-based study, supplemented with creative writing, this study has no ethical implications.

1.7 Chapter breakdown

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introduction begins by recounting the ghostly myth of Governor Gysbert Van Noodt, concluding that colonial memories are continuously intruding the contemporary post-colonial condition of South Africa, resulting in what Jacques Derrida terms a "hauntological" state of being (1993:10). It is this study's perspective that contemporary post-colonial South Africa and specifically the white Afrikaans identity is haunted by the spectres of the colonial past. The introduction will announce the prolific white Afrikaans writer C. L. Leipoldt who, in 1930s South Africa chose to revisit and transform the ghostly myth of Van Noodt into an Afrikaans play titled *Die Laaste Aand* (1930). The study's objective is not only to revisit the ghostly myth of Van Noodt, but to revisit Leipoldt's play from a contemporary post-colonial perspective with the intent to reimagine and adapt the 1930s play as an allegory for the contemporary South African contingencies.

PART ONE

Chapter 2: Historical overview

Chapter 2 offers a contextual and theoretical framework that informs my analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) in Chapter 4: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Chapter 2 also provides me with possible ideas for adaptation, grounded in postcolonial theory, for the reimagined playtext that aims to be interpreted as a hauntological, postcolonial allegory.

Chapter 2.1: The Voyage

Chapter 2.1: The Voyage firstly provides a broad overview of South Africa's colonial histories, specifically how it pertains to white Afrikanerdom. This chapter defines imperialism and empire building schemes and locates and unpacks specific European colonial explorations that saw the infiltration and invasion of continents such as Africa. I relay the colonial histories of South Africa, particularly locating the establishment of imperial trading routes and the development of settler

communities that ultimately formed the colonial Cape Colony, in order to contextualise the setting and time period located in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Furthermore, this chapter locates the historical development of white Afrikaner identity, flagging specific historical markers that led to the formation of white Afrikaner nationalism in the beginning of the twentieth century. C. L. Leipoldt wrote *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) in the 1930s and therefore I apply aspects of white Afrikaner nationalism to inform my understanding of the context in which Leipoldt wrote the *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). This section continues to unpack how white Afrikaans nationalism formed the establishment of apartheid and locate South Africa's historic developments towards a post-colonial, post-apartheid state.

Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks

Moving beyond colonialism, Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, concerns itself with the aftermath and social and political consequences of Western colonial dominance. I discuss the roots of postcolonialism in "colonial discourse analysis" related to the work of Fanon, Césaire, Senghor (see Majumdar 2007), Mudimbe (Mazrui 2005: 68) Said, Spivak and Bhabha (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 154-156). As I work with image and text, and a source text that can be seen as colonial, postcolonialism seems an appropriate theoretical anchor for my work. I will then discuss how postcolonialism and post-colonialism do not necessarily indicate the complete demise of colonialism, but that colonialism is perpetuated within social and political structures in the present. I will argue that the post-colonial and postcolonial South African present is practising political iconoclasm, 'condemning' the colonial past and dismantling images, objects and symbols associated with tyrannical injustice. I will frame contemporary white Afrikanerdom as an identity in crisis (Sonnekus 2016: 31). I will unpack how this identity (within the context of this study) is grappling with the tyrannical 'wrong doings' of the pasts; that have subsequently turned into tormented ghosts haunting the present state of white Afrikaner. Lastly, I reiterate this study's conception of ghosts as apt analogies to describe the contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial present. This section will construct a theoretical framework that not only inform my postcolonial analysis of C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand*, (1930) but will also guide my creative choices alongside the adaptation and reimagining process that aims to construct a postcolonial allegorical playtext.

Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects

In Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, I will specifically trace white Afrikaans theatre history and offer examples of white Afrikaner texts in the contemporary post-apartheid and post-colonial present that speak to white Afrikaner's ambiguous relation with its past. I demonstrate that as history unfolds,

white Afrikaans theatre has the capacity to reflect, comment and protest political and social contingencies. To do so, I provide a broad, and necessarily incomplete, overview of white Afrikaner theatre history to position white Afrikaans theatre in the broader South African theatre landscape. I draw on existing documentation of white Afrikaans theatre history uncovered by figures such as F. C. L. Bosman (1928, 1980), L. W. B. Binge (1969), J. C. Kannemeyer (1970), Danie Botha (2006) and Temple Hauptfleisch (1997, 2005) to name a few. This section of the chapter uncovers how colonial contact broadly influenced storytelling modes in South African theatre. I refer to representative examples of playwrights and playtexts, whilst acknowledging the unequal power dynamics that unjustly favoured the development of white artistic output. I also briefly locate C. L. Leipoldt and his play *Die Laaste Aand* in the 1930s. Lastly, I position theatre as having the capacity to revisit tormented histories - ultimately resurrecting ghosts as an act of critical refection.

PART TWO

Chapter 3: Adaptation and Magic realism

In Chapter 3, I turn my attention to the adaptation process.

3.1 Adaptation

I posit that my reading of adaptation is in alignment with postcolonial theory through its ability to revisit and reflect upon the past. This chapter will define adaptation by discussing it in terms of repetition (see 3.1.1), recycling (see 3.1.2) and reimagining (3.1.3). In this chapter I also give examples of South African texts that were created through adaptation. I specifically refer to white Afrikaans playwright Reza de Wet, as an example of how to use adaptation as a mode to comment on political contingencies and unearth grotesque realities of white Afrikaner identity. By briefly engaging with De Wet's work, I demonstrate that through her treatment of works from the Western canon to engage with white Afrikaner identity and its past by means of magical realism, a precedent for what I am to do exist.

3.2 Magic realism

Chapter 3: Magic realism, will define the term magic realism and describe how the genre is situated between the dichotomy of reality and the imagined. I will define and unpack the term into two distinct discourses: 'realism' and the 'magical', specifically locating how they pertain to storytelling modes. Realism will be discussed as a theatrical genre that aims to 'replicate reality'. I will specifically outline realist theatre conventions such as scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 305), phycological turmoil (Steyn 2004: 144) and feeling trapped by social and political circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58), that

will inform certain aspects of the adapted playtext. The term 'magic' will be discussed in relation to the imaginary, fantasy genres, fairy-tales, folklore and myths. Furthermore, this chapter will state that nationalism has an appetite for folktales and often use them to propagate 'folk' pride. This chapter reveals that fairy-tale tropes often depict narratives where a tyrannical ruler is brought to justice and that nationalism's appetite for folk tales can ironically be used as a tool against itself. Importantly the chapter locates magic realism as a postcolonial literary genre that breaks boundaries, presents multiple perspectives, uncovers lost or forgotten myths and folktales and has the capacity to uncover the past. Importantly, this section of the chapter locates magic realism as mode that interweaves the 'unreal' with 'the real' with the capacity to open aporia, ultimately creating a world that is located in a hybrid space. I will outline key magic realist conventions such as metamorphosis, anthroponotic personification and 'breaking the rules of linear time' that ultimately informs the transfigurations of the reimagining process of this dissertation that aims to adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) into a hauntological, postcolonial allegorical playtext.

Chapter 4: C. L. Leipoldt and *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)

Chapter 4 discusses the historical figure of C. L. Leipoldt and provides an analysis of his play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930). Lastly this chapter offers a reflection of the analysis that will inform and form the foundation for specific ideas for the adapted and reimagined playtext.

4.1 C. L. Leipoldt an ambivalent man

I will provide a brief biographical account of C. L. Leipoldt indicating that he arguably opposed white Afrikaans nationalism in the 1930s. I reference scholars such as Louise Viljoen (2000, 2003), Rian Oppelt (2015) as well as novelist and writer Elsa Joubert (1997) who frame him as a "self-reflective Orientalist" (Viljoen 2003: 80) who continuously interrogated and questioned his own culture and positionality whilst existing within privilege, colonial hierarchy and bias. I will conclude this section by stating that C. L. Leipoldt can be considered an ambivalent man due to various contradictory aspects that locate him as both a rationalist and a romantic, a physician and an artist not withstanding his ambivalent white Afrikaner identity, as well as his self-reflective Oriental writing (Viljoen 2003: 80) ultimately describing him as a "border dweller" (Tlostanova 2013: 133), a writer who interrogates "history even as he partakes in it" (Oppelt 2013:8). My understanding of Leipoldt as an ambivalent, self-reflective Orientalist and border dweller will inform my interpretation of *Die Laaste Aand* that was written in the context of 1930s white Afrikaans nationalist South Africa.

4.2 Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)

Informed by the colonial historical overview in Chapter 2: The voyage, as well as the postcolonial theoretical framework established in Chapter 2: Shipwrecks. I will revisit and analyse *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). As the narrative unfolds, indicating my adaptation process, I reveal how I discover and unearth some of C. L. Leipoldt's intertextual references embedded within his dense, poetic text as I come across them in each act of his play. I will excavate references pertaining to historical accounts, characters and their colonial positionalities and hierarchical relationships, geographical settings, myths and significant cultural artifacts in order to scrutinise them, unpacking their possible symbolic significance. The analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) ultimately becomes a source for various ideas for my reimagined playtext.

4.3 A reflection of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)

Informed by Chapter 4.1: C. L Leipoldt an ambivalent man and 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), in this section I will reflect upon my analysis of the play and draw conclusions pertaining to C. L. Leipoldt's potential intention and meaning in writing *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) during the onset of white Afrikaans nationalism during the 1930s .

4.3.1 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a warning

Considering the character description of C. L. Leipoldt that marks him as a self-reflective Orientalist and border dweller, as well as taking into account the analyses of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), I will posit that *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) can be interpreted as a as an anti-white Afrikaner nationalistic play. C. L. Leipoldt wrote a play that can be interpreted as a forewarning for the unresolved haunted(ness) that the postcolonial and post-colonial future will endure in the aftermath of colonialism.

4.3.2 C. L. Leipoldt: a prophet

I will position C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) as a prophetic play, marking him as a prophetic writer, predicting and forecasting, from what was his colonial present the themes that would be evident in the South African postcolony. I will conclude that C. L. Leipoldt is *Saul's witch of Endor*, who can predict what darkness lies hidden in the future (Leipoldt 1930: 46). I will argue that C. L. Leipoldt can be considered a visionary with political and cultural foresight for his time, intrinsically understanding that in the aftermath of colonialism and apartheid, white Afrikaans identities would be cursed or as Martha states: "*verdoem tot in ewigheid*" (*cursed for an eternity*) (Leipoldt 1930: 38) haunted by the tyrannical shadow of its identity.

4.3.2 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a fairy-tale

Lastly this section of Chapter 4, describes *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as a text that is dense with intertextual references of cultural myths, fairy-tale motifs and historical accounts that can validate and inform 'magic' transfigurations for the adapted playtext. I will unearth and unpack magic and fairy tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), such as the utterances of a curse, a mythological dagger and fairy tale character archetypes such as an ostracised witch, a rebellions knight and a tyrannical king. I will recognise the potential to turn *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a playtext that is presented and exists as a fairy-tale. However, this study aims to create a magic realist text that is allegorical for the haunted postcolonial present. By drawing from these magic intertextual references for my adaptation, I will surface aporia within the playtext that allows me to rupture 'the border' between the magic and the real in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), and in my playtext where magic and reality coexist in a hybrid space.

PART THREE

Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined

Informed by the historical overview in Chapter 2: The voyage, the postcolonial theoretical framework of Chapter 2: Shipwrecks, the analysis and 'unearthing' of magic and fairy-tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as well as using magic realism's transformative capabilities (such as metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification and breaking the rules of linear time), I will adapt and reimagine *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a playtext titled *Dryfhout* (2021). In Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined, I will present the adapted and reimagined text *Dryfhout* (2021).

Chapter 6: *Dryfhout* (2021), a hauntological, postcolonial allegory

In the following chapter I will explain my adaptation process, specifically uncovering how I use magic realism to reimagine C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) into the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021). I begin by discussing the realist elements of the adapted playtext. I provide a brief plot summary and describe the two main characters with regards to their intentions that are guided by realist principles such as scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 305), psychological turmoil (Steyn 2004:144) and feeling trapped by social and political circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58). I describe how the conflicts in *Dryfhout* (2021) unfold during the duration of one evening, but that linearity is disrupted by the presence of ghostly characters. I then turn my attention to the magic elements of the playtext that were informed by Chapter 3.2 Magic realism and Chapter 4.3.2 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a

fairy-tale. I will discuss how I used metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification to actualise specific magic elements in *Dryfhout* (2021). I then continue to describe how specific descriptions and locations in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) influenced the set design of the adapted text. I also explain how I recycled objects from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) that can ultimately be interpreted as mementos to the colonial past and to the prior source text. Throughout this chapter, I continuously unpack how *Dryfhout* (2021) can be considered a hauntological postcolonial allegory and how the concepts of personification, recycling, metamorphosis and breaking the rules of linear time coincide with Jacques Derrida's concepts of the presence of absence (Zlomislić 2007: 36). I will conclude that *Dryfhout* (2021), as an adaptation, as a collage of recycled mementos and transfigured imagery, can be consider a text that is in and of itself hauntological. *Dryfhout* (2021) is haunted by the presence of absence of the prior text *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This chapter will offer a conclusion to the thesis and the insights I have gained. The chapter gives an overview of the research project (7.1), tracing the adaptation process and summarising how I came to answer the thesis question. I also provide a reflection on and critique of the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021), addressing the shortcomings of this research project (7.2). I then relay possibilities for further research in the fields of theatre and adaptation. Lastly I will submit my research findings (7.4). I consider that in its refraction of white Afrikaner identity, *Dryfhout* (2021) not only presents a hauntological allegory for contemporary South Africa, but positions post-colonial white Afikanerdom as a hauntology in and of itself.

PART ONE

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

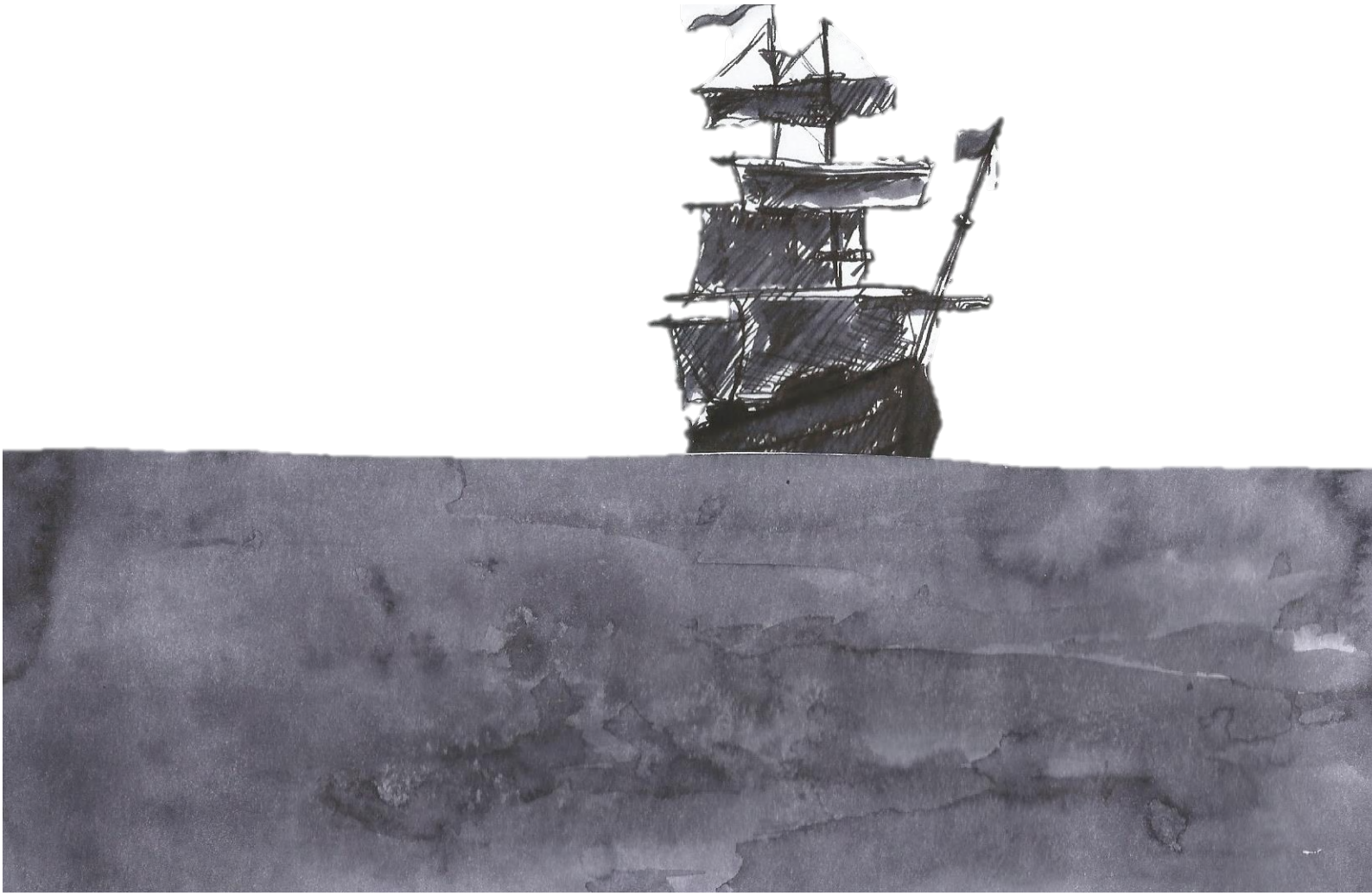

Figure 3: An ink drawing of a seventeenth century sailing ship (Van der Merwe 2020).

2.1 The voyage

Chapter 2 firstly provides a broad overview of South Africa's colonial histories, specifically how it pertains to white Afrikaners. This chapter defines imperialism and empire building schemes with reference to European colonial explorations that saw the infiltration and invasion of continents such as Africa. I will relay the colonial histories of South Africa, particularly the establishment of imperial trading routes and the development of settler communities that ultimately formed at the Cape Colony, in order to contextualise the setting and time period located in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Furthermore, this chapter traces the historical development of white Afrikaner identity from colonialist and settler to identifying as an 'Afrikaner', separating itself from an affinity with Europe. This chapter refers to the *Groot Trek* (Great Trek) (c. 1835-1838) as well as the Boer Wars (1881 and 1899-1902) as historical markers for the formation of white Afrikaner nationalism in the beginning of the twentieth century. C. L. Leipoldt wrote *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) in the 1930s, as previously stated, marked as a key node in the development of Afrikaner nationalism. I apply aspects of white Afrikaner nationalism to inform my understanding of the context in which Leipoldt wrote the *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). In my view, Leipoldt reflected upon his white Afrikaner positionality in the play - arguably commenting on the dominant nationalist ideology of the 1930s. This section also unpacks how white Afrikaans nationalism formed the establishment of apartheid and locates South Africa's historic developments towards a post-colonial, post-apartheid state.

A broad overview of South Africa's colonial histories is necessarily incomplete. I can only flag key moments in a long history for the purposes of contextualising my research. I further focus on moments that impacted on the development of white Afrikaner identity. I present the overview in a linear and chronological manner for the purposes of this dissertation. However, I acknowledge the complexity, multiplicity and interlinkages[15] between various overlapping histories.

[15] In the book *Entanglement* (2008), Sarah Nuttall offers the reader "new critical vocabularies with which to grasp the fictions of self-making" (2008: 1) within the context of the politics of the emergent in the post-colony. Nuttall describes the present-day South Africa in its entirety, as a web of entangled genealogical and historical narratives (2008). This study acknowledges how history and identity is formed retrospectively and interactively.

Figure 4: Ink drawing of a compass (Van der Merwe 2020).

Building empires is a form of political rivalry between human societies that seek conquest, domination and ultimate power (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2004: 193). Imperialism is defined as the practice of building a global empire (Hart-Davis 2007: 346). Imperialism "enforces power of one state over the territories of another", often through military means, that leads to the exploitation of the colonised society (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2004: 193). Imperialism is also "related to the larger theoretical and attitudinal" justification of the power that "one country" or nation has "over another" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 40). "Imperialist domination includes political, economic, military, and cultural aspects" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 40). The term colonialism refers to the development and expansion from a central imperium that creates colonies under their authority (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 40).

After the discovery of the compass in the late thirteenth century which made longer sea voyages possible, Europe took to sailing around the globe, claiming land, and implanting their social and political structures along with their ideologies onto the indigenous cultures of the "newfound colonies" (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 40). The "colonies became representative of the Empire", attempting to curate "traditional images of their homeland" (Fantasia 1999: 231), for example Great Britain, "while adapting local traditions and symbols to create their own sense of belonging to an Anglo-Saxondom and the new territory" (Fantasia 1999: 231). Colonialism marks a time incited by the

Renaissance[16] when European countries were driven by a spirit of building empires and creating trading enterprises along with a curiosity to discover new continents (Hale 1966: 11, 161, 170). This curiosity for discovery, took form in many different fields including science, art, literature, and philosophy. The colonial period saw the rise of a new type of scholar[17] that took a keen interest in Eastern as well as African ethnography and visual culture (Hart-Davis 2005: 76).

Figure 5: An ink drawing of a seventeenth century sailing ship (Van der Merwe 2020).

[16] The term Renaissance means rebirth and refers to a time in European history following the Medieval Age (Abrams 1971: 143). It is said to have begun in Italy in the latter half of the fourteenth century and to have spread across the rest of Europe through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is described as the birth of the modern world from the ashes of the dark ages. The Renaissance saw the resurgence of an interest in classical antiquity. During this period there was a reawakening and an excitement regarding art forms such as painting, sculpture, and literature and a curiosity to discover within fields such as science, philosophy, and geography (Abrams 1971: 143). The timeframe of the Renaissance overlaps with the Early Modern, Elizabethan and Restoration periods and was a precursor to the Enlightenment (Abrams 1971: 143).The Renaissance spurred an age of voyage, exploration, discovery and later, ultimately as an extension of Renaissance and Enlightenment thought- colonialisation.

[17] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw a metamorphosis in European thinking. The Renaissance had transformed religious dogma and "paved the way for a new view" (Hart-Davis 2007: 266) of the universe. Spanning from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, there was an abundance of technological advances in astronomy, biology, and engineering (Hart-Davis 2007: 266, 267). Following, Enlightenment philosophies of humanity and the prevailing notion of whiteness as universal norm became entrenched. During the colonial era artists, philosophers, writers and agricultural scholars also travelled to different countries with a curiosity to discover the *otherness*, in visual language, social conduct and religion, that the so called "newfound continents" harboured (Quinn 2017: 17-20). These scholars whether it be philosophers, scientists, or artists, would later be given the title of *Orientalists* as described in the book *Orientalism* (1978) by Edward Said. Orientalism will further be discussed under postcolonial discourse.

In the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, with the onset and later acceleration of the industrial revolution,[18] European countries eagerly seized the opportunity for cheap labour and the wealth of "*exotic*[19] luxuries" such as silk and cotton that these "newfound continents" could provide (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2004: 193). According to Okon & Ojakorotu (2018: 31), this period was known as old imperialism in Africa and took place from 1500-1800, when European powers established trading posts and colonies along the coastal areas of the continent. The cultural and intellectual origins of nineteenth century colonialism is arguably rooted in the eighteenth century (the Enlightenment)[20], despite the Enlightenment's claims to furthering justice and democracy (Porter

[18] The industrial revolution (1760-1840) marked a social, economic and technological shift that transformed Europe from an agricultural to an industrial society. Feudalism was taken over by capitalism and technological innovations that grew from new scientific discoveries during the eighteenth century, assisting in the effectiveness of the production process. Factories were built where products were mass produced. The invention of the steam engine rapidly changed Europe's transportation systems as well as the distribution of trade goods. For all its technological advances, the labour force was not yet protected by labour laws and the workers were often made to work long hours for minimal wage in harsh environments. (Steiner & Tomas 2005: 1764).

[19] The term *exotic* can be discussed in relation to *otherness* (Stazak 2008: 3). The study of otherness is discussed by philosophers such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), Jacques Lacan (1901–1981), Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) and Edward Said (1935-2003), amongst others who each apply the notion to a different field of study, from psychology and the notion of self-identification through to studies of *Orientalism* by Edward Said. Otherness is generally defined as a tool to differentiate, an action to remove and to stand in a dichotomy, stemming from a self-perceiving another (Stazak 2008: 3). Othering implies a "centre-margin dichotomy", particularly with regards to "'the West' or, in this case the British Empire, as centre and 'the East' or Africa, as being at the margins" (Min-ha 1995: 215). "The coloniser was positioned as the centre of this centre-margin construct, and colonised peoples and their cultures remained at the margins. The centre formed the origin and norm of societal constructions and the dominant worldview and value systems" (Hall 1985: 98). Thus, binaries create symbolic boundaries and a mechanism to patrol these boundaries: colonialism. Colonialism permitted the coloniser to conquer its "perceived inferior counterpart and attempt to 'civilise' the local inhabitants of a territory by imposing familiar signs, values and beliefs of the coloniser, on the local people" (Hall 1985: 98). These beliefs further authorised notions of "cultural supremacy, maintained by institutions, structures and apparatus controlling various sectors of society" (Hall 1985: 98-103). The term *exotic* can refer to geographical otherness, meaning that it opposes the abnormality of elsewhere (margin) with the normality of here (centre) (Stazak 2008: 3). It poses the idea of the foreign or the foreigner. Empires began to "formulate a specific perception of the other, which the Empire would then reproduce" within another frame, and re-use "to inform the other of their position in society" (Stazak 2008: 3). In the age of exploration (from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the mid seventeenth century), the world was defined through the lens of European experience and to them a world other to their own was different, new and exciting. The term exotic promotes one point of view; within colonial studies this viewpoint is from the perspective of the Western word and its gaze upon the East or Africa. Therefore, the term *exotic* stands in direct relation with power relationships, hierarchy, bias, sexism and racism. The term itself became popular during the age of colonial pursuit and is synonymous with words such as *tropical* or colonial. During the eighteenth-century Europe attained a taste for the *exotic* in the forms of fruits, spices, silks and cottons and there was even a growth and a newfound interest in tourism 'abroad' (Stazak 2008: 3). Opium from the eastern countries, also became a commodity that was on high demand, resulting in what was called the *Opium Wars* in the mid nineteenth century (Hart Davis 2007: 239).

[20] The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also known as the age of Enlightenment (Porter 2001:1). The German philosopher Immanuel Kant introduced theories regarding reason through his essay entitled *Was ist Aufklärung*? or *What is Enlightenment* (Porter 2001: 1). Immanuel Kant's theories were based upon the

2001: 1, 2). While Enlightenment thinkers were critical of violent acts of invasion, many supported other means of spreading European influence around the world in the spirit of supposed mutual beneficiation (trade, cultural assimilation, missionary work). The new imperialist period was between 1870 and 1914 when European powers created large empires across the continent of Africa and also moved inland (Okon & Ojakorotu 2018:31).

Colonisation became a form of political prestige and evidently led to the 'scramble for Africa' between 1881 and 1914 (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2004: 193). When Africa was 'discovered' to be a continent rich in minerals, it quickly became the focus of European trading interests and subsequently led to a scramble for land, with each European country eagerly and forcefully trying to get their share of the riches the country had to offer (Steiner & Tomas 2005: 1476).

With the inception of transportation routes came large scale empire migration settler communities. Amongst these settlers where merchants, politicians and/or missionaries who often saw it as their Puritan Christian duty[21] to bring, what they understood to be 'civilised' education and modes of engagement with the world, and Christian salvation to the then termed savage[22] continents

rationalist philosophers such as René Descartes and Gottfried Leibniz (Atkinson 2011: 119-137). Their philosophies speak to reason as the ultimate method for gaining insight and knowledge (Atkinson 2011: 199 - 137). Leibniz's theories in *Monadology*, were based upon the idea that knowledge can be gained through rational reflection alone (Atkinson 2011: 135). According to Kant, the Enlightenment era marked the coming of age for human intelligence, leaving behind ignorance and advancing human knowledge and the understanding of nature (Porter 2001: 1). Kant borrowed a saying from the Greek poet Horace, *sapre aude* or 'dare to know' that compacts Kant's philosophy on the Enlightenment (Porter2001: 1). The Enlightenment was regarded as the age of reason and reason alone was believed to explain and unveil knowledge of mankind, the society as well as nature and the cosmos (Porter 2001:2). This newfound knowledge would question the foundations of politics and religion, to offer solutions for a more 'utopian' future (Porter 2001:2).

[21] Puritanism was a spiritual movement based in the Christian religion with the Bible as the source text to guide their actions of reformation. Puritanism was opposed to the sacramental forms of the Catholic Church and is often described as a nonconformist, Protestant movement. Puritanism places emphasis on communion with God and the devotion of one's life to educational, missionary and parish work. Puritans believed in the sinful nature of humans and the divine grace of God. They also strongly believed in morality and humility to assist in worldly concerns and were therefore Calvinistic in their approach (Cosby 2015: 297-300). During the age of colonial pursuit missionaries were sent across the colonies. The purpose of these missionaries varied from humanitarian to the more sinister intentions of undermining the political, economic and cultural structures of the colonised societies (Ndille 2018: 51).

[22] The term *savage* is used in Eurocentric thinking as a binary to the term *civilised*. The word savage, much like the word exotic alludes to otherness and is constructed through further binary frames of fantasy and fear, desire and repulsion. Binary opposites are based on assumptions of human progress and human mastery of nature to produce culture and civilisation. The savage/civilised binary can be traced back as far as classical antiquity in societies such as Rome and Greece when much emphasis was placed on rationality and logic. During the Enlightenment era there was a resurgence in rational philosophy. The term savage was used by European countries to describe the civilisation and cultures that they judged to be underdeveloped and subordinate to

(Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2004: 193). European civilisation was upheld as being at the forefront of human evolution. Further, industries were to spur 'development' and modernisation in colonised countries in the name of 'progress'. Imperialism in Africa was motivated by the need to find new markets for "finished goods", to source raw materials for 'home industries' and to find opportunities for lucrative investments (Okon & Ojakorotu, 2018:236). These interests were promoted as matters of benefit for the 'underdeveloped' colonies in Africa and as of national interest for the colonial powers - justifying the protection of this interest through coercion and even violence.

South Africa is one of the countries that endured the effects of Dutch and British colonisation in the nineteenth century. South Africa was, and remains, home to many different cultural and ethnic identities, languages, religions as well as traditional social structures (Appiah & Louis 2005: 226). According to colonial historical writings, South Africa had its first encounter with European colonialists in the fifteenth century (Schoeman 2006: 13). Europe came into contact with Africa the 1400s when Spanish and Portuguese ships started voyaging around the coast of Africa (Alexander 1980: 28). In 1415, a Portuguese army captured Ceuta, a port on the coast of Morocco and an end point of the trans-Saharan gold trade. The port also offered a strategic military position (Alexander 1980: 28). This marked the start of a long history of European invasion and domination in Africa.

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Portugal was at the forefront of colonial pursuit and in 1497 Bartolomeu Dias (1450-1500), a Portuguese nobleman and explorer, was the first reported European who sailed around the Cape, establishing a new route to Asia. Dias later titled the cape *Cabo da Boa* or The Cape of Good Hope (Fehr 1963: 13-15). Ten years after Bartolomeu Dias sailed around the coast of South Africa, Vasco de Gama (1460-1542), another Portuguese voyager, encountered the shores of South Africa during his travels to India. On Christmas day he named the territory where they had docked at Natal, the present-day province of KwaZulu-Natal (Fehr 1963: 13-15). Whilst the process of colonisation started with the occupation of relatively small areas around coastal trading ports, European imperial pursuits intensified over the centuries with a drastic turn towards the end of the 1800s when the "imperialist annexation" of Africa commenced (Alexander 1980: 30).

By 1650 the Netherlands had developed into the major European trading power. The largest trade company in the world, namely the Dutch East India Trading Company, traded on routes all along the coast of Africa through to India and the far East (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 40). The centre of the

themselves. European thinking and cultural practices were deemed rational, tamed, dignified and 'proper' in opposition to the 'wild' expressions of Eastern and African cultures (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 190-191).

company was situated in Amsterdam, and it traded in a variety of products like salt, pepper, sugar, tabacco, wood and other products from across the globe (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 40). The Dutch East India Trading Company set up posts in countries and continents such as Africa, India, Malaysia, and Indonesia. They implemented certain rules and regulations in these territories and gradually colonised the countries, often exploiting the communities already living in these territories. In South Africa, the Netherlands established a trading post and built The Castle of Good Hope (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 40).

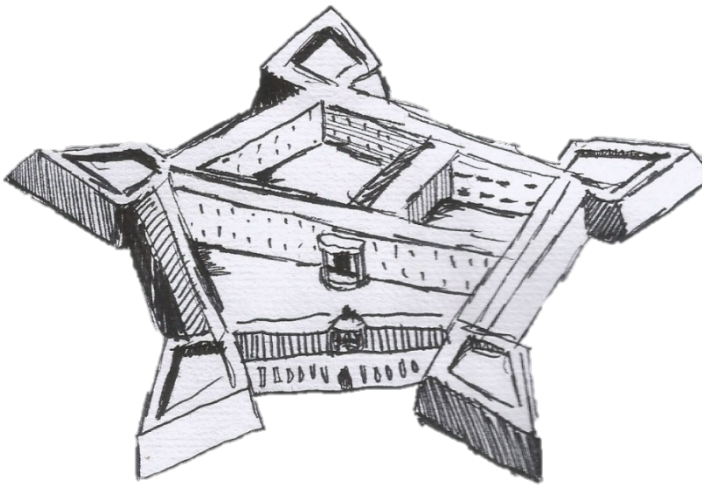

Figure 6: A drawing of the Castle of Good Hope in Cape Town, South Africa (Van der Merwe 2020).

The Castle of Good Hope was built by the Dutch East India Trading Company during the age of imperial exploration, at the height of the first era of colonial trading pursuits and was the central point for all activities on land and sea between Africa and the East (Op't Hof & Paap 1963: 13). During that period, the castle was the official residence of the governor appointed by the company (Op't Hof & Paap 1963: 13) from 1674 until it was taken over by British occupation in 1795. Johan Anthoniszoon (Jan) van Riebeeck (1617-1677), a Dutch colonial administrator, was the first appointed governor of the Cape Colony. Pieter Gysbert van Noodt was the head of state of the Cape Colony from from 1727 until his death in 1729 (Du Toit 1895: 23).

> … the VOC was granted the mandate to conquer land, build forts and maintain an army in order to protect trade. The VOC's more than 350 settlements varied from small trading posts to large-scale European style fortifications, stretching between

> the two pivots of the Cape of Good Hope and Batavia, present day Jakarta on the isle of Java (Jayasena & Floore 2010: 235).

Slave[23] labour was employed to build the Cape Colony. The first African slaves on the trans-Atlantic route were transported from the port of Lagos in 1441 by Portuguese traders (Alexpander 1980: 29). "Between 1652 and 1808, approximately 63,000 slaves were imported into the Cape" (Shell 2019: 12). From 1658 onwards, small numbers of slaves were 'imported' to the Cape from West and west Central Africa, followed by East Africa in the 1700s. For approximately the first 130 years of colonial occupation, most slaves in the Cape were brought in from the Indian Ocean basin (Shell 2019: 14). However, slaves from "Abyssinia, Arabia, Bengal, Borneo, Burma, China, Iran, Japan, and Sri Lanka" (Shell 2019: 14), Indonesia[24], Malaysia, and other Eastern islands that form the Indonesian Archipelago[25] "were registered as being part of the Cape slave population" (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 21). The slaves of the Cape also consisted of individuals from the Cape Khoi-Koi communities (Giliomee

[23] During the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, Europe constructed a global slave trading enterprise (Ashcraft & Griffiths & Tiffin 2000: 194-195). People from African, Asian, India and other colonised communities where forcefully taken from their homelands and turned into workers catering to the growing capitalist demands of Western countries. Notably, Nunn (2008: 141-142) points out that between 1400 and 1900, Africa experienced "four simultaneous slave trades". "The Indian Ocean slave trade, the Red Sea slave trade and the Saharan slave trade" (Hart-Davies 2007: 280) that sent enslaved people from various parts of the continent of Africa to the Middle East, India and Indian Ocean island plantations. The trans-Atlantic slave trade reached a height in the eighteenth century when approximately ten million Africans were captured, put in shackles, and shipped to the Americas to work on cotton, sugar, or tobacco plantations (Hart-Davies 2007: 280).

[24] Indonesia was one of many Eastern countries that were taken over by European colonial rule during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indonesia was exploited by the Dutch East India Trading Company for spices such as nutmeg. The people of Indonesia were under the control of the Dutch government and forced to grow and farm indigo and coffee. The Dutch capitalised on the farming while the Indonesian people suffered the effects of racism and unfair trade (Hart-Davies 2007: 350-351).

[25] The Indonesian Archipelago is a series of islands located in the East Indies (Suswandari 2017: 93). The name Indonesia originates from the Greek words *indos* for India and *nesos* for island. Indonesia is a multicultural country and some of the diverse ethnic groups who occupy the country include the Ambonese, Balinese, Banda, Bugis, Bima, Bali, Buton, Flores, Javanese, Malay, Sundanese, Sumbawa and the transcultural community of the Betavi people who developed from colonial assimilation (Suswandari 2017: 93,96). Indonesia is home to the largest Islamic/Muslim group in the world. Other religions include Hindu and Buddhism. There are also numerous Protestant and Roman Catholic practices of Christianity that were introduced into Indonesian society through colonisation. Colonial infiltration of Indonesia began in 1512 when Portuguese tradesmen lead by Francisco Serrao saw the opportunity to monopolise spices such as nutmeg, cloves and pepper. Dutch and British imperialists soon followed. In 1602 the Dutch East India Trading Company was formed and by the seventeenth century established themselves as the dominant European presence in the Indonesian Archipelago. After the Dutch East India Trading Company (VOC) declared bankruptcy in the eighteenth century, the Netherlands officially claimed Indonesia as the Dutch East Indies, a colony under the jurisdiction of the Dutch. During the first half of the twentieth century Indonesia saw the rise of nationalism because of anti-colonial and decolonial efforts. However, the fight for independence was interrupted by the Second World War when the Japanese seized the country. After the Second World War Indonesia was claimed once again by the Netherlands and in 1945 the country gained full independence under the Republic of Indonesia, with a creed *Bhinekka Tunggal Ika,* meaning *unity in diversity* (Frederick & Worden 2014: 18, 19, 24, 41, 49, 72).

& Mbenga 2007: 21, 53). The Cape Colony gradually saw the arrival of people from across Europe, including Dutch and German immigrants, British missionaries, and merchants as well as a group of French Huguenots[26] who fled France due to religious revolts in 1688 (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 60). The Cape Colony grew into a cosmopolitan settlement, home to competing Eastern, African, and Western identities[27]. Although the colony grew to be diverse in language, religion and culture, the Dutch remained at the seat of power (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 60).

The Dutch settlers transplanted their European traditions onto the newfound country (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 42, 46, 64), such as European etiquette and fashion, Dutch education, protestant Calvinistic religion, political structures founded by colonial rule and an economy based on capitalism[28] functioning mainly within a global trading enterprise. European architecture also influenced the Cape colony's buildings, that were designed in a style known as *Kaaps-Hollands*[29] or Cape-Dutch (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 42, 46, 64).

In 1795 England took over the seat of power from the Netherlands and that meant that the Cape Colony was under the jurisdiction of the British Empire[30] (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 85). "The purpose

[26] In the middle of the sixteenth century, Calvinism, a form of Protestantism, gained popularity as a Christian religious practice in opposition to the Catholic Church. Calvinism originated in the Swiss Cantons and gradually spread across Europe. In France, Calvinism also gained a following, the members calling themselves the Huguenots. The term Huguenot derives from the German word *Eidgenosssen*, meaning Swiss Confederate. France experienced considerable tension between the opposing forms of Christianity namely the Protestant Calvinistic and Roman Catholic; this subsequently led to a religious civil war. In 1685 King Louis XIV issued a verdict that banned Protestants from practising their belief, leaving the Huguenots either to convert to Catholicism or to flee from France (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 277).

[28] Capitalism can be defined as a type of economic organisation that allows private ownership and control over economic production with the intention to make profit. It must also be stated that capitalism is continuously evolving. Capitalism sprung from the desire to expand empires and developed during the industrial revolution alongside enterprises and the spirit of entrepreneur's production productivity (Abercrombie, Hill &Turner 2006: 41).

[29] Cape Dutch architecture is most notably recognised by the roof gable that curves into a baroque inspired arch (Fransen 1981: 33). The baroque architectural style is decorative, often employing spiral curl motives as adornments for the facade of buildings (Fransen 1981: 32-33). In South Africa, these houses were constructed by Malaysian and Khoi-Khoi slaves using local materials and forming the houses from southern African soil, therefore the houses are termed Cape Dutch architecture. Cape Dutch refers to the hybrid culture that emerged in the Cape Colony referring both to Europe, specifically the Netherlands, and the southern African Cape. This style originated in Europe and was implemented in South Africa by the Dutch colonialists. Cape Dutch structures can still be seen in Western Cape (Fransen 1981: 32-33).

[30] The British Empire refers to Britain's continental wealth during the age of exploration and colonial pursuit from the start of the sixteenth century. Under the reign of Queen Victoria Britain explored, colonised and exploited the wealth and labour as they ruled over continents spanning from America to Africa, Australia and Asia. During the height of their colonial control, they seized the Cape Colony of South Africa from the Netherlands. Britain later gradually removed its political control from these colonised continents, each attaining

of Britain's colonial interest in Africa was firstly based on obtaining a trade route to the East", and secondarily, they were driven by a desire to acquire "territory and supplies of raw materials and low-cost labour to support British manufacturers" (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 85). The Netherlands, however, resisted the British invasion of the Cape and in 1803 regained their supremacy. *Die Kaap is weer Hollands* (the Cape is Dutch again) became a popular idiom amongst the Cape Dutch community to express that everything is 'well again' (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 85). This victory did not last long and in 1806 the British reclaimed control over the Cape Colony (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 85).

The Cape Colony hosted large groups of farmers who separated themselves from the trading empire and functioned on smallholdings as so-called 'free burghers'. The Dutch word for farmer is *boer* leading to the use of the distinct word *boer*[31] to describe the identity of the growing 'free burgher' community (Kannemeyer2005: 21). By the end of the eighteenth century a new established community emerged from of the *vryburgers* or 'free burghers' who consisted mainly of European immigrants and their offspring who settled in the Western Cape (Giliomee 2003: 2).

The racial and cultural diversity of the Cape was apparent in the many languages spoken. Slaves developed creole languages to make communication between slave populations amidst enslaved people and their owners possible (Shell 2019: 12). Afrikaans, according to Hein Willemse (2016: 1), is a creole language that "shares traits common to creolised languages in the Caribbean, the Malayan Peninsula, Indonesia, the northern parts of South America, and an East-African Niger-Congo (or Bantu) creole like Kiswahili". Afrikaans is derivative of Dutch and was influenced by the 'seafarer' variants of Portuguese, Malay, Indonesian, as well as Khoi-Khoi and San languages (Willemse 2016: 3). The

independence over the course of the twentieth century. On May 31 May 1961 South Africa gained full independence from the British Empire and became the Republic of South Africa (Hart-Davies 2007: 346-351).

[31] The term *boer* means 'farmer' in the Afrikaans language. The word *boer* also became a generic term to describe a group of people, mainly of Dutch descent, who established themselves as farmers in the Cape Colony and resisted the British government. During the twentieth century the term *Boer* became synonymous with white Afrikaans identity and subsequently part of white Afrikaner nationalism. The term *Boer* became a cultural identifier (Evans 2000: 30).

Afrikaans language was spoken by white[32], Cape Malay[33] and so called coloured[34] communities (Kannemeyer 2005: 21). The language is derivative of Dutch and was influenced by the 'seafarer' variants of Portuguese, Malay, Indonesian, as well as Khoi-Khoi and San languages (Willemse 2016: 3) and spoken in Cape households in an attempt to communicate amongst multiple languages. Cape

[32] In South Africa the term white refers to the group of people with 'light skin', defined by the apartheid (1948-1994) regime's social construction according to race. Apartheid (1948-1994) was strongly informed by eugenics. Eugenics is the belief that one race is inferior to another based upon the science of anthropometry and craniometrics that focus on the classifications of humans according to ethnicity. In contemporary studies these scientific belief systems are strongly criticised for being biased and racist. Eugenics, a Western scientific method, saw the white race as superior to other races (Steyn 2004: 144-147). Whiteness was used as a political power tool through history and the era of colonialism to validate slavery especially in America's cotton industry and as previously mentioned, became the ideological foundation of movements such as segregation in America and apartheid in South Africa. Whiteness Studies refer to the complex analyses of the term white and how it is applied to race and subsequently identity and culture. Whiteness Studies emerged in the nineties when Richard Dryer examined whiteness, remarking on the bias of white representation in Western visual culture. Another strand of Whiteness Studies examines the politics of race, culture and identity. By 1997 several books were published on the subject, such as *Critical white studies* by Delgado and Stefancic (1997), *Of white* by Fine et al (1997), *Displacing whiteness* by Frankenberg, (1997), *Whiteness: A critical reader by Hill* (1997) and *The making and unmaking of whiteness by* Rasmussen, Klinenberg, Nexica, & Wray (2001) to name a few. These scholars often investigated the development and construction of whiteness as an identity and how it can inform rhetoric, ideology and language (Steyn 2004: 144-147). Whiteness Studies are specific to location. Different countries have different histories and different social and political relationships with the term *whiteness* as it pertains to race and identity as well as politics (Steyn 2004: 144-147).

[33] The term Cape Malay denotes the Cape-based Muslims that make up the "largest group of practising Muslims in South Africa" (Mandivenga 2000: 1). The Muslim communities of Cape Town arrived in South Africa predominantly either through slave trade, banishment from their own countries or they were criminals who were part of a labour trading system between colonies. The banished Muslim individuals where often political leaders who were evicted from their country of origin due to rebellion against the Dutch East India Trading Company (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 69). Afrikaans was taught to Muslim communities in colonial schools, a space that institutionalised cultural transference.

[34] It is important to note that during apartheid in South Africa, race worked in a dichotomy of either black or white (Steyn 2004: 147). During the apartheid era in South Africa, the term coloured was used to describe an ethnic group that "is mixed in race" (Adhikari 2009: 1-3). In the book *Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South Afric*an (2005), Mohamed Adhikari remarks on the complexity of the so-called coloured identity in South Africa. The 'coloured' people are largely descendants of the Khoisan, Malaysian slaves and other black communities assimilated with the Cape Colony (Adhikari 2005: 1-3). They mainly spoke the Afrikaans language that is a derivative of Cape Dutch and a number of other languages. In contemporary South Africa, 'coloured' communities are still marginalised. There are also race and identity debates regarding the term coloured (Adhikari 2005: 1-3). Evidence of the contentious nature of racial identity in current South Africa is made clear in the many debates present in the media. In the Afrikaans press numerous examples of recent articles could be cited. In the newspaper *Beeld* the following articles were noted in 2018: *Vasgevang in ou rassedenke* was written by Christi van der Westhuizen (29 September 2018) where debates regarding the name *kleurling* (coloured) are discussed. In another article *Ons is amal Kleurlinge*, Max du Preez states that there are strong connections and family relations between Indonesia and the Afrikaans language as well as Afrikaans identity (2 October 2018). In a counter article written by Heinrich Wyngaard, titled *En dié Kleurlinge nou*? he states that although some histories are shared in terms of blood relations between white Afrikaans speakers and 'coloured' Afrikaans speakers, their life experiences and historical narratives are far different, due to the lived impact of political policies, especially that of racial classification. As experienced by many of the South African identities in a post-colonial, post-apartheid country, 'coloured' communities are seeking and transformation and re-identification (Adhikari 2005: 126).

Malay Muslim Schools taught pupils how to read and write Afrikaans through Arabic script. According to Shell (2019:31), the first book in Afrikaans was written in the 1850s by a Muslim *Imam*[35] who was descended from slaves. In the 1860s, European colonists took up the language as its own (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 101).

Afrikaans was derided by the Dutch and English upper classes of the Cape Colony (Willemse 2016: 4), was seen as a "poor man's language" and considered an informal and improper version of Dutch (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007:71). It was also known by derogatory terms such as Kitchen-Dutch, Cape Dutch, *Hottentots-Hollands*[36] and mongrel Dutch, amongst others (Willemse 2016: 4). Willemse (2016:4) continues:

> Around 1870 the first steps towards the battle between various views on the nature of Cape Dutch, or what would become known as Afrikaans, were taken. Some of the leading figures of what would become known as the 'first language movement' (1874–1890) strenuously denied the creole nature of the language. For them Afrikaans was 'a pure Germanic language', a 'landstaal' (national language), and a language of 'purity, simplicity, brevity and vigor' (quoted in Giliomee, 2003: 217). The Genootskap van Regte Afrikaanders (GRA, the Society of True Afrikaners) established in 1875 in Paarl actively sought to foster a nationalism among white Cape Dutch speakers, 'Afrikaans' became their linguistic vehicle and 'Afrikaners' their label.

Afrikaans only received acknowledgement as an official language in 1925 and was systematically and purposefully elevated to a "narrow ethnic nationalist cause" (Willemse 2016: 5). Since the early 1930s poets, fiction writers, historians and other academics were challenged to create a body of Afrikaans literature for the language to have its own academic and literary status (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 289). "In 1933 the Bible was translated into Afrikaans" (Kannemeyer 1988: 45) ; this was an important moment in the history of Afrikaans because it displayed the scope and depth of the language's expressive potential (Kannemeyer 1988: 45).

As the Afrikaans language first became formally established, the identity of white Afrikaners emerged more strongly as separate from that of the European settlers. These white Afrikaans communities, although stemming from diverse in European nationalities, no longer saw themselves as European but rather as a separate community belonging to South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 70-71). In 1707, Hendrik Biebouw, a Dutch local of the Cape Colony, was threatened to be expelled from the country.

[35] *Iman* means the belief and faith in Allah (Ahmed 1999: 269) and the term *Imam* denotes the position of Islamic spiritual leaders similar to the concept of Western priests (Ahmed 1999: 80).

[36] The word *Hottentot* is a derogative term coined and used by the Dutch settler to describe the Khoi-Khoi (Stobel 2008:3).

In court, he exclaimed "Ik ben een Afrikander". This is the first recorded moment in South African history where the term Afrikaner was used to describe an identity (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 22).

As an identity and culture supposedly belonging South Africa, white Afrikaners saw themselves as a suppressed community that felt the oppressive nature of colonialisation. White Afrikaners sought independence from the British Empire that governed and regulated farming economics and social politics. By 1834 some of white Afrikaners split from the Cape Colony (Hart-Davis 2007: 56) and migrated to the north. The first migrants were known as *trekboere* (trekboers) (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007:108). This group mainly consisted of individual Boer families who moved away from the Cape Colony in search for better farming lands (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 108).

The second group of migrating Boers split from the Cape Colony due to political tensions (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 108). This second more formal movement was called *Die Groot Trek* (The Great Trek) and the participants were named the *Voortrekkers*. The motivation for the Boers to move is complex. Piet Retief (1780-1838), one of the leaders of the Great Trek, wrote in his journal that the reason for migrating was a combination of "strong grievances and good intentions" (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 108). In 1834 the new British government abolished slavery, some Boers felt that these new laws interfered not only with their farming economics but also with their social views. The causes for The Great Trek can be summarised into three main reasons: a lack of farming labour, a strong sense of nationalism, resolved to be independent as well as a feeling of marginalisation by the British administration (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 108).

White Afrikaners established small settlements as they travelled through South Africa. These settlements later developed into small towns. However, white Afrikaners came across various communities of Nguni people, in particular large groups of the Zulu people of the Zulu Empire. During the eighteenth century Shaka kaSenzangakhona (Shaka Zulu), a strong military leader along with his *impis* (soldiers) seized large parts of South Africa. The Zulu Empire stretched from the borders of Zambesi River to the Cape. White Afrikaners entered geographic terrains that already had their own cultural and economic politics. White Afrikaners sometimes took land and sometimes negotiated and traded land. These negotiations also lead to various actions of violence, such as the *Slag van Bloedrivier*[37] (Battle of Bloodriver) or the Battle of *Ncome,* where more than three thousand Zulu-

[37] On 16 December 1838, at the banks of what Afrikaners called the *Buffelsrivier* and the Zulu people called the *Ncome River*, a battle took place between the white Afrikaans Voortrekkers and the Zulu army. This battle was later titled *Die slag van Bloedrivier* (The Battle of Blood River). On Saturday, 15 December 1838 the *Voortrekkers* were trying to cross the *Buffelsrivier* (Buffalo River) or *Ncome* River in *isiZulu*, in pursuit of the Zulu soldiers.

warriors were killed (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 432). White Afrikaners, although self-identifying as a people from South Africa, were considered as foreign and as a colonial force from the viewpoint of the Zulu and other indigenous people and as secondary citizens by the British. Here, tensions between ideas of white Afrikaners as freedom fighters and white Afrikaners as colonisers crystallised. White Afrikaners became an ambiguous cultural group: both colonial and indigenous, both victim and perpetrator, neither belonging to Europe nor fully accepted, or belonging to, Africa. This ambiguous discourse still haunts white Afrikaans identity in contemporary South Africa.

By 1850 large groups of white Afrikaners had settled as farmers or Boers in what was then called the Transvaal and Orange Free State areas and later established as independent Boer republics (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 423). These geographic areas were populated by mainly Sotho people and become of great interest when it was discovered to be rich in minerals - such as gold in Johannesburg and diamonds in Kimberly. In 1877 Transvaal was annexed by Britain (Steiner &Thomas 2005: 432). The Boers revolted against the British to protect their independence and to the surprise of many, defeated the power of England's Empire in March 1881 in what came to be known as the First Anglo Boer War (Hart-Davis 2007: 361). The Boers were described as hardy farmers and rough fighters using innovative strategies in their warfare, such as "guerrilla resistance"[38]; their knowledge of the African landscape and hunting skills acting to their advantage (Gooch 2013: 38).

After the First Anglo Boer War, the British, "having experienced mass defeat in this conflict", endured further "uprisings and resistance from the growing Afrikaner nation" (Hart- Davis 2007: 361). The British decided to retaliate against the colonial rebellion. After several "unsuccessful confrontations with the Boer guerrilla forces in 1899 and 1900" (Herbert 1990: 81), British soldiers "placed Boer women and children in concentration camps" (Herbert 1990: 81) (as well as workers on the farms in separate camps), burnt their farms and maimed or killed cattle as part of British commander, Lord Kitchener's response to the Boer guerrilla warfare strategy. The idea behind this "scorched earth policy" was to cut off the food supplies to the Boer forces (Herbert 1990: 81). The concentration camps

Andries Pretorius (1798–1853), *Voortrekker* commander, was driven by revenge due to a betrayal by the Zulu king that took place during seemingly peaceful negotiations of land trade that lead to the murder of *Voortrekker* commander Piet Retief (1780-1838). The *Voortrekkers* fought with muskets and canons and consequently killed more than 3000 Zulu soldiers. The river turned red due to the massacre and the river became known as Blood River or *Bloedrivier* (Grobler 2010: 369-370).

[38] The concept of "guerrilla warfare" can be described as a remote operation of smaller groups of soldiers often utilising camouflage to attract their opponents at seemingly random intervals with a swift retreat only to emerge or inflict another attack elsewhere (Polack 2018: 5).

caused an enormous loss of life due to malnutrition, hunger, a lack of hygiene in the camps that fuelled the spread of infectious disease and exposure to the elements. "1902 the British army settled with the Boers" (Herbert 1990: 81). The Orange Free State and Transvaal became colonies of Britain along with the Cape and Natal (Hart-Davis 2007: 561). The "Union of South Africa was established on 31 May 1910" (Hart-Davis 2007: 561), when Britain granted the white minority dominion over the Cape Colony, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal and all their inhabitants. South Africa thus gained nominal independence from Britain, "but the country continued to be divided through the implementation of social structures and legislation" that advocated for a separatist mode of social and political organisation (Hart-Davis 2007: 561). The position of indigenous people was continually that of secondary citizens. The first "stirrings of black resistance had also begun, leading to uprisings against both the British and Afrikaans rule, which ultimately led to the formation of the (South) African National Congress (ANC)[39] in 1912" (Hauptfleisch 2005: [sp]).

The first half of the twentieth century is overshadowed by Word War I and Word War II, conducted with brutality due to new technology and because of the scale of the wars. The rise of rampant nationalism and an international arms race escalated into the outbreak of World War I in 1914. It altered the European political landscape and shifted the power balance worldwide (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 437, 438). Nationalism is often described as an extremist ideology that believes "people with common characteristics such as language, religion or ethnicity" constitute "a separate and distinctive political community" (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 259). Furthermore, nationalists have an awareness of common political rights, articulating a "demand for a self-governing-nation state" (Okoth 2006: 1). Nationalism develops in communities that share a common language, culture, religion even ancestral heritage and acts as a strengthening or bonding mechanism that creates a sense of protection and has the effect that the community feel safe (Okoth 2006: 1).

Nationalists can be described as any organisation or group that explicitly exerts the rights and claims of that specific society. Nationalism uses political organisations as a vehicle to elicit their pride and beliefs in their culture. These organisations are often controlled by the political elite, and they take it upon themselves to articulate the aspirations, desires and needs of their nation (Okoth 2006: 1, 2). Nationalism is in a sense the "search for belonging" (Okoth 2006: 1).

[39] African National Congress (ANC) was founded in 1912 to protest the *Union of South Africa*. *The Union of South Africa* was founded in 1910, it was essentially a white congress that united the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State areas and black opposition was inevitable. Socialism also contributed as a political ideology towards freedom movements in Africa (Hauptfleisch 2005: [sp]).

These nationalistic and totalitarian ideologies crystallised in various forms such as Nazism in Germany and Fascism[40] in Italy[41] and in Spain[42]. Allied countries united against these forces during World War II (1939–1945). The war cost the lives of more than fifty-five million people and the Holocaust, the systematic annihilation of the European Jews, represented a human and moral catastrophe (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 437, 438).

South Africa also experienced a similar growth in nationalism. The National Party (NP) was founded in 1915 (Grundlingh 2019: [sp]). After World War I white Afrikaner nationalism gained momentum. It has also been argued that after white Afrikaners endured the trauma inflicted on their culture during the Anglo Boer War, nationalism sprung from cultural humiliation (Grundlingh 2019: [sp]).

In the 1930s nationalism was a popular political doctrine (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 259), and there are comparisons that can further be drawn between nationalism in Germany (as well as nationalism in Spain and Italy) and nationalism in South Africa during this time. White Afrikaner nationalism can also be viewed in relation to a broad social and political response to uneven development in capitalism during British imperial occupation (Grundlingh 2019: [sp]).

The 1930s, pre-apartheid era marked a peculiar time in the context of white Afrikaans history. Leading middle class white Afrikaners had developed a secret organisation known as the *Broederbond*, whose goal was to promote the exclusive interest of their culture be it political, economic, or social (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 289). White Afrikaner *Broederbond* was first founded in 1918 in Johannesburg. By 1933 the organisation had fifty-three branches in various institutions in South African society (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 289). The *Broederbond* was founded on strong populist and nationalistic ideologies (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 289). This era saw a gradual increase of specifically white

[40] Fascism is a radical ideology that stems from nationalism. Fascism is based in strong, authoritarian leadership and a collective, classless society bound by racial allegiance (Hart-Davis 2007: 386).

[41] Benito Mussolini rose to political prominence before World War I. He was the leader of the Italian Socialist Party but after 1915 he became a radical nationalist. By 1919 he founded *The Black Shirts* and the Italian Fascist party in 1921 and subsequently became prime minister of Italy in 1922 (Hart-Davis 2007: 387).

[42] In 1933 the Spanish monarchy was overthrown and in 1939 a Spanish civil war erupted, due to domestic tensions between left wing Republicans and right winged Nationalists (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 473). Ultimately the nationalists took seat of parliament and Francisco Franco governed a dictatorship. Franco outlawed the formation of political parties and supressed any opposition (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 473).

Afrikaans institutions such as the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigingе*[43] (FAK); and youth organisations such as the *Voortrekkers*[44] groups, that contributed to white Afrikaner nationalism (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 279).

The Great Depression[45] of the early 1930s forced a considerable number of white Afrikaners to the cities. Poverty amongst white Afrikaners grew immensely, and many of the people lacked the necessary skills to assert themselves in secular jobs. In the Bushveld, Transvaal and Karoo regions white farmers also suffered economically (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 283). The *Broederbond* strategically developed what they called *volkskapitalisme* to enable economic development for their culture (Grundlingh 2019: [online]).

White Afrikaans historian Gustaf Preller[46] (1875-1943) wrote that urbanised poor white Afrikaners were beginning to lose their identities as 'proud Afrikaners' and through his historic accounts of the *Voortrekkers* (1836-1854) and the Boer Wars (1899-1902) aimed to inspire a sense of patriotism. Preller, along with other nationalist white Afrikaners wrote in favour of white Afrikaans nationalism, emphasising Britain as a great villain. Preller emphasised the hardships endured by the Boer women and children during the Boer War and associated the Boers with mythic heroes. The fixations with the Anglo Boer Wars and The *Voortrekkers* along with a nostalgic attitude towards the past, became

[43] The *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigingе* (FAK) was an organisation implemented by the *Broederbond*. The organisation was strategically organised to develop white Afrikaans arts and culture sector (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 289).

[44] The *Voortrekkers* is a white Afrikaans youth scouting organisation (Agnew & Lamb 2009: 129). The term *Voortrekkers* is an homage to The Great Trek and the Boers who travelled north and who were honoured through the building of the *Voortrekkermonument* in Pretoria (Agnew & Lamb 2009: 129). The organisation generally teaches nature skills, leadership abilities and aims to evoke a patriotic attitude towards the Afrikaans identity. (Agnew & Lamb 2009: 129).

[45] The US stock market collapsed in October 1929 triggering a global economic recession. Authoritarian regimes rose to power because of mistrust in democratic governments (Hart-Davis 2007: 384).

[46] Gustav Schoeman Preller (1875 – 1943) is known in as a white Afrikaans historic writer (Hofmeyr 1988: 29). His historic accounts centred on white Afrikaans identity and played a vital part in shaping many key myths during the twentieth century, of the white Afrikaans nationalistic narrative. Preller played a vital part in the white Afrikaans post-colonial period. Preller placed an emphasis on history, the past and memory. He advocated for white Afrikaners to engage and remember their genesis. He was particularly interested in the history of The Great Trek*/ Die Groot Trek*. In 1916 Preller was involved in filming of *De Voortrekkers,* a pioneer Afrikaans language film. His writing style was influenced both by oral forms of storytelling and historic artefacts. He often used physical objects as vehicles to the past. Another tactic that Preller followed was to explore and 'colonise' "the institutions of popular leisure" (Hofmeyr 1988: 29) (magazines, radio, and film) that he would remould according to his nationalist views (Hofmeyr 1988: 29). Some of his known work include *Piet Retief* (1906) *Voortrekkermense*, (1918–38), six volumes archiving and memorialising the Great Trek, *Oorlogsoormag* (1923) a study of the Anglo-Boer War, *Andries Pretorius* (1938) and *Ons Parool*, (1938).

dominant themes and identity makers in Afrikaans fables (Coetzer 2001: 83) (also see Chapter 3.2: Magic realism , regarding Nationalism and folktales).

White Afrikaans Nationalism reached a fever pitch in 1938 during the centenary celebrations of The Great Trek in 1938, in which year the corner stone of the Voortrekker Monument[47] was laid (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 279), bonding the community and celebrating the cultural survival of the past and the perseverance for the future (Agnew & Lamb 2009: 192).

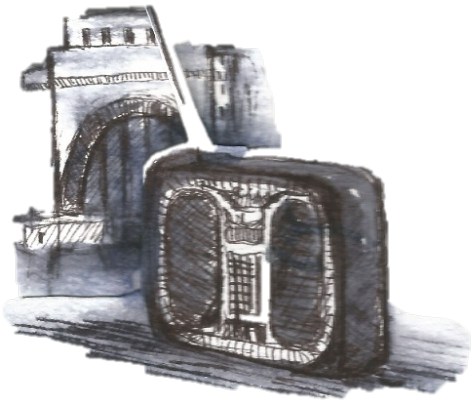

Figure 7: Ink drawing of a radio and The Voortrekker Monument (Van der Merwe 2020).

White Afrikaner identity crystallised into specific markers. In the article *Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem: Steve Hofmeyr and Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid Afrikaans cinema* (2016), Broodryk cites various sources, summarising some of the white Afrikaans cultural identifiers:

> Van Staden and Sevenhuysen (2009: 170) explain that the Afrikaner, as a social group, possesses a clearly articulated shared value system. Annette Combrink (in Viljoen, Lewis & Van Der Merwe, 2004: 4) lists the following items as characteristics or "markers" of Afrikaner identity: the presence of the Afrikaans language in itself; the desire and love for land (as epitomised in the farm); a pervasive sense (and accompanying narrative) of survival; a strong sense of family; a sense of political conservatism; and a dominant religious position occupied by Christianity, especially in its Calvinist form… (Broodryk 2016: 64).

Afrikaans Calvinism origins date back to the Dutch settler communities of the eighteen century that commuted from Europe in the age of imperial pursuit and exploration. The Dutch settler communities' religious views where predominantly rooted in the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk*). Calvinism is a branch of Protestantism that follows the beliefs of reformation laid down by John Calvin. Afrikaans Calvinism become the *volksgeloof* or folk religion strengthening

[47] The Voortrekker Monument was designed by Gerard Moerdijk in a style known as Art Deco. The building was constructed as a monument celebrating The Great Trek (*Die Groot Trek)* (Louw, Beukes & van Wyk 2013: 315).

white Afrikaans independence movements such as The Great Trek and the Anglo Boer Wars and during the 1930's and aided in garnering support for the growing Nationalist Party (NP). The white Afrikaner identity ultimately merged Calvinist Christian religion and Nationalist politics (Marx 2008: 201- 203), making religion a cornerstone of Afrikaner nationalism and a justification for nationalist policies.

The beginning of the twentieth century had marked a turning point for colonial pursuit and imperial ambition in Europe (Mcleod 2000: 6). The twentieth century saw the steady demise of colonialism and the beginning of decolonisation (in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks I will continue to discuss decolonisation and decoloniality) of millions of people who were subjected to the authority of European empires (Mcleod 2000: 6). Decolonisation[48] refers to a proses of transformation that a previously colonised country experiences during the withdrawal of colonial imperial rule (Jansen & Osterhammel 2017: 1-5). There are many different reasons for decolonisation. World War II opened debates regarding humanitarian issues like racism and classism[49]. Colonial domination along with the exploitation of 'poorer' nations became morally unacceptable (Hart-Davis 2007: 412). Furthermore, World War II saw the economic decline of many European countries, especially of Britain's economic status (Hart-Davis 2007: 412, 413). America[50], as capitalism's capital and the communist Soviet Union[51] became strong

[48] The term 'decolonisation' was first used in the early eighteenth century by a French journalist who objected to his country's conquest of Algeria. The term's use seemed to have faded until its revival in the 1930 by Moritz Julius Bonn, a German Jewish scientist who fled Nazi Germany and found refuge in Oxford, England. The term only became generally used in various academic fields in 1960 (Kennedy 2016: 5, 6).

[49] Classism refers to the social and economic classification of people. Classism functions in a hierarchy according to economic status that is prejudiced towards lower classes. Europe has long standing traditions of monarchies that often benefited from social elitism to the disadvantage of the suffering 'lower classes'. Classism led to key movements such as the French Revolution (1789-1799) and later the rise of socialism and communism (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2004: 56, 57, 58, 59, 60).

[50] The political situation between 1945 and 1989 was largely shaped by tensions between America and the Soviet Union, each country eager to prove their global power and political stance as superior (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 530). America and the Soviet Union's tensions escalated into what came known as the Cold War, dominating the 1960s politics. The fall of the Berlin Wall, that divided Germany into "Eastern socialist Europe" and "Western capitalist Europe", marked the end of the Cold War (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 530).

[51] In 1848 Carl Marx (1818–1883) and Friedrich Engels, conceptualised a new philosophical ideology in the book *Communist Manifesto.* The Manifesto became the foundation of the revolutionary workers' movement against the aristocratic system that divided the classes of Russia. The manifesto is built on a political foundation that favours socialism and critically discusses flaws in capitalist societies. Socialism is defined as an economic system that specifically divides ownership of means, production and distribution equally (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 362). Thus, benefits are to be shared by all, not just a few. In socialist societies the government has complete rule over the economic activities. Enterprise and industrial production is communally owned and managed. This in effect means that they are controlled by the state. The aim of socialism is the eradication of classism. Communism, also known as revolutionary socialism, is a social and political ideology that that also aims at a classless system social system and an economic model where the means of production are owned communally and where everyone works together to benefit the whole of society. In effect, by the state owns the means of production and the products produced, thus also controlling how products are distributed and exchanged. Private ownership of land or enterprise is very limited and often, non-existent (Longley 2021). After

militarised political leaders during the post-war era. The twentieth century also saw England gradually and strategically, specific to each colony, releasing most of its economic and political administration in what can be termed as a decolonising process (Mcleod 2016: 10). This was largely due to a shift in administration of the British parliament. In 1945 The British Labour Party[52] took over the seat of government from The Conservative Party. The Labour Party favoured decolonisation (Hart-Davis 2007: 337) and their policies had a direct effect on South Africa.

Although South Africa was starting to separate and 'decolonise' from external domination, by the 1930s the white Afrikaans nationalist movement practised internal racial oppression that would culminate in the apartheid era (1948-1994). The National Party gained popularity in the 1940s with a slogan that read *Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party* (Purified National Party) (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 204), quite reminiscent of Nazi calls for a pure Arian race, and was steeped in religious zeal. Initially led by National Party/*Nasionale Party* leader D. F. Malan[53] (1874-1959) and further formalised and implemented by Hendrik Verwoerd[54] (1901-1966) (Adam Hart Davis 2007: 454). Colonialism had structured ideologies regarding race that favoured white superiority (Quinn 2017: 17). The National Party (*Nasionale Party*) structured these racially discriminative ideologies into a system known as

World War II, Soviet Russia emerged as a superpower in world politics (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 362). Communist leader Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924,) triumphed in the 1917 October Russian Revolution. Lenin later legitimised the Communist Party's absolutism as governing party of Russia, becoming the first communist ruled state in the world: The Union of Socialist Republics (USSR). After Lenin's death in 1924 the Union became increasingly more dictatorial under the rule of Joseph Stalin. The Soviet Union became a totalitarian dictatorship that invaded and took power over smaller eastern European countries. The 1930s marked a moment of communist fascism in Russian history. The Soviet Union officially ended in 1991 (Steiner & Thomas 2005: 447).

[52] The Labour Party grew from the trade union movement that was formed in 1906 and their political and economic views are influenced by socialist principles (Hart-Davis 2007: 337).

[53] Daniel François Malan was born in Riebeeck-Wes, Cape Colony in 1874. He began his career as a minister of the Dutch Reformed church, obtaining a Doctorate in Divinity in 1900. Malan had always participated in the progression of Afrikaans nationalism and was an active supporter of the National party. In 1915 Malan became the editor of the white Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger*. *Die Burger* was a white Afrikaans newspaper, in the Western and Eastern Cape provinces, founded in 1915. In 1915 the Cape branch of the National party was also established, and D.F. Malan became the provincial leader. He would continue solidifying his political career in the National Party and in 1948 until 1959 he was prime minister of South Africa (Koorts 2010: 109, 110, 111).

[54] Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, or commonly known as Dr. Verwoerd was born in Amsterdam, Netherlands in 1901. Verwoerd was a member of the *Broederbond* and National party. He was also an outspoken authoritarian, white supremacist and supported Germany during WW II. He was a scholar in sociology, politics, and journalism. Hendrik Verwoerd attained political status in 1949, when he became the political strategist and propaganda manager of the National Party. In 1958 he became the prime minister of South Africa and implemented more stringent Apartheid legislations. He was also responsible for Apartheid opposition suppression and banned the Pan African Congress as well as the African National Congress. Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated by Demitrios Tsafendas on 6 September 1966 in Cape Town (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 314).

apartheid (Hart-Davis 2007: 454-455). The growth of white supremacy and white Afrikaans, Christian nationalism "led to the victory of the National Party in 1948" (Willemse 2016: 6), becoming the governing party in South Africa. The party brought forth "a set of ideas about society, social organisation, the economy, culture and language that have developed over the preceding century" (Willemse 2016: 6). Through a network of actions and policies, they influenced the socio-political sphere, "including education, cultural and economic policies", into the twentieth century, constructing Afrikaans as a "'white language', with a 'white history' and 'white faces'" (Willemse 2016: 5). In effect, it was a mode of linguistic colonisation. The Nationalist government pursued safety against the growing communist[55] movements in Africa and apartheid policies and laws were introduced (Hart-Davis 2007: 561). Apartheid refers to the oppressive National Party government's legislations that ordered separation of South Africa's people by the colour of their skin for separate development of culture (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 204). In effect, it was a continuation of colonisation.

White Afrikaners' implementation of apartheid can be viewed as a form of internal colonialism. "Internal colonialism" broadly refers to complex inequalities regarding economic, political, and social structures "based on domination and exploitation among culturally heterogeneous, distinct groups" in a nation state (Casanava 1965: 33), such as apartheid.

The implementation of apartheid saw a concurrent development of resistance against it and the growth of an immense struggle for a democratic South Africa. The history of South Africa, with regards to fighting for freedom under apartheid, is complex, intricate and there are many individuals, whether they are considered black, coloured, white or another race, who contributed to the strife for democracy. The African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) are examples of how nationalism was used in black freedom movements (Also see Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks). However white Afrikaner nationalism enforced oppressive dominance prohibiting the empowerment and stunted the process of development of Black Nationalism. In 1921 the South African Communist Party (SACP) was established at a time of heightened militancy. With the onset of apartheid in the 1930s, black opposition politics started evolving (Sonneborn 2010: 31-58) and in 1943 younger, more determined political groupings came to the foreground. The ANC youth league saw the leadership

[55] Communism, "a doctrine rather than a practice, refers to societies that have no private property, social classes or division of labour" (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 70). The doctrine developed from the writings on socialism by Karl Marx (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 70).

development of Nelson Mandela[56] (1918-2013), Oliver Thambo (1917-1993) and Walter Sisulu[57] (1912-2003) to name a few members who each played an important role in transforming South Africa into a democratic nation (Sonneborn 2010: 31-58). The ANC also had an Indian[58] sector with leader

[56] Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, in the village of Mvezo. Mandela attended an English mission school and later continued his education at the university collage of Fort Hare. Mandela was suspended from his college because he was an active participant in student boycotting campaigns that where against the NP government. Mandela later continued his studies in law in Johannesburg, where he also became a member of the African National Congress (ANC). In 1944 the ANC established the Congress of Youth League (CYL). The youth League took a more aggressive stance in their protest Apartheid. In the 1950's the NP government had noted Mandela as a threat, he was put on trial several times, banned from attending political gatherings and he was not allowed to leave Johannesburg. During this time Mandela, along with Steve Biko started the first black law firm in South Africa. In 1955 Mandela along with 156 political activists were arrested as alleged communists. Mandela later made clear the distinctions between the ANC and that of the Communist Party: "As far as the Communist party is concerned, and if I understand its policy correctly, it stands for the establishment of a state based on the principles of Marxism. The Communist party sought to emphasise class distinctions whilst the ANC seeks to harmonise them. This is a vital distinction". In the 1960s the ANC was banned and was forced to go adopted their strategies to more underground tactics. During this time Mandela became the commander and chief of *Umkomtu We Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation) the military organisation of the ANC. Mandela, left to give anti-apartheid addresses in England and other countries; shortly after he returned from his travels, he was arrested by the NP Government for illegally leaving the country and in inciting strikes. Due to Mandela's connection with *Umkomtu We Sizwe*, he was charged on accounts of sabotage. In 1963 Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists defended their rights in the eight-month Rivonia trial. Mandela is famously quoted to have addressed the members of the court ending his speech with the words: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die". Mandela was found guilty and sentence to life in prison. Mandela served twenty-seven years in the prison on Robben Island in Cape Town. In the early 1990s F. W. de Klerk, the newly voted president of the National Party, started to reform South Africa by releasing Nelson Mandela from prison. In 1993 Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk won the Nobel peace prize for their collective effort to reshape and transform South Africa into a democracy. In 1994 South Africa held its first democratic election. Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress (ANC), became the first black president of South Africa. Mandela governed South Africa from 1994 to 1999 (Sampson 2002: 14, 28, 76, 180, 381). Mandela died on the 5th of December 2013 after a long struggle with a recurring lung infection (Sulaiman 2019: [sp]).

[57] Walter Sisulu was an anti-apartheid activist in the ANC's youth league alongside Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. In 1949 he became the secretary general. He took on the role of defiance strategist and travelled to USSR, Europe, and China, engaging in political networking. He was arrested by the National Party for treason more than once, but the Rivonia trials marked a significant moment of arrest, where he, alongside Nelson Mandela were sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12, 1964. He served his sentence on Robben Island. After 25 years in prison, he was released and in July 1991 he became the deputy president at the ANC's first national conference. In May 2003 Walter Sisulu passed away (Bobby-Evans 2019: [sp]).

[58] According to Pillay (2019: 20), people of Indian origin were initially brought into South Africa, specifically the Natal region as labourers during 1860. These labourers were often mistreated and endured harsh emotional and sometimes physical abuse from their colonial masters. Many of the Indian identities where Muslim and Hindi, originally from the Gujarat era in India, although some also practised Christianity. These Indian labourers were brought over on the ship Truno and only half of the labours chose to stay on in South Africa. The other half travelled back to India on the boat "The Red Riding Hood, the first ship to transport repatriated Indians back to India in 1871" (Pillay 2019: 19). The second wave of Indian migrants consisted out of teachers, interpreters, catechists, traders, and merchants all who moved to South Africa. The second wave of Indian migrants came to be known as "passenger Indians" because "they paid for their own journey to South Africa" (Pillay 2019: 19). The "colonial authorities in Natal, and thereafter the South African government (after 1910), frequently used repatriation as a form of intimidation, and to create insecurity" among the indentured labourers, "as they were reminded of their constant impermanence in the country" (Pillay 2019: 19). "This system of indentured labour",

Isamael Cachalia (1908-2003), who, together with Nelson Mandela lead the *Defiance Campaign.* This campaign specifically designed to target apartheid laws and black citizens' oppression and segregation (Sonneborn 2010: 31-58).

As is evident in the definition of imperialism and empire building exploits, colonialism was fuelled by a desire to 'broaden' continental boundaries. According to the *Encyclopaedia of Geography* (2010) edited by Barney Warf, borders and boundaries signify:

> …limits or discontinuities in space. While they are most often encountered today in their political meaning as territorial lines of division, the terms can be applied in a range of situations such as cultural (i.e., language), economic (i.e., class), or legal (i.e., property) contexts. Typically, there is no distinction between the terms *boundary* and *border* in everyday language. Specifically, many authors use border to designate the formal political division line between territorial units, such as states, and boundary to signify the cultural and social group difference that may or may not be marked on the ground by division lines. (2010: 293, 294).

Within the expansion of boundaries celebrated by the coloniser, limitations were imposed onto the colonised. Colonisation schemes such as the "scramble for Africa" saw the fragmentation of the continent during European division of land, mapping and marking territories. Colonialism literally, symbolically, and psychologically implemented borders and boundaries as a form of ownership. Colonial borders and boundaries constructed unequal hierarchies especially in terms of race. These imperial boundaries and borders can be equated to walls of imprisonment through the experiences of the colonised identities (Allina-Pisano 2003: 59- 61).

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continued "until 1911 when a resolution was passed in India" (Pillay 2019: 19). This preventing any further "recruitment of indentured labour" for "Natal, and the last sailing vessel, the Umlazi, arrived in Natal in July 1911 carrying the final group of indentured labourers" (Pillay 2019: 19). During the onset of Apartheid, the National Party hoped that the last standing Indian presence in the country would return to India. Due to the nature of Apartheid policies, race classification and separation became a vital part of the social structures of South Africa. The race classification mainly distinguished between white, black, and coloured. The term coloured became an umbrella term that encompassed the "Indian, Chinese, Cape Malay and Griqua subgroups in addition to the basic Cape Coloured group". In 1921 the South African Indian congress (SAIC) was found in Natal era now known as KwaZulu-Natal. During the onset of apartheid, the National Party (NP), were having debates on whether the Indian identities should be accepted as a race belonging to South Africa. The National Party continued the "Anti-Indian" legislations that dated back to 1918. The Indian identities of South Africa were not permitted to own property, travel without a passbook, and saw the continuous effort to relocate them from South back to India by the National Party. The fight for democracy included campaigns lead by South African Indian activist such as Ismail Ahmed Cachalia (1908-2003). The African National Congress (ANC) also had an Indian sector that formed part of the defiance campaigns that targeted Apartheid legislations through protest and sabotage. In 1994 the Indian identities of South Africa, collaborated in the first democratic elections and were fully accepted as a culture and an identity belonging to the country (Pillay 2019: 19, 78, 80).

When walls, boundaries or borders become 'sealed off' they cause groups and identities to split, resulting in different communities developing separately (Silberman, Till & Ward 2012: 1-2). Borders and boundaries became a significant symbol of racial classification especially in the trajectory of South Africa's apartheid history literally implemented through racial segregation, laws such as the Prohibition of mixed Marriages Act (1949), the Morality Amendment (1950) and allocating "tribal homelands", "also known as *Bantustans*" that curated cultural and racial location (Konieczna, Rob Skinner 2019: 330).

Throughout history, while borders and boundaries are continuously forged, they are continuously challenged (Silberman, Till, & Ward 2012: 2). The enduring effort to protest against and end apartheid, through various strategies, can be considered as acts that challenged apartheid boundaries. South Africa experienced numerous uprisings against apartheid. The 1950s "marked the intensification of the anti-apartheid passive resistance" (Coetzee & Loots 2013: 278). Notably,

> the 1956 woman's pass law march in Pretoria where women across race, class, and language divisions demonstrated peacefully against the imposition of pass laws on South African black women. This vocal show of solidarity among women made visible issues that women specifically faced under apartheid, primarily the profound understanding of the "double oppression"[59] faced by black women in terms of both race and gender (Coetzee & Loots 2013: 278).

In 1960 Harold Mcmillian (1894-1986), leader of England's Conservatives Party, addressed the South African leaders in the parliament in Cape Town, with his well-known "The wind of change"- speech, wherein he expressed hope for a decolonialised Africa (Butler & Stockwell 2013: 1). On 31 May 1961 South Africa gained full independence from the British Empire; however this new found freedom was only limited to white identities in the country.

White Afrikaners celebrated their independence from British governance. However, in gaining their freedom and power from the British, they in turn became the oppressors, by instilling the race-

[59] Intersectionality addresses how multiple discriminations can 'intersect', constructing moments of layered or 'double' oppression (Kamara 2018:1). The term was coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989. The structural, political, and representational experiences of women of colour can frequently be unpacked through locating intersecting patterns of racism and sexism (Crenshaw 1991: 1243). Postcolonial feminist discourse specifically unpacks the intersectional oppression of colonised women that where often othered, fetishized, hypersexualised, or mystified through the Orientalist gaze. Scholars such as Kirsten Holst Peterson and Anna Rutherfold, refer to the ways in which colonised women experiences "double colonisation as she simultaneously experiences the oppression of colonialism and patriarchy" (Tyagi 2014: 45). Other scholars who contributed to the field of intersectionality and double colonisation is Audre Lorde (1934-1992) and her article *The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House* (1978), Chandra Talpade Mohanty, in essays such as *Under Western Eyes* (1984) and Ethel Crowley's article *Third World Women and the Inadequacies of Western Feminism,* (1991) to name a few.

regulating system of apartheid. Under apartheid, the Afrikaans language was used as a tribalist tool that aided the apartheid divide-and-rule policy: a marker of oppression, sub-standard and miseducation that sparked the 1976 uprisings (Willemse 2016:7). White Afrikaans identity shifted from the victim of British colonisation and Imperial freedom fighters to that of perpetrator and oppressor. Although the line between victim and perpetrator was blurred centuries ago already, apartheid marked a legislated shift from one to the other (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 204). In 1961 the National Party (NP) government under Prime Minister Hendrik F. Verwoerd (1901-1966) declared South Africa as a "whites only" referendum (Sonneborn 2010: 31-58).

On 26 August 1969, the South African Defence Force (SADF) was sent to the borders of Namibia, Zambia, and Angola to rear off the Peoples' Liberation Army (PLAN). The South African troops fought under the generally understood intention that the war was between capitalism and communism, the two dominant ideologies of the 1960s. However, the politics of the war were more complex. The existence of the Peoples' Liberation Army (PLAN) was a direct result of decolonial, and anti-colonial movements supported by the Pan-African Movement (PAN) (Also see Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks). Their intention was to liberate the oppressed identities in South Africa due to Apartheid legislations and discriminations. They did however receive support from then communist Russia who supported a few African decolonial movements with the intention of spreading communist ideologies. After the ANC was banned from South Africa; members of the party joined the Border War, fighting alongside the Peoples Liberation Army (PLAN) against the South African Defence Force (SADF). The South African Defence Force (SADF) mainly consisted out of white men. The National party had ordered all young white men obligatory service to the army and refusal could lead to imprisonment. Two generations of white men, spanning the period from 1969 to 1990, willingly or unwillingly took part in one form or another in the *Grensoorlog* (Border War) after being conscripted into the armed forces. The war was viewed symbolically, from the point of view of the South African government and its supporters, not only as a contest between capitalism and communism, but as a symbol of white Afrikaner nationalism against anti-apartheid (Liebenburg, Risquet & Shibin 2015: 11, 17, 35, 83, 111).

On 7 July 1973 white supremist and neo-Nazi Eugene Terre'blanche founded the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* / (Afrikaner Resistance Movement or AWB). The AWB was founded on extreme white Afrikaner nationalism that sought to "restore the Boer Republic" and protect the white "Afrikaner-volk", violently opposing apartheid reform (Giliomee & Mbenga 2008: 401). The AWB is arguably the personification of white Afrikaners' capacity for fascism and extreme nationalism.

The following decades saw various forms of anti-apartheid protests that often ended tragically, for example the Sharpeville Massacre (21 March 1960) during which sixty-nine citizens were shot and killed at the hands of police (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 334, 335). The 1970s saw a resurgence in anti-apartheid movements. On 16th June 1976, the Soweto Uprising occurred. Black pupils protested the compulsory use of Afrikaans as a medium in education because it was viewed as the language of the apartheid oppressors. The protesters were met with police brutality. After a visceral photo by Sam Nzima (1934-2018) of Mbuysa Makhubo carrying Hector Peterson, a schoolboy that was shot and killed during the protest was published internationally, Peterson became a symbol of police brutality and white supremacy that can lead to unjust violence against black identities (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 362- 365). In 1979 President P. W. Botha famously confronted South Africans in the process of radical re-education at Upington and warned white Afrikaners that it is a case of "adapt or die"[60] within the context of an evolving political landscape in South Africa, foreshadowing reform (Van der Walt 2006: [sp]).

By the 1980s the National Party (NP) government felt pressure from the anti-apartheid stance in South Africa internally as well as from international boycotting sanctions advocating for against discriminations. The international boycotting sanctions excluded and isolated South Africa from global participation in sport, cultural events, and the global trading market (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 390). In 1982 Andries Treurnicht (1921-1993), formed an extreme white Afrikaans Conservative Party (CP)/*Konserwatiewe Party* (KP). The Conservative Party (CP) was fearfully driven to 'preserve' white Afrikaans authority and strongly opposed the ruling National Party's and PW Botha's inclination to reform apartheid (Gilliomee & Mbenga 2007: 306, 372).

Throughout the history of South Africa, it should be noted that white Afrikaner and white English resistance against white supremacy also took place. In 1986 Fredrick van Zyl Slabbert (1940-2010) and Alex Boraine (1931-2018) formed *The institute of Democratic Alternatives in South Africa* (IDASA). Members of IDASA included journalists such as Max Du Preez (1951), academics such as Andrè du Toit (1938) and Jaap Durand (1934) and intellectuals such Leon Louw (1948) and Herman Giliomee (1938).

[60] Pieter Dirk Uys wrote two satires, parodying P. W. Botha's "adapt or die" speech. One is titled *Adapt or Dye* (1981) and the other is titled Adapt *or Fly* (2012). Kelly-Eve Koopman (2014: [sp]) in her online review of *Adapt or Fly* (2012) states that "The title of the show is a parodied reference to the Apartheid slogan "Adapt or Die" and Uys' cast of 'dicks and dictators' has been chosen specifically for their combined impact. Individually, they are breathtakingly good satire. United their power is greater: they nudge the audience towards engaging in broader political perspectives than are immediately physically presented on stage. The individual elements come together to create a work of post-modern pastiche; an engaging and insightful and surprisingly dark sociological study of the progress of pre-democratic to post-post democratic South Africa" (2014: [sp]).

The goup also included Tommy Bedford (1942) a former rugby captain and members of artistic fields such as writers and poets Andrè P. Brink (1935), Breyten Breytenbach (1939), Manie van Rensburg (1945-993), a film director. The initial intention of IDASA was to create an environment for white South Africa to partake in anti-apartheid movements. In 1987 a conference was held on the island of Dakar, Senegal between the banned members of the ANC and IDASA. The conference marked a significant moment of connection between different identities of South Africa, gathering and engaging in peaceful, hopeful, and intellectual discussions regarding the politics of South Africa (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 378, 393, 393).

The 1980s also saw the interesting form of anti-apartheid resistance that took shape in white Afrikaans rock and roll music. This form of rebellion was powerful enough to be termed a movement that came to be known as *Voëlvry* movement, an Afrikaans idiom with an ambivalent meaning "as free as a bird" or "having a price on your head". Their name expressed their attitude as being 'free' from what they deemed the outdated traditional Afrikaans culture and political system associated with Afrikanerdom, but also their awareness that they would be viewed as delinquent rebels to be outcast by traditionalists. Key figures of the *Voëlvry* movement were Johannes Kerkorrel/Ralph Rabie (1960-2002), Andrè du Toit/Koos Kombuis (1945), Bernoldus Niemand /James Philips (1959-1995) and Karla Krimpelien/Tonia Shelly, who performed both as individual artists and as *Die Gereformeerde Blues Band* (Hopkins 2006: 6- 8). The pseudonyms adopted by the band members as well as the band name convey their satirical attitude to and political comment on white Afrikaans Calvinism and the prominent role the church played within white nationalist politics. The band travelled across the country with the goal to emancipate the Afrikaner youth from the authoritarian National Party (NP) and the more extremist Conservative Party's (CP) strict ideas of what it means to be a white Afrikaner (Du Preez & Hopkins 2006: 6- 8). The *Voëlvry* movement was supported by a progressive Afrikaans newspaper called the *Vrye Weekblad*. The *Vrye Weekblad* was a weekly anti-apartheid newspaper published from 1987 to 1994 (Du Preez & Hopkins 2006: 6- 8) and still has an online presence in contemporary South Africa.

By the 1980s South Africa was placed under a state of emergency due to the political tension reaching violent peaks. On the 20th of May 1983, the ANC's military wing (Umkhonto we Sizwe) detonated a bomb in a car in Church Street, Pretoria. The bombing led to the death of nineteen people (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 414, 415). Such acts were viewed as acts of terrorism by the apartheid government and as heroic necessities in the struggle for freedom by certain factions of the protest movements.

It took a new administration to open the way for transformation. In 1989 F. W. de Klerk (1936 - 11 2021) was elected president of the National Party. He lifted the bans on the ANC and other oppositional groups. "On 11 February 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison" (Skweyiya: 1993: 56), marking a significant moment in South African history. In "1991 the *Convention for a Democratic South Africa* (CODESA) was held in the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg" (Skweyiya: 1993: 56). Nineteen political parties attended the conference and pledged commitment to negotiations; notably the Conservative Party (CP) boycotted the convention. The conference discussed strategies to end apartheid and how democracy would be implemented and sustained (Skweyiya: 1993: 56, 57, 58). In March of 1992, a 'whites only' ballot, also known as the "Yes/ No Referendum", was held by the National Party asking voters whether or not they supported negotiations towards government reform ultimately signifying the abolishment of apartheid. The vote was majority "yes". South Africa was pivoting towards transformation, democracy, and a post-colonial state (Strauss 2008: 339).

F.W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, as political leaders, managed to develop a transition strategy to achieve a democratic and equal South Africa and in 1994 that vision was finally realised when Nelson Mandela, head of the ANC party, became the first black president of South Africa (Waldmer 2001: 244- 245). South Africa entered a new phase in history: the post-Apartheid era and another pivotal moment of postcolonialism (Greffrath 2016: 166). The African National Congress (ANC), as the new democratic government, also recognised the overwhelming need for restoration and redemption the country needed post-apartheid (Sarkin-Hughes 2004: 1- 5), not to mention the enduring scars of colonialism (See Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks).

The ANC recognised the concerning issue of fostering different cultural identities within the borders of multi-ethnic state. The term 'Rainbow Nation' was first coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu[61] (1931) to describe post-Apartheid South Africa's diverse cultural identity. Nelson Mandela would later add to the idea of a Rainbow Nation stating that "each of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous Jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld - a Rainbow Nation at peace with itself and the world" (Blaser 2004: 179-198).

[61] Desmond Mpilo Tutu was born in 1931 in Klerksdorp. He had a humble upbringing, first studying to become a teacher, but "by 1960 he was ordained as an Anglican" (Crompton 2013: 7) priest and moved to England to complete his studies in theology. In 1985 he became bishop of Johannesburg and during 1986 he became archbishop of Cape Town. Desmond Tutu became an anti-apartheid spokesperson and in the aftermath of Apartheid he played the vital role of chairman of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. He continues to be a spiritual leader and human rights activist in contemporary South Africa (Crompton 2013: 7-11).

There are various critiques of the ideal of the Rainbow Nation, for instance that it creates a false sense of unity by ignoring the inequalities of race and class and does not consider historical social, political and economic structures that favoured whiteness (Bornman 2002: 35). In 1988 Peggy McIntosh (an American scholar) wrote an essay called *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack,* wherein she sets out the concept of white privilege. Privilege is often described as an 'invisible' social, political, and economic ideology that grants opportunities in an unequal and unfair manner. White privilege unpacks the inequalities present in racial politics that saw moments in history favouring whiteness over other races. The legacy of these extreme moments of racial classification in history (for example: colonialisation, slavery, apartheid, and segregation) caused generational economic and social chasms between white identities and those who suffered under prior racial laws such as black, coloured, and Asian identities

In the article *South Africa's rainbow nation is a myth that students need to unlearn* (2016), Daniela Gachago and Asanda Ngoasheng questions the myth of the Rainbow Nation stating: "[t]his worldview is problematic on many levels. It focuses on the parts of multi-culturalism[62] that are comfortable for a white minority. Simultaneously, it rejects any attempts to deal with structural inequality. It ends up invalidating and silencing people's lived experiences of oppression" (2016: [sp]).

Moving towards transformation[63] and transgression, the anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Desmond Tutu was appointed head of the Truth and Reconciliation commission (TRC). The TRC was an historic attempt at restorative justice to address the violence and human rights abuses of the Apartheid era. The TRC trials took place over three years, starting in 1996 and created a platform for both the victims and the perpetrators to reconcile past actions and afflictions (Sarkin-Hughes 2004: 1-5). The TRC managed to inspire the nation to look to the future. Nelson Mandela, in his State of the

[62] Multi-culturalism is a term "that emerged in the 1960s in Anglophone countries" to unpack and acknowledge situations of non-European migrants (Grosa 2017: 103). Multi-culturalism "deals with the management of cultural diversity of all ethnic and racial groups" (Grosa 2017: 103). Multi-culturalism approach aims at assists sting cultural groups to retain and foster identity (Gosa 2017: 103). It can be argued that Apartheid's racial segregation legislations functioned as multi-cultural management. The symbol of multi-cultural rainbow nation can therefore perpetuate racial divide. In the article *Multiculturalism or Transculturalism? Views on cultural diversity* (2012), Lucia-Mihaela Grosu writes that multi-culturalism "enforce[s] division and not integration" (2012:105). Grosu (2012:106) also cites Amita Handa's book *Of Silk Saris and Mini Skirts: South Asian Girls Walk the Tightrope of Culture* (2003) wherein Handa accuses "multicultural policy to have constructed a fragmented identity" and that multiculturalism hides a racist approach to ethnic groups (Handa 2003: 91).

[63] Transformation in its most basic form is concerned with the future and marks the process of change. The term transformation implies a shift or a conversion and stands in relation to concepts such as *adaptation* and *recycling* (Ashcroft 2001: 2).

Nation Address on 6 February 1998, called on the people of South Africa to "celebrate and strengthen what we have done as a nation as we leave our terrible past behind us forever".

However, "the terrible past" (Mandela 1998) is not behind us, it is hauntingly present in various aspects of contemporary South Africa's social and political structures.

In recent years social and political debate in South Africa has shifted from arguments regarding the enduring legacy of the post-apartheid movement to critical discussions regarding the awareness of colonial histories, postcolonialism and identity in post-colonies (Greffrath 2016: 162). Apartheid was formally abolished in 1994 entering a supposed age of democracy signifying the start of a post-colonial era (Mhlauli, Salani & Mokotedi 2015: 204). The supposedly new post-colonial South Africa brought new challenges and debates pertaining to what constitutes decolonisation and postcolonialism. As I will explain in the following section, the formal and overt abolishment of apartheid does not mean that apartheid nor colonisation ended. Contemporary South Africa may be a post-colonial country but is not necessarily a postcolonial country. The question about the interrelationship of post-apartheid, the post-colonial and the postcolonial in South Africa remains a hauntingly complex one.

Figure 8: Ink drawing of a seventeenth century sailing ship, wrecked on the South African Cape shore (Van der Merwe 2020).

2.2 Shipwrecks

This section will firstly refer back to early twentieth century decolonial thinkinig that influenced African retaliation against imperial dominance. I discuss the roots of postcolonialism in "colonial discourse analysis" related to the work of Fanon, Césaire, Senghor (see Majumdar 2007), Mudimbe (Mazrui 2005:68) Said, Spivak, and Bhabha (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 154-156). As I work with image and text, and a source text that can be seen as colonial, postcolonialism seems an appropriate theoretical anchor for my work. I will then discuss how postcolonialism and post-colonialism do not necessarily indicate the complete demise of colonialism with reference to terms such as decoloniality and coloniality. I will discuss how South Africa's post-colonial present is still perforated with colonial traces and discuss the enduring efforts to dismantle vestiges that are considered symbols of the tyrannical injustices of the past. I will conclude by stating that the contemporary post-colonial South Africa is possibly witnessing political iconoclasm and the condemnation of colonial memory.

2.2.1 Africa and self-articulation

Figure 9: Ink drawing of a map of Africa (Van der Merwe 2020).

As previously mentioned, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the steady demise of colonialism and the beginning of the decolonisation of millions of people who were subjected to the authority of European empires (Mcleod 2000: 6). Decolonisation and the age of anti-colonialism entailed the development of strong philosophical voices rising from the formerly colonised communities (Ashcroft,

Gareth & Tiffin 2007: 11, 12). One of these anti-colonial voices came from Frantz Omar Fanon (1925-1961). Born on the island of Martinique under French rule, he experienced colonial power from the perspective of the colonised. He contributed to what was later called Black Atlantic theory[64], through an array of writings such as in the fields of poetry, philosophy, political theory and psychiatry (Drabinski 2019: [sp]).

In his book *The Wretched of The Earth* (1961), under a chapter heading *On Violence,* Frantz Fanon expresses how the coloniser violently intruded indigenous nations (Fanon 2004: 3). Fanon was influenced by French *Négritude*[65], a "literary and political movement" that was developed mainly by francophone intellectuals who aimed at 'reawakening' celebrating and unpacking black consciousness. Furthermore, *Négritude* is considered "as an ideological reaction against French colonialism" and a "defence of African culture, leading to the strengthening of African identity" (Galafa 2018:288). Fanon considered violence as the natural state of the coloniser. The violence that Fanon references is not only physical but also refers to the psychological suffering that certain cultures had to endure due to dehumanising practises such as racism, classism, and international slave trading (Fanon 2004:5-7). Fanon became an influential voice in the liberation struggle in South Africa as well as in the current decolonial turn. During colonialism, colonised identities experienced what is considered to be the loss of culture (Hall 2005: 44). In the book *Culture and Imperialism* (1994), Edward Said, in the introduction, describes culture as:

[64] The term Black Atlantic was first introduced by black British critic Paul Gilroy in his book called *Black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness* (1993). In his studies Gilroy uncovers cultural and historic lineages between black communities across the Atlantic. Gilroy remarks on the cross-cultural and trans-cultural phenomena that developed because of the Atlantic slave trading enterprises of the colonial era. He states that there is a transnational framework of black cultural identity. These Black Atlantic identities developed from the cross-influences of culture, but also use trans-culturalism to form a strong intellectual collective - an anti-colonial voice (Gilroy 1993: 13, 14).

[65] Negritude is "both a literary and political movement" (Galafa 2018: 289) that developed during the 1930s 1940s and 1950s. It was "created just after the Second World War by Black francophone writers who included Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Léopold Senghor from Senegal and Leon Gontran Damas from Guyana" (Galafa 2018: 289). In the article *Negritude in Anti-colonial African Literature Discourse* (2018), Beaton Galafa cites various scholars (2018: 289) asserting that Negritude has various definitions: "One of the movement's founders Aimé Césaire regards Negritude as the consciousness of being Black, a realisation which directly translates into acceptance and the siege of a Black person's own destiny and culture" (Campbell 2006: [sp]). Campbell sums up the concept as a "philosophical movement to revive Black pride". He posits that "Negritude is often considered as having been conceived out of another relevant ideology, Pan-Africanism". Campbell (2006: [sp]) posits "that the actual concept of Negritude might have emerged from Edward W. Blyden" who "is said to have called for African people in all parts of the world to reclaim their African heritage and by doing so, reclaim their pride", "while admitting that the most popular rendition of Negritude conceptually evolved in the 1930s from a triad of diasporic African people living in France: Aimé Césaire, Leon Damas and Léopold Senghor" (Campbell 2006: [sp]).

> …practises like the arts of description, communication, and representation that have relative autonomy from economic, social, and political realms…second…culture is a concept that includes a refining and elevating element…Culture in this sense is a source of identity.

Identity is understood as a "set of personal" and behavioural characteristics "that identify an individual as a member of a certain group" (Subhi 2016: 2311). Cultures attain a sense of identity by distinguishing themselves from other cultural groups (Subhi 2016: 2311). In the book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), Fanon discusses the idea of cultural assimilation, wherein one culture 'assimilates' another culture or is expected to resemble and perform the norms of the self-proclaimed 'higher' culture- the culture of 'the white men' (Fanon 2008: 2, 19).

Fanon states that "the white man infects the black man with extremely toxic foreign bodies" (2008: 19). Fanon considers cultural assimilation as the unfair pressure of specifically African and Eastern cultures to denounce their identity and essentially put on a 'white mask' (Fanon 2008: 83). Fanon speaks about the process of decolonisation as the creation of what he calls *New Men* (2004: 2, 229, 238). He states that colonised cultures have a strong need for "collective catharsis" (Fanon 2004: 3). To create this New Man, these suffering cultures should retain ownership of their identity through engaging in violent revolution and rewriting history from their experiences (Fanon 2004: 3). Fanon writes that "violence frees the native from his inferiority complex and from the despair and inaction. It makes him fearless and restores his self-respect" (2004: 94). Fanon recognised the dangerous destructive elements of violence, although in the context of decolonisation he meant it as a tool for creation. Frantz Fanon longed for the restoration of inequalities brought forth by the history of injustices on colonised peoples and advocated for decolonisation.

With reference to my definition of terms, decolonisation marks the process of colonial departure and is the introduction to the next phase in colonial histories, post-colonialism and to the after-effects of colonialism which postcolonialism aims to address. The term postcolonialism "deals with the effects" of colonialisation "on cultures and societies" that have been subjected to some form of colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 167). After World War II, historians used the term chronologically to designate the post independent period (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 167). In the 1970s postcolonialism became a popular discourse in America and gradually spread to become a global theory that unpacks colonialism's impact on culture and politics (Wang 2018: 651).

Postcolonialism also has roots on the continent of Africa. As mentioned earlier, during the onset of decolonisation at the beginning of the twentieth century self-articulation and self-identification

became an important tool for the colonised to use against the coloniser. Decolonialist and anti-colonialist movements targeted the inequalities perceived as inherent in Western writing and art and endeavour to re-write identity and reconstitute subjectivity, culture and narratives from the perspective of the colonised (Ashcroft, Gareth & Tiffin 2007: 11, 12). Furthermore, it indicates an active move to undo colonial economic, socio-political and administrative structures, often by force. Anti-colonialism ironically uses colonial forms for its rebellious expression, borrowing from colonial discourses and forms of writing. The rise of nationalism in colonised countries echoed the rise of nationalism in European countries. The colonised utilised colonial ideologies to their advantage, turning them from colonial into anti-colonial discourses (Ashcroft, Gareth & Tiffin 2007: 11, 12). Africa saw the rise of African Nationalism[66] and amongst others, the development of the Pan-African Movement[67] (Steiner & Thomsan 2005: 503). The Pan-African Movement aimed to strengthen the self-

[66]During the first half of the twentieth century African Nationalism became a prevalent movement. African identities felt the loss of independence due to colonialism that brought with it unfair policies that stunted the economic and political growth of black identities (Okoth 2006: 3-12). African Nationalism expressed Africa's frustrations with the suppression of its peoples' cultures that led to poverty and segregation. African nationalism also recognised the desperate need for transformation and self-articulation. African nationalism formed against the backdrop of European nationalism. During the first and second world wars Africa supplied support, whether it was resources or soldiers to the battles for European humanitarian principles. African soldiers, who fought against the inhumane atrocities against the Nazis felt the need for the same humanitarian equalities to apply to their identities but were disappointed after the European peace treaty only took away Germany's colonial power and distributed the colonies to France and England. (Okoth 2006: 3-12). There are different reasons for the development of African Nationalism. African countries experienced the urbanisation of their cities and with the conglomeration of different identities there was a development of transculturalism (Okoth 2006: 3-12). Different cultures and identities recognised similarities in their suffering and united with one cause: independence and self-government. Colonial education also played a vital part in the development of African nationalism. Black voices such as Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), who later became the president of Ghana, became informants and educators giving black suppressed identities the international vocabulary and political philosophies that Africa utilised and adapted into anti-colonial tools Furthermore, the decolonisation process of countries such as India with leaders like Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1969) and his strategies of peaceful protest through boycotting and protesting, inspired black African identities to do the same (Okoth 2006: 3-12). African countries also took note of Liberia and Ethiopia, two countries who were never colonised and how they revealed the possibilities of self-determination (Okoth 2006: 3-12).

[67] In 1945 Manchester England, a conference was held to discuss the development of Africa as a union and the actions necessary to develop the independence of African cultures. The congress was titled the Pan African Congress and the action for change turned into the Pan-African Movement. The Pan-African Movement fostered the development of Pan-Africanism as an ideology. Pan-Africanism is aimed at establishing unity and to 'uplift' people of African descent, whether they are living in or outside the continent, to contribute to building Africa as a union (Adi 2018: 1- 3). Some scholars remark on the difficulty to define Pan-Africanism because it encompasses various moments in time and considers different colonial experiences in different places (Adi 2018: 1- 3). The broad definition of Pan-Africanism is generally understood as the social-cultural, political, and economic emancipation of African people or people with African heritage - referring to black internationalism that can be unpacked historically in relation to the imperial slave trade. Pan-Africanism also highlights the effort to develop Africa as a continent whether it be political or cultural. Pan-Africanism targets constitutions that feed racists ideologies (Adi 2018: 1- 3). The Pan-African Movement contributed to African nationalism, encouraging pride, self-determination, and strength in black cultures.

confidence of the black citizens of Africa after the cultural trauma inflicted by colonialism and practises such as slave trade (Steiner & Thomsan 2005: 503).

2.2.2 Postcolonial theory

I now turn to discussing the roots of postcolonial theory. It is important to understand that during the colonial era of the sixteenth to twentieth centuries, writings were dominated by a Western perspective. In contemporary postcolonial studies these writings, whether it be scientific, philosophical, political or literary, are deemed as colonial and Orientalist (Quinn 2017: 17-20). In 1978, Palestinian-American Edward Said (1935-2003) published a book titled *Orientalism* in which he explicates the inequalities between the East and the West. Like Fanon's scholarship (Dizayi 2019: 79), Said's book became a milestone that spurred on the studies of postcolonialism (Sawant 2011:2). I discuss postcolonialism largely in relation to Orientalism, as Leipoldt had a specific interest in the East. Said criticised traced the "invention of the Orient" back to the Western quest and appetite for the Other (Mazrui 2005:68) and identified the Western perspective in/of colonial writings and visual depictions of the peoples of Africa and mainly the Near and Far East (including most of Asia and the Middle East) from an assumed position of racial and cultural superiority (Quinn 2017: 17-20).

He termed the colonial writers as Orientalists. Orientalists often wrote or painted from the stance of what Jacques Lacan (1901-1910), a French psychoanalyst, called otherness, meaning they observed through a lens of supposed distancing that frames the one being looked at as an object, as exotic and a fetish, thereby romanticising the Orient. These fixations lead to stereotyping (for example viewing 'Orientals' as simultaneously fascinating and effeminate, devious and mysterious) and false exaggerations of "Oriental" identities and indulged Western racism, sexism, classism and assisted in theories of eugenics that validated colonial dominance (Quinn 2017: 17-20). By 'knowing' the Orient, the West came to 'own' it. The Orient became the studied, the observed, the object, the other. Edward Said noted the confluence of Orientalism and Sexism:

> [Orientalism] view[s] itself and its subject matter with sexist blinders.... [The local] women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing. Moreover, when women's sexuality is surrendered, the nation is more or less conquered. Thus, the sexual conquest of Asia's women correlates with the conquest of Asia itself (Woan 2008: 283).

In the article *White Sexual Imperialism: A Theory of Asian Feminist Jurisprudence* (2008), Sunny Woan explains that "white sexual imperialism" is a theory that defines the intersectionality of both sexual and racial inequality (2008: 277):

> This principle holds that the history of Western political, military, and economic domination of developing nations compelled women of these nations into sexual submission by White men. Moreover, at the global level, the vestige of Western imperialism has left women of colour subordinate to White men even today. The White sexual imperialism principle applies to the prevailing rationale for social inequality whenever: (1) the sexual- gender dynamic involves a White male and a non-White female, and (2) the non- White female descends from a culture or community that has been historically colonized by European or Anglican nations. Furthermore, this sexual-racial stereotype emerged as a direct result of the colonial encounter of war, presenting the Asian woman as an object for Western consumption and the satisfaction of Western desires (Woan 2008: 280).

Orientalism thus refers to a way of perceiving and understanding: how a Western, imperialist gaze objectifies and frames the other. The term other is often used in colonial and post-colonial discourse to examine the "relationship between the coloniser and the colonised" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 154). The term other generally refers to someone or something separate from 'oneself', creating a binary of the 'self' and the other. During the colonial era, European countries, dominating empire building, considered themselves as the 'self' observing the rest of the world as other. This view is problematic due to the 'self', in this case Europe, constituting what is deemed 'normal' and 'abnormal'. Otherness in colonial discourse creates binary hierarchy, with the coloniser dominating the colonised. Otherness creates separation and biased binaries between the coloniser and the colonised.

Postcolonial discourse examines the concept of otherness with reference to the contribution to the field by Jacques Lacan's (1901-1981). Lacan distinguishes between Other with a capital and other with a lower case o. Lacan designates the other as that which resembles the 'self'. Lacan considers the mirror phase as the moment a child discovers him- or herself as a separate reflection in the mirror. Lacan further discusses the mirror phase as the basis for the ego. In post-colonial studies the others constitute the colonised who have been marginalised by imperial discourse. In effect the marginalised colonies become part of the ego of the Imperial ('self'). Lacan ascribes the term Other with a capital letter to the Imperial ('self') as appeared through the eyes of the colonised. Other is seen as the grande-autre or the great other in whose eyes the colonised, gain's identity. In relation to Jacques Lacan, Gayatri Spivak, an Indian scholar, literary theorist and feminist critic, also contributed to the discourse of otherness. Spivak coined the term othering. Othering refers to the process of how imperial discourse creates others (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 154, 155, 156).

The Orient exists for the West and is constructed by and in relation to the West. Hall (1992: 185-186, 190) discusses notions of Orientalist viewpoints that often constructed modes of representation that

divided the world into a simple dichotomy of "the West and the rest". Hall (1992:186) states that this system "draws crude and simplistic distinctions and constructs an over-simplified conception of difference". In oversimplifying difference and marking difference as inferior, Orientalism became more an indicator of the power the West holds over the Orient, than about the Orient itself. Orientalism helped to define the West's[68] self-image. Edward Said's studies on Orientalism constructed a framework for scholars to deconstruct literary and historical texts to understand how they reinforced and reflected imperial discourse (Kohn, Margaret, Reddy & Kavita 2017: [sp]). Through Said's studies Orientalism could be understood as a form of oppression and structures of knowledge and discourse through which Westerners construct their image of the East, surfaced.

Postcolonial studies ask for the remembrance of colonial histories and how it affected colonised cultures (Meusburger, Heffernan & Wunder 2011: 289). Postcolonial studies acknowledge the cultural scars created by colonial contact (Ashcroft 2001: 4). Postcolonial studies uncover colonised cultures' process of rediscovering, redefining, self-identifying and the 'taking back' of ownership whether it be politics, economics, or cultural practises (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 168, 169, 170). The intention of postcolonial writing, literary or historic are often to reconstruct former histories through the deconstruction of Western perspective, to analyse the influences of colonialism (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 168, 169, 170).

Postcolonial studies unpack the complex dichotomy of the colonised and the coloniser (Ahmed & Al-Saidi 2014: 96). As previously stated, during the colonial era the literary and historic writings were dominated by the coloniser's perspective. Colonial writings, as made clear by Edward Said in *Orientalism*, often reinforces stereotypes of colonised identities (Quinn 2017: 17-20). Colonial writing, whether literary or scholarly, establishes a myth that reinforces white supremacy that conceives the 'self' as the ultimate form of judgment and reason (Memmi 1947: 47, 123). The colonial myth along

[68] In *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power* (1992), Stuart Hall unpacks the terms "West" and Western". The term "West" or "Western" is often used as generalised terms locating geographical regions in opposition to the East (Hall 1992: 185). Stuart Hall explains that "we need to remember that they represent very complex ideas and have no single meaning" (Hall 1992: 185). Although these "systems of representation did emerge from Europe, the "west is no longer only in Europe and not all of Europe is in the west" (Hall 1992: 185, 186, 190). The term "Western" can also be unpacked as a social-political ideology. Some countries that are marked by "western culture include the United States of America, Britain, most European countries, Australia and New Zealand" (Hall 1992: 185). It is important to state that this does not exclude "other countries in Asia, Africa and South America from identifying themselves as Western" (Hall 1992: 185). This study acknowledges that through post-colonial discourse the terms "Western" and "Eastern" are intrinsically embedded with Orientalist notions, coloniser and colonised power dynamics as well more complex contemporary socio-political ideologies that are not bound by geographical regions.

with the notion of otherness establishes characteristics that often villainise colonised cultures and ascribe qualities such as “the brave explorer”, “the selfless missionary”, “the educated politician” to the coloniser (Memmi 1947: 47, 123). The coloniser is celebrated as the conqueror and the colonised becomes the conquered (Ahmed & Al-Saidi 2014: 97).

Colonial and postcolonial writing include the binary of perpetrator and victim. (Memmi 1947: 190.) Postcolonial writing, historic and literary, shifted the colonial binary from the coloniser as the celebrated conqueror and the colonised as the ‘barbaric’, to identifying the coloniser as the perpetrators or villains in the narrative of the colonised who have been victims of colonial exploitation, revolting against colonial power (Aveling 2004: 160). Postcolonial writing presents the unequal power dynamics based on binary opposition (Ahmed & Al-Saidi 2014: 96).

Although the colonised and coloniser are often described as a dichotomy, Homi K. Bhabha (1949) identifies an ambivalent area in their relationship. Homi K. Bhabha (1949) is a key scholar within the postcolonial academe. He develops ideas regarding postcolonial perspectives from both the colonised and the coloniser with the aim of creating active agency and awareness (Huddart 2006: 2, 3). Homi K. Bhabha uses the term “ambivalence” to describe the complex nature of interaction that characterises the relationship between the coloniser and the colonised (Bhabha 1994: 95, 121, 183). The term ambivalence stands in relation to Bhabha’s notion of mimicry (Bhabha 1994: 58, 87, 88). He uses the term “mimicry” to explain how colonial discourse wants the colonised subject to be compliant (Bhabha 1994: 58, 87, 88). Much like Frantz Fanon’s idea of cultural assimilation, mimicry discusses how colonial discourse enforces the colonised to imitate or mimic the coloniser (Bhabha 1994: 58, 87, 88). Bhabha recognises that the process of assimilation intrinsically connects to ‘unequal power relations’ and that assimilation is not necessarily a ‘choice’ but can also occur forcefully. Mimicry can be applied to describe the phenomenon when colonised cultures adopt the colonisers’ habits, values, assumptions and institutions (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 124, 125).

Mimicry results in “blurred copies” or “imitations” of the actual (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 124). Mimicry can also be equated to re-enactments of the coloniser’s behaviour (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 125). Ambivalence discusses the notion of mimicry and its closeness to mockery (Bhabha 1994: 58, 87, 88). Mockery is understood as a parody of behaviour (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 124). Mockery can become a tool for colonial resistance (Bhabha 1994: 58, 87, 88).

Homi K. Bhabha's concepts such as mimicry, ambivalence, hybridity and the third space of enunciation to destabilise the 'neat' binary of coloniser or colonised.[69] In the article *A Study of the Notion of Bhabhasque's Hybridity in V.S. Naipaul's In a Free State* (2013) Ali Dehdari, Bita Darabi and Mehdi Sepehrmanesh address and unpack Homi K. Bhabha's theories. The article cites R. Habib (2005) who states that

> …these tenets are…a challenging of the notion of fixed identity, the undermining of binary oppositions, and an emphasis on language and discourse—together with the power relations in which these are imbricated—as underlying our understanding of cultural phenomena" (2013: 136).

In terms of destabilising the coloniser-colonised binary, hybridity refers to "neither one nor the other" (2013: 136). Homi K. Bhabha uses the term hybridity to identify the transference of culture, due to contact of different identities brought forth by colonialism (1994: 83). Hybridity pertains to many different forms such as linguistic, cultural, and political (1994: 83). Bhabha recognises the ambivalent space where different and various identities meet and fuse cultural ideologies and social practises. Bhabha calls this space the third space of enunciation (1994: 37).

The term liminal originates from the Latin word *limina* that refers to a threshold. A threshold suggests a crossover space, an in-between space that can be viewed as 'neither here nor there' (Skjoldager-Nielsen & Edelman 2014: 1) - similar to the definition of hybridity and ambivalence. Liminality is defined through ambiguity:

> …the term may be said to designate a transitory and precarious phase between stable states, which is marked off by conceptual, spatial and/or temporal barriers, within which individuals, groups and/or objects are set apart from society and/or the everyday. In liminality, participants have lost their former symbolic status, but they have not yet attained their new significance. Liminality, then, is an in-between of potent but dangerous formlessness. It denotes the social non-space in which transformation is experienced and achieved. (Skjoldager-Nielsen & Edelman 2014: 1).

[69] It should be stated that Bhabha's theories are also criticized and debated within postcolonial discourse by authors such as Paul Thomas, Philip Leonard, Anthony Easthope, Shaobo Xie, Monika Fludernik, and Lawrence Phillips, to name a few.

It can be stated that, hybridity, ambivalence and the third space of enunciation, exist within the liminal space that constitutes borders. In the article *Postcolonialism and Postsocialism in Fiction and Art: Resistance and Re-existance* (2017), Madina Tlostanova recognises a state of in-betweenness created by borders and boundaries and defines its occupants as "border dwellers"- transfixed and tensioned filled identities, neither belonging 'here nor there' functioning as "being outside the common system od coordinates almost prescribed a non-stop movement dynamic…" continuously questioning their positionality (2017:131).

During colonial pursuit and empire building conquests, spaces were established where different cultures came into contact with one another. Regarding what she terms "contact zones"[70] (Wilson 2019: 712), Mary Louise Pratt states that:

> I use this term to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they lived out in many parts of the world today (Pratt 1992: 7).

The concept of a contact zone also bears reference to what Homi K. Bhabha termed the third space of enunciation (1994:83). Ambivalence can also be used to unpack identity discussions regarding settler communities, specifically settler communities that had formed new identities from European colonisers and then developed into "a people" belonging to the colonised country (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007:193, 194). Postcolonialism explores these ambiguous identities, especially how these identities situate themselves in a contemporary decolonised country (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007:193, 194).

Afrikaans communities termed white and so-called coloured, are cultures that were born from a period of colonialism and have assimilated with the colonies evolving into a new identity; belonging and self-identifying as a community of South Africa (Oliver 2017: 5). Settler communities, dislocated from their own point of origin, have difficulties in establishing their own identity in a simultaneously "new" and "familiar" place (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 193, 184). Dislocation is defined as an "active sense of self" that is eroded either by migration, slave trade, or voluntary removal from an original place (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2007: 65, 161).

[70] In 1991 Mary Louise Pratt "introduced the concept of the contact zone in a keynote address to the Modern Language Association titled *Arts of the Contact* Zone" (Schorch 2013: 68). The term has since then been appropriated in other fields in the humanities and has been used in the context of "feminist theory, critical race theory" and "postcolonial theory", among others (Schorch 2013: 68). "The *contact zone* is similar to other concepts that address relationality and contiguity such as positionality, standpoint theory, perspectivism, intersectionality and relationality" (Schorch 2013: 70).

In South Africa, white Afrikaners can be described as having an ambivalent identity, simultaneously portraying the coloniser and the colonised and displaying a flux between these two roles at different moments in time (Viljoen & van der Merwe 2004: 4). In the introduction to his study *Die Afrikaner*, Herman Giliomee discusses white Afrikaner as both the colonised and the coloniser. He continues by stating that The Great Trek and The Anglo Boer War can be discussed as anti-colonial and decolonial movements, constituting post-colonial moments where white Afrikaners sought independence away from British colonial rule (2003: [sp]). During The Great Trek, white Afrikaners invaded territories that belonged to "native communities". Ironically, as pointed out in Chapter 2.1: The voyage, in an effort to escape colonialism, they colonised to gain a sense of self (Giliomee 2003: [sp]).

2.2.3 The colonial past is present

It is important to note that postcolonialism and the subsequent studies of anti-colonialism and decolonisation are not definitive moments in time, but rather a continuous movement. Throughout history there are various key moments that constitute as post-colonial (Sawant 2011: 2). Although a continuous process, postcolonialism and post-colonialism is time and place specific. Each country, culture or even individuals, who have been subjected to colonialism, whether they be considered the coloniser or colonised, have their own specific relationship with decolonisation and postcolonialism. Postcolonial studies must be viewed in relation with the experiences of colonialism, myths, histories, and languages of individual countries, nations and cultures (Sawant 2011: 2).

Mignolo (2017: [sp]) views decolonisation as the discourse that arose in relation to the event of decolonisation in Africa and Asia in the mid-20th century. Anti-colonialism, at the time, referred to the colonised peoples' political struggle against the ideologies and other practises implemented by colonialism. Anti-colonialism marks the point where colonial resistance became articulated with an emphasis on rejecting colonial power, with the aim to restore local control (Ashcroft, Gareth & Tiffin 2007: 11, 12) and gain independence. Decolonisation refers to the transfer of power from colonial powers back to the colonised. Decolonisation in this sense indicates an event - the end of territorial invasion, colonial administration, and political rule. The mid-twentieth century saw the decolonisation of many African countries (South Africa not included). After decolonisation, countries enter a post-colonial period. For Mignolo (2017 [sp]), the similarity between the terms post- and de-colonial are that the terms are both "historical and conceptual" as well as "theoretical and political".

However, Ngugi Wa Thiong'o (2004:88), speaking in the context of language and literature, suggests that decolonisation is also about rejecting the centrality of the West in articulating Africa's and African identities. Thus, decolonisation not only targets the inequalities of Western systems of governance,

politics and economics, but also subjectivities. It further subverts colonial attempts to over-write indigenous notions of history, identity, culture, and stories and reframes these (Ashcroft, Gareth & Tiffin 2007:11, 12) beyond a colonial context.

The after-effects of colonialism impedes these goals. In Ndlovu-Gathsheni's (cited in Omage 2020: [sp]) definition of colonisation mentioned earlier, colonisation can be dated in terms of when it began and when it ended. However, colonialism had other implications as well, the effects of which outlast colonialism and infiltrated all spheres of life, including literature and theatre. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cited in Omage 2020) explains it as follows:

> A very complex power structure that transforms a people's way of life..., colonialism is the invention of asymmetrical and colonial intersubjective relations between colonizer (citizen) and colonized (subject); and it economically institutes dispossession and transfers of economic resources from those who are indigenous to those who are conquering and foreign. It claims to be a civilizing project, as it hides its sinister motives. The project also creates institutions and structures of power that sustain colonizer-colonized relations of exploitation, domination, and repression. Even when you push back colonization as a physical process (the physical empire), colonialism as a power structure continues as a metaphysical process and as an epistemic project, because it invades the mental universe of a people, destabilizing them from what they used to know, into knowing what is brought in by colonialism, and it then commits "crimes" such as epistemicide (where you kill and displace pre-existing knowledges), linguicide (killing and displacing the languages of a people and imposing your own), culturecide (where you kill or replace the cultures of a people).

Coloniality perpetuates the effects of colonialism in contemporary times (Ndlovu-Gatsheni cited in Omage 2020: [sp]). Maldonado-Torres (2007: 243) emphasises that coloniality is perpetuated through books, "criteria for academic performance, cultural patterns", in what is viewed as common sense, as well as in "the self-image" and aspirations of peoples. White privilege can be considered a form of coloniality. White privilege exposes social bias and ostracization within public settings due to racial misconceptions brought forth by years of racist ideologies interwoven into the structure of society's institutions. White privilege is "both a legacy" and "the cause of racism" (Collins: 2018: 11). White privilege exists because of "historic, enduring racism and biases" (Collins: 2018: 14).

Furthermore, Herman Giliomee discusses white Afrikaners as both the colonised and the coloniser (Giliomee 2003: [sp]), and by implication, as possibly perpetuating coloniality. It should also be stated that white Afrikaner nationalism did not disappear after 1994. Notably on 16 April 2016 the National Conservative Party (NKP) was formed, informed by its predecessor the Conservative Party (CP), and has attained a following of a wide spectrum of particularly white conservative and nationalist South Africans. The (AWB) is also still an active extremist group in contemporary South Africa. In the article *Transnational White Supremacist Militancy Thriving in South Africa* (2020) John Gampbell writes that:

> Since the 1990s, when apartheid finally collapsed, race relations have remained raw, and the white population still holds much of the economic capital. The country remains one of the world's premier examples of the postcolonial challenges in managing racial tensions and promoting a sustainable national identity in a democratic context with the rule of law …within South Africa, there are periodic reminders of the enduring threat of white supremacist violence. In 2019, for instance, four members of the "Crusaders," a white supremacist group, were arrested for plotting attacks against Black targets. The *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), founded in 1973 by noted white supremacist Eugène Terre'Blanche, also remains active today. The group apparently boasts around 5,000 members, and in 2010, members of the group were arrested for plans to attack Black townships in the wake of the murder of Terre'Blanche—which some claimed was racially motivated…(2020: [sp]).

Unlike the visible presence of white Afrikaner nationalism, in contemporary South Africa, there are many aspects of the country's socio-political and cultural structures, as well as epistemological grounding that maintain a colonial impulse. Colonialism's legacy is phantom-like in its contemporary post-colonial present. As previously discussed, borders and boundaries in South African history were drawn in various ways and instances: by moments that mapped territories through acts of imperial infiltration, colonial settlement, the division of provinces, separation, and relocation during apartheid segregation, among others. These boundaries have transformed into what can be described as 'phantom-like' scars in the contemporary post-colony. In the article *Phantom borders: the role in territorial identity and the impact on society* (2020), Vladimir Kolosov explains that phantom borders are "boundaries which do not exist anymore but, however, have an impact on society" and manifest "scars of history in the mind of people" (2020:1-3). Phantom borders aptly demonstrate the perpetuation of coloniality and in South Africa are arguably evident in issues such as land reformation.

As previously mentioned, due to the apartheid Natives Land Act (1913), many black, coloured, and Eastern identities were evicted from productive land and relocated to what was termed *Tuislande* (Bantustans). Land reform debate also considers the complex colonial histories of South Africa's geographic regions, such as the Boer settler communities and their claims to land, as well as interracial tensions regarding the Zulu empire building strategies of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, that point to the invasion of land belonging to other black cultures (Makhando 2012: 3). The claim to land has also merged with another post-colonial issue regarding the names of cities, towns, and streets due to the diverse languages and historic experiences. Different cultures belonging to South Africa, have different names for and connotations with specific places and spaces in the country. An important goal during post-apartheid era is to promote nation building and restitution through the (re)naming and naming of the country's geographical features. In 1998 parliament passed the South African Names Council Act and since the end of apartheid many landmarks, streets, and places have undergone transformation through being renamed (Musitha 2015: 58).

The ongoing impact of colonialism and the mechanisms by which this 'ongoigness' is maintained, reverberates in the present. In this sense, decolonisation necessitates an ongoing process of 'decolonising', which postcolonialism aims to support. Postcolonialism surfaces how histories unfolded and how hegemonies became so with regards to European colonialism, as well as stimulates "new dialogues about history and thus bringing into being new histories and from those new histories, new presents and new futures" (Bhambra, 2014:117). Postcolonialism looks "into all aspects of society, including cultural practices and artefacts such as literature and theatre", and considers the "agency of the colonised in the colonial and postcolonial projects" (Ashcroft, Gareth & Tiffin 2007:1-2). This resonates with my research and my aims with the playtext I create.

The term "postcoloniality", refers to a "contemporary state, situation [or] condition" and I use it in the context of post-colonialism and postcolonialism (Shohatt cited in Radhakrishnan 1993:751). The ideals of postcolonialism resonate with decolonial discourse, in which coloniality (ongoing effects of colonialism the present) and decoloniality (an ongoing process of eliminating colonial impact in all spheres of life) stands central (Mignolo 2017[sp]). South African scholars who took up this discourse and line of thinking include amongst others, Ndlovu-Gathseni (see Omanga 2020) and Mpofu (2018: [sp]). Mignolo (2017: [sp]) links coloniality with modernity, which I acknowledge, but a discussion of which falls outside of the scope of this dissertation. Mignolo (2017: [sp]), the term decoloniality more aptly speaks to contemporary interpretations of engaging with the after-effects of colonialism. Decoloniality refers to the "logic, metaphysics, ontology and matrix of power" created by the

aftermath of colonialism and ongoing actions. It is a way of bringing to the fore histories, knowledges and voices that were marginalised by colonialism and surfacing "the connections between knowledge, social practices and social action" (Mignolo 2017: [sp]). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 485) defines decoloniality as a "long-standing political and epistemological movement" that focuses on liberation not only of people, but also of ways of "thinking, knowing, and doing" that is Western-based. (Mignolo, 2011: 9). For Mignolo, decoloniality attempts to engage in "epistemic disobedience to re-envision knowledge production", power, and ways of being (Mignolo 2011: 9).

Bhambra (2014: 120) states that both postcolonialism and decoloniality are committed to challenging colonial epistemological dominance. The crux of decoloniality then, is a "liberation struggle" that intends to "free the world from global coloniality" (Ndlovu-Gathseni 2020). Bhambra (2014: 119) explains the differences and interweave between postcolonialism and decoloniality as follows:

> …both postcolonialism and decoloniality are developments within the broader politics of knowledge production and both emerge out of political developments contesting the colonial world order established by European empires, albeit in relation to different time periods and different geographical Orientations…

Ideas of decoloniality centres on the work of amongst others, Anibal Quijano, María Lugones and Walter Mignolo. It was linked to "world-systems theory", to "development and underdevelopment" theories and to critical social theory (Bhambra 2014: 115). Decoloniality looks at European invasions in the Americas, particularly South America, from the fifteenth century onwards (Bhambra 2014: 115). Postcolonialism and decoloniality both challenge the "insularity of historical narratives and historiographical traditions emanating from Europe" (Bhambra 2014: 115). Both unsettle and reconstitute processes of knowledge production (Bhambra 2014: 115). Decoloniality is thus an epistemological project: to "delink" ourselves from the structures of knowledge imposed by colonialism towards self-identification and de-centring of colonial structured and epistemologies (Mignolo 2017: [sp]). Towards this end, and in reference to South Africa, Prinsloo (2016: 165) states that the self-articulation of identity needs to start with "re-centring ourselves intellectually and culturally, by redefining what the centre is – Africa".

In recent years Europe has experienced immense pressure emanating from previously colonised countries to repatriate[71] "stolen" (German 2008: [sp]) artifacts, reaped from their homelands during imperial governance. In an article *Repatriating artworks* (2008) Senta German states that:

> Repatriation claims are based on law but, more importantly, represent a fervent desire to right a wrong—a kind of restorative justice—which also requires an

[71] In the article *Indeterminacy in the cultural property restitution debate* Pauno Soirila writes that "The debate over the restitution of cultural property is usually framed as the dispute between what John Henry Merryman

> admission of guilt and capitulation. This is what makes repatriations difficult: nations and institutions seldom concede that they were wrong. The debate over repatriation engages powerful and personal sentiments of morality, nationhood, and identity (2008: [sp]).

Mignolo (2017: [sp]) briefly explains the differences between postcolonialism and decoloniality referencing contextual differences of the geographical locations in which the terms postcolonial and decolonial was born, differences in approach, as well as the time-frames to which these terms refer. While I acknowledge these differences, I agree with Bhambra (2014) that looking at the commonalities between these terms may open up broader possibilities for application. These commonalities are centred on a focus on the aftermath of colonialism and its ongoing effects by means of the colonial imposition of a supposedly universal model of understanding, and being in, the world, as well as struggles for self-definition outside of a colonial context (Bhambra 2014: 115–121). The underlying tensions of continued inequality and coloniality amongst those inhabiting the Rainbow Nation came into sharp relief in 2015 with various decolonial protests.

The year 2015 marked a significant decolonial moment in the process of post-colonial South Africa. At The University of Cape town (UCT) on the 9th of March, a black student, Chamani Maxwele, smeared excrement on the statue of the British colonialist Cecil J. Rhodes (1853-1902)[72]. This act by Maxwele caused an awareness of colonial presence still evident in contemporary South Africa. This awareness gained momentum and spurred a movement called the #RhodesMustFall movement (Murris 2016: 274, 278).

defined as 'cultural nationalism' and 'cultural internationalism': the opposite viewpoints that argue whether cultural heritage objects should be returned to their countries of origin or spread around the world as determined by other principles" (2020: 1). Furthermore, repatriation also opens up conversations and age old debates regarding whether to define ancient objects under the umbrella term of art or defining them as sacred cultural artifacts (Kimeria 2019: [sp]). Legal frameworks regarding repatriation of cultural property were gradually developed since the 1950s, when truths of colonisation and "war crimes against humanity began to be exposed". In the aftermath of the "widespread destruction of art during the Second World War", the 1954 Hague Convention, "sought to protect cultural property" amisdst conflict. The 1970 UNESCO allowed for "stolen objects to be seized if there was proof of ownership"(German 2008: [sp]), "followed by the 1995 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, which calls for the return of illegally excavated and exported cultural property" (German 2008: [sp]). These conventions and treaties, paved the way for "legal obligation for the return of cultural artefacts" (German 2008: [sp]).

[72] Cecil John Rhodes was born in 1853, Hertfordshire, England. He was sent to South Africa at the age of seventeen for his health. By 1871 he became part of the mining industry in Kimberly where he would establish global dominance in the diamond industry. At the age of twenty-seven Rhodes became a member of the Cape Parliament. In 1890 he became Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Rhodes was an imperialist and believed in white supremacy. He died in 1890 from heart failure (Langton 1944: 8, 9).

The movement was aimed at the decolonisation of the Western epistemology of the South African education system with longstanding colonial histories and upheld by the Apartheid regime. A series of protests followed such as the #FeesMustFall aimed at exposing white privilege and the economic class difference between white students and black or coloured student and called for the universities to scrap education fees as an act of social justice and optimising access to university education. Furthermore, the year 2015 also saw the #AfrikaansMustFall movement predominantly occurring at Pretoria, Free State, Stellenbosch, and Northwest universities, also aimed at higher education to be more inclusive and to redesign some of the universities' traditions and discourses that structurally perpetuated colonial and apartheid hierarchies (Dube 2019: 13-27). In the interests of equality and in some ways similar to the Soweto uprisings of 1976, the #AfrikaansMustFall movement also aimed to do away with Afrikaans (seen as the language of the oppressor) as a medium of instruction. Later in the year 2015, Pretoria Girls High School drew attention to colonial legacies prevalent in school uniform traditions. A black schoolgirl voiced her opinion about the school uniform regulations not being accommodating towards the specificities of black hair (Parther 2016: [sp]).

This movement also brought to the fore political iconoclasm to dismember traces of the colonial past. Iconoclasm is a term referring to the act of destroying icons, images, and monuments for political or religious reasons (Kolrud & Prusac 2016: 1). Political iconoclasm refers to the destruction or alteration of images and objects imbued with specific cultural memory with the intent to damage its esteemed value within a society. The concept *damnatio memoriae* refers to the "condemnation of memory", resulting in acts that seek to punish particular pasts. The term originated in ancient Rome as a form of political advisory that sought to erase the memory of a leader that was deemed a tyrant[73], traitor or an enemy in the eyes of the senate after his death (Kolrud & Prusac 2016: 2). The term tyrant is often applied to sovereigns who abuse their power in order to violate justice, to oppress his or her people, and to make his or her "subjects the victims of their passions and unjust desires", which they substitute for laws (Kumar 2017: [sp]; Hann 2020: 2). Tyranny is defined through self-serving and oppressive regimes (Kumar 2017: [sp]; Hann 2020: 2). From a postcolonial perspective and a revision

[73] The word tyrant "originates from the Greek *tyrannos*", a term that was initially used to describe the new type of leader "that were seizing power from established aristocratic rulers" in the seventh century BCE. Generally, a ruler was described as a tyrant if he had enough money to hire armed forces allowing him to overthrow the residing monarch, as well as ongoing funds to retain the mercenaries' loyalty. Popularity amongst local peasants was also of vital importance to the tyrannical leader, "which was often initially obtained as the tyrant seemingly offered an alternative system", promising them utopias. Citizens "disillusioned with the current system would opt for the unknown tyrant's views instead" (Kumar 2017: [sp]). The monarchs were bound by constitutions and laws to protect their citizens as sovereigns, while the tyrants quickly demonstrated that personal gain was their driving force. When democracy became the popular political ideology in Greece, tyranny became villainised in opposition to liberal ideals (Kumar 2017: [sp]; Hann 2020: 2).

of colonial historic accounts, colonialism can be described as a tyrannical regime that saw the "self-serving" (Hann 2020: 2) desires of the West actualised through empire building schemes that reaped 'the colonies' of wealth, oppressed abused and enslaved countries under the guise of justice, morality and economic progression while ensuring complete autonomy by punishing any opposition or rebellion that questioned it's 'right to govern'.

The aim of *damnatio memoriae* is to use the erasure of images to dismantle oppressive values carried within the symbol of a tyrannical ruler by destroying the figure"s remnants (images paintings, statues and written accounts of his actions), proclaiming his values as disgraceful. The term is still used today in the context of politics, usually when one party takes over the rule from another and in an attempt to assert autonomy, inflicts "harsh denigration" of the past leadership. The term *demnatio memoriae* coincides with the annihilation, "wiping out the memory of an individual or an event from history" and is generally understood to aim at erasing the memory of particular events from the past (Calomino 2020: 1- 6). In *Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem: Steve Hofmeyr and Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid Afrikaans cinema*, Broodryk (2016: 460) cites Viljoen who concluded that:

> The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and its narratives of police brutality, politically-motivated murder and relentless racial oppression during apartheid discredited the idealism of Afrikaner identity (Viljoen et al., 2004: 4).

It can be stated that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings marked a significant shift for white Afrikaner's self-articulation, from deeming itself as a victim of British Imperialism, celebrating white Afrikaner nationalism to admitting its villainous tyrannical role in the trajectory of South Africa's history. The act of self-reflection and revision of history coincides with postcolonial discourse (Colmerio 2011: 20) and therefore 'the moment of admission' of historical crimes can mark an exponential postcolonial moment for white Afrikaners. It can be stated that the past transformed from a site that garnered mythic and heroic value for white Afrikaners to a site that symbolises tyranny, violence, and oppressive behaviour - a site of condemnation.

Arguably, contemporary post-colonial, post-apartheid South Africa has seen the "condemnation of colonial memory" especially dismantling the images of whiteness that are associated with colonial infiltration, slavery, and Apartheid-tyrannical regimes (Sonnekus 2016: 43, 44). In June 2020 the statue of president Marthinus Theunis Steyn[74] (1857-1916), president of the Boer republic, the Orange Free State during the Anglo Boer War, was removed from the Free state University's campus (de Villiers

[74] Martinus Theunis Steyn (1857-1916) was a "South African lawyer, politician, and statesman. He was the sixth and last president of the independent republic the Orange Free State from 1896 to 1902" (Giliomee 2003: 44).

2020: [sp]). Steyn is a symbol of decolonisation for white Afrikaners because he played a vital role in the independence wars against the British colonial rule, but since he forms part of white Afrikaner history, he is considered as a symbol of colonialism and white supremacy in the eyes of black identities in South Africa. His removal has caused uproar especially amongst white Afrikaners since M. T. Steyn was considered as "an avid fighter against colonial rule" (de Villiers 2020: [sp]). What can be described as an attack on statues and monuments has become an act of decolonisation, and the year 2020 has seen the dismantling of colonial vestiges continue on a global scale[75].

The result of 'the condemnation of whiteness' and colonial memory in postcolonial South Africa is a white identity crisis where white identities both struggle to acknowledge the historical and continued privileges of whiteness and to only view and experience their lineage alongside guilt and shame. In *Seeing ghosts: The past in contemporary images of Afrikaner self-representation*, Theo Sonnekus cites prominent scholars Blaser (2012), De Vries (2012), Giliomee (2009) and Walker (2005) to conclude with the statement that "…the current state of affairs in which Afrikaners find themselves are often thought of as disempowered, emasculated, traumatised and insecure – a 'crisis' of identity" (2016: 31). It can be argued that whiteness as it pertains to the Afrikaans identity (within the context of this study) is grappling with the tyrannical 'wrong doings' of the pasts; that I liken to tormented ghosts, haunting the present state of white Afrikaner. Homi K. Bhabha, in his book *The Location of Culture* (1994), states that memory is a bridge between the past and the present and that "histories" can intrude the present. In the article *Learning to live with ghosts: Post-colonial Hauntings,* Stef Craps states that colonialism is not a matter of the past (Craps 2010: 468). According to him "the past surfaces again and again and past injuries keep revealing themselves in present relations" (Craps 2010: 478). Postcolonialism is haunted by the condemned memories of the colonial past.

In the explication of ghosts in *The book of Symbolism: Reflections on Archetypal Images* (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 788), ghosts are linked to the subconscious fear of death. They are personifications of

[75] Oxford College in England has seen similar protests emerge in June 2020, advocating for the removal of controversial colonialist figures such as Cecil John Rhodes (1890-1902) and Edward Colston (1636-1721), a seventeenth century slave trader. These figures have become symbols of problematic colonial pasts, white supremacy, and racism (Race & Briant 2020: [sp]) These protests form part of a larger protest titled the #BlackLivesMatter, a black identity campaign with its origins in the USA and coined in 2013 by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullers and Opal Tometi. The movement was initiated in response to Trayvon Martin's murder by George Zimmerman (Alvarez & Buckley 2013: [sp]). The #BlackLivesMatter movement became a global phenomenon in May 2020 after an online video emerged, depicting white police officer, Derek Chauvin, forcefully pinning down George Floyd, a black American citizen, during an arrest. The arrest turned into a brutal misconduct of power because Officer Chauvin suffocated George Floyd (Parks 2020: [sp]). There is an awareness of black identity politics within contemporary post-colonial societies.

shadowy warnings. If someone returns in a ghostly form, it often means the apparition is restless and brings a message from the past (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 788). Ghosts in literature can be used to express concerns about mortality and cultural discontinuity; during times of social change ghosts are also seen as signifiers of something at fault in a society (Lee 2017: 8). The word ghost can be used metaphorically as a political term to refer to things and beings excluded or forgotten (Lee 2017: 9). 'Ghosts' and 'hauntings' can therefore be viewed as apt allegories for the present social and political post-colonial and postcolonial context of South Africa. The restlessness of our colonial past, penetrating our lived present, can only be addressed when the 'ghosts' of the past are faced and brought to light.

The story of Governor Gysbert van Noodt's ghost who 'lives' in the Castle of Good Hope, alludes to the specific colonial past that not only haunts contemporary South Africa, but that haunts white Afrikaner identity. As previously stated, Governor Gysbert van Noodt's story was adapted into an Afrikaans play by C. L. Leipoldt in 1930, called *Die Laaste Aand*. This study intends to revisit C. L. Leipoldt' play from a viewpoint in a post-colonial present, locating key colonial motifs. This study will then speculate as to why Leipoldt chose to reawaken the myth of Van Noodt during the time of the onset of apartheid. This analysis of the play will ultimately highlight key themes that can form the foundation for the contemporary postcolonial adapted text.

Figure 10: The ghost of Gysbert Van Noodt at the Castle of Good Hope, ink drawing (Van der Merwe 2020).

2.3 Theatre resurrects

I locate this study in the contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial present, which is arguably haunted by the tyrannical injustices of the past. This section excavates Afrikaans theatre history and offers examples of white Afrikaner texts in the contemporary post-apartheid and post-colonial present that specifically speak to white Afrikaner's ambiguous relation with its past. I demonstrate that as history unfolds, white Afrikaans theatre has the capacity to reflect, comment and protest political and social contingencies.

To do so, this chapter provides a broad and necessarily incomplete overview of white Afrikaner theatre history to position white Afrikaans theatre in the broader South African theatre landscape. I draw on existing documentation of white Afrikaans theatre history uncovered by figures such F. C. L. Bosman (1928, 1980), L. W. B. Binge (1969), J. C. Kannemeyer (1970), Danie Botha (2006) and Temple Hauptfleisch (1997, 2005) to name a few. This section of the chapter uncovers how colonial contact broadly influenced storytelling modes in South African theatre. I refer to representative examples of playwrights and playtexts, whilst acknowledging the unequal power dynamics that unjustly favoured the development of white artistic output. White English theatre was also privileged by the Afrikaner nationalist government in an attempt to foster white nationalism, Afrikaans theatre remained at the top of the theatre hierarchy (Coetzee & Loots 2019: 279). I also briefly discuss C. L. Leipoldt and his play *Die Laaste Aand* in relation to the 1930s to situate him within this history. I discuss Leipoldt and the text in detail in Chapter 4: C. L. Leipoldt and *Die Laaste Aand* (1930). Lastly, I position theatre as having the capacity to revisit tormented histories - ultimately resurrecting ghosts as an act of critical refection.

2.3.1 Colonialism, post-colonialism and South African theatre

The act of storytelling is present in many cultures, whether cultures are considered Eastern, African, or Western[76] in the milieu of colonialism, all with long standing oral traditions. Colonialism saw the

[76] Wilkenson (2009: 34) states that Western theatre history arguably originated in ancient Greece, specifically in the city of Athens during the 5th century BCE. Athens hosted many festivals in honour of Greek deities and theatre is specifically interlinked with the god Dionysus. Dionysus is often described as the 'god of wine'; he is "an anarchic figure who presided over the irrational altered states of ecstasy" (Wilkenson 2009: 34). Dionysus was considered as "a patron of actors" and plays were regularly performed at Athens in his honour (Wilkenson 2009: 34). The term 'theatre' stems from the ancient Greece word '*theatron*' that means "an instrument for viewing" (Brown 2001: 13, 14). Other contemporary theatre terminologies such as drama, tragedy, comedy, scene, episode, chorus, music, character, mime, and dialogue (to name a few) are also derivative from the Greek language (Brown 2001: 13, 14). Western theatre viewed the theatre of ancient Greece as its birthplace, as confirmed by the thinking of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment (See Chapter 3.2 Magic realism). This idea was also prevalent in the South African theatre landscape, that moulded itself on the British form (Coetzee & Loots 2013: 278-279) – also historically rooted in the Greek theatre of the 5th century BCE until into the 20th century. Moreover, it was positioned as the model for theatre, with the result that products and modes of

collision of different oral traditions while emphasising the necessity of cultures to process the 'ordinary' through an artistic form. Theatre allows for reflection through the enactment of the "everyday" or "fantastical" in a structured form of ceremony (Schrader 2012: 16).

Theatre stems from ancient forms of oral storytelling, songs, myths[77], folklore and dance that played a vital part in cultural rituals[78] and creative expression (Rozik 2005: 1) in many cultures across the globe. Rituals are defined as patterns of behaviour that are used for the structuring of the everyday or the esoteric (Stephenson 2015: 5, 38). Rituals can be intertwined within the philosophy, religion, creative expression, healing methods and politics of a culture (Rozik 2005:1). These cultural rituals were, and remains, important for perpetuating traditions, memorialising cultural identity and for communal catharsis (Jennings 1998: 33).

The oldest recorded 'performances' in South Africa, are of shamanic[79] dances that are portrayed on San rock paintings and are speculated to be 25 000 years old (Hauptfleish 2005: 2). With the arrival of the Nguni tribes around 7000 years ago, a set of new rituals involving song, dance, myths and folktales became part of the 'storytelling' landscape of South Africa (Hauptfleish 2005:2). The landscape of performance in South Africa would continue to reshape and transform with the arrival of European colonialists during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Before the inclusion of European colonialists, the Cape was home to the Khoi-Khoi, Khoisan and San communities (that occupied the coast of South Africa for approximately 11 000 years) (Friedman 2015: 1-16). The Khoi-Khoi communities, much like the other African groups, conveyed and documented traditions through the telling and (re)telling of

performance not aligning with its form, aesthetics, and values (such as indigenous modes of performance) were seen as quasi-theatrical and in need of artistic development. This formed the basis of the misnomers 'high' and 'low' art (Friedman 2015: 1-16). The first was supposedly more aligned with culture and the other with social ritual (Friedman 2015: 1-16).

[77] The term mythology refers to the study of myths. Myths often arise from the inexplicable and existential philosophies of a society. The word myth derives from the Greek term *mythos* that generally refers to "a tale" (Kirk 1973: 8). Cultures can create a collective of myths, often structuring them in forms of an epic. Myths frequently become a culture's religion and characters are often gods, demigods, and supernatural humans (Schrader 2012: 16).

[79] Segal and Von Stuckrad (2015: 331) explain that shamanism is an ancient spiritual healing practice performed by a shaman. The practice of shamanism dates to tens of thousands of years ago and is part of the spiritual belief systems of a vast number of cultures. The shaman's role in the community is multi-faceted and interchangeable. The shaman preforms the role of the healer, adviser, storyteller, and spiritual leader. Shaman practices are central to the cultures that practice these beliefs. These practices often involved "night-time rituals involving singing, drumming and chanting; beliefs about illness and healing, such as soul loss and recovery, alterations of consciousness conceptualised as soul flight, and many other features such as animal spirits, belief about transformation into animals, an experience of death and rebirth, and the use of supernatural power to cause sickness and death" (Segal & von Stuckrad 2015: 331).

their cultural stories, folklore, values, and beliefs (Barnard 1992: 82). Whilst historical modes of indigenous performance prevailed throughout the many cultures inhabiting pre-colonial South Africa, discussing these falls outside of the scope of the dissertation.

While the Khoi-Khoi communities practised their traditions on land, Western voyagers and colonialists enjoyed small enactments and other modes of entertainment, such as singing and dancing aboard the traveling ships as they sailed along the shores of South Africa (Hauptfleish 2005: 3). "The first formal performances of European plays" (Hauptfleish 2005: 3) were staged on ships or at the docks of the Cape Colony that were rapidly expanding during the seventeenth century. A version of the popular English playwright William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (written between 1599 and 1601) was said to have been performed in 1608 on board a "Captain Keeling's ship *Dragon Dragon*" while in Sierra Leone and again when the shipped docked at Table Bay (Hauptfleish 2005: 3). As previously discussed, by the mid-1600s the Cape had developed into an outpost belonging to the Dutch East India Trading Company. In 1652 with the arrival of Governor Jan van Riebeek, the main priorities of the colonisers were administration and colony building.

By 1701 the population of the Cape Colony had increased and was occupied by predominantly French, Dutch and English European settlers. Slaves were also brought to the Cape from Malaysia, Eastern Asia, Madagascar, and other parts of Africa. The enslaved people with their distinctive identities brought with them their individual cultural traditions celebrated through artforms such as music, dance and storytelling, that all contributed to the shaping of South African theatre.

According to Temple Hauptfleisch (2005: 4), the French settlers had a significant influence on the cultural life in the Cape Colony. From the year 1797 the Cape Colony was temporarily occupied by the French garrison and the French soldiers provided a theatre space in the barracks where they re-enacted scenes from European plays. Hauptfleich (2005: 3) states that other influences regarding the development of theatre came from the slave quarters of the colony, where a type of underground theatre had developed. Most of the information regarding the underground theatre is speculative. However, there appears to be a text written by a slave called *Maijet*, which is considered as one of the earliest forms of protest theatre[80] in South Africa: written, performed, and viewed by enslaved people, revealing realities about their social conditions during the age of colonialism (Hauptfleisch 2005: 5).

[80] Attridge and Jolly (1998: 8) state that protest theatre can be defined as theatre that makes "a statement of disapproval or disagreement". Protest theatre "addresses itself to an oppressor with the view of appealing to the perpetrator's conscience" (Attridge & Jolly 1998: 8). Protest theatre is often called a theatre of complaint, or occasionally it is described as the "theatre of weeping". It is in many ways a theatre of mourning and

By 1799 the Cape was formally a colony of the British Empire. British Governor, Sir George Yonge (1731-1812) designed and built the first theatre building in South Africa, called the African Theatre. The African Theatre opened in 1801 with a production of Shakespeare's *Henry the Fourth* (written before 1597) and became a performance space for amateur Dutch, French, and English theatre creators. However, in 1838 there was a religious uprising against theatre production. The African Theatre was transformed into a Dutch Reformed Church and remains as such in contemporary South Africa. Dutch performance collectives such as *Tot Nut en Vermaak*, *Door Yver Bloeit de Kunst* and *Thespis Aurora* took a moral stance and sought to educate the community (Hauptfleish 2005: 7).

In contrast to the Dutch theatre of the first centuries after colonialisation, English theatre was characterised by entertainment through drama and pantomime. William Shakespeare's *The Twelfth Night* (written between 1601 and 1602) and *Othello* (written in 1603) were particularly popular amongst viewers. The British Empire had a curiosity for the 'otherness' that the colonies had to offer (Hauptfleish 2005: 3). During the 1800s performances by indigenous groups became popular amongst Europeans. Through the European gaze indigenous cultural "ritualistic song and dance practises" were viewed as exotic and often misconstrued as being quasi-theatrical (Loots & Coetzee 2013: 278). Collectives of indigenous performers[81], often managed by European businessmen or entrepreneurs who exploited the otherness of the performances and performers, were sent on tour through the empire (Loots & Coetzee 2013: 278). Certain individuals *per se* were also put on show *as* the performance. A famous example is the experience of Sarah (Saartjie) Baartman[82] (1789-1815) a Khoi-Khoi woman who was exploited by European businessmen in a grotesque manner. She was exhibited

hopelessness as much as it is a theatre of activism. It is sometimes criticised for depicting the suffering of victims but not addressing any solutions. Protest theatre became an important genre in South African theatre history specifically during apartheid (Attridge & Jolly 1998: 8).

[81] In the book *Black Experience and the Empire* (2006), Philip Morgan and Sean Hawkins investigate how black identities in the sub-Saharan Africa where uprooted and violently mistreated through colonial infiltration. The book also discusses notions of black dislocation alongside imperial entertainment and its relationship with "the tourist gaze". This study, however, does not aim at uncovering black performance history in South Africa, but acknowledges black performance discourses and its context within post-colonial and postcolonial studies.

[82] According to Holmes (2007), Sarah (Saartjie) Baartman was born in Gamtoosrivier, South Africa in 1789. Her birth name was Khoi-Khoi, although it was never documented. She was given the derogatory stage name *The Hottentot Venus* – a site of 'abject entertainement' for Europeun onlookers (Holmes 2007: 1, 6). In 1995 Suzan Lori-Parks, an African American writer, produced a play titled *Venus* (1995) that comprises a detailed exploration of Saartjie Baartman's life as *The Hottentot Venus*. The play resonates with postcolonial and feminist discourse, studies on blackness, otherness and voyeurism (Holmes 2007: 169).

across Europe as *The Hottentot Venus*, emphasising a derogatory racial classification that positioned her as an object for exotic fixation due to her racial markers and her body shape (Holmes 2007: 1, 7).

White Afrikaners, notably during The Great Trek (1836-1854), created a plethora of cultural identifiers and products. They often performed *volksliedere* (folk songs), *volkstories* (folk stories) and dances along their travels, drawn from mainly a Dutch heritage. It is also worthy to note that the Voortrekkers often orally recited passages from the Dutch Bible (Kannemeyer 1978: 296). The Boers established settlements along their travels and with the establishment of the so-called Boer republics, modes of entertainment evolved. The entertainers gradually "set up temporary and later more permanent theatres in diverse settlements such as the border towns of King Williamstown and Grahamstown, in Port Elizabeth and Durban, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and lastly in the mining capitals of Kimberley and Johannesburg" (Hauptfleish 2005: 9). Theatre companies would later establish a traveling culture as they performed in circuits across the country (Hauptfleish 2005: 9).

The early plays were mostly comic prologues or epilogues. Perhaps the most famous of these epilogues was written by British entrepreneurs George Rex and Andrew Brain. It was performed in 1838 in Grahamstown, called *Kaatje Kekkelbek* or (derogatively) *Life among the Hottentots* dedicated and presented by the Uitenhage Philosophers to the Rev. Dr. Philip. The epilogue of *Kaatje Kekkelbek* (Rex 1838: [sp]) uses a mixture of English and 'Kitchen Dutch', reflecting what occurred socially, linguistically and culturally in the colonial settlements. The playtext was the first written example of Kitchen Dutch and English in one text. The epilogue reveals the language, cultural transference and assimilation of its time. *Kaatje Kekkelbek* (Rex 1838: [sp]) can also be analysed as an Orientalist text that reduces the Cape's so called 'coloured' identities to a stereotype. The text therefore reveals the derogative racial standards of colonial South Africa.

An abundance of similar skits, satires, and farces, similar to *Kaatjie Kekkelbek* (Rex 1838: [sp]) was a popular form of performance during the early development of theatre in South Africa that was gaining momentum in the nineteenth century (Hauptfleish 2005: 9). Furthermore, influenced by British theatre traditions, the "first South African Pantomime: *The Kaffir*[83] *War* or *The Burnt Farm*, was

[83] The term 'kaffir' is derived from "the Islamic term *kafir* which means unbeliever or one who hides and rejects the truth of Allah" (Mbowa 2009: 4). The term later became racialised by different colonial groups such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. The derogative term was used to describe people with black skin colour. In the article *Whose "k-word" is it anyway!: Understanding the discourses used to justify and/or repudiate the use of the word "kaffir" in social media interactions,* Sonia Mbowa cites Baderoon (2009) who states that "there was an ontological function to the way these colonial settlers used the term 'kaffir'; they named 'kaffir' what

presented as part of the Equestrian Gymnastics in 1850" (Bezuidenhout & Coetzee 2012: 47). Bezuidenhout and Coetzee write that these types of pantomimes often "provided an opportunity for the 'old' and the 'new' worlds of the region to interact" and that "the introduction of 'local content' into the performance text is typical of a colonial *modus operandi* in that it served to socialise and entrench imperialist ideologies in colonised territories" (Bezuidenhout & Coetzee 2012: 47).

The comic genre was further explored by playwrights C. E. Boniface (1787-1853), J. Suasso de Lima (1791-1858) and Melt Brink (1842-1925). Boniface wrote in French, Dutch and sometimes English, creating plays such as *De Nieuwe Ridderorde of De Temperantisten*, *Kockincoz* or *The Pettifogging Lawyer's Plot*, *The Blamed Reputation*, *Het Beleg van Troyen* and *l'Enragé.* The renowned Melt Brink wrote "Dutch pieces on the growing Boer nationalist movement from 1868 to 1877, before shifting to an early form of Afrikaans" (Hauptfleish 2005: 10). Some of his most noted farces are *Bij de Tande-dokter* (*At the Dentist*) (1905), *Maljan onder die Hoenders* (*Mad John among the Chickens*) (1905) and *O die muizen!* (*Oh the Mice!*) (1908) (Hauptfleish 2005: 10).

By 1888 there was a range of one act plays as well as European translations available and theatre was predominantly practised by a few amateur play companies in the Cape Colony and Transvaal regions. After the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, England declared war on the Boer Republics, resulting in the Anglo Boer Wars. In the aftermath of the second Anglo Boer War, as previously discussed, the ideals of white Afrikaners became strongly entrenched in nationalism which contributed to the accelerated development of Afrikaans literature and theatrical culture (Hauptfleish 2005: 6). Afrikaans started emerging as a language with literary merit and in 1925 the language was formally recognised as an official language of South Africa. As previously stated, Gustav Preller's pre-occupation with the Anglo Boer Wars and the Voortrekkers along with a nostalgic attitude for the past, became dominant themes and identity markers in Afrikaans fables (Coetzer 2001: 83).

White Afrikaans theatre, while centred mainly on a British tradition, was also influenced by European theatre forms such as realism and later also modernism[84]. Figures such as Andre Huguenet (Gert

they thought ought to remain separate from them, what they considered 'other'". Today the term 'kaffir' is viewed as 'hate speech, a 'racial slur' and the use of the term is punishable by law (Mbowa 2009: 4, 5, 8).

[84] According to Tigran & Kačāne (2017), developments in the arts and sciences during the first half of the twentieth century are discussed under the umbrella term: the modernist movement. Modernism in the humanities is both a philosophical, visual art and literary movement that searches for new forms of expression. Modernist thinkers were forward looking and influenced by Darwinist science, Freudian psychology, and a growing alienation from the previous stringent morals of Victorian society. Modernist literature often explored

Borstlap was his stage name) (1906 – 1961), brought European classics written by Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) and Anton Chekhov (1860-1904) to the South African stage. Writers such as Stephen Black (1880-1931), Melt Brink (1842-1925), C. J. Langenhoven (1873-1932), as well as C. Louis Leipoldt (1880-1947), considered pioneer white South African dramatists of the early twentieth century, began to write, publish, and produce original South African texts influenced by European theatre that was serious in tone. Moving beyond farces, they tried to produce texts that uncovered the issues of *their* time. Considered as one of the first white Afrikaans plays of critical literary value C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Heks* (The Witch 1923),[85] explored themes such as guilt, Christianity, and betrayal (Kannemeyer 2005: 86).

White writers, actors and directors (English and Afrikaans) would gradually benefit from the "emerging professional theatre system, led by producers such as Leonard Rayne (1869-1925), Hendrik Hanekom (1896-1952) and Andre Huguenet (1906-1961)" (Hauptfleisch 2015: 10). Discerning investors such as I. W. Schlesinger (1871-1949) (who established African Consolidated Theatres) and Harry Stodel (1869-1951), constructed a network of theatres throughout the country. Before the mid-twentieth century, "there were numerous amateur and professional companies occupying the cities and more than thirty touring companies performing in circuits across the country" (Hauptfleisch 2015: 11).

The 1930s marked a particularly advantageous time for Afrikaans literary output and white Afrikaans theatre benefited from the political power enjoyed by the National Party (NP) and cultural organisations such as *Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (FAK) that funded white Afrikaans cultural projects (Combrink [sa]: 230). It is during this particular era, typified by white Afrikaner nationalism, that C. L. Leipoldt revisited South Africa's colonial past by writing *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), uncovering the historic accounts of the tyrannical Governor Pieter Gysbert Van Noodt (also see Chapter 4.1: C. L. Leipoldt an ambivalent man). In 1944 C. L. Leipoldt was awarded the Hertzog Prize for both texts, *Die Heks* (1923) and *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) (Kannemeyer 2005: 74).

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society's search for authenticity in a world that was experiencing rapid change in the form of urbanisation and industrialisation (Tigran & Kačāne 2017: 1, 26, 27).

[85] The play was first performed in 1925 in the Opera House of Pretoria and produced by Stephane Fauré (1894-1961) and Paul de Groot (1878-1942). *Die Heks*/*The Witch* (Leipoldt 1923) is a one act Afrikaans play set in 1425 and tells the story of two women accused of witchcraft and put on trial to be judged by a cardinal. The cardinal finds himself in a predicament - one of the accused women use to be his lover, while the other is revealed to be his daughter. The play was originally written in 1911 in English, titled: *The Hammer of the Witches.* In 1920 the play was translated into Afrikaans called *Die Hamer van die Hekse*. In 1923 the play was revised and renamed *Die Heks*, published by *De Nasionale Pers* (Kannemeyer 2005: 86).

Theatre history, as it pertains to racial identities in South Africa, has developed separately, but at the start of the Afrikaner nationalist turn the separation of theatre spaces, audiences, and creators where heightened (Combrink [sa]: 233). The social and cultural diversity in South Africa is also reinforced through language barriers. The language situates the political commentary in a specific context.

Coetzee and Loots (2013: 297) state that the National Theatre Organisation (NTO) was formed in 1947 and particularly advocated for the development of professional white theatre, notably based on a British theatrical model. The NTO sought to empower white nationalism by forging bonds between white Afrikaans and English speakers whilst specifically excluding black Africans. It should be noted that despite the NTO's aim at white nationalist propaganda, the theatre administration was somewhat progressive and employed racially mixed casts to preform to racially mixed audiences. The two first directors of the English and Afrikaans sections of the NTO were women: Leontine Sagan (1890–1974) and Anna Neethling-Pohl (1906–1992). Neethling-Pohl is known for her developing role in Afrikaans theatre and founded a number of theatre societies. She received many awards for her work in amateur and professional theatre, both as an actor and director. In 1952 she was the main director of pageants for Cape Town's Van Riebeek Festival, "celebrating Afrikaner nationalism" (Coetzee & Loots 2013: 279).

The National Party continued to tighten its social and political grip, instilling racial legislations, censorship, and media restrictions. It can be stated that the theatre under apartheid developed in multicultural collectives[86]. Afrikaans playwrights developed a critical attitude since the late fifties and became more self-reflexive toward plays that were commissioned by the apartheid government (Combrink [sa]: 234). In the 1960s there was a turning point in white Afrikaans theatrical form, which changed into "introspective rebellion" theatre pieces (Hauptfleisch and Steadman 1984: 11).

[86] Black creatives founded their own collectives. H. I. E. Dhlomo (1904-1956) emerged as a prolific figure in black South African theatre. He wrote "a considerable body of dramatic theory, criticism and numerous plays which allegorised black African history for his contemporaries" (Combrink [sa]: 233). In 1936 H. I. E. Dhlomo (1904-1956) wrote *Nonquase: The girl who killed to Save* and "in 1933 he founded the Bantu Dramatic Society in Johannesburg" (Combrink [sa]: 233). Black theatre creators did, however, collaborate with white English theatre makers, for example the 1950s the renowned playwright Athol Fugard (1932-) and his wife Sheila Fugard (1932-) "began a small group in Port Elizabeth, titled the Circle Players" (Combrink [sa]: 233). Athol Fugard made his "first impressions on the Johannesburg stage with a play called *No Good Friday*" (Combrink [sa]: 233). The play was created alongside "black intellectuals from Sophia Town and opened in 1958 on the Bantu Men's Social Centre adjacent to Dorkey House" (Combrink [sa]: 233).. Sophia Town, located in Johannesburg, also established itself as a performance hub influenced by the American jazz culture that peaked in the 1920s. Sophia Town became a platform for black creative expression through plays, musicals and township Jazz that drew worldwide attention with hit musicals such as *King Kong* that furthered the careers of figures such as Miriam Makeba and Todd Matzikama into stardom (Combrink [sa]: 233).

The era between 1956 and 1962 marked the beginning of the 'New Drama' (a term coined by André P. Brink) in South Africa that intensely aimed at interrogating 'the establishment' (Hauptfleisch 2007: 12). It was also the era during which a new Afrikaans group of writers, poets, playwrights and artists emerged and broke with previous conventions in the arts. They were termed *Die Sestigers* and they openly provoked audiences by addressing what might have been deemed taboo subject matter by previous generations (Kannemeyer 2005: 268). One of the important 1960s Afrikaans playwrights was Bartho Smith (1924-1986), whose dramas were often censured due to their political content (Terblanche 2018: [sp]). His play *Die Verminktes* was written in 1960, but only performed in South Africa in 1977. It was considered radical for its time and context, portraying a relationship between a coloured man and white woman (Terblanche 2018: [sp]). Interestingly, the late 1960s also saw protest theatre develop more expressly as a genre (Coetzee & Loots 2013: 278). In his play *Die Keiser* (1977), Smith creates a satire exposing the follies of the power elite - a blatant attack on the National Party. By the time of his death Smith was a revered playwright (Terblanche 2018: [sp]). Kannemeyer (2005: 346) views Bartho Smith (1924-1986), and P. G. du Plessis (1934-2017) as the most important playwrights of the period between 1955 and 1976.[87]

In his 1971 drama *Siener en die Suburbs*, Du Plessis explores the social environment of the white Afrikaans working class. The play is set in the suburbs of southern Johannesburg. The play is essentially considered a family drama that confronts the Afrikaner establishment by demystifying the *volksheld* (folk hero) myth, consequently depicting images of desperate white Afrikaners that cling to the past, unsure what the future may hold. Other noteworthy playwrights of the seventies include Chris Barnard (1922-2001) (*Pa, maak vir my 'n Vlieër, Pa*, 1964), André P. Brink (1935-2015) (*Pavane*, 1974) and Pieter Fourie (1940-2021) (*Faan se Trein*, 1976 and *Die Joiner*, 1967) (Hauptfleisch 2007: 13).

The 1970s was a politically volatile period as resistance against the oppressive regime grew. Resistance theatre[88] in South Africa is strongly associated with protest against the apartheid regime, and forms

[87] Perhaps one of the most influential 'coloured' playwrights, poet and novelist Adam Small (1963-2016), contributed vastly to giving a voice to the coloured communities' political and social experiences in South Africa, with plays such as *Kanna hy kô Hystoe* (1971), *Joanie Galant-hulle* (1978) and *Krismis van Map Jacobs* (1983) (Coetser 2012: 51-69).

[88] An emerging form of resistance theatre during the apartheid era was workshop theatre that was prominently used in creating protest theatre work. Workshop theatre can be broadly defined as "a process of collaboratively creating theatre by combining the shared experiences of participants and using their bodies to represent meaning" (Copteros 2002: 1). It is a development in theatre in the twentieth century that can be viewed as one of the movements that "questioned the role and form of theatre in the socio-political context within which it operated". Workshop theatre gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s in South Africa, the volatile years of protest and resistance and left a legacy "uniquely South African" to later theatre practitioners in this country. Workshop theatre established an "oppositional theatre form" to establish an alternative narrative or discourse

part of the broad protest movement that intensified since the Soweto uprising by school learners in 1976 (Opperman 1993: 14). Protest theatre developed into an important weapon against oppression and a means through which an attitude of resistance and feelings of suffering - the effects of apartheid on personal lives and communities - could be expressed and revealed. It developed specific identifying characteristics, incorporating oral traditions and conventions (Opperman 1993: 18, 19).

As political tensions further heightened in the 1980s, the apartheid government announced another state of emergency in 1985 in thirty six of South Africa's then municipal districts. Three months after lifting the state of emergency in 1986, it was reinstated – this time in the whole country. Protest "theatre became highly vocal, propagandistic, and confrontational in style" (Hauptfleisch 2007: 13). The most prominent feature of Afrikaans dramas in the 1980s was the questioning of the notion of *Afrikanerskap* - what it means to be an Afrikaner (Coetzer 2001: 82) - and offering critique against apartheid. One example is Reza de Wet's 1986 playtext *Diepe Grond* (directly translated as *Deep Earth*) **t**hat offered critique of the Afrikaner psyche, Calvinism and conservativism in Afrikaner families as well as and the dark forces that underpin apartheid. The English version of the play is titled *African Gothic*. Examples of playtexts that offer overt critique against apartheid include Elsa Joubert's *Poppie Nongena* (1984), Ryk Hattingh's *Sing jy van bomme?* (*Do you sing of bombs?* 1988) and Johan Esterhuizen's *Piekniek by Dingaan* (Picnic with Dingaan 1988).

The latter overtly shared the sentiments of the white alternative Afrikaner movement, *Voëlvry*. Playwrights like Pieter-Dirk Uys and Deon Opperman also concern themselves in their work with the

that was in opposition to the state. It therefore displays specific characteristics that contrast with traditional theatre practice (Copteros 2002: 1). It was performed in informal venues and in spaces that were not state-funded. An example of workshop theatre in South African theatre is Athol Fugard's collaboration with John Kani (1843-) and Winston Ntshona (1941-2018) that resulted in the construction of the play *The Island* (1973). This play was workshopped without printed copies and first covertly performed to black audiences (Jayathilake, 2018: 617), before it was produced with the initial title *Die Hodoshe Span* in 1973 in The Space, a fringe theatre in Cape Town and later in the same year in London. In his play *The Island* (1973) Fugard used the themes and motifs in Sophocles' classical Greek play *Antigone* as 'matrix'. He used drama and the 'construction' of the characters' story to "project his socio-political and conscious beliefs" (Jain-Warden 2014:1). Through incorporating the lived experiences as well as voices of the actors, Fugard helped to give an avenue to voice the resistance of who were censured and told their stories. Fugard saw drama as more than merely an instrument of projecting his work; he saw the possibility of using the drama as weapon once he conceived potent impact of the theatre into the audience's mind (Jain-Warden 2014: 1). "Grotowski coined the term poor theatre, defining a performance style that rid itself of the excesses of theatre, such as lavish costumes and detailed sets" (Cioffi 2014: 2) (hence 'poor') and "rather centres on the skill of the actor with only a handful of props" (Cioffi 2014: 2). Poor theatre is therefore seen as anti-commercial theatre where the stage and theatre are stripped of excess (Cioffi 2014: 3, 4, 5). O'Sheen (1968: 67) refers to *The Island* and another of Fugard's plays, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* (1972) as being workshopped in collaboration with John Kani and Winston Ntshona and notes their conceptualisation of the plays through the "memory" and "body memory" of the actors (Cioffi 2014: 2).

socio-political wrongs and evils in South Africa, reviewing the complexities of white Afrikaans identity (Kannemeyer 2005: 677-688). In his 1986 play *Môre is 'n lang dag*, set in a military tent on the 'border' during the Angola war, Opperman addresses the predicament and existential crises of young white men who had to undergo compulsory military conscription in South Africa (Kannemeyer 2005: 680). This play formed part of a broader genre termed *Grensliteratuur* (Border literature) that can also be interpreted in the broad sense as resistance art, protesting political restrictions.

The colonial context in South Africa established a "hierarchy of cultural and artistic discourses and practices that foregrounded the values, symbols, and perspectives of the dominant order and worked towards its advancement" (Coetzee 2018: [sp]). This heritage marginalised "indigenous modes of theatre and performance", as well as "theatre in townships", and continued to form the basis of formal South African theatre into the late twentieth century (Coetzee 2018: [sp]).

The end of the apartheid regime (officiated in 1994) had enormous effects on the arts. Hauptfleisch (2008: 11) mentions the phenomenon that after the end of apartheid writers "found themselves without themes, and without an audience" because theatre had been predominantly driven by an oppositional political cause against the apartheid regime. By 1991 transformation was taking place with the support of both the apartheid government and the ANC's cultural desk who also presided over theatre in a "new South Africa, where access for funding would (theoretically) become possible to everyone" (Hauptfleisch 2008: 11) via instruments such as the National Arts Council.

The 'new South Africa' implied a renewal in the arts, aiming for inclusivity regarding cultural endeavour, including theatre. "This meant a flexible interpretation which could create new opportunities for crossover and multi-cultural, interdisciplinary work, yet be able to take into account the changed political situation" (Hauptfleisch 2008: 12). Stories of apartheid, race, and liberation gave way to stories related to "identity politics, women's and gender rights, sexuality, HIV and AIDS and reconciliation" (Coetzee 2018: 19).

Hauptfleisch (2008: 17) names Athol Fugard's *Playland* (1992) in this regard, as in this play he strives at reconciliation and understanding between a white and a black man; "being able to join hand to exorcise the trauma of their own past". The *Handspring Puppet Company*'s production *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1997), echoes the efforts of reconciliation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. In the 1990s there followed a series of plays notable for their 'search for understanding' during this new phase of nation building, for example

Afrikaans playwright and poet Breyten Breytenbach's *Boklied* (1998), Deon Opperman's *Donkerland* (1996) and Reza de Wet's *Drie Susters-Twee* (1996) Hauptfleisch (2008: 17-18).

2.3.2 Revisiting haunted histories from the post-colonial present

After the arrival of the 'new' South Africa and the inevitable process of uncovering the unjust veracities of the past, there soon surfaced the ghosts of colonialism and apartheid and their hauntings in the present. "In the face of continued injustices, racism, corruption and conflicts, theatre with renewed vigour, began to re-imagine the relationships between our histories, values, perceptions, and symbols" (Coetzee 2018: [sp]). Theatre started questioning the progress and redress made in terms of social justice since 1994 and to excavate the deep trauma caused by colonialism and apartheid. Theatre in indigenous black South African languages became more prevalent in mainstream spaces. Theatre further started questioning the positionality of white South Africans, and white Afrikaners, in relation to the ghosts of the past.

As previously concluded, South Africa is in a social and political positionality that can be described as postcolonial, fully expressing a desire to recollect and revise the past. In the article *Afrikaans Theatre, Reflections of Identity* (2001) Johan Coetzer states that:

> Afrikaans drama and theatre have repeatedly been associated with major historical events in South Africa… The great Trek (1838) and the South African Boer wars (1899-1902), the growth and decline of Afrikaner nationalism and the legitimisation of Apartheid (1948)… The democratic change of political power in 1994 and the reaction of Afrikaner societies to these changes… The analogy of theatre presenting a reflection of society's ills and greatnesses does indeed apply to Afrikaans theatre…These reflections include refractions of identity. As such perceptions of identity link inexorably to the remembrance of the past events and to expectations of what the future may hold (2001: 81).

White Afrikaans theatre adapts too and with the shifts of South Africa's social and political landscape, reflecting and revealing the 'question of identity' white Afrikaner seems to keep asking throughout its history. Some examples of contemporary white Afrikaans theatre that explore and reflect upon white Afrikaner history is the 2017 play text *Die reuk van appels* (*The smell of apples*) adapted for the stage by Johann Smit from the book authored by Mark Behr, *Kamphoer – die verhaal van Susan Nel* (*Camp whore – the story of Susan Nel*) (2020) adapted for the stage by Cecilia du Toit in collaboration with Sandra Prinsloo and Lara Foot Newton, from the book *Kamphoer* by Francois Smit and *Valsrivier* (*False River*) (2020) adapted for the stage by Saartjie Botha from Dominique Botha's book with the same title Another example of a white Afrikaans novel that was adapted to a stage performance by Francois Toerien and directed by Nicole Holm is *Dinge van 'n Kind* (roughly translated as *Things that belong to Youth*) (1994). *Dinge van 'n Kind* was originally written by Marita van der Vyver and published in 1994.

Dinge van 'n Kind, performed as a play in 2020, is a coming of age story written from the perspective of a white Afrikaans woman reflecting on her youth during apartheid. This study, however, is positioned from a postcolonial present reflecting on a colonial past within the context of white Afrikanerdom. This study uncovers the contemporary white Afrikaner, in the context of postcolonial South Africa as an identity that is tormented by ghosts: an identity that is haunted by previous generations' villainous histories, the historical privileges from which they still benefit and the perpetuation of injustices.

It can be argued that theatre becomes an apt platform where haunted histories can be revisited and 'ghosts' can be realized as symbols of postcolonial torment. In the book *The Haunted Stage: Theatre as a Memory Machine* (2003), Marvin Carlson recognises theatre's ghostly quality and observes that it has the capacity to bring "something back from the dead". He continues to state that there is a relationship between cultural memory and theatre. According to Carlson (2003: 2) every play might possibly be titled "Ghosts" and he argues that in a sense every play could be viewed as a memory play. He states that theatre is "a simulacrum of cultural and historical process itself: seeking to depict the full range of human actions within their physical context" that can provide "society with tangible records of its attempts to understand its own operations" and of those who operate within it (Carlson 2003: 3).

Carlson (2003: 9) also refers to Freddie Rokem and his book *Performing History*, in which he observes that "the repressed figures and events from that ('real') historical past can (re) appear on the stage in theatrical performances". Theatre has the capability to (re)perform history and to act as a memory theatre where memories can be portrayed and made tangible. Memories, history and the past are all connected to cultural identity, according to Stuart Hall (Colmerio 2011: 21-22), who writes that those "cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories" and "undergo transformation". He observes that how narratives are retold for the present are not "grounded in archaeology but in the retelling of the past" (Colmerio 2011: 21-22). It is important for a culture and society to revisit these memories to understand how identities developed. Theatre is one way to re-tell these memories and subsequently resurrect the past.

Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, gave a broad overview of South Africa's theatre history (specifically emphasising white Afrikaans theatre), uncovering how colonial contact influenced storytelling modes of South Africa. Furthermore, this section relayed that, as history unfolds, theatre has the capacity to reflect, comment and protest political and social contingencies. The contemporary white Afrikaner is

arguably grappling with ghostly reminders of the tyrannical injustices of the colonial past. I concluded that theatre is an apt platform to resurrect the past and excavate memories as an act of critical reflection. In Chapter 4: C. L. Leipoldt and *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), I excavate C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) in relation to its colonial setting and in Chapter 5: *Dryfhout* I reimagine the text into a playtext that can be interpreted as a hauntological postcolonial allegory. To do so, I will discuss adaptation and locate magic realism as a genre that offers specific transformative capabilities that can assist in, and guide, the adaptation process in Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined.

PART TWO

CHAPTER 3: ADAPTATION AND MAGIC REALISM

Figure 11: Gysbert Van Noodt's chair recycled through time (Van der Merwe 2020).

I will now turn my attention to the adaptation process. I posit that my reading of adaptation is in alignment with postcolonial theory through its ability to revisit and reflect upon the past. This chapter will firstly define adaptation by discussing it in terms of repetition (see 3.1.1), recycling (see 3.1.2) and reimagining (3.1.3), before discussing magic realism. I will locate key characteristics of magic realism as a genre that can assist in and guide the recycling and reimagining process to ultimately adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a hauntological postcolonial allegory.

In Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, I demonstrated that white Afrikaans theatre often adapts along with social and political shifts, presenting theatre that, at times can be interpreted as allegorical for specific conditions of South African history. To support my choice to create such an allegory by adapting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) and use magic realism to inform my adaptation process, I will provide some examples of adapted texts in South African theatre. I make specific mention of the white Afrikaans playwright Reza de Wet and how she uses adaptation as a form of critical engagement with the past, in particular to interrogate Afrikaner identity and history. Reza de Wet also employs magic realism as a strategy, demonstrating that the genre might be an apt tool in the adaptational process that I intend on embarking.

3.1 Adaptation

The word 'adapt' derives from the Latin word *apere,* which means to "bind" or "attach" (Simonet 2010: 3). The verb *adaptare* means "to adjust to" (Simonet 2010: 3). During the thirteenth century, the term had two meanings. First, in a tangible sense it meant "to apply" and secondly, in an abstract sense, in meant "to put in accordance with" (Simonet 2010: 3). The term *adaptation* comes from the Latin word *adaptatio* and designates the action of "adjusting to" (Simonet 2010: 3). Rhetorically, the word expresses "the suitability to a situation" (Simonet 2010: 3). The contemporary use of the word developed during the sixteenth century with the attached meaning of "aptitude, to appropriate or to adhere to" (Rey 2006: 3-4). In the book *The Theory of Adaptation* (2006) by Linda Hutcheon and Siobhan O'Flynn, Hutcheon uncovers "how stories evolve and mutate to fit new times and different places" (2006: 176).

The Afrikaans translation for the term adaptation is *aanpassing*, notably emphasising the meaning of "aptitude" (Rey 2006:3-4) for a specific situation (adjustment) and thus echoing the previous discussion on how white Afrikaans theatre adjusts to (or resists) specific socio-political historical junctures. It's also interesting to note that another Afrikaans variation for the word adaptation is *verwerking*. The word *verwerking* has an ambiguous meaning in Afrikaans. Apart from the meaning

pertaining to adaptation, the second interpretation, according to the *HAT: Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*, alludes to the process of healing (Odendal & Gouws 2005: 1307) in the sense of "coming to terms with". The word *verwerking* in the context of white Afrikaans identity and history can refer to the idea of a people seeking mitigation from distressed histories. Adaptation can perhaps yield a form of amelioration from a tormented past. Contemporary postcolonial South Africa, and specific to the context of this research, white Afrikaner identity, is arguably adapting to a new 'state of being' that this study points out as 'haunted'. Further, *verwerking* is related to the repurposing of items, or changing an item from one form to another, which relates to recycling.

As seen in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, postcolonialism asks history to be revised (Meusburger, Heffernan & Wunder 2011: 289). Postcolonialism can arguably refer to the process of adapting to the presence of the absence of imperial contact. Defining the contemporary postcolonial 'state of being' as the 'presence of absence' of colonialism, intrinsically corresponds with concepts of coloniality and postcolonialism that uncover colonial traces that are interwoven and perpetuated in the fabric of the present. I posit that the action of adaptation forms part of the ethos of postcolonialism and coloniality. An interesting correlation between the function of adaptation and postcolonialism is their continuous desire to return to the past as a site of reflection, positioned from the present. In the book *Adaptation in contemporary theatre,* Francis Babbage explains that adaptation as an artistic practice curiously positions itself to revisit and reflect (Babbage 2018: 1).

As seen in Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, theatre can perpetuate values and ideological positions associated with South Africa's colonial and apartheid histories. Therefore, attempts to navigate the past to comment on the present should be cognisant of this danger. I excavate history to study the past and uncover the roots of certain torments in the present.

3.1.1 Stories repeat

In the article *Return, Rewrite, Repeat: The Theatricality of Adaptation,* Margherita Laera locates three key ideas pertaining to theatre and adaptation. The first one is that theatre returns as a site of reflection (Laera 2014: 1). Secondly, she states that theatre "repeats" stories. However, within the repetitive and recurring actions of performing, change, alteration and adaptation is inevitable. (Laera 2014: 1). In the book *Unmarked: the politics of performance*, Peggy Phelan's reiterates Leara's statement when she writes that "performance occurs over a time which will not be repeated. It can be performed again, but this repetition marks it as 'different'" (Phelan 1993: 146). Each 'new'

performance is intrinsically already an adaptation of the prior performance. Lastly, Laera emphasises that theatre has the capacity to "rewrite" and adapt stories (Laera 2014: 1). Theatre is a space that cannot escape adaptation and is continuously repeating stories - time after time - evidently creating a rotation, a cycle where the past is continuously reawakened and 'adapted' on stage, demonstrating a process of recycling and reimagining stories.

3.1.2 Stories recycle

Adaptation's evident relationships with "the prior" (Babbage 2018: 4), in my opinion, are indicated in the use of the prefix 're', in terms related to adaptation. Adaptation involves, for example, both (re)interpretation and (re)creation and can be seen as both appropriating and salvaging (Babbage 2018: 8). Salvaging perhaps most directly relates to recycling. As discussed in Chapter 1, recycling can be defined as a (re)appropriation of the old: reinterpreted and reinvented in a new form (Oldenziel & Weber 2013: 347). Recycling is related to words such as re-use and recovery (Oldenziel & Weber 2013: 349). To recycle means to (re)engage with something that has been forgotten, has become redundant or discarded and transformed, to be used again, thus placing it in a new context (Oldenziel & Weber 2013: 347, 348). Adaptation, salvaging and recycling imply change and function through a process of transformation.

Transformation is a process that is concerned with the future (towards which the process of recycling is directed), implying a shift or a conversion, prompted through the re-contextualisation and/or creative processes of alteration, modification, adjustments and reimagining (Ashcroft 2001: 2-6). (In Chapter 3.2: Magic realism I will continue discussing transformation alongside magic realism). Babbage (2018:1) notes that adaptation can also take the form of "inspiration" where, in the case of theatre, the playwright or theatre-maker can, for example, expand upon or emphasise specific ideas, themes, motifs or reimagine characters from a source text - essentially transforming the source text to present a new text that was influenced by specific elements from the source text (Babbage 2018: 2-3).

The historical account of Governor Pieter Gysbert Van Noodt's death was gradually transformed into a myth, a ghost story about a fuming apparition who haunts the Castle of Good Hope. C. L. Leipoldt used the myth as well as the historical accounts of the mysterious death as source material for a poem, titled *Van Noodt se laaste aand (Van Noodt's last evening)* (Kannemeyer 2005: 85). In 1930 Leipoldt revisited the myth and he reimagined, reworked and recycled his poem to construct a play called *Die*

Laaste Aand (1930). The play is thus an adaptation of the poem which in turn is an adaptation of historic accounts.

I will revisit the myth once again, continuing the recycling process attached to the narrative of not only Governor Gysbert van Noodt, but also the recycling of the myth started by Leipoldt himself in his poem. I will recycle *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), simultaneously revisiting and recovering the source text, reusing and transforming the narrative into a new form. As such, I offer an adaptation of the source text. I revisit history by adapting a playtext, engaging both *verwerking* and *aanpassing* in the context of the haunting of Afrikanerdom.

3.1.3 Stories reimagined

Reimagining is a type of "imagination that enables new possibilities" (Wohlwend 2015: 1). Through reimagining a text, innovative and unexplored alterations and transformations are possible (also see Chapter 3: Magic realism, where the term imagination is further unpacked)**.** Jodi Lyn Turchin explains that reimagining refers to

> …an adaptation that alters, imagining differently. Reimagining would be taking the overall themes, and perhaps character naming conventions, but not necessarily staying true to the plot structure of the play (Turchin 2017: 1).

The act of telling the same story differently may allow for an alternative interpretation or understanding of the source text. Reimagining may also highlight that which previously may have remained hidden or unsaid in the source text (Turchin 2017: 1). Reimagining is a form of adaptation that allows for 'major' character and plot alterations (Turchin 2017: 1) where only fragmented remnants of the source text remain.

In the book *Adaptation and Appropriation* Julie Sanders writes, "[perhaps] a useful way of thinking about adaptation is as a form of collaborative writing across time…" (Sanders 2016: 60). In an adapted text the source text become a spectre reminiscent of the past. Adaptations can therefore be considered hauntological, whereby the recycled text is 'haunted' by the presence of absence of the source text.

3.1.4 Snapshots: adaptation in South African theatre

Adaptation has long been part of the theatre landscape of South Africa. Texts from Europe and Australia were the first theatrical imports, commencing in the 1700s (Bezuidenhoud & Coetzee 2012:46). Adapted texts, being framed in and by specific time periods, played a vital role in revealing socio-political conditions. As demonstrated in Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, theatre adapts its

narratives and messages in accordance with group demands, whether it rebels against or celebrates with the popular philosophies or socio-economic and political contexts of the time. These adaptations are largely centred on texts from the Western canon (Bezuidenhoud & Coetzee 2012: 46-48). While such adaptations can serve to localise the play and make it accessible to a broader audience, localisation can also reinforce values, biases and perspectives in the source text as the playtext is a cultural product, thus reinforcing the cultural hegemony that I pointed out earlier. According to Hauptfleisch (1987: 181), such adaptations from the Western canon were not only "based on a paradigm derived from the Western concepts of theatre and theatrical endeavour, making use of the infrastructure and conventions introduced to the country by the British and the Dutch" but exercising "a hegemonic control over both the 'canon' and the 'paradigm'".

However, as resistance against the socio-political structures in South Africa developed, theatre became a space in which a critical stance towards this 'hegemony' might be expressed or used against itself. Adaptations became one of the strategies through which the 'questioning' regarding established theatrical traditions and its pertinence where a South African context is concerned, could be asked. Some of South-Africa's adapted texts demonstrating theatre's ability to 'adapt' to a specific South African framework include Athol Fugard's play *The Island* (1973), which he adapted from the ancient Greek play *Antigone* into a South African text within the context of apartheid, to comment on the theme of defiance and its importance for social justice. Welcome Msomi adapted Shakepeare's *Macbeth* to speak about Zulu military history of the 1800s in his playtext *uMabatha* (first performed in 1971 and published in 1996). *Ubu and the truth Commission* (1998) created by William Kentridge (1955) and Jane Taylor (1965) was adapted from the French play *Ubu Roi* (Alfred Jarry, 1896) and built upon the source text's theme of power that corrupts. In 2012 South African theatre creator Yael Faber adapted the 1888 August Strindberg play *Miss Julie,* into a contemporary South African play titled *Mies Julie* (2012), with the intent to create an allegory for a post-apartheid state.

Adaptation, in various forms, has further been used in texts in South African theatre history to comment and explore themes such as the westernisation and colonisation of Africa (see for example H. I. E. Dhlomo's *Dingane*, 1937) , the corrupt nature of humans (see for example *Koningin Lear* (*Queen Lear*), 2019) written by Tom Lanoye and translated by Antjie Krog), loss, revenge and reconciliation (for example Yaël Farber's *Molora*, 2007), deconstructing stories through postmodernism and post-dramatic theatre (see for example and Gopala Davies's *Barbe Bleue: A story about madness*, 2015, that deals with the Bluebeard myth), translocating plays to South Africa (for example Janice Honeyman's *The Tempest*, 2009 and Jaco Bouwer's *Marat/Sade*, 2017) and, decolonising narratives

(see for example the Jazzart and Magnet theatre's production *Cargo*, 2007, directed by Mark Fleishman) and *Rain in a dead man's footprint* (Fleishman 2007), a Magnet theatre production.

Afrikaans theatre has recently seen a resurgence of adapted texts from the Western canon. Anton Checkhov's (1860-1904) play *The Seagull* (1895) was adapted by Saartjie Botha and directed by Christiaan Olwagen to create the contemporary Afrikaans play with title translated as *Die Seemeeu* (2015). Other examples are and *Macbeth.Slapeloos* (2015) adapting Macbeth to speak about modern day warfare, *Die koninkryk van die diere* (2017) directed by Marthinus Basson, the latter translated and adapted from the German theatre maker Roland Schimmelpfennig's *Das Reich der Tiere*. More recently Nico Scheepers' (1987) *Katvoet* (2019) is a play that is based on Tenessee Williams' (1911-1983) play *Cat on a hot tin roof* (1955). It is notable that these examples (that are from the Western canon) often transpose the setting of the plays to South Africa and predominantly translate European or American texts into Afrikaans.

Perhaps one of the most known white Afrikaans playwrights, who frequently wrote adaptations reflective of the socio-political changes in South Africa, is Reza de Wet, notably, her *Russian trilogy* consisting of three plays: *Yelena* (1998), *Three Sisters* (*Drie Susters*) (1996), and *On the Lake* (2001). These plays where 'inspired by' Russian playwright Anton Checkhov's *The Seagull* (1896) *Three Sisters* (1860), *Uncle Vanya* (1899) and *The Cherry Orchard* (1904). De Wet adapted Russian plays because, as she explains in a 1998 interview: "[today] the Afrikaner is living Chekhov… having to go through a very painful process of renouncing the identity that they had been given" (Stander 2016: 5). In the article *Reza De Wet's Channelling of the Long Nineteenth Century on Post-1994 South African Stages* (2016), Daniël Botha Stander writes:

> De Wet finds Chekhov's depiction of Russian patriarchal households during the *fin-de-siècle*, a time of tremendous social and political unrest in Russia, useful to explore the transitions Afrikaners had to face under the new political dispensation after 1994…(Stander 2016: 5).

Reza de Wet adapts and reimagines these Russian texts to comment on the political contingencies of post-apartheid South Africa, creating allegories that critically investigate post-apartheid white Afrikaner identity. Furthermore, Reza de Wet also reimagined white Afrikaans author Alba Bouwer's children's book series *Stories van Rivierplaas* (1985) into the play titled *Diepe Grond* (1985)/*African Gothic*. In *Diepe Grond* (1985), De Wet reimagined the two main characters from Bouwer's stories, as adults who had fallen into decay and anguish, living a nightmarish existence - undoing and critiquing Bouwer's 'idyllic' imagery of the white characters' youth on their African farmhouse (Stander 2020: 38). De Wet stated that "the original work had created a mythical and idyllic south African past" (which

I indicated as a dangerous nostalgia earlier in the dissertation), but that in her play she had "portrayed the destruction of this derelict paradise" (Kruger 2015: 147). A notable characteristic of De Wet's adaptations is their heightened macabre atmosphere – moving from realism towards the grotesque[89] (Botha cited in Stander 2016: 148). (In Chapter 3.2: Magic realism, I will continue to discuss the work of Reza de Wet with reference to magic realism).

Through adaptation, Reza de Wet critically engages with and interrogates white Afrikaans history, demystifying the romanticised folk hero narrative and unearthing the grotesque, repressed and tormented aspects of white Afrikaner identity. Simon Lewis states that *African Gothic* (1985) is "a critical re-examination of Afrikaner myth and mentality... an incestuous, confined parody of the 1930s Afrikaans drama aimed at forging a national identity" (Stander 2016: 148). De Wet thus set a precedent for reimagining and adapting a source text rooted in Afrikaner literary history to speak to contemporary white Afrikaner identity.

Moving towards an adaptation of the source text, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), the study asks: how can magic realism be used to create a hauntological postcolonial allegory through reimagining and adapting C. Louis Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)? At the start of the 1990s Homi K. Bhabha wrote that "magic realism is emerging as the literary language of the developing post-colonial world" (1990:7). I will now discuss magic realism in order to explore how it can be used to inform the process of adaption by means of reimagining and recycling *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

[89] The term grotesque has as its root the word "grotto", a cave that is phantom-infested (Bloom 2009: 1). Historically, interpretations of the grotesque related to "unnatural depictions" in art, but in contemporary times the term refers to that which lies on the margin and otherness - not fitting "standard categories" of identification, culture or beauty (Goulding, Saren & Follett 2003: 115 -119).

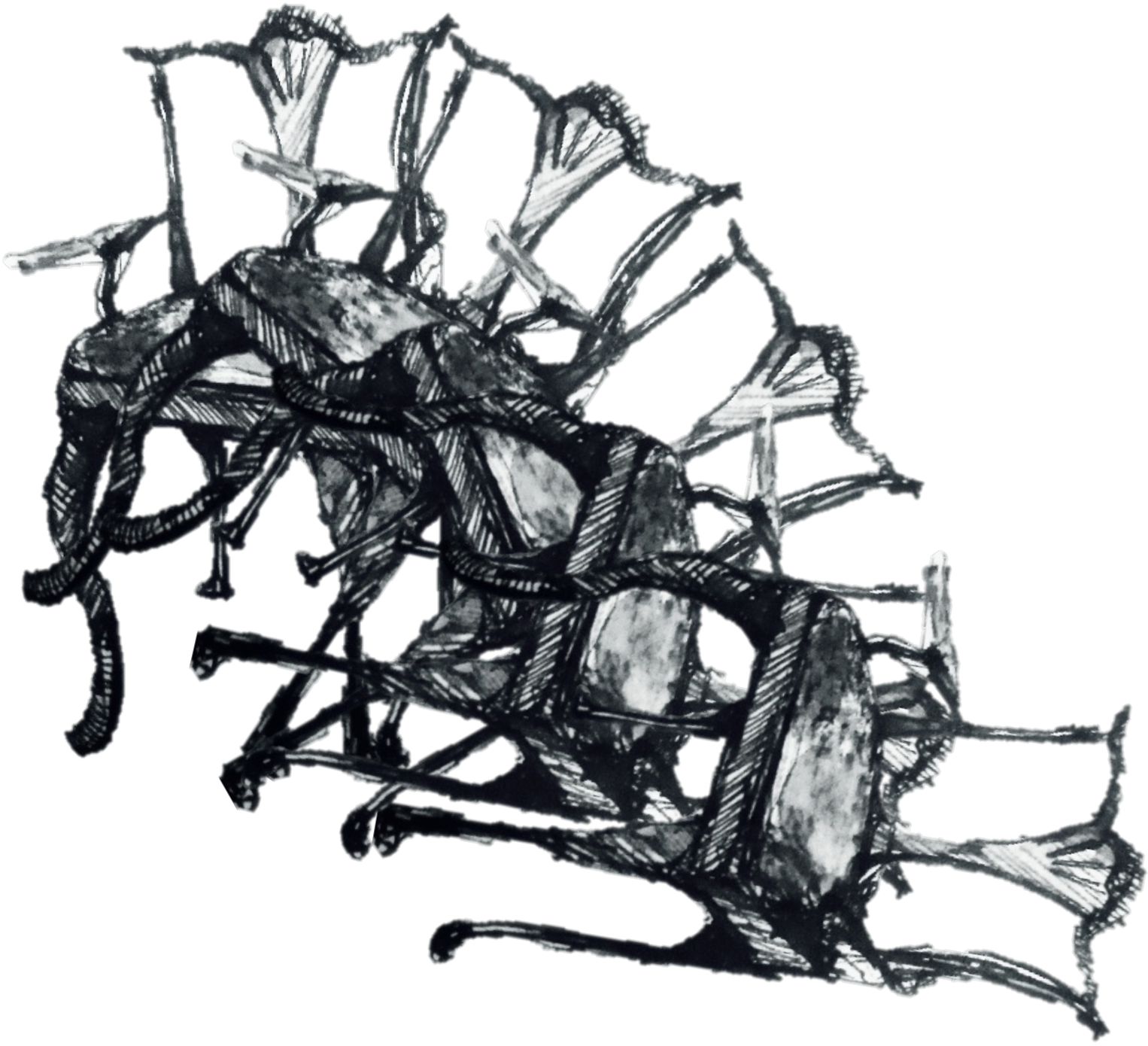

Figure 12: An ink drawing depicting Van Noodt's chair transforming (Van der Merwe 2020).

3.2 Magic realism

The following section broadly discusses the development of the term magic realism. The terms 'realism' and 'magic' will then be defined separately. The section mentions realist theatre conventions that will both inform certain aspects of the adapted playtext and set the parameters of the world that will be transformed. I discuss the term 'magical' in relation to romanticism, surrealism, the imaginary, fantasy genres, fairy-tales, folklore and myths. Importantly, this section of the chapter locates magic realism as a mode that interweaves the 'unreal' with 'the real'. I outline key magic realist conventions such as metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification and breaking the rules of linear time, that ultimately informs my recycling and reimagining process towards adapting *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) into a hauntological, postcolonial allegorical playtext.

3.2.1 *Magischer Realismus*: the worlds of magic realism

In 1925 a German art critic, Franz Roh (1890-1965), wrote a study titled *Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei.* In the book he used the term "Magischer Realismus", (translated as magic realism) to indicate the demise of expressionism[90] and the subsequent rise of surrealism in artistic movements (cited in Hart & Ouyang 2005: 28). Surrealism is a movement in art and literature that is rooted in the post-World War I (1914-1918) manifestations of dadaism[91]. Surrealism sought to explore the frontiers of experience and to broaden the logistical and 'matter-of-fact' view of reality by fusing the 'real' with intrinsically, subconscious, and dream experiences to achieve a "super reality": super, due to its encompassing both the 'real' and the 'imagined' (Osborne 1970: 1116) through mechanisms such as automatism and fantasy. "In the 1924 *Manifesto of Surrealism,* surrealist leader André Breton (1896-1966) defined surrealism as psychic automatism" (Bauduin 2015: 1). Automatism is often defined as an artistic technique that encourages writing "automatically" (Bauduin 2015: 2), not being constrained by reason or logic, in an attempt to

[90] Expressionism, according to Osborne (1970: 396), is a twentieth century artistic movement that deliberately turned away from the more classical and realist aesthetic celebrated through the artistic movements of the past. Expressionists sought to render emotional expression by practising the freedom of line, form and colour, distorting classical notions of beauty. Expressionism can be traced back to the 1880s but crystallised into a distinct form by 1905. Expressionism was simultaneously developed and practised by various European artists, although it was most prevalent in France and Germany (Osborne 1970: 396).

[91] Janson (1970: 533-535) explains dadaism as a movement that grew from the general existential dread that was evident in the aftermath of WW I. Dadaism can be viewed as a nihilistic approach to expression, publicly declaring the meaninglessness of morals and values emphasising the general absurdity of life. The term itself was created with the spirit of nonsensical rationalisation commenting the purpose of art itself. The term was picked randomly from a French dictionary meaning "hobbyhorse" (Janson 1970: 534). Dadaism was not just nihilistic but also found liberation and the power of irrationalism, daring to explore the "unknown provinces of the creative mind"(Janson 1970: 533). "The only law respected by dadaists was that of chance" and the only reality was their own imagination (Janson 1970: 533-535).

access the dream-like realities of the subconscious (Bauduin 2015: 2). Both magic realism and surrealism juxtapose contradictory domains that produce complex ideas about, and implications of, reality. The term magic realism itself can be viewed as an oxymoron, fusing opposing concepts to construct a reality that encompasses both the realm of the conscious and the sub-conscious, describing the real world in a combination with a fantasy realm (discussed further later in this section).

Magic realism gained popularity in the literature in South America in the 1940s. Magic realism was used as a literary mode by South American writers to express different perspectives on their countries' colonial experience, disrupting the dominant narrative that celebrated the gains of the colonists (Bowers 2004: 1-2). During the 1960s it became a prominent genre in literature, particularly (but not exclusively) in Latin America and the Caribbean, with reference to authors such as Gabriel Garçia Marquez (1927-2014), who employed magic realism in his famous novel *Hundred years of solitude* (1967). In this novel Marquez symbolically comments on the repetitive aspect of history and on colonialism's haunting qualities (Bowers 2004: 1-2).

Magic realism is well established on the continent of Africa (see for example Gerarld Gaylard 2005 and Brenda Cooper 1999). Authors such as Ben Okri (see Cooper 1998) André P. Brink and Zakes Mda (Grzerda 2013), for example, use magic realism as a strategy in their literary works. Renowned Afrikaans writer, Andre P. Brink (1935-2015) stated that "Africa has its own form of magic realism in the long tradition of oral narratives which spanned centuries" (Brink 2010). Walker (cited in Reeds 2012: 2) and with reference to the scholarship of Wendy Faris (2004: [sp]), states that magic realism is "inclusive" - bringing "together the West and the postcolonial world as contributors to the erosion of the dominance of Western post-Enlightenment rationality and the institution of literary realism" (2004: [sp]).

In part, by means of simultaneously bringing together opposing viewpoints founded on Western conceptions of rationalism[92] and irrationalism,[93] not in in a dichotomy but unified in one hybrid space. Since the start of the twentieth century the dichotomy in the concepts of rationalism and irrationalism and their distinctive meanings were brought into question due to ambiguities such as absolute reason's capacity to act irrationally and irrationalism's capacity to reveal human folly and in a scene reasonably convey truth. Magic realism not only acknowledges the porous boundaries between rationalism and irrationalism but collapses the binary between the two. In doing so, it normalises the supernatural (Wandama 2016: 3). This normalisation is possible because the concept is constructed by combining two distinctly different terms, magic and realism, that each operate in their own domain.

3.2.2 Realism

Realism is notoriously difficult to define. However, this study focuses on realism as a literary and artistic mode rather than investigating realism as the philosophic question: 'what constitutes as reality?' According to Fernandes (2007: 43), realism is often considered a Western convention that concerns itself with accurately depicting the world as it is found and observed through rational consideration. Realism rejects imaginary portraits of life and instead it intensely focuses on how life is presented. The aim of realism is to achieve a truthful, honest representation of people as they function in the ordinary every day – representing a slice of life. Realism "as an artistic movement is the product of the dominant mood of its time" (the mid- to late- nineteenth century) – "a pervasive rationalist epistemology that turned its back on romanticism and that was shaped instead by the impact of

[92] Rationality functions in forms and systems of reason. The word reason refers to logic, complete order, control and scientific explanation (Hill & Turner 2006: 318). Throughout history there has always been tension between rationality and irrationality; reason and the imaginary. In his philosophical study titled *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872/2004), Friedrich Nietzsche discusses the dichotomy between the Apollonian and Dionysian aspects of human nature. This philosophy is based on the Greek mythology of the two opposing brothers, Apollo and Dionysus and proposes that the Apollonian state encompasses reason, order and control in opposition to the Dionysian, that is defined by mysticism and emotion (Nietzsche 2004: 8-10). Nietzsche concludes that these two poles are in a continuous battle and that there is a constant flux regarding these opposing forces. Nietzsche states: "whether the Dionysian prevailed, the Apollonian was checked and destroyed…whether the Dionysian onslaught was successfully withstood, the authority and majesty of the Delphic god Apollo exhibited itself more rigid and menacing than ever" (Nietzsche 2004: 10). Although the concept of rational and the irrational has been explored throughout history, it is specifically in the age of Enlightenment when rationalist philosophies started to argue that reason is the only valid foundation of knowledge for reality (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2006: 319). The Enlightenment era was surpassed by the romantic period (late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries) during which, among other attitudes, a rebelliousness against the strong emphasis on scientific explanation as the ultimate form of reason and insight, was prevalent (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2006: 319). However, the interest in the Gothic did not disappear completely, but functioned in forms of occult practice (Arenas 2015: 4).

[93] Irrationalism, understood in opposition to rationalism embraces chaos absurdism and the surreal. As a natural rebellious adaptation, the romantic era rejected the prior rationalities of the Enlightenment and sought to find truth in the irrational (Abercrombie & Hill & Turner 2006: 319). (Also see the definitions of terms such as the grotesque, the romantic, the imaginary, surrealism, dadaism and absurdism discussed throughout the chapter).

political and social changes, as well as the scientific and industrial advances of the day" (Fernandes 2007: 43).

Realism was influenced by several intellectual developments over centuries and in particular during the nineteenth century (also known as the Victorian era in Britain)[94] and was to a large extent rooted in rationalism and positivism. During the Renaissance in Europe (1300 – 1600), artists tried to 'master' reality. Attempts at verisimilitude, include for example Brunelleschi's linear perspective (1413) and the introduction of the proscenium arch (1618-1619). Such attempts altered the relationship of the viewer to that which is observed – enhancing the idea of an intellectual distance in the process of observation (Lauwrence 2012: 26). Mastering and ordering the world from a distance remained "evident in the scientific rationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", to the extent that "seeing from a distance became a way of knowing" (Lauwrence 2012: 26). However, the observer, as constituted in and "through culture, looks at the object from 'somewhere'" (Lauwrence 2012: 26) and through a particular lens - positionality. This positionality, however, was rendered invisible by notions of objectivity and rationality.

During the nineteenth century positivism emerged as a popular philosophy. According to Nellhaus 2010: 18-20), the term positivism was coined by the French sociologist and philosopher Aguste Comte (1798–1857) in "*The Course in Positive Philosophy*, a series of texts published between 1830 and 1842. These texts were followed by the 1844 work, *A General View of Positivism* (published in French 1848, English in 1865)" (Nellhaus 2010: 18). Positivism combines social sciences with the data-based system used in natural sciences. Positivism refers to the scientific study of the social world. It argues that rational examination and explanation needs to form the foundation of sociological knowledge (Nellhaus 2010: 18-20, 34). Positivism seeks to objectively understand the world as it is presented. Positivism utilises logic and reason as the ultimate form of insight and modes to gain knowledge (Turner 2001: 11827-11831). The word reason refers to logic, complete order, control and scientific explanation (Hill & Turner 2006: 318).

[94] Arenas (2015: 4) explains that in "British history, the period between approximately 1820 and 1840, corresponding roughly with Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901)" is called the Victorian era. The Victorian era followed the age of romanticism, and the literary output reflected the newfound interest in realism whilst still incorporating Gothic elements, but they tended to be rooted within psychological terror rather than horror. The development of science and new technology played a vital role during the Victorian age. Art themes revealed an interest in the practical problems of everyday living. Socially and economically, industrialism was on the rise and various reform movements regarding emancipation, child labour and women's rights activism took place (Arenas 2015: 4).

The term reason is associated with the prior seventeenth century's philosophical tradition of rationalism marked by what was termed the age of Enlightenment (approximately 1715-1789)[95]. Rationalism is the philosophy that argues that reason is the highest form of insight (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 319). However, unlike the rationalism of the Enlightenment era that strove for an idealistic utopia, positivism uses reason to understand the hardships of lived experiences, the ordinary reality of time and the working-class narrative. Positivism does not utilise reason to build a better society but rather uses reason to (supposedly) objectively dissect society in its current condition as an experiment, to gain insight into human behaviour (Nellhaus 2010: 18-20). For the writer Émile Zola artistic expression, as demonstrated in his earlier citation, was rooted in scientific methodologies. Emile Zola described the nineteenth century creative output as:

> the consequence of the scientific evolution of the century; it continues and completes physiology, which itself leans for support on chemistry and medicine; it substitutes for the study of the abstract and the metaphysical man the study of the natural man, governed by physical or chemical laws, and modified by the influences of his surroundings; it is in one word the literature of our scientific age, as the classical and romantic literature corresponded to a scholastic and theological age (cited in Fernandes 2007: 59).

However, the age of scientific reasoning of the nineteenth century was interrupted by World War I (1914-1918). Artistic expression shifted to forms that instead found 'truth' in the irrational, such as surrealism, absurdism and dadaism. This newfound interest in the irrational aimed at conveying the follies of war and emphasised the growing post war existential dread.

[95] The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also known as the age of Enlightenment (Porter 2001: 1). The German philosopher Immanuel Kant introduced theories regarding reason through his essay entitled *Was ist Aufklärung*? or *What is Enlightenment* (Porter 2001: 1). Immanuel Kant's theories were based upon the rationalist philosophers such as René Descartes and Gottfried Leibniz (Atkinson 2011: 119-137). Their philosophies speak to reason as the ultimate method for gaining insight and knowledge (Atkinson 2011: 199 - 137). Leibniz's theories in *Monadology*, were based upon the idea that knowledge can be gained through rational reflection alone (Atkinson 2011: 135). According to Kant, the Enlightenment era marked the coming of age for human intelligence, leaving behind ignorance and advancing human knowledge and the understanding of nature (Porter 2001: 1). Kant borrowed a saying from the Greek poet Horace, "*sapre aude"* or "dare to know" that compacts Kant's philosophy on the Enlightenment (Porter 2001: 1). The Enlightenment was regarded as the age of reason and reason alone was believed to explain and unveil knowledge of mankind, the society as well as nature and the cosmos (Porter 2001: 2). This newfound knowledge would question the foundations of politics and religion, to offer solutions for a more utopian future (Porter 2001: 2). The Enlightenment celebrated the 'purification' of art and art took on Greek inspired aesthetics (Yolton 1995: 362). Neo-classicism is defined as a revival of interest in classical antiquity in terms of art and architecture during the eighteenth century (Janson 1970: 453). This artistic interest in the antiquities did not aim to recreate civilizations such as Greece and Rome, but rather combined both archaeology and science with rationalism (Yolton 1995: 362). Neo-classic art sought cool, calm harmony and grandeur (Schickel 1973: 40). The aesthetically disciplined and analytical aspects of neo-classicism suited the description of reason (Eco 2004: 239). Immanuel Kant also describes the aesthetic experience of these artworks in his *Critique of Judgement* as a "dispassionate pleasure", it asks one to rather contemplate beauty (Eco 2004: 264).

In the aftermath of World War I, some European countries strove to regain structure through absolute reason and the early twentieth century would see the obsession with rationalist ideals unfold into horrific extremities, evident in extreme forms of fascism, nationalism and socialism practised by Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) in Italy, Francisco Franco (1892-1975) in Spain, Adolf Hitler (1889-1945) in Nazi Germany and even the rise of nationalism among white Afrikaners, revealing the limitations of reason.

3.2.3 Realism in theatre

Theatrical realism embodies the spirit of positivism by endeavouring to study social behaviour through the replication of reality (Nellhaus 2010: 18). Realism draws from "our experience" uncovering "the common, the average the non-extreme, the representative and the probable" for subject matter (Fernandes 2007: 44). Realism began as artistic style in the mid- nineteenth century and was adopted and realised in theatre practise. Realism can also be discussed as an anti-romantic movement, moving away from presenting the ethereal to depicting the everyday and finding a worthy subject in the common man (Styan 2002: 2- 3). The commercialisation of the camera in the nineteenth century made it possible for the 'everyman' (sex indication intentional) to become the subject of a portrait, an honour previously only enjoyed by the elite who could afford painters to capture their likeness (Vanhaesebrouck 2015: 5-7). The invention of the camera had an immense impact on artistic techniques as well as the modernisation of theatre. In *Theatre, performance studies and photography, a history of permanent contamination* (2015), Karel Vanhaesebrouck states that "the photographic image played an important role in the course of theatre history, redefining the very essence of theatrical representation itself…theatre was given an aura of realist truthfulness, as the actors imitated behaviour they had observed in different visual sources" (Vanhaesebrouck 2015: 5-7).

Photography also became a popular method of documentation. Notably, psychiatrists stared capturing how illness present in patients. In turn, playwrights where incited "by the growing popularity of psychiatric knowledge" (Vanhaesebrouck 2015: 5) and how photographs attempted to capture human ailments. In 1890, for example, Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), considered the eminent playwright that founded realist theatre, published *Hedda Gabler* (1891), "the first elaborated portrait of a woman" suffering the onset of mental illness (Vanhaesebrouck 2015: 7). Realist theatre uncovers how circumstance, societal pressures and economic anxieties contribute to mental health and human behaviour. Realism in theatre explores the concept of scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 307). Termed by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) in his book titled *On the Origin of Species*

(1859)[96], 'scientific determinism' unpacks the 'natural' laws of action and reaction, cause and effect and how human intentions and choices are framed or 'determined' by their circumstance (Steyn 2004: 144-147).

The nineteenth century theatre was characterised by the general spirit of replication and capturing the 'real' on stage: theatre as a slice of life. Elements in realist theatre include characters that are believable, psychologically motivated and events and situations that are congruent with people in 'real life', the costumes are as authentic as possible, the stage setting, and props are often set indoors and make use of box sets [97] - striving for a duplication of the real on the stage. The location of a realist play is often within a specific character's house and the actions can take place within one room. The dialogue in realist plays aims to be natural and ordinary in its tone; in a sense mimicking "everyday speech" (Fernandes 2007: 30). The narrative is "typically psychologically driven, where the plot is secondary and primary focus is placed on the interior lives of characters, their motives" (Fernandes 2007: 30). Focus is placed on intentions, interactions and reactions - intensely unfolding the drama present in 'humdrum', mundaneness of everyday life. Realist theatre is a microscopic study of human behaviour. The plot usually centres on a character navigating feeling trapped by circumstance, social pressures, economic stress and difficult relationships; finding hope, assertiveness, and strength against hopelessness. "Realistic dramas quickly gained popularity as the audience could identify with the situations and characters on stage" (Fernandes 2007: 30- 48). There is unity of space, time and action. Realist theatre is often discussed in coherence with naturalism. Playwrights were "influenced

[96] Darwin describes evolution, as the process through which organisms change, evolve and transform in relation to their environment. Organisms exist in relation with time and space and take shape in accordance with their habitat (Steyn 2004: 144-147). Adaptation according to these theories imply that organisms are informed by their environment and 'adjust to' or 'adapt to' the circumstances that it is presented with. Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744- 1829), a French naturalist and contributed to the idea of an "evolutionary adaptation" by explaining that "transformist adaptation" is "perceived as a continuous effort of the living to gain from the milieu in which it evolves" (Simonet 2010: 3). Steyn (2004: 144-147) notes that, within the context of postcolonial discourse, that figures such as Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and Charles Darwin and his book *On the Origin of Species* where often used to validate colonial ideologies such eugenics, a Western scientific method that saw the white race as superior to other races. Eugenics lead to extreme forms of racism, the validation of slavery and highlighted otherness (Steyn 2004: 144-147). Eugenics became the foundation of systemic racism that in its extreme form led to (among other examples) the Nazi's desires for a 'pure' Germany, the implementation of apartheid in South Africa and segregation in America. In my view, adaptation in the context of colonialism can be unpacked as a destructive model, as colonisation saw Western colonisers forcing 'adaptation' onto colonised identities; in this context 'adaptation' can be unpacked alongside notions of cultural assimilation.

[97] Di Benedetto (2012: 54) explains that a box set is a stage design device that is often used in realist theatre to create the illusion of the real on stage. Box sets are frequently designed to resemble the interior of a room, by constructing three walls on stage with the audience peering through an invisible fourth wall. It includes architectural features such as doors and windows for entrances and exits. Box sets in realist theatre are specifically designed in congruence with the period allocated in each play. Box sets strive to replicate real spaces as accurately as possible (Di Benedetto 2012: 54).

by naturalist manifestos written by French novelist and playwright Émile Zola", who stated that naturalism is "a way of thinking, seeing, of reflecting, of studying, of making experiments, a need to analyse in order to know" (cited in Fernandes 2007: 29).

Naturalism is a heightened from of realism and seeks to portray life as 'naturally' as possible. The conventions of naturalism like realism however, endeavour even more to represent life as accurately as possible. Re-constructing a 'slice of life', naturalist theatre depicts stories that play out in real time, "the action of the play takes place in a single location" (Fernandes 2007: 58) and the costumes, props and set are highly detailed. The characters are often members of the working class. The plot of naturalist theatre centres on scientific determinism and explore extreme forms of Western taboos such as suicide, poverty and prostitution (Fernandes 2007: 58- 59).

Pioneers of the realist and naturalist movement include Russian playwright Anton Chekhov (1860-1904), who wrote plays such as *The Lady with the Dog* (1903), *Three Sisters* (1901) and *The Seagull* (1896); Swedish playwright August Strindberg who wrote *The Father* (1887), *Miss Julie* (1888) and English playwright George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) who wrote *Pygmalion* (1912) (Fernades 2007: 48- 49). As previously mentioned, contemporary South African theatre has been characterised by the resurgence of texts from the Western canon, adapted to a South African context (See Chapter 3: Adaptation).

3.2.4 Beyond realism

Moving beyond the term realism, as the one component of the construction magic realism, one encounters the term magic. The word magic implies embracing the ethos of the imaginary (also see Chapter 3.1: Adaptation, where I discuss the term reimagining). Lacan analysed the imaginary as an illusion that is constructed by fantastical imagery. Jacques Lacan's understanding of the imaginary is rooted in psychological analysis and how the imaginary bears reference to the subconscious mind, a place that is free from the rules of scientific and logistic reality, filled with that which is considered marvellous and impossible (Strauss 2006: 372). The imaginary has the power to create, rearrange and to produce "something new". The imaginary landscape, unlike the real, is without boundaries and allows for the existence of whimsical creatures, inexplicable magic and wondrous architecture. It is an endless dreamscape - home to all that the real finds to be unreal (Yolton 1995: 242). The imaginary has the capacity to invent new worlds and 'make up imaginary beings, fantastical creatures and manifest monsters (Yolton 1995: 242). Within the imaginary, the laws of scientific explanation are suspended, and the impossible use and existence of magic become possible.

The term magic [98] in its simplest form, can be defined as an act that displays supernatural possibilities that can inexplicably effect reality. Magic was accepted as a vital element in various historical cultural practices. Magic was used as a form of medicinal healing, practiced for example, in African cultures by the shaman or in Western cultures by so-called witches[99] (also see the discussion on fairy tales). Magic was also interlinked with accounts of religious or spiritual power used by deities for either punishing or rewarding humanity. Magic was practiced as a 'rational' part of everyday reality until Medieval belief systems were superseded by the beginning of the age of reason and subsequently the age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, that slowly lead to the 'extinction' of magic in the 'civilized' world (Stableford 2009: 263).

Magic was replaced by scientific explanation and technological advancement. John Maynard Keynes is quoted by Michael Bailey in the article *The Age of Magicians: Periodisation in the History of European Magic*, where Keynes describes Sir Isaac Newton as *"*perhaps the greatest figure of scientific revolution, not as the first of the age of reason, but rather the last of the magicians" (2008: 28). Magic in Western societies was a rational and vital cultural practice, until it was specifically rejected by science during the age of Enlightenment, and shifted to the realm of the irrational, the imaginary, the occult[100] and fantasy; considered unable to represent rational 'truth' of reality. The era of colonisation

[98] This study acknowledges the layered meaning attached to the word magic and its trajectory in history. The term magic in the context of history, cultural practice and religion is a complex field of study. The Romanian American historian and philosopher Mircea Eliade (1907-1986) contributed vastly to the study of the field of occultism and cultural practice in books such as *Occultism Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions* (1976*), The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (1969) and *The Forge and the Crucible: The origins and structure of Alchemy (1957*), to name a few.

[99] Witches, wizards and warlocks also appear in paganism. "The word pagan derives from the Latin word *paganus* meaning 'country dweller'" (Higginbotham 2013: 4). Paganism is a religion that can be traced back to ancient Rome when Christian crusaders derogatively called 'other' religions and their followers pagans. In present day occultist paganist practice, there is a belief in the inter-connective powers between man and nature. Paganists believe in magic and spells, often practised through Wicca as a form of witchcraft (Higginbotham 2013: 4, 10, 17).

[100] The occult is generally understood as theories and practices "involving a belief in and knowledge or use of supernatural forces and beings" (Cusack 2015: 1). In the West the term occultism has acquired intellectual and moral disparagement, which is not necessarily the case for other societies where the practice and beliefs concerned do not run counter to the prevailing world view. The occult is an umbrella term that refers to pseudoscience, mysticism, spiritualism and other forms of magic such as trickery performed by magicians (Cusack 2015: 1-6). Pseudoscience does not base its theories on scientific method and is often founded on intuition and other abstract concepts that are difficult to capture, explain and prove (Face 2017: 461, 462, 463). Spiritualism is a religion, philosophy and theory first proposed by Allen Kardec, who wrote books on "the nature, origin, spirits and their relationship with the corporeal world" (cited in Face 2017: 461). According to Cusack (2015), spiritualists believe that the spirits of the dead exist and have both the ability and the inclination to communicate with the living and that there are some people (so called mediums) born with the gift to act as a bridge between the living and the dead. It is interesting to remark that during the late nineteenth century, parallel to the increase in scientific analysis of reality, belief in and practise of spiritualistic activities grew rapidly.

saw Western societies, who had scientifically left its 'magical practices', albeit not all their superstitions and esoteric religious beliefs behind during the age of reason, often misunderstanding the worth and/ or mystifying magical beliefs and its practice in colonised cultures through a lens of othering and Orientalists' fascination. At the turn of the century, as discussed in Chapter 2.1: The Voyage, colonial powers and structures also began to falter, paving the way for independence and post-colonialism and the events of World War II brought ultimate disillusionment: "[in] 1942, the old justification for empire - that 'inferior' races needed guidance from 'superior' civilisations came into question. In the aftermath of the war there was a real desire to build a new and better world" (Hart-Davies 2007: 412). This post-colonial and postcolonial world, decades later, would still be premised on whiteness and coloniality. As discussed in Chapter 2.2 Shipwrecks, postcolonialism asks for the remembrance of the past and the revision of historic accounts from different perspectives. It is in this regard that magic realism can support the goals of postcolonialism.

3.2.5 Disrupting realism

Magic realism simultaneously sets up and disrupts reality. Its focus on "authorial reticence" allows for both questioning and normalising the (in)accuracy, (un)reliability, (in)credibility and (un)truth value of events, occurrences, and characters, as well as character perspectives (Cooper 1998: 34). Reticence supports the function not to draw attention to "the strangeness of the worldview" presented (Cooper 1998:33). Magic realism (re)creates alternative structures, often through displacing accepted realities.

Magic realism facilitates narratives that can break the rules of linear time and space, as well as bring into question accepted notions of identity (Chanady 1995: 14). Through this recognisable, yet different visualisation and expression of reality, ideologies, politics and social issues can be viewed from the vantage point of seeing both worlds juxtaposed and intertwined. Magic realism strives to capture "the paradox of the unity of opposites; it contests polarities such as history versus magic, the precolonial past versus the post-industrial present and life versus death… Capturing such boundaries between spaces is to exist in a third space" (Cooper 1998: 1). By locating magic realism in a 'borderless space', the genre itself corresponds with postcolonial theories such as Homi K. Bhabha's notions of the third

The spiritualist movement reached its peak between the 1840s and 1920s, especially in English-speaking countries and was in the later stages credibly weakened due to accusations of fraud (Cusack 2015: 1-6). Furthermore, occultism also encapsulates 'trickery' or performance magic. Individuals who engage with magical practice are referred to as magicians. Performance magic blurs the line between the real and magic. It uses scientific methods to construct the illusion of real magic. The last half of the Victorian age was famously captivated by the magical performances of illusionist Harry Houdini (1876-1926) (Solomon 2010: 1-2).

space of enunciation and hybridity that seek to break boundaries and destabilise colonial binaries and unjust hierarchies (Bhabha 1994: 37). (I discuss these terms in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks).

Magic realism offers the opportunity for such destabilisation to be realised, envisioned and imagined. Furthermore, "in magic realism space is hybrid": "opposite and conflicting properties are co-present" (Cooper 1998: 33). In this hybrid space the "recognisable external world co-exists with the abnormal, experientially impossible and empirically unverifiable" (Cooper 1998: 33). It can therefore be stated that magic realism has the capacity to disrupt Western, colonial and imperial rhetoric. Magic realism has the potential to "oppose fundamentalism and purity, it is at odds with racism, ethnicity…it is fiercely secular and revels in the body, the joker, laughter, liminality and the profane". Furthermore, magic realism can be an "amalgam of politics…working at different times in the interest of different segments of different populations" (Cooper 1998: 22). Magic realism is considered a transgressive "mechanism that parodies Authority, the Establishment and the Law" (Cooper 1998: 29). Magic realism can make use of hallucinatory scenes and events as well as phantasmagorical characters to indict cultural tensions and unjust politics (Farris & Zamora 1995: 6- 8).

I will now continue to explore how magic realism as a genre can be used as an apt tool to comment on politics. I will discuss how the fantastic, the grotesque and fairy tales can simultaneously critique tyranny in disguise and unveil the monstrous injustices of authoritarian structures.

3.2.6 Fairy tales and tyranny

A vital part of magic realism is its ability to rediscover elements of traditional oral storytelling, fairy-tales, folklore, myths, and legends, and transpose them into contemporary settings (Anker 2003: 223). According to Wandama (2016: 3), myths and folktales often have elements of the magical or supernatural, and some scholars view oral traditions as the root of magic realism. Ancient rituals, myths and legends, folklore and fairy-tales are frequently framed by cultural beliefs, morals, and subconscious fears. The term folklore was coined in 1846 by William John Thomas, an English antiquary. Folklore can be described as "any tale deriving from or existing in oral tradition" (Zipes 2007: 167). Folklore is a general term for spiritual, verbal and material aspects of any culture that are conveyed orally. Fairy-tales on the other hand is a type of folklore that involve imaginary creatures, archetypal characters and include magical spells. Another term for fairy-tale is *Wundermärchen* or wonder tales. Wonder tales recognise the capacity of magic to suspend natural physical laws and to encompass the super-natural (Warmer 2014: 1-4).

Fairy-tales also present the events, often grotesque in nature as 'matter of fact'; humans can be turned into animals, cursed with horrific features, or rewarded for good deeds (Warmer 2014: 2-4). Fairy-tales are not meant to be questioned, they are told and received as though they are 'fact'- meant to be believed. Fairy- tales are formed by the imaginary, conveyed in a symbolic language with recurring motifs (for example keys, apples, mirrors, rings, toads, daggers, poison, love, betrayal, curses, castles, death, resurrection, reward and punishment) (Warmer 2014: 2-4). Fairy-tales also conjure up visceral images such as mysterious forests, stormy oceans, sinister wells or tunnels, grand or abandoned castles and cosy cottages. Fairy-tales are perforated with objects and themes rich in symbolism:

> the symbolism comes alive and communicates meaning through imagery of strong contrast and sensations, evoking simple sensuous phenomena that glint and sparkle, pierce and flow, by these means striking recognition in the readers or listener's body at a visceral depth (Warmer 2014: 4).

Fairy-tale plots often promise all kinds of riches and present characters with longing and wishes; often in dire or impoverished circumstances seeking a way to escape or attain what they most desire(Warmer 2014: 4). The plots also present characters with what can be described as dangerous curiosities, determined to explore the unknown. Fairy tales repeatedly feature characters with magical abilities such as witches and wizards. (Warmer 2014: 3).

Witches as archetypal characters in fairy-tales are presented as either wise or vindictive practitioners of magic (Taylor 2005: 124). Although generally accepted as fantastical characters in contemporary society, historic accounts of witches are particularly evident during the medieval ages where witchcraft was an accepted part of real life and viewed as a criminal offence, specifically in during a time when Christianity had political power. From approximately 1450 to the 1700s (from the late medieval era to the Enlightenment), a time noted for its misogyny, there was, what is described as a hysterical persecution of more than a hundred thousand 'witches' by the church[101]. These persecutions began when the church was at the height of its power in Christian Europe. During this era the image of the "spotless virgin" was idealised and her 'shadow', personified as a witch, was rejected (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 702).

[101] In 1486 Catholic clergyman Heinrich Kramer wrote a book *Malleus Maleficarum* or The Hammer of Witches, that was accepted by the Catholic Church as a dissertation on witchcraft (Broedel 2018: 3). The book was used as a guide to locate and punish people suspected of practising magic (Broedel 2018: 4-5). It is interesting to note that the original name of C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Heks* (*The Witch*) (1929) was *Die Hammer van die Hekse* (1911) (*The Hammer of the Witches*). The play is set in the medieval ages and follows the narrative of two women convicted of being witches (Leipoldt 1929).

As a cross-cultural figure, the witch is often granted the role of a priestess, medium, sibyl, necromancer, sorceress, herbalist, healer and midwife, and she is either accepted as a leader of traditional rituals or rejected as the irrational outcast (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 702). The term 'witch' can also designate a position of exclusion, social rejection, and ostracism (Williams, Forgas & Hippel 2005: xix). In the article, *The outcasts of the world – Images of the pariahs*, Eleni Varikas discusses the concept of the outcast with reference to the term 'pariah'[102] that originated from Portuguese colonial jargon in 1516:

> …but the pejorative or defamatory senses persist in the use of the English word (pariah), the ordinary meaning of witch - "outcast", "rabble", "abandoned" or "stray" (dog) has largely prevailed over the critical meanings that designate exclusion, inequality and injustice…(Varikas 2010: 31, 32).

The character of a witch can therefore symbolise associations pertaining to the outcast and otherness. The notion of otherness corresponds with other fantastical characters such as monsters, who are often described though concepts of ugliness and the grotesque (Carrol 1990: 34). Monsters usually operate within lost outer spaces or are native to places unknown to the human world (Carrol 1990: 34). Other magical characters often encountered in fairy tales are fairies, elves and goblins (Warmer 2014: 4). Furthermore fairy-tales frequently construct characters that are sinister, cunning, devious and with malintent. These villainous characters often embody vices and temptations and stand in opposition to innocents (Warmer 2014: 4).

It should also be noted that in nationalist movements heroic folklore and folk myth are often resurrected and created to strengthen its cultural celebratory ideologies. Myths are a type of folklore that habitually form the foundation of culture's religion. Myths can also reveal a culture's primary traditions and values. Importantly, historic events, through time, can be reimagined into epic tales that become part of the ethos of cultural identity (Kirk 1973:8). In *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe during the Nineteenth Century,* Timothy Bayceroft writes that during the nineteenth century nationalism established itself as the growing political force and that it is precisely during this time where group identification was celebrated that folklore and cultural myths attained the power to be

[102] The term *pareas*, dates back to "1516 and was used by Duarte Barbosa, a military navigator who served the king of Portugal in India" (Varikas 2010: 31). "There is another inferior group of pagans called *Pareas.* They do not come in contact with anyone, are considered worse than the devil and shunned by all; just looking at them is enough to be contaminated and excommunicated" (Varikas 2010: 31). The first occurrence in "the English language recorded in dictionaries dates back to 1613, when the English East India Company began to settle on the Coromandel Coast" (Varikas 2010: 32).

instrumentalised by nation builders, to propagate patriotism and strengthen cultural identity (2012: 7- 8).

In the twentieth century folklore's capacity to be exploited for nationalistic propaganda reached a peak in Nazi Germany. In the article titled *Fear, Tyranny, and the Fairy-tale of Our Times* (2020: [sp]) Caroline Breashears recalls how *"*the Nazis revised the Grimms' classics to spread their own propaganda. In one chilling film, *Little Red Riding Hood* is saved from the wolf by an SS officer" (2020: [sp]). The fairy-tale trope has continuously evolved and adapted with time; today it is mainly associated with children's literature, famously collected by the brothers Grimm and Hans Christopher Anderson. However, fairy-tales have gained a new stature as a bridge between a mythological past and present realities (Warner 2014: 5).

In the book *Under the fire: Childhood in the shadow of War*, Andrea Immel states that through fairy-tales, real fears can be banished and tamed (Goodenough & Immel 2008: 238). This means that fairy-tales have power as well as a purpose within social reality. They do not simply function as light entertainment meant to draw your attention away from reality, but in fact have the complete opposite intention. The fairy-tale becomes a metaphor that represents the violence and the harsh realities evident in cruel political policies, impoverished social circumstances and individual experiences of trauma. In the book *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy-tales* (2002), Jack Zipes states that fairy-tales are: "filled with all sorts of power struggles over kingdoms, rightful rule money, women, children, and land…" (Zipes 2002: 23).

Fairy-tales explore the tensions between obedience and disobedience, often revealing when it is necessary to disobey, rebel against or act in non-compliance towards tyranny. In an article in *The New Yorker,* titled *Once upon a Time* (2012: [sp]) Joan Acocella quotes the nineteenth century German philosopher Ernst Bloch who stated that fairy-tales may "expose the crazed drive for power that many individual politicians, corporate leaders, governments, church leaders, and petty tyrants evince and to pierce the hypocrisy of their moral stances". The article also sites Jack Zipes who reiterates Bloch's opinion "that the value of fairy-tales is that they teach us not to adjust, because the oppressive society in which we live is something we should refuse to adjust to" (2012: [sp]).

In *Folklore As a Mode of Tyrannical Resistance* (2017) Emma Kumar states that fairy-tales teach us the difference between a kingdom that is governed by a rightful ruler and

> those who have been thrust into darkness by an illegitimate usurper of power…gripped by narcissism and a need to consolidate complete power, and the

> lengths the tyrant will reach to secure it; intrigue, treachery, treason, and finally murder. While the fairy-tales always end happily, we glimpse the true evil that lurks in the tyrant's soul, and a warning of the darkness that will spread across the land in their rule (2017: sp]).

In Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, it became clear that colonialism can be viewed as an authoritarian, tyrannical regime that saw the self-serving desires of the West actualised through empire building schemes that reaped the colonies of wealth. It oppressed, abused and enslaved countries under the guise of justice, morality and economic progression, while ensuring complete autonomy by punishing any opposition or rebellion that questioned its right to govern. The historical accounts of Governor van Noodt also described him as a tyrannical character. Therefore, magic realism's use of fairy-tale tropes to interrogate tyrants might prove useful for the conceptualisation of a postcolonial playtext that also seeks to interrogate the tyrannical colonial past.

3.2.7 Dispelling borders

Transfigured through time, the fantastic, folk and fairy tales, in Western[103] discourses, have become synonymous with storytelling genres such as fantasy[104], horror[105], science fiction[106] and are ultimately used in magic realism. Magic realism utilises fantastical imagery, although it is vital to separate magic realism from the fantasy genre. Fantasy can be distinguished from other genres mainly by one central

[103] Existing research documents how folk and fairy tales transfigured though time in Eastern and African discourses. There are also research that unpacks and discusses historic 'links' and narrative influences between different cultures, for example Ulrich Marzolph's article *The middle eastern world's contribution to fairy-tale history* (2019) as well as his book *101 Middle Eastern Tales and Their Impact on Western Oral Tradition* (2020). The discussions pertaining to folk and fairy tale histories and forms in various cultures falls outside the scope of this study. I predominantly refer to European fairy tales forms in this dissertation but *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) does have an abundance of Eastern intertextual mythical references that I uncover and scrutinise in Chapter 4: C. L. Leipoldt and *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

[104] In the fantasy genre stories are told that are concerned with the impossible in the everyday. This often includes mythical creatures or involve events that break the general scientific laws (Fowkes 2010: 1). Theories concerning the definition of the fantasy genre indicate that the genre is difficult to define as a singular distinctive genre. This is because genres such as horror and science fiction also contain elements such as monsters and unbelievable events that include disrupting the laws of nature (Fowkes 2010: 2).

[105] Brian Atterbury distinguishes the classic or Gothic horror genre from sci-fi and fantasy "by its attempt to scare us, but it may also announce itself through certain themes and iconography such as dark and stormy nights, monsters and vampires" (in Fowkes 2010: 3). The horror genre's intent is to disturb and instil fear into the minds of people. It often engages with the supernatural (ghosts, hauntings, monsters and curses). Horror unpacks trauma and is often used as a tool to confront fear and anxieties (Classen 2010: 113, 114). The horror genre as an artistic medium allows for gross exaggeration (Carrrol 1990: 24). Horror images can be found across the ages, however the horror genre only emerged in the last half of the eighteenth century, as a development of genres such as the Gothic (Carroll 1990: 14). In literary studies, the term Gothic is generally applied to a body of writing produced in England since the 1750s to approximately the 1820s. The stories are often set in an ancient, ruined castle or a mansion haunted by threatening supernatural beings. The typical characters frequently include a mysterious and threatening older man and a vulnerable heroine, as well as a character who is torn in a constant battle between good and evil. The Gothic genre often deals with a sense of unease, the gloomy, mysterious and the ruined (Hopkins 2005: 1). The Gothic fantasy is a development that emerged from the romantic era (Murray 2004: 30) and such stories were produced in abundance during the romantic era. Romanticism does have a specific aesthetic and stands in relation with concepts such as the grotesque, gloomy, melancholy and formlessness (Eco 2004: 399). The first half of the nineteenth century marked the Gothic era, not only in terms of literature but also in the visual art forms. There was a new interest in the formless and irregular that allowed for an appreciation of the imperfect (Eco 2004: 250). The romantics found beauty in the dark and the gloomy and art took on topics such as the terrible, the frightening and imitations of ugliness through the portrayal of monsters and devils (Eco 2004: 281).

[106] According to Khumari 2013:2), science fiction is a genre based on presenting imaginative futures often informed by science and technological advances. Science fiction became highly popular in the modern age often commenting on the growing advancements of technology and the fears surrounding human's relationships with machines. Science fiction blends hypothesis with imagination. Science fiction was born from industrial and scientific revolution. It often depicts narratives set in space or dystopian cities. Science fiction attempt to understand, predict and hypothesise the reality of our technological future. It is the philosophy of science in the form of imaginative fiction. In contemporary discourse it is often referred to as *speculative fiction*. H. G. Wells (1866-1946) is frequently described as the father of *science fiction* with books that include *War on the Worlds* (1898), *The time Machine* (1895) and *The Invisible Man* (1897) (Kumari 2013:2).

aspect, namely that they feature a fundamental break or the "ontological rupture" with our sense of reality (Fowkes 2010: 1). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the word rupture describes a violent act of tearing, ripping, bursting or breaking apart (2012: 1229). As discussed in Chapter 1, ontology is a philosophical discipline, specifically a branch of philosophy that uncovers the nature and structure of "reality" (Staab 2009: 1) The term "ontological rupture" refers to a tear in what is considered to be accepted reality (Staab 2009: 1). Within the fantasy genre 'reality' and the fantastical is usually separated into two distinct realms. The gate to the fantastical realm is often described as a threshold (Westfahl 2005: 815). A threshold, a gate, or a door is a site of passage that can invite the action of 'passing through'. In the fantasy genre a character usually experiences hesitation before crossing over or into the unknown and inexplicable.

Tzvetan Todorov's study: *The Fantastic* (1973), argues that the fantasy genre's key distinctive characteristic is marked by a moment of "hesitation" (1973: 31-33). Todorov states that in this genre there is an event that takes place that confronts a character's rationalities because this event cannot be explained by reason alone (1973: 31-33). The character must choose between two solutions: either the character is the victim of the trickery of his senses and the event is a product of his or her imagination, or the impossible event has in fact taken place and is part of reality. Todorov states that it is within the moment between being confronted by the impossible event and reacting, where the fantastic can be allocated (1973: 31-33). The fantastic lies within the moment that is ambiguous, both regarding the audience and the character who experiences the impossible event. This ambiguous moment of hesitation can be described as an aporia. Derrida describes aporia as:

> the nonpassage, or rather ... the experience of the nonpassage, the experience of what happens [se passe] and is fascinating [passionne] in this nonpas-sage, paralyzing us in this separation in a way that is not necessarily negative: before a door, a threshold, a border, a line, or simply the edge or the approach of the other as such (cited in Murray 2009: 11).

"An aporia marks a threshold, a border, between two (or more) kingdoms" (Murray 2009: 10). With regards to fantasy, aporia marks the border between reality and imaginary - the magical and the real. "In classical rhetoric, an aporia is an expression of doubt, emerging when competing and compelling arguments are presented" (Murray 2009:10). In the case of fantasy, the competing rhetoric is between the ontology of reality that is ruptured by the presence of the imaginary, the impossible and the fantastic that causes " a feeling that is comprised of anticipation and uncertainty" (Dreier 2012: 17). This moment of hesitation causes an impasse. In the article *Aporia: Towards Ethnic critique* (2009) Stuart Murray writes that when "we arrive at an aporia, it means we are in doubt, we are

perplexed…An aporia is a contradiction, a puzzle or a paradox. Without it and the questions it prompts, it is impossible to imagine such a thing as science." (Murray 2009: 11).

As previously stated, magic realism strives to capture "the paradox of the unity of opposites" (Cooper 1998: 1). There are no thresholds in magical realist texts that mark the borders of where the 'real' is separated from the imaginary. In magic realism the fantastical freely roams the plains of the hybrid reality. Magic realism interweaves the different realms of the real and the unreal, the supernatural and scientific, the magical and realism. In the article *Magical Realism as the Poetological Framework for the Concept of the Other and the Different in the Croatian 21st Century Novel*, Kornelija Kuvač-Levačić (2020) writes that "magical realism presents radically different world views (rational and magical) as well as natural and supernatural events without explicit aporia, as is the case in the fantastic" (2020: 61). It can therefore be stated that magic realism does not doubt the presence of the supernatural or inexplicable or hesitate to believe in magical possibilities, but rather breaks down the thresholds that separate different realms and invites the inexplicable into the realm of the real.

The hybrid magic realist space in and of itself becomes an aporia. The magical is not threatening the reason of reality, instead magic is presented as an exceptional and accepted part of reality (Chanady 1995: 14). Magic realism exists within a paradoxical space of contradictory rationalities, it does not belong entirely to the domain of fantasy, the creation of a world completely different to our own, nor to that of reality, the conventional everyday world (Chanady 1985: 27). Magic realism's capacity to reawaken and revisit the past; its ability to facilitate a landscape that 'tears' down boundaries, its allowance for multiple perspectives and the rediscovering of forgotten myths and lore, are reasons why postcolonial writers gravitate towards the genre.

3.2.8 Casting spells: metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification

Magic realism may use mechanisms of the operations of fairy-tales, fantasy and phantasmagorical such as applying magic's capacity for transformation, metamorphosis, and anthropomorphic personification to present the fantastical (Chanady 1995: 14). The term metamorphosis within scientific discourse refers (among other) to insects' natural cyclical evolution in the process of transformation from caterpillars into butterflies. The term is also applied within fantasy genres (speculative fiction, horror, fantasy, magic realism) to describe the 'transformation of form' often resulting in hybrid creatures or the transfiguration of humans into monsters, animals, elements from nature or inanimate objects (Solodow 1988: 174). Metamorphosis usually represents the individual's inner or supposedly true nature:

> What is metamorphosis? It is clarification, it is the process by which characteristics of a person, essential or incidental, are given physical embodiments, are rendered

> visible and manifest. Metamorphosis makes plain a person's qualities…a change that preserves, an alteration which maintains identity, a change by which content becomes represented in form (Solodow 1988: 174).

Some fantastical metamorphic creatures include shapeshifters, vampires, and werewolves. Metamorphisms also present itself in fairy-tales and are strongly rooted within magic's capacity to punish or curse individuals with transfigurations. During the Victorian age, metamorphosis was employed in literature to reveal the inner workings of a character's psychological condition (Westfahl 2005: 463).

Another magic realist transformative device is anthropomorphic personification. Anthropomorphic personification ascribes human behavioural and appearance qualities to animals, gods and inanimate objects. Anthropomorphic personification can also construct characters that embody abstract concepts, for example time, death and the past can be conjured into a human-like character who is able to interact, and converse with humans (Westfahl 2005: 593).

These types of transfigurations often occur in fantasy genres through the casting of magic spells or the utterances of curses. A curse[107], in its simplest form, can be defined in opposition to a blessing. Where a blessing is concerned with prosperity, a curse is concerned whin condemnation (Ronnberg 2010: 730). A curse is generally defined in literature as "any undesirable matter that emerges from an utterance, statement, pronouncement, invocation, oral or written vocabulary that expresses ill will or misfortune to an individual, animal, or object" (Gondwe 2008: 3). Curses affect the victim by instilling "suffering through affliction, nuisance, hardship, pain, grief, despair, misfortune, punishment, condemnation, sentence, scourge, torment, torture, terror, toil, bondage, deformity, abnormality, payback, hindrance, difficulty, stumbling blocks, interference, predicament, confusion, and chaos" (Gondwe 2008: 4).

The capabilities characteristically evident in magic to transform and create, interestingly connect with theories regarding adaptation and recycling, similarly defined through transformation and (re)creating. These transformative qualities can assist me in the adaptation and reimaging process of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

[107] In a Biblical context, curses can be traced through to what Christianity terms original sins. Scripturally this is understood as "the whole creation being under a curse or bondage from God" after man fell from grace and committed the original sin; now forsaken and banished from the Garden of Eden to suffer immortality (Gondwe 2008: 3-4).

3.2.9 Breaking the rules of linear time

As previously established, magic realism is situated within a hybrid space (Cooper 1998: 33) that allows for the distortion of rational rules of time and space (Chaia, Slimani & Touansa 2020: 17) In the article *Magical Realism in Gabriel Garçia Marquez's "One Hundred Years Of Solitude"* (2020), Asma Chaia, Leila Slimani and Rahil Touansa writes that:

> the usual chronological time order is different in the magical literature. Time does not behave in the way the reader would expect it to behave in the real world. It is unpredictable; it loops back, moves forward, skips or stay still. Therefore, for magic realists, time is nonlinear (2020: 18).

Furthermore, in magic realist literature, time "may be circular instead of linear, or jump around and go back and forth from past to future, or just stand permanently" (Chaia, Slimani & Touansa 2020: 52). The narratives can often shift between the present and the past or present both at the same time (Chanady 1995: 14).

The capacity for magic realism to break the rules of linear time speaks directly to Jacques Derrida's concepts of the presence of absence and hauntology (Zlomislić 2007: 37) (see Chapter 1). Ghosts embody the very essence of magic realism, breaking the boundaries between what is considered real and unreal and through their presence break the rules of linear time, interrupting linearity and through the action of haunting, disturb the rational confines of space and time. In the book *Magic realism: Theory, History, Community*, Louis Zamora and Wendy Farris (1995) writes that:

> …because ghosts make absence present, they foreground magic realism's most basic concern - the nature and limits of what is knowable….they represent an assault on the scientific and materialist assumptions…that reality is knowable, predictable, controllable… Magical realist apparitions also unsettle… they float free in time, not just here and now but then and there, eternal and anywhere. Ghosts embody the fundamental magic realist sense that reality always exceeds our capacity to describe or understand or prove and that the function of literature is to engage this excessive reality, to honour that which we may grasp intuitively but never fully or finally define. Magical realist text asks us to look beyond the limits of the knowable, and ghost are often guides (Zamora & Farris 1995: 498).

Furthermore, characters in magical realist texts are often informed and constructed through Jungian (referring to the Swiss scholar Carl G. Jung (1857-1916)) archetypes (Fourie 2014: 480). For Jung the word archetype has a longstanding association with archaic or primordial images. Jung studied the myths, folklores and fairy-tales of various cultures and constructed a collection of character types that symbolically reveal and embody aspects of the human psyche. He titled what he understood as elements of human nature, the *collective unconscious* (Bazilevsky 2015: 15). Archetypes as character symbols subsequently represent and reveal fundamental motifs in human behaviour. (Bazilevsky

2015: 15). Although Carl Jung's theories are rooted in analytical psychology, his theories pertaining to archetypes have been used as a tool in the analysis of literature and applied to character studies in drama (Fleer 2009: 4).

As unpacked in Chapter 1, ghosts, described as visible relics of the dead, can represent tormented messages from unjust pasts, acting as warnings or punishing those who disturbed the peace (Stableford 2009: 173, 174). I also briefly stated that a ghostly character can be a symbolic representation of the Jungian archetype of the shadow. In the article titled *The shadow in the contemporary fairy-tale,* Robin K. Belcher remarks on how the Jungian shadow archetype manifests in literature as the "*doppelgänger*, the amorphic presence, the reflection, the ghost, and a host of other incarnations" (2013: 1).

Considering magic realism's capacity to break the rules of linear time, its construction of characters through Jungian archetypes and the genre's use of anthropomorphic personification - the presence of apparitions in magical realist texts is validated. In a magic realist text the past could therefore be personified and actualised in the form of a spectre, a character from another time hauntingly interrupting the present.

As previously unpacked, this study understands postcolonialism as a haunted societal condition and that ghosts can become apt analogies for the tormented haunted present that is perforated with traces (the presence of absence) of colonialism. Magic realist text facilitates a space where ghosts, as symbols of the tormented past, can be present. Such ghostly characters within a text disrupt linearity; they signify the presence of absence and therefore hauntological allegorical interpretations of such a text, is possible.

3.2.10 Magic realism in white Afrikaans theatre

Magic realism has been explored in a variety of ways in South African theatre spaces. Theatre-makers such as Lara Foot Newton's play *Karoo Moose* (2009) can be analysed as an allegory that uses magical imagery. In the 2009 article titled *Karoo Moose*, posted in *The Guardian*, Lyn Gardner discusses *Karoo Moose* (Foot Newton 2009) and its significance, stating that the production cleverly combines African storytelling with magic realism to convey the harsh realities and often violent lives of her characters. Another example is Brett Bailey's production *Samson* (2019), a play that explores Biblical myth. He combines different modes of storytelling and makes use of projection, dance and elaborate costumes, constructing an allegory about loss and betrayal, as is the case in Farber's *Mies Julie* (2012). Zakes Mda, one of South Africa's well-known novelists and playwrights has been discussed as a writer that

utilises the mode of magic realism to depict struggle and reshape the present that is burdened by a traumatic past (Barker 2008: 2). One of the most notable South African political allegories that uses magic realism is the play, *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1997), a play by Jane Taylor and William Kentridge (see Kruger 2008: 131-146). The play, *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1997), addresses the period of reconciliation. A fantastical motif, introduced through devices such as imaginative puppets, are used throughout the play, to demonstrate grotesque truths about perpetrators and to protect vulnerabilities of victims.

White Afrikaans magic realist texts are often informed by the historical context of Afrikanerdom. References are frequently made to soldiers suffering in the aftermath of war, for example the text *Nag, Generaal* (De Wet 1991) as well as its adaptation *Asem* (Basson 2017) that are set during the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902). Furthermore, magical realist narratives in Afrikaans frequently revolve around characters who are poor, have been maltreated or feel entrapped by circumstances, such as women and marginalised identities (Anker 2003: 481) for example in, *Siener in die Suburbs* (du Plessis 1971) and *Mis* (De Wet 1993).

As previously stated, Reza de Wet's plays can be characterised as moving beyond realism (Botha cited in Stander 2016: 148). De Wet is quoted as saying that "reality, for me, has as much to do with the psyche of fantasy. They are mirror images of each other, the outer world and the inner world" (*Beeld*, 24 June 1997). Her theatre productions such as *Diepe Grond*, translated as *African Gothic* (1986) and *Mis* (1993) (the latter can be translated as meaning both fog and missing), have been described as theatre that combines reality and the fantastical. In a 2018 article on *Litnet*, André Stoltz, a theatre director, compares Reza de Wet's work to that of magic realist, novelist Gabriel Garçia Marquez (1927-2014) (Terblanche 2018: [sp]). Reza de Wet is not only inspired by realist texts but also by romantic expression. In 2007 she wrote, but unfortunately never finished, *Heathcliff Goes Home* (2007) based on Emily Brontë's[108] (1818-1848) famous novel *Wuthering Heights* (1847). De Wet had a particular admiration for Gothic literature and its "focus on the ghosts of the past and the proverbial skeletons

[108] Avery (1998: 2) states that Emily Brontë and her two sisters Charlotte (1816-1855) and Anne Brontë (1820-1849) are renowned eighteenth-century British novelists. They actively partook in the spirit of romanticism, writing Gothic novels exploring the torments of complex characters that are often simultaneously villainous and heroic. They are also celebrated as early feminists and wrote strong female characters, layered in personality, wit, passion and act upon their strong-willed nature. Their novels are intensely driven by emotions, passions and psychological suffering. The atmospheres of the novels are dark, mysterious featuring ghosts, mansions in decay, and haunted characters with dark passions. The Brontë sisters saw the transition from romanticism into Victorianism and their novels reflect the historical shift in historical aesthetics. Their novels combine literary styles "fusing elements drawn from the romantic Gothic novel with elements of the realist novel" (Avery 1998: 2) which was quickly becoming the dominant literary mode of its time (Avery 1998: 1-3).

in the closet" (Krueger 2015: 117). Furthermore, in *The Methuen Drama Guide to Contemporary South African Theatre* (2015) Anton Krueger writes that

> she had also noted that there is something inherently Gothic about Afrikaner culture, the subject of most of her writing, particularly the strong Calvinistic underpinnings of traditional Afrikaner culture, for example, the belief in original sin and the visitation of the sins of the fathers upon their children. As John Fletcher points out, the idea of "the sins of the fathers" [...] is encrypted at the heart of all Gothic fiction and might be said to constitute its problematic as a genre: its concern with lineage, heritage, patrimony and the transmission of dark secrets, history as nightmare" (Krueger 2015: 117).

As previously stated in Chapter 3.1: Adaptation, De Wet unearths the grotesque. According to James Schevill the "grotesque is essentially something we distrust, the hidden demonic fantasy that still torments and attracts us, the shadow we repress because we don't want to confront this central problem in our society" (1977: 2). Through her use of grotesque imagery, De Wet depicts the monstrous torments of white Afrikaner identity. Anton Krueger further writes that in *African Gothic* (1985), for example, De Wet depicts a:

> reflection of the collective psyche of the Afrikaner…or more specifically the things that make it difficult to be an Afrikaner: moralism, the ritual forms of behaviour, the autorotative religious approach…the claustrophobia (2015: 148).

Reza de Wet uses the conventions of realist theatre, however, her plays are imbued with romantic passions, mysterious atmospheres, and hauntingly complex characters. Reza de Wet again, sets a precedent of how magic realism can be used to unearth and reveal the grotesque repressed and tormented aspects of white Afrikaner identity.

Another white Afrikaans playwright who embodies the dichotomy of both rationalist and the romantic in his writing is C. L. Leipoldt (1880-1947) (Oppelt 2013: 116). Before reimagining *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), in the next chapter I will revisit Leipoldt and the source play from the viewpoint of my post-colonial present, locating milieu and motifs that will form the foundation for my hauntological, postcolonial allegory. Leipoldt's writing style evinces "a mix between romantic writing and more complicated attempts at realism" (Oppelt 2013: 116) as well as arguably "psychological" characters that challenged what it meant to be a white Afrikaner. This testimonial statement about Leipoldt's writing style and character description supports laying down the foundation from which *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) can be adapted into a magical realist text.

This chapter located key characteristics of magic realism, such as metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification as well as the genre's capacity to break the rules of linear time. These aspects can ultimately assist and guide the adaptation and reimaging process. This chapter also

established that magic realism opens up aporia, meaning that I can unearth the hidden fantastical possibilities from *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) and present them as 'real' within the adapted reimagined playtext. In the next section I will firstly provide a short biography of C. L. Leipoldt, contextualising him as an ambivalent man and then, informed by the historical context and theoretical framework in Chapter 2: Historical overview, I will revisit and analyse *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

CHAPTER 4: C. L. LEIPOLDT AND *DIE LAASTE AAND* (1930)

Figure 13: A copy of the cover page of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

In Chapter 4, I firstly revisit and (re)discover the prolific white Afrikaans historic figure C. L. Leipoldt by providing a brief bibliography. I argue that C. L. Leipoldt opposed white Afrikaans nationalism in the 1930s. I reference scholars such as Louise Viljoen (2000, 2003), Rian Oppelt (2015) as well as novelist and writer Elsa Joubert (1997) who regard him as a "self-reflective Orientalist" (Viljoen 2003: 80) who continuously interrogates and questions his own culture and positionality. This section concludes that C. L. Leipoldt can be considered an ambivalent man due to various contradictory aspects that constitute his white Afrikaner identity and his self-reflective writing. Secondly, informed by Chapter 2: Historical overview, I will revisit and analyse C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt: 1930) and attempt to uncover the colonial and postcolonial themes, motifs and historical references evident in the setting, key objects and characters in the play. I will also locate potential 'magical elements' within the play that will ultimately form the foundation for, and validate specific choices for the postcolonial reimagined playtext.

4.1 C.L. Leipoldt: an ambivalent man

Figure 14: Ink drawing of C. L. Leipoldt (Van der Merwe 2020).

Christian Frederik Louis Leipoldt (1880-1947) is renowned for the scope of his interests: apart from his achievement as a major figure in white Afrikaans literature, he also contributed to South African medical journals in his capacity as a physician and is regarded an important figure in South African culinary arts. Leipoldt, unlike many of the Afrikaans writers of his time, addressed the problematic Afrikaner politics. He also had an avid interest in and knowledge of nature, which is evident in his artistic writing, celebrating the splendour of landscapes, while simultaneously recognising the inevitability decay of the world around him (Kannemeyer 2005: 83). He often questioned his purpose in the world and was intrigued by the unknown, the mysterious and the enigmatic aspects of existence (Kannemeyer 2005: 83).

Leipoldt was born on 28 December 1880 to a missionary family living in the Worcester, inland from the coast of the Cape Colony. "He was raised in the Hantam region, in the valley town of Clanwilliam" (Oppelt 2015: 2). His father was a German speaking *Moravian*[109] missionary who was previously stationed in Sumatra, Indonesia, accompanied by his wife, Leipoldt's mother, Ana Meta Christina Esselen. His parents often spoke of their time spent in Indonesia, indulging a young Leipoldt, who was fascinated by their accounts of their experiences in, what was then termed the Orient. This fascination with the East would later become evident both in his literary output and in his passion for the culinary arts (Oppelt 2015: 2). Leipoldt received private tutoring and became an accomplished academic, being able to read and/or write in eight languages. As a teenager he developed an interest in botany. He became a pupil and friend of the distinguished Cape botanist Sir Harry Bolus[110] (1834-1911), establishing a relationship that would continue throughout Leipoldt's life (Oppelt 2015: 2).

[109] According to Spaugh (1957), the Moravian Church was founded in 1457 and is the oldest account of a Protestant Church sector. The Moravian Church stands for *Unitas Fratrum* or Unity of Brethren and is often abbreviated to simply The Unity. The church originated in the Eastern European countries Moravia and Bohemia, hence the name the Moravian Church. In 1517 "Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of Wittenberg Castle" (Spaugh 1957: 1). A strong relationship between Moravians and the Reformers were established during this time. The Moravian church saw a resurgence of interest in the 1700 specifically in Germany. Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) was the key figure in the Renewal of the Moravian Church. Following the Renewal of August 13th, 1727, Moravians began to regard missionary work as the primary reason for the existence of their church. The Moravian missionaries felt a moral duty towards slaves. Leonard Doper, one of the first Moravian missionaries, wanted to sell himself into slavery as an act of love and devotion. Moravians sent missionaries around the world. They enjoyed success in Lapland, Surinam, Labrador, Ceylon, South Africa, Cairo, Constantinople, Baghdad, and Jerusalem (Spaugh 1957: 1, 3, 5, 10).

[110] Gunn & Codd (1981) explains that Harry Bolus was born in Nottingham, England where he received a thorough education at Castle Gate School. The headmaster of Castle Gate corresponded with William Kensnit, a botanist, in Grahamstown South Africa. Kensnit requested that the headmaster send him one of his pupils to occupy the position of being his assistant and in 1850 Harry Bolus docked in Port Elizabeth as the chosen pupil. Bolus worked under William Kensnit for two years and would later marry Sophia Kensnit. He eventually settled in Graaff-Reinette. They had three sons and after the devastating loss of his first born, a family friend suggested that Bolus take up botany, marking the beginning of a lifelong obsession. He continued embarking on expeditions to various corners of South Africa, yielding many books of his observations as a field botanist. He died of heart failure in

Figure 15: Ink drawing of the Hantam valley (Van der Merwe 2020).

Leipoldt found contentment in the beauty of the Hantam valley and displayed an awareness of the diversity of cultural identities that was evident in his community. As previously discussed, the Cape Colony quickly established itself as a cosmopolitan community. Leipoldt grew up observing white Afrikaans farmers, English and other European settlers or missionaries, coloured worker families and people who were descendant from Khoi-Khoi communities as well as from former slaves who originated from the East, to mention some of the various cultures all forming part of the growing Cape society. From an early age Leipoldt had formed his own opinions on racial inequalities and in 1896, at the age of sixteen, he wrote a letter to the *Cape Argus*, a popular newspaper at the time, titled *The Coloured Question,* calling for the recognition of non-white identities as equal to the privileged white community. Upon its publication, his letter was met with outrage by white readership. In 1898, Leipoldt left Clanwilliam to seek employment in Cape Town and for a time stayed with a Cape Muslim family, further diversifying his cultural knowledge (Oppelt 2015: 3).

He developed into what could be termed a Renaissance man[111], succeeding as a journalist, writer, poet, playwright as well as a physician. During the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) Leipoldt became a

Oxted, Surrey leaving behind a legacy of botanist publications and he also founded the Harry Bolus Professorship at the University of Cape Town (Gunn & Codd 1981: 99).

[111] A *Renaissance man* is a term used to describe an individual who exercises an interest in human nature, the scientific world and artistic endeavours. The Renaissance man embraces knowledge in philosophy, science and the arts and usually excels in the practise of these enterprises (Runyon 2010: 2- 4).

potent war journalist, writing for both local and international newspapers. After the Anglo Boer War Leipoldt studied medicine in London at Guys Hospital and travelled across Europe, documenting his thoughts and observations through correspondence letters addressed to his benefactor Sir Harry Bolus (1834-1911), who also encouraged Leipoldt's literary writings. In June 1907 he qualified as a doctor and in 1911 Leipoldt published his first collection of poems titled *Oom Gert Vertel en Ander Gedigte* (1911) establishing him as a pioneer in the second movement of Afrikaans literature. During his time abroad, he joined in the European spirit of traveling to exotic places. Before returning to South Africa in 1913, "he travelled to the Dutch East Indies, as a ship doctor on board the cargo steamer *Ulysses*" (Viljoen 2000: 1). It is during this journey that he kept a diary that was later transformed into a manuscript called A *visit to the East Indies* (1932) (Viljoen 2000: 1). The journal outlines detailed impressions of the East, self-reflective insight on his position as a foreigner and nuanced political insight into the moral and social issues brought forth by colonialism (Viljoen 2000: 1).

In the article *Leipoldt and the Orient: A Reading of C. L. Leipoldt's travel writings in the context of Oriental Discourse* (2000), scholar Louise Viljoen discusses Leipoldt's travel journal through the Edward Said's definition of Orientalism (see Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks). Upon embarking on his journey to the East, Viljoen observes, Leipoldt describes the East through the eyes of his younger self, captivated by his parents' stories of Indonesia, romanticising the exotic otherness of the Oriental landscapes. He describes the beginning of his journey as *"*The call to the East*/ Die drang na die Ooste*" (Leipoldt 1932: 6).

However, upon arriving in the East, his understanding of his position as a foreigner and representative of Western colonisation becomes evident in his writings, which breaks free from stereotypical Oriental discourse and demonstrates a more nuanced understanding of colonialism. He describes this moment of self-realisation in his journal as: "*Die besef van die Ooste/* The realisation of the Orient*"* (Viljoen 2003: 80). Viljoen calls Leipoldt a "self-conscious travel writer" (Viljoen 2003: 80). Travel writing became a popular form of Western literature since the start of the fifteenth century. Travel writing is defined as writing that demonstrates, among other facets, a somewhat generic fascination with the East, often evoking a romanticised image of destinations inhabited by "exotic beings", "extravagant landscapes", "unusual cultures" and focuses on a Western individual's extraordinary journeys in the colonies (Castro 2016: 152). As mentioned in Chapter 2 Edward Said (58-59) describes these types of writers and their travel literature as Orientalists: "a sort of fluent mythology of the Orient depicting a multiple of stereotypes in which the legendary lands were more idealised than real" (Castro 2016: 152).

However, Viljoen uses the terms self-consciously alluding to the fact that Leipoldt possesses the capacity to locate his positionality as white and Western and displaying enlightened awareness of how colonial structures framed his viewpoints. Viljoen continues by stating that "he acknowledges his own prejudice and describes how the Orient was formed by Western texts" (2000: 10) of the colonies. To Leipoldt it becomes clear that there is a mysteriousness that the East possessed that the West will never fully understand. According to him any attempt at a rational, scientific understanding of this mysterious region is doomed because one will finally find that the dry scientific facts will be cloaked in a haze of Oriental fog "*'n waas van Oosterse mis*" that changes facts into hazy jumble "*newelige mengelmoes*" (Leipoldt 1932: 18). Only when one has studied the Orient's, language, habits, religion and superstitions, can one venture to understand it, but the result will inevitably be the realisation that the Orient is a "*spokeland…waar jy nooit in intieme aanraking met die wesens wat daarin woon kan kom nie"* / a land of spirits where one can never come into intimate contact with the people living there (Leipoldt 1932: 18).

In the article *Leipoldt and the Orient: A Reading of C. L. Leipoldt's travel writings in the context of Oriental Discourse* (2000), scholar Louise Viljoen describes Leipoldt as a "self-reflective Orientalist" Viljoen 2000: 8). Leipoldt is still framed by colonialism due to his positionality as white Western coloniser. His description, for example, of the East as possessing a "mysteriousness" that the West will never fully understand, can be criticised as inciting Orientalist biases and othering. However, it should be noted that, Leipoldt does not attempt to 'conquer' the Eastern landscape by deeming his views as superior, ultimately passing judgment. It can be stated that he is attempting to relay the tension and conflict he experiences as having a Western, colonial, Afrikaans identity - self-consciously observing himself, observing the East and failing to escape his own positionality. In the article Die *digter as reisiger: twee gedigsiklusse van Leipoldt en Krog* (2003), Louise Viljoen writes:

> Because travel leads to a crossing of boundaries in the literal as well as the figurative sense, travel writing is potentially transgressive. According to Barthes, travel writing is also the most "ideologically saturated" form of writing one can find, apart from propaganda. For this reason, travel writing often forms an important part of the political and ideological debates of the time (Viljoen 2003: 80).

Leipoldt has a particular ambivalent relationship with colonies because he himself was a white Afrikaner with colonial ancestors, who were colonised by imperial Britain. Visiting other colonised countries allows Leipoldt to reflect on racial and cultural integration and hybridity brought forth by colonialism in South Africa:

> *Die groot kwessie van inmenging van die wit met die inboorlingrasse, is iets wat nie hier bespreek kan word nie. Onder die toestande daar is dit egter moontlik dat inmenging 'n mengelras kan voortbring, wat uiters geskik is vir die streek wat hy moet bewoon, en dat dit natuurlike oplossing van die probleem is. Vir ons wat hart en siel teen sulke inmenging gekamp is, lyk dit amper goddeloos en hemeltergend om soiets selfs maar aan te stip, maar die Natuur gaan sy gang sonder om hom aan ons vooroordeel te steur/* The big issue of the integration of European with the indigenous races, is something that cannot be discussed here. Under the circumstances there it is however possible that integration may produce a mixed race that is eminently suitable for the environment in which they must live and that this would be the natural solution to the problem. To us who oppose such integration with all our might, it seems wicked and blasphemous to even note such a thing, but Nature goes its way without taking any notice of our prejudice (Leipoldt 1932: 8).

Leipoldt reveals an insight into racial and cultural hybridity and how nationalist white Afrikanerdom instils racial classifications under law. Leipoldt, demonstrates progressive views on the topic of colonialism alongside cosmopolitan identity politics in referring to racial integration as having positive aspects, as a way in which nature takes its course and in framing the Afrikaner nationalist perspective on racial integration as "vooroordeel" (bias or prejudice). At the same time, he includes himself in the bias by stating that "*vir ons*" (for us) such integration may seem ungodly and blasphemous. Leipoldt continuously reveals his significant opposing viewpoints regarding the prevalent Afrikaans nationalist social-racial construction of South Africa's multi-cultural identities, revealing and unveiling the prevalent "political and ideological debates of the time" (Viljoen 2003:80):

> *Een van die allergrootste vrae wat die Afrikaner homself moet afvra, is in hoever hy die sedelike reg het om in 'n land met 'n gemengde bevolking 'n afsonderlike politiek uit te voer waarin die inboorling nie regstreeks aandeel of seggenskap het nie. In Java bestaan daardie vraag nie. Die blanke bevolking aldaar is nie in politieke kampe verdeel nie; hulle vermors nie hulle kragte op party-politiek nie, en iedereen, blanke sowel as inboorling, stel belang in die praktiese behartiging van voorregte wat aan altwee toegken is*…/One of the most important questions that the Afrikaner has to ask himself, is to what extent he has the moral right in a country with a mixed population to practice a separate political life in which the native does not have a direct part or say. In Java that question does not exist. The European population there is not divided into political camps; they do not waste their efforts on party-politics, and everyone, European as well as native, is interested in the practical promotion of the privileges of both (Leipoldt 1932: 8).

Here, Leipoldt clearly opposes the popular ideological propaganda of white Afrikaans nationalism, but through his use of derogatory terms such as "*inboorlinge"* (natives) Leipoldt can be seen as a figure still trapped by colonial ideology. His travel writing simultaneously reveals the political ideologies of his time, how it seeped into his identity and expression, emphasising the accuracy of Viljoen's framing of Leipoldt as a "self-reflective Orientalist" (2000: 8).

Upon returning to South Africa from his travels overseas, he worked as a health inspector while continuing to write folk stories for children, folk anecdotes and literary reviews for various South African magazines and newspapers. In 1920 he published his second collection of poems: *Dingaansdag* (1920) (Oppelt 2013: 14). During the twenties he continued writing columns for newspapers that discussed a wide range of topics such as food and cooking, contemporary development in European literature: modernism and realism. He also wrote book reviews and "critical reflections on the state of South African literature" and the growing Afrikaans nationalist movement (Oppelt 2013: 15).

In 1923 Leipoldt published his third collection of poems: *Uit drie Wêrelde*. The book explores cosmopolitan dynamics and the poems subtly challenge rising white Afrikaner nationalism (Oppelt 2013: 14). Throughout Leipoldt's literary career he maintained his interest in the field of science and published articles in the *South African Medical Journal.* This duality of both rationalist[112] and romantic[113] became characteristic of Leipold's writings (Oppelt 2013: 16). In these years Leipoldt wrote his first play tiled: *Die Heks /The Witch* (1923).

In 1925, Afrikaans was formally accepted as an official language of South Africa and in 1933, the Bible was translated into Afrikaans. Strengthened by the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, the Afrikaans language stretched its capacity for expression, both in academic fields and creative writing (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 288). The National Party (NP) came into political power, with D. F. Malan as the

[112] As previously mentioned, the word rationalism refers to logic, complete order, control and scientific explanation (Hill & Turner 2006: 318).

[113] "Dark and terrifying", "Gothic" and "emotional intensity" are some of the terms that are used to describe the atmosphere of some of the paintings from Romantic era (Murray 2004: 30-31). The last half of the eighteenth century was known as the romantic era. "Romanticism in the visual arts has traditionally and persistently been interpreted as a reaction against eighteenth century neo-classicism"(Murray 2004: 27) or against the Enlightenment. During the romantic era emphasis was placed on freedom and self-expression (Murray 2004: 27). Artists frequently merged the "conscious and the subconscious", "the real and ideal" and "the natural and fantastic" (Murray 2004: 27). The visual language of romantic art was emotive, mystical, favouring sensuous forms and "bizarre", visionary themes (Murray 2004: 27). Themes such as prophetic stories and pre-historical phantasmagoria were explored in the arts (Murray 2004: 27). The new-found interest in the "Gothic" can be interpreted as a revolt against the strict establishment of the Enlightenment, and a longing for emotional expression and experience (Janson 1970: 453). People sought intense experiences, often through the imaginary (Janson 1970: 453). According to Umberto Eco (2004: 399), romanticism is not a set or precise term that describes a specific art movement, but rather identifies attitudes and sentiments that focused on the concepts of the spirit and "to act upon feeling". Eco continues to state that the purpose of the Romantic Movement was not necessarily to stand in stark contrast to reason but rather to combine and establish a bond between reason and sentiments. This bond aimed to create balance by bringing these two seemingly contradictory notions together, and it is within this balance that the true originality of the romantic era lies (Eco 2004: 399). During the 19th century realism as an artistic movement ended the age of romanticism and marked the beginning of modernism (late nineteenth to mid twentieth centuries).

presidential leader in 1929. Against the backdrop of growing white Afrikaner nationalism C. L. Leipoldt wrote *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), engaging with South Africa's colonial past and white Afrikaner identity. Leipoldt further engaged with and showcased an interest in South Africa's colonial past during the 1930s by writing historical accounts of Jan van Riebeeck, the French Huguenots and the *Voortrekkers* (Oppelt 2013: 17). .

During the 1930s white Afrikaans novels reflected themes like the struggles of an agrarian community to adapt to an industrialised urban environment. Leipoldt however, influenced by writers such as the romantic Edgar Allen Poe and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, published two Afrikaans psychological thrillers: *Die Donker Huis* (1932) and *Die Moord op Muizenberg* (1931). Leipoldt had an abundance of literary output during this decade, such as the collection of short stories: *Die Rooi Rotte* (1932), his fourth collection of poetry *Skoonheidstroos* (1932), the famous culinary book *Polfyntjies vir die Proe* (1933) and also completed the *Valley Trilogy* (*Stormwrack*, *Gallows Geco* and *The Mask*) that he had been working on from the late 1920s to early 1930s. In 1937 he produced a personal memoir called *Bushveld Doctor* (1937). On 12 April 1947 C. L. Leipoldt died in his beloved Hantam Valley. His ashes were laid to rest in the Pakhuis mountain pass. His final resting place is at the foot of a small cave on the mountain face underneath San rock art that is faintly visible, created during a time when South Africa was untouched by white settler colonialism (Oppelt 2013: 18).

In 1995 the esteemed white Afrikaans writer Elsa Joubert[114] (1922-2020), who had a particular admiration for C. L. Leipoldt and his writing, undertook a journey through Indonesia guided by Leipoldt's journal *Uit My Oosterse Dagboek* (1932). Elsa Joubert kept her own journal whilst in Indonesia and in 1997 published a book titled *Gordel van Smarag*. In the book Joubert offers her own insight, critique and appreciation of Leipoldt's reflections and convictions towards the growing nationalist white Afrikaner of the 1930s, paralleled with his observations and criticism of Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. It is particularly noteworthy that Elsa Joubert locates C. L. Leipoldt

[114] Elsabé Antoinette Murray Joubert (1922-2020) was born 19 October 1922 in the Paarl. She went to La Rochelle Girls High School, "earned a BA and Higher Education Diploma from Stellenbosch University" and in 1945 she completed her Master's degree at the University of Cape Town. After graduating from university, she was a teacher before becoming the women's editor for the *Huisgenoot* from 1946-1948. Joubert began writing full time and was an avid traveller and wrote numerous travel books. In an online article published on the Johannesburg Review, Jennifer Malec writes that: "Early in her writing career, Joubert turned away from mainstream Afrikaans writing and allied herself with *Die Sestigers*, emerging Afrikaner literary dissident movement started by Andre Brink and Breyten Breytenbach" (2020). Most notably, she published *Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena* in 1978. Throughout her career she wrote and contributed to Afrikaans literature writing poetry, novels and drama texts. This study locates her specific interest in C. L. Leipoldt that urged her to travel to Indonesia in 1995 and journey in his 'footsteps' (Joubert 1997).

as a writer that had the potential to be the Afrikaans Multatuli (1820-1887)[115]. This comparison is important because Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker) is considered a rebellious nineteenth century Dutch writer who radically undermined the colonial pursuits of the Netherlands. It appears that Joubert recognises similarities between C. L. Leipoldt and Multatuli as writers that had capacity to enlighten and critique their own cultures as to their harmful and tyrannical natures, ultimately reflecting on their positionalities as white colonisers (Joubert, 1997: 70).

C. L. Leipoldt is an ambivalent man. Leipoldt's character is riddled with contradictions; he is simultaneously a rationalist and a romantic, as an Afrikaner he is both the coloniser and the colonised; his travel writing evinces Orientalist conceptions, but he constantly questions his own viewpoints, acknowledging his white Western positionality. Lastly, he poetically engages with the Afrikaans language, but appears to violently use the language against itself, critiquing his own identity and culture. Rian Oppelt, in an article tiled *C. L. Leipoldt and The Making of South African Modernism* (2013: 8) states that Leipoldt "cuts the figure of a writer interrogating history even as he partakes in it" (2013: 8). Oppelt continues by describing Leipoldt as an "internal saboteur. Internal, due to his identity as a white Afrikaner and saboteur due his critique of his own culture using the Afrikaans language as medium" (2013: 8).

As Afrikaner nationalism grew in strength in the early decades of the twentieth century, Leipoldt must have been torn between loyalty towards the Afrikaner cause, as he had witnessed the defiance against Great Britain as well as the hardships during the Anglo Boer War (1899-1901), and wariness regarding the attitudes regarding exclusiveness in the nationalist movement. As the century progressed he wrote "against" the nationalists and the contemporary literary trend of emphasising the heroic past of Afrikaner history. AS Paul Leonard Murray put it:

> Leipoldt meant the events in his fiction to serve as an allegory for the way he saw South Africa emerging at the time. He was writing against the Nationalists, particularly against the narrative of Gustav S. Preller, who spent his working life constructing a *volksgeskiedenis* that resulted in a significant public history that dominated Afrikaner historical thinking from circa 1905 to 1938 (2012: 13).

In the 1930s, along with the anticipated centenary commemorations of The Great Trek and initiating the project of the Voortrekker Monument, an abundance heroic stories about The Great Trek and the

[115] "Multatuli is a pseudonym for Eduard Douwes Dekker, born in 1820 Amsterdam" in the Netherlands (Etty 2020: [sp]).. Multatuli is a Dutch writer that critiqued his own culture with and through his own language, therefore rendering him self-a reflective coloniser opposing his own country's colonial convictions. Multatuli attained international recognition with his novel *Max Havelaar* (1860). The novel is partly autobiographical and aimed at exposing the Dutch exploitation in Indonesia. Other noteworthy publications include *Ideën* (1862-1877) and *Minnebrieven* (Etty 2020: [sp]).

Anglo-Boer War were published, specifically drawing on the publications of Gustav Preller. In the study *C. Louis Leipoldt's the valley — constructing an alternative past*, Paul Leonard Murray argues that Leipoldt took on a tone of "anti-Great Trek, anti-nationalist, pro-reconciliation, finding common ground rather than focussing on exclusivity" (2012: 13).

Leipoldt's character can be read as being in a liminal space, occupying a border, ultimately exemplifying a positionality of in-betweenness. Elsa Joubert also asks: *"Is hy die tussen-mens?"/* Is he an in-between human? (1997: 86). Considering his ambivalence, can C. L. Leipoldt be described as a "border dweller"? *Postcolonialism and Post socialism in Fiction and Art: Resistance and Re-existence* (2013) by Madina Tlostanova describes a "border dweller" as a type of trickster who has the capacity through their artistic work to "expose fake conventionality in human relations and fool the authorities through irony and cunning" (2013: 133, 134). Christopher Heywood (2000: 75, 76) interprets Leipoldt's two plays *Die Heks /*The Witch (1923) and *Die Laaste Aand,* (Leipoldt 1930) as "dramatised stories from the Reformation and the Dutch colonial epoch that had relevance for the 1920s…he masked a contemporary situation by placing the action in a remote period".

The seventeenth and eighteenth century setting of his play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), places the events of the play during the hight of Dutch colonial rule of the South African coast (1652 to 1795). Therefore, the setting, characters, motifs and locations of the play are perforated with colonial themes, rendering them appropriate for re-examining and reinterpretation. *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) captures Leipoldt's fascination with Indonesia, while simultaneously exposing his awareness or *"besef van die Ooste"* (realization of the East) (Leipoldt 1932: 7). As previously mentioned, Leipoldt had sophisticated and wide-ranging knowledge of Indonesia that is evident both in his literary output and in his passion for the culinary arts (among other fields of knowledge) (Oppelt 2015: 2). As a young man Leipoldt visited the East Indies (Indonesia and Philippine Archipelagos). He displays a mindfulness of the hardships endured by individuals under colonial rule, specifically evident in his choice to explore the narrative of the play through the experiences of a Martha, a Javanese woman from Jakarta (colonised by the Dutch).

Throughout *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) there is a continuous relation between historical accounts and fictional events. Leipoldt's writing showcases knowledge of Indonesian history and culture with detailed references to locations, kingdoms, customs, crafts, and indigenous botany (these references will be addressed in following analyses of the play). The ambivalence of Leipoldt's attitude and his nuanced view of history is evident in current analyses like the following:

> Leipoldt was not interested in using history to illustrate how we come to be at one particular moment, with the implication that the moment is a summation and climax of all pre-existing events; he was far more interested in showing that history itself was, and is, in dynamic flux, a continuing process of transformations… (Gray 1984: 2-9).

The binary aspect of Leipoldt's stance, celebrating the splendour of the East alongside the continuous colonial critique, marks an important writing trait of Leipoldt in the play and highlights the ambivalence of his own character and world-view. After giving a short bibliography of C. L Leipoldt and establishing him as an ambivalent figure who interrogated history as he partook in it (Oppelt 2013: 8), I will now revisit his 1930s play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), from a post-colonial present point of view.

4.2 Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930)

Informed by Chapter 2: Historical overview, I will now revisit and analyse *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). I will firstly give a short introduction of the play, briefly outlining the narrative structure, commenting on the writing style and framing the play as a historical drama. This will be followed by an analysis of each act, presenting quotes and attempting to uncover the colonial and postcolonial themes, motifs and historical references evident in the settings, key objects and characters of the play. The analysis of the play will form the foundation for and validation of specific choices for the postcolonial reimagined playtext.

Die Laaste Aand (Leipoldt 1930) is structured in a prologue and three acts. There are three Eastern characters, Martha, *Slamse Visser/*Fisherman and an *Imam/*Islamic Priest as well as four Dutch/Afrikaans characters, Governor Van Noodt*, Heemraad/*Council Member*, Koopman/*Tradesman*,* and *Skildwag/*Sentry (Leipoldt 1930: 34).

The play is set mainly in Cape Town in 1729 and most of the events take place in and around the Castle of Good Hope. Governor Van Noodt rules the Cape Colony in a tyrannical way. The narrative unfolds as Martha, a disempowered, dislocated Eastern Princess from Jakarta, navigates her way from the outside of the Castle of Good hope to the inside at the heart of the Dutch colonial administration, with the intent to avenge her past and save her son from execution, after being accused of treason against the ruling Governor.

Leipoldt's writing style can be described as poetic or romantic (Oppelt 2013: 116) resulting in dense monologues rich in symbolism, metaphors and intertextual references to places and figures from both

Eastern and Western history. Although the writing style is poetic, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) can be considered a realist text. The locations of the play aim at realism due to the historical specificity of the settings and the detailed descriptions that Leipoldt outlines at the beginning of each act. *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) can perhaps be framed by the literary genre, known as the historical drama[116]. The historical drama aims at accurately replicating the social and political environments of a certain time period. However, alongside an accurate attempt at replicating history, 'fictive' characters placed in the context of the conditions of the presented historical environment, are often created and imagined in this genre. In the article *Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality*, Herbert Lindenberce establishes the relation between realist theatre and historical dramas. Lindenberce states that:

> Historical fact establishes a work's claim to represent reality, historical drama should be the most realistic of dramatic forms. The much-vaunted realism of writers such as Ibsen and Chekhov is, after all, built out of imagined characters going their fictional rounds; an audience's acceptance of their worlds as "real" must be based on its faith that the everyday problems and household objects with which these dramatists are concerned present a more plausible, or intense, or significant version of reality…(1975: 1)

Historical dramas can therefore be considered as realist texts that utilise the possibility to imagine, create and merge fiction with accurate historical accounts. *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) is a period drama that aims at replicating the historic colonial conditions of 1729 Cape Town. The play is partially based on true accounts of Governor Gysbert van Noodt, his tyrannical nature, the unjust hanging of soldiers and his 'mysterious' death. These accounts are recorded in historical archives and became memorialised in popular Afrikaans folktales. Leipoldt interlinked fiction with reality, imagining Martha, a character that might stand in opposition to the colonial Governor and in doing so he offers an opportunity to 'solve' the mystery surrounding Van Noodt's inexplicable and sudden death.

In the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) the characters, whether they are described as Dutch, Javanese or Cape Malay, all communicate in Afrikaans. It can be argued that by writing Javanese characters that communicate in Afrikaans, the language associated with the coloniser (and during apartheid, as the language of the oppressors), Leipoldt risks creating Eastern characters that culturally assimilate to Dutch Afrikaans whiteness. It can however also be argued that Leipoldt depicts how Eastern identities were stripped of their cultural heritage and mother tongue, by writing a play that

[116] Other enquiries into C. L. Leipoldt as a historical dramatist and how the genre relates to modernist writing has the potential for further study, that can also address South African white Afrikaans historical dramas in relation to white Afrikaner nationalism and nostalgia. This study's intention is merely to address Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) as a realist text with reference to the writing style of the historical drama.

reveals how cultures were affected and how they adapted to the colonial circumstances, thereby exposing cultural assimilation. By utilising Afrikaans, Leipoldt engaged with a white Afrikaans audience during the development of a racist nationalism. Leipoldt arguably intended to unveil complex South African cultural histories during a time in the early twentieth century when racism caused division in a multicultural country, when those deemed as other as seen through a white gaze, were oppressed.

I will now revisit and analyse *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), informed by the colonial historical overview of colonial in Chapter 2.1: The voyage as well as the postcolonial theoretical framework established in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks. Postcolonial studies ask for the rediscovering and uncovering of the colonial past (Meusburger, Heffernan & Wunder 2011: 289). My approach to the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) is to uncover the settings, the characters, their relationships and key objects chronologically, revisiting firstly the Prologue (*Voorspel*), Act One (*Eerste Bedryf*), ActTwo (*Tweede Bedryf*) and then Act Three (*Derde Bedryf*). As the narrative unfolds I reveal how I discover and unearth some of C. L. Leipoldt's intertextual references embedded within his dense, poetic text when I come across them. I excavate references pertaining to historical accounts, myths, significant cultural artifacts and geographical settings, in order to scrutinise them, attempting to unpack their possible symbolic significance. The analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) ultimately becomes a source for various ideas that inform my reimaging process.

In my analysis of the play, I will insert quotations from the playtext. The quotations will be presented in the original Afrikaans and a translation into English will also be provided. It should be noted that the English translations are my own.

4.2.1 *Voorspel*/Prologue

Figure 16: Drawing of Leipoldt's description of Jakarta in the prologue (Leipoldt 1930: 35) (Van der Merwe 2020).

The play begins with a *Voorspel/*Prologue (Leipoldt 1930: 35). The Prologue is an adaptation of Leipoldt's poem *Van Noodt se Laaste Aand* (1916) and precedes the play which, in its entirety, is inspired by the historic accounts of Pieter Gysbert Noodt, governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1727 to 1729. It should be noted that in the play the governor's name is Gysbreg Van Noodt, a derivation of Gysbert Van Noodt. In the Prologue of *Die Laaste Aand*, Leipoldt (1930) adapted the poem *Van Noodt se Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1916) into a dramatic monologue performed by a Javanese character named Martha. In the Prologue Martha proclaims that she is mourning the loss of the man with whom she fell in love, a man called Gysbreg Van Noodt. She announces that he is a thief and a liar who ultimately betrayed her by casting her off. In her poignant monologue she consoles her pain though excommunicating her affection towards Van Noodt, replacing her longing with vengeance, and ultimately cursing him.

The Prologue opens with stage directions that locate the scene on an Indonesian island called Java, specifically a seashore in Jakarta:

> *Die toneel is die Jakarta-strand, laat in die namiddag. 'n Agtergrond van dun, sierlike palmbome, met die grasgroen hellings van vuurspuwende berge daaragter. Die voorgrond is die strand, sonder rotse of klippe, 'n lang uitgestrektheid van grys sand waarteen die warm seebranders stadig en asof vermoeid in amper skuimlose*

eentonigheid slaan. Martha in Javaanse kleding, loop op die strand; links staan die Priester met sy hande oor sy bors gekruis en sy oë op haar gevestig… (Leipoldt 1930: 35)

The setting is at a seashore in Jakarta, late in the afternoon. Thin, graceful palm trees along with grass green slopes of volcanic mountains form the background. The foreground is a seashore without rocks or stones, a vast stretch of grey sand interrupting the warm see waves that crash in a slow, weary almost monotonous manner. Martha, in Javanese attire, is walking on the beach; to the left stands the Priest, his hands folded across his chest and his eyes focused on her.

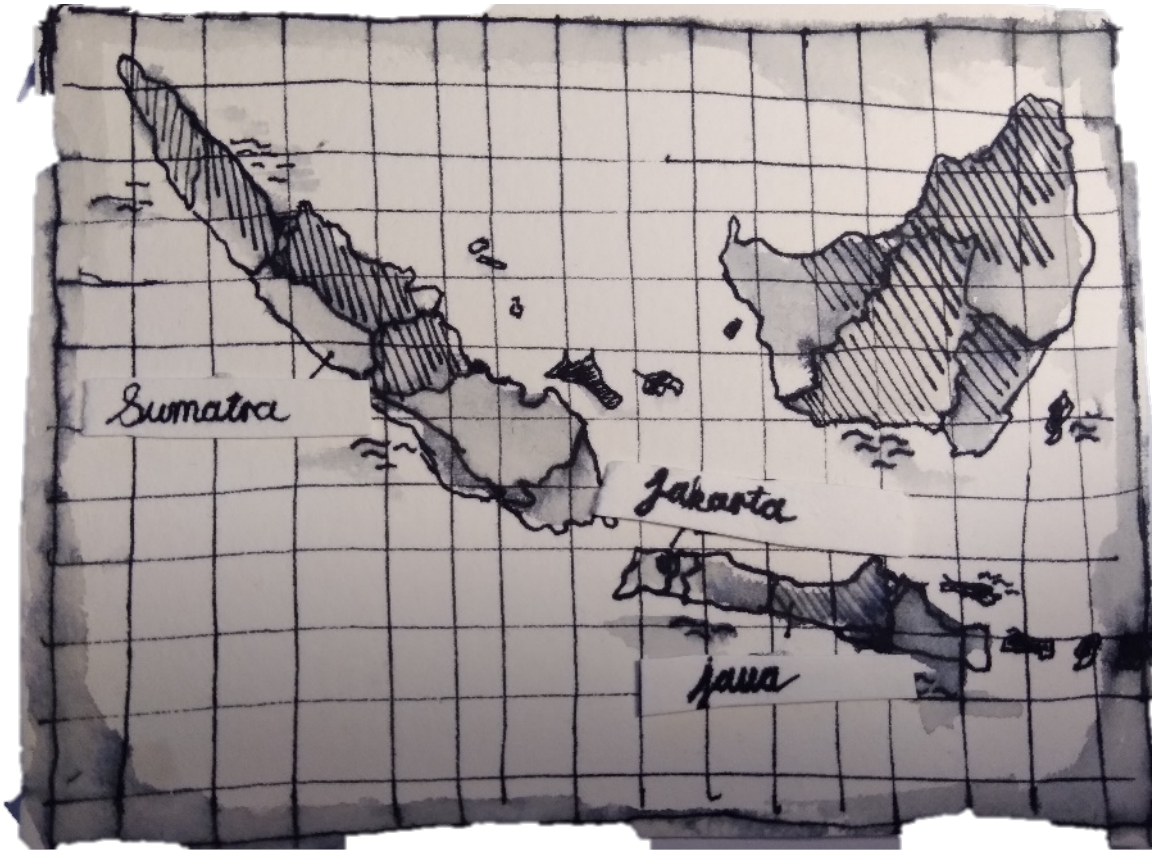

Figure 17: Drawing of a map locating Indonesia, Jakarta, Sumatra and Java (Van der Merwe 2020).

The stage directions of the Prologue do not allocate a specific time period. The events referred to in the Prologue occurred thirty years prior to the proceedings that play out in the rest of the acts, as is evident in Leipoldt's description of the character Martha:

Martha, 'n Javaanse vrou, nog jonk... (Leipoldt 1930: 35) /
Martha, a Javanese woman, still young…

Briefly continuing forward into the play in the *Eerste Bedryf* /Act One, Martha is now described as an elderly woman:

> *'n ou blinde Maleise vrou*…(Leipoldt 1930: 39-43) /
> an old, blind Malaysian woman…

In the final act of the play Martha confronts the governor and states:

> *Ek soek wat ek vir dertig jaar verloor het.*
> *Ek soek na wat dertig jaar gesteel is…* (Leipoldt 1930: 52) /
>
> I seek that which I have lost for thirty years.
> I seek what has been stolen for thirty years...

Considering that Governor Van Noodt died in 1729 and that his death marks the end of the play, it can be concluded that the events of the Prologue take place in 1699. This year is significant because it allocates the beginning of the play during the height of imperial expansion and colonial establishment in the Indonesian Archipelago. To contextualise the character of Martha, I briefly take a historical turn to Indonesia.

By 1650 the Netherlands had developed into the major European trading power. The largest trade company in the world, namely the Dutch East India Trading Company traded on routes all along the coast of Africa through to far East (Giliomee & Mbenga 2007: 40). By 1699 Indonesia had already been seized by the Dutch East India Trading Company that monopolised the trade of the so-called Spice Islands[117] (Hart-Davis 2007: 350). The Prologue is set on the Indonesian island Java in the city Jakarta. During the colonial arraignment celebrated by the Dutch (1619–1945), the developing city of Jakarta was called Djakarta and Indonesia was referred to as Batavia.

Batavia (Indonesia) had seen the infiltration of the West in their cultural and political practices. The Dutch Indonesian presence was built on the remembrance of the previous Majapahit Empire[118] (1293-

[117] During the age of imperial pursuit and the onset of the mass trading enterprises, the spice industry quickly became a popular monopoly. The *Dutch East India Trading Company* (VOC*)* formally dominated the spice trade that was compared to the value of gold. So prized were the Moluccas (a group of islands in Indonesia) that in 1667 the Dutch traded their colony of Manhattan with the British for the latter's island of Run in the Banda Islands, valued for its nutmeg production (Scott 2017: 1).

[118] Two centuries prior to colonial infiltration Indonesia founded its own trading conglomerate under the rule of the Majapahit Empire (1293-1527). The centre of the Majapahit Empire was on the island of Java and administrated rich trading enterprises among the peoples of the East Asian Archipelago. The city of Tuban notably became a wealthy trading port for *batik* textiles, numerous spices and a large rice industry. The fourteenth century, during the reign of the so called "elephant general", Gajah Mada (1290 – 1364) and King Hayam Wuruk (1334- 1389) to whom he was minister, marked the height of the Majapahit's wealth. Mada and

1527). The "Dutch preferred to regard Jakarta as a Dutch creation, a sort of 'Netherlandish' city with canals and Dutch-style architecture" (Abeyasekere 1987:280). It is important to note that Jakarta became the central seat of Eastern trade administration and hosted the Batavia Castle[119] a fortress (Abeyasekere 1987: 280) similar in design to the Castle of Good Hope at the Cape Colony. As mentioned in Chapter 2: The Voyage, slaves were imported to the Cape from across Asia, the Dutch empire and Indonesia. Batavia (Indonesia) established itself as a "conglomeration" of marketplaces, "workshops, warehouses, and residential sectors" where workers tradesmen and slaves lived (Abeyasekere 1987: 280).

Figure 18: Drawing of Jakarta (Van der Merwe 2020).

King Waurok expanded the empire and enjoyed the opulent extravagance of the diverse cultural traditions of the Indonesian society. The empire constructed large temples and cities in a style influenced by eastern Javanese architecture that dates back to Kediri period, c. 11th century, for example the "Penataran, the largest temple in East Java" (Frederick & Worden 2014: 12). A marked characteristic of the Majaphit architectural style is the split gate entrance or the *Candi bentar*. The Majapahit developed "a high degree of sophistication" (Frederick & Worden 2014: 13)in art forms and cultural practices that have long standing legacies in contemporary Indonesia such, as the Tupang (masked dance) traditions that depicted folk stories. The Majaphit Emperial era is the root of several folk tales such as the well-known Javanese love epic *The Panji cycles* and other legends such as *The Tale of Sri Tanjung*, and the epic of *Damarwulan*. The Majaphait Empire gradually lost its wealth due to tensions between religious differences as well as power shifts that resulted in rival countries taking over the local trading industry of the East Indies. The Majapahit Empire fell in 1520, followed by nearly three hundred years of colonial rule (Frederick & Worden 2014: 12-16).

[119]For more than three-hundred years representatives of a European nation held the ultimate power in Java with regards to administrative affairs. "Like many cities in Europe and the Mediterranean that coalesced around forts or castles", the Castle Batavia "combined political, military, and economic activities", forming the nucleus of Dutch Batavia in Indonesia (Abeyasekere 1987: 280). The Castle Batavia was the seat of the governor general and the council the Dutch East India Trading Company that administrated the trade between the East the West. The Castle was built strategically close to the sea at the mouth of the Ciliwung River. The original seat of governance was in Bantam, West Jakarta and relocated in 1618 as instructed by of Governor General Pieterz Coen (1587-1629). The Castle was built in 1620 on the same spot as prior Dutch fortresses and took some years to finish (Van Huistee: 1994: 4, 5, 6).

Leipoldt's writing is often considered as romantic (Oppelt 2013: 116). This concept of romanticism is already evident in the Prologue's description of Jakarta. Leipoldt describes landscape in emotive language using phrases like *sierlike palmbome/*graceful palm trees*, grasgroen hellings/*grassy green slopes, *vuurspuwende berge/*volcanic mountains (1930: 35). Romantic writing often concerns itself with landscapes filled with grandeur and the general splendour that nature offers. Romantic notions are also concerned with, what Umberto Eco in his book *On Beauty*, calls the "poetics of mountains", a fascination with impervious cliffs as well as endless and boundless stretches of land (2002: 282). Leipoldt manages to create an image of a vast, open landscape that stretches from an ocean to a shoreline to the volcanic mountains on the horizon.

Indonesia's location is in, what is geographically termed, The Ring of Fire. The Ring of Fire is a site of frequent earthquakes and powerful volcanic eruptions. A belt of volcanos stretches along Sumatra, Java, Bali, all through to the eastern islands of Indonesia. The volcanos in Indonesia are among the most active of the Pacific Ring of Fire (Masum & Akbar 2019: 1- 3). The presence of volcanic mountains in the background both contextualises the Prologue's location and poetically alludes to the sublime power of nature wherein beauty and destruction is simultaneously present, resulting in an opening scene that is both sublime in its imagining and stringently filled with tension.

The specific place where the Prologue takes place is on a seashore: *Die toneel is die Jakarta-strand/* The setting is on the seashore in Jakarta (1930:35). This specific space of a coastline, with reference to the colonial period, can be described as liminal. Coastlines became threshold spaces to new continents during the time of colonial pursuit; they marked the spaces of discovery for the colonisers and the space of intrusion for the colonised. The coastlines became harbours of trade and gateways imprisoning the colonised countries' reaping. The coastline spaces also become what Mary Louise Pratt termed contact zones. The concept of a contact zone bears reference to what Homi K. Bhabha termed the "third space of enunciation" (1994: 83). Bhabha recognized the ambivalent space where different and various identities meet and fuse cultural ideologies and social practices. It can be stated that a seashore, as a single part of a coastline represents a contact zone. The character Martha is placed in this liminal space looking out onto the ocean:

Sy staan stil en kyk oor die see (Leipoldt 1930: 35) /
She stands still and looks out onto the ocean.

Figure 19: An imagining of how Martha might look, as described by Leipoldt in the prologue (Leipoldt 1930:35) (Van der Merwe 2020).

In the Prologue Martha is described as being dressed in *Javaanse kleding/*Javanese clothing (Leipoldt 1930:35). As previously established, the Prologue creates a specific frame of reference locating the scene in Jakarta in 1699. Javanese cloth in the seventeenth century was often embellished through an ancient technique known as *batik.*[120] The cloth is then wrapped around the body into a garment known as *sarong* (Keller 1966: 13, 25, 26, 27).

In the Prologue Martha's character is introduced as stagnant, looking out onto the ocean, emphasised by the counter description of Van Noodt, who is sailing away from the island:

Daar waar sy skip nou oor die bare gly (Leipoldt 1930: 35) /
There where his ship is sailing over the waves

[120] The *batik* process begins with raw cotton that is spun into yarn. The yarn is thread into a spinning mechanism called a *gedok* that weaves the yarn into a cloth. Wax is then used to draw intricate and the highly symbolic patterns onto the cloth, after which it is dipped into dye. The result is a piece of highly decorative material that is used to create garments (Keller 1966: 13, 25, 26, 27).

The first description of Governor Gysberg Van Noodt's character locates him on a sailing ship. Van Noodt's character can be discussed as a representative of the coloniser. He represents the presence of imperialism throughout the play. Sailing ships could be viewed as symbols of imperial transportation, trading enterprises and conquest. A sailing ship can also be described as a liminal space due to its capacity to exist in-between continents. A sailing ship, in relation to colonialism, can be discussed as a vessel that is the 'bearer' of transference and cultural interchange docking at colonial contact zones.

Figure 20: Drawing of Martha, Jakarta and a sailing ship (Van der Merwe 2020).

The coastline and/or seashore is a space that juxtaposes the contradictory images of water and land. Through the eyes of the coloniser the image of the ocean can then be discussed as a symbol of traveling, exploration, and discovery. Land, in turn becomes the object of traveling, the reward, representing bountiful wealth. Within the context of colonisation, through the eyes of the colonised, the ocean can be discussed as a representation of danger and invasion, a threat to their homeland.

Although the character of Governor Gysbreg van Noodt is not physically present in the scene, his absence becomes a prominent theme, not only in the Prologue but also throughout the play. Alluding to the idea that presence leaves traces behind; it never fully dissolves into "nothingness" or reverts to absolute absence (Zlomislić 2007: 36, 37, 38). In his absence, he is present. The concept of the presence of absence becomes a key characteristic of Governor Gysbreg van Noodt in the play. The first introduction to the character of the governor is through accounts conveyed by the character Martha who emphasises his absence:

Niks bly oor: net die vervuilde herinneringe van sy liefde;
net die vervloekde herinnering van sy naam (Leipoldt 1930: 35, 36) /

Nothing is left: merely the tainted memories of his love.
merely the cursed memories of his name.

The Prologue is a dramatic monologue wherein Martha conveys her feelings of loss and betrayal brough fourth by Van Noodt's abandoned promises. The Prologue begins with a testimony to events of the past - the play opens with a scene of consequence. Martha begins the play by asking if this is the end:

Is dit die end dat ek ná hom gegee het
Al wat 'n mens kan gee - my siel se kiem (Leipoldt 1930: 35) /

Is this the end, after I gave him
All that one can offer - my soul's kernel

It is also specified that it is *namiddag*/late afternoon (Leipoldt 1930: 35), suggesting a transitional time of the day and contributing to the theme of liminality in the scene. The transition of time highlights the narrative progression of 'an end' transitioning into 'a new beginning'. Martha remarks on this proses of change that she witnesses in nature. She mentions the movement of shadows as time passes (*onvastig soos die skadu op die grond*) (Leipoldt 1930: 37) and emphasises instability as she does so. She refers to dry leaves that melt into smoke (*dorre blare smelt tot rook*) when they are burnt (Leipoldt 1930: 37). She also mentions the blue waves that crash and transform into spume (*die see se blou tot skuim*) (Leipoldt 1930: 37) and lastly she remarks on how the day 'sinks' into night (*die dag versink in nag*) (Leipoldt 1930: 37). These phrases contribute to what I term 'the ritual of Martha's transition'. French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in his 1908 book *Rites de Passage* remarks on liminalities as moments and/or spaces that curate the rites of passage[121], referring to ceremonial patterns that form a passage from "one situation to another". He continues to state that liminal rites refer to rites of transition, a temporary or fleeting phase that denotes a transformation (van Deventer 2017: 444, 445).

The Prologue curates a "rite of passage" (van Deventer 2017: 444) for Martha and presents Martha's character trajectory from a stagnant victim to a character with agency. What once was deemed promises of loyalty, is replaced by promises of revenge and declarations of eternal curses.

MARTHA:
Aan elke god…my Gysbreg…Kyk, ek ruk
Wat van my Gysbreg oorbly, uit my hart
Waar nou net plek is vir my haat, vir wraak
En hier, hier waar hy my gesweer het

[121] The term "was coined by French anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in his 1908 book *Rites de Passage"* (not translated into English until 1960), and later developed and popularised by "British anthropologist Victor Turner in his 1964 book *The Forest of Symbols*" (van Deventer 2017: 443, 445).

Sy ewige trou, hy huigelaar tot sy murg,
Hier sweer ek wraak op Gysbreg…Gysbreg…Gysbreg (Leipoldt 1930: 36) /

MARTHA:
To every god…my Gysbreg… witness,
I rip all that is left of my Gysbreg out of my heart
Where there is now only space for my hatred, for revenge
And here, here where he swore to me
His lasting loyalty, he hypocrite deep in his marrow
Here I swear revenge on Gysbreg…Gysbreg…Gysbreg…

Martha curses Van Noodt, she prays to the gods that he should be doomed for eternity for forsaking her.

MARTHA:
Ek vloek sy naam…My Gysbreg, wees gevloek,
Tot In die ewigheid…ja wees verdoem,
My Gysbreg, deur jou kind en myne (Leipoldt 1930: 38) /

MARTHA:
I curse his name…My Gysbreg, be cursed
Until eternity…yes be doomed
My Gysbreg, by your child and mine

The Prologue also reveals that Martha is expecting van Noodt's child. It should be stated that Martha's character, viewed through the eyes of Van Noodt, can be understood as the sight/site on which colonial imaginings, such as the imperial hyper sexualisation of colonised Eastern women, played out. As unpacked in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, Sunny Woan explains "white sexual imperialism" as a form of Oriental othering (Woan 2008: 280). The relationship between Van Noodt and Martha demonstrates all three of Sunny Woan's definitions of the white sexual imperialism principle as unpacked in Chapter 2: Shipwrecks. Firstly, the gender relationship establishes Van Noodt as a white male coloniser and Martha as a Javanese colonised woman. Secondly, the Dutch colonial government of both Indonesia and the Cape Colony frame the historical context of the play and lastly, it can be stated that Martha is viewed as an object for "Western consumption and the satisfaction of Western desires" (Woan 2008: 280). This is evident in her descriptions of their relationship. Later in the play Martha states:

MARTHA:
Ja, ek was gierig, gulsig na genot,
En hy was gierig, gulsig na gesag (Leipoldt 1930: 48)/

MARTHA:
Yes, I was greedily chasing pleasure

And he was greedily chasing authority

At other times in the play, she describes herself as Van Noodt's doll (*Van Noodt se pop*) (Leipoldt 1930:50), Van Noodt's plaything for a year, thrown away for ever like an old dishcloth/ *pret vir een jaar lank, daarna 'n afgedankte vadoek vir altyd* (Leipoldt 1930:48). Furthermore, in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks it is remarked that Edward Said noted the confluence of the conquest of colonised women and how it can signify the conquest and conquering of an entire country itself (Woan 2008:283).

In the book *Gordel van Smarag* (1997) Elsa Joubert describes Van Noodt as*: 'n dubble skurk om die Javanese vrou te misbruik* (1997:83)/ (twice a villain for mistreating the Javanese woman). It can therefore be stated that Martha is a victim of white sexual imperialism. Van Noodt and Martha's relationship demonstrates the intersectional power dynamics between colonised women and coloniser men, exposing a double meaning of the word 'conquering' in the context of colonial invasion. It can be argued that Leipoldt intentionally created a character (Martha) that suffers oppression through the Orientalist and imperialist gaze (Van Noodt), exposing the inequal power dynamics brought forth by colonialism. This can be seen as an example of an attempt at self-reflective Orientalist writing. Leipoldt writes Van Noodt as villainous character, deeming Van Noodt's objectification of the East as wrong. Leipoldt ultimately reveals his own self-reflective insight regarding the Oriental gaze and its effects on the individuals who suffer its consequence. Yet, the question as to how his own biases may have impacted on the creation of the character and the actions she takes remain debatable.

Martha states that their child will also resent and retaliate against his own father:

MARTHA:
My kind…en syne…
Wat hy nog nie ken nie maar eens sal ken…
As tot vergelding... (Leipoldt 1930: 36) */*

MARTHA:
My child…and his…
Whom he does not know yet but will know…
In retaliation…

She proclaims that she will name their son Gysbreg after his father, to provoke Van Noodt should he ever encounter his offspring and the consequence of his conquest in Indonesia. It is this rash choice of Martha that later, in Act Three, she will come to regret. Through her proclamations of betrayal and her vows of vengeance, she curses the name Gysbreg and subsequently curses the future of her own son.

Martha curses Van Noodt to suffer as she suffers. She curses him with eternal torment: *Ek vloek sy naam…My Gysbreg, wees gevloek, Tot In die ewigheid…ja wees verdoem* (I curse his name, until eternity…yes be cursed) (Leipoldt 1930: 38).

The Prologue engages with 'a past', 'a present' and 'a future', thus, in a sense, destabilising time. The past is present through Martha's recollection of Van Noodt, their relationship, and his abandonment of her. The present reveals the consequence of his betrayal, marking him as a cursed man. The future is alluded to as Martha curses Van Noodt and his name Gysbreg. It can be argued that the Martha's declarations of 'cursed futures' become a prophecy, forecasting the events of the Third Act. In this sense, she embodies the figure of a witch that enhances her Oriental mystique in the expression of her pain.

There are also themes of heritage, legacy, and inheritance evident throughout the play. In the Prologue these themes are apparent when Martha proudly refers to her family lineage stating:

Ek wat met trots kan terugkyk op die lyn
Wat strek tot groot Iskander en nog verder (Leipoldt 1930: 38) /

I, who can proudly look back on the line
That reaches back to great Iskander

In Act Two she continues to add to her family history saying:

…ek tak van groot Iskanders lomm'ryk boom,
Gespruit uit adelbloed van priesterkonnings,
Prinses, ranee, afstammmeling van die vorste
Van Atjehs trotse ryk… (Leipoldt 1930: 47) /

I branch of great Iskander's shadowy tree
Who sprouted from noble blood of priestly kings,
Princess, ranee, descendent of the sovereigns
of Aceh's proud kingdom…

The information Martha disposes regarding her family lineage refers to a complicated historical line of succession of a specific Kingdom in Sumatra. The name Iskander is the Eastern variation of Alexander, referring specifically to Alexander the Great (356- 323 BCE),[122] ruler of Greece (336–323

[122] Alexander the Great famously established himself as a master empire builder, seizing autonomy of the Mediterranean, Egypt, and parts of Asia. He was born in 256 BCE, the third son of King Philip II of Macedonia,

BCE) and of the Macedonia (Mecedon) kingdom, the colonised dominion that stretched from Greece to northwest India (Cummings 2004: 84). It should also be noted that after the infiltration of Alexander the Great (356- 323 BCE) in the East, *Iskander* became part of the plethora of first names that children were given in Asia (Cummings 2004: 84). Alexander the Great's tremendous conquest inspired oral myths along with literary accounts of the life of Alexander the Great, generally known as *Alexander Romances*[123], that flowed as far as Southeast Asia, distributed by travellers and tradesmen that subsequently also introduced Islamic[124] faith into Indonesia

The *Iskander* that Martha refers to might also be more specifically interpreted: a sultan called Iskandar Muda (1607–1636) reigned over the Sumatra *Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam* (the *Atjeh Ryk* in Dutch). This Islamic kingdom was situated in the "north of the island Sumatra" and was a "major trading centre for pepper" (Kahn 2017: 1). In the book *Alexander the Great from Britain to Southeast Asia: Peripheral*

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who established Macedonia as the power state of Greece. From an early age Alexander was renowned as an accomplished fighter. It is said that Alexander impressed his father by taming a wild horse at the age of thirteen. His father famously told his son Alexander: "My son you must find a kingdom big enough for your ambitions. Macedon is too small for you". By the age of twenty Alexander succeeded his father as king and began to build his great empire. After he established Alexandra, in Egypt he sought to Hellenise (overwhelm with Greek influence) the Persian Empire. He conquered numerous armies and was not satisfied until he pushed his invasions into parts of India. Alexander the Great died at age thirty-two and his legacy led to the merging of Eastern and the Western cultural philosophies, art, and ideologies. Greek ideas were accepted alongside old Persian and Jewish traditions (Cummings 2004: 84).

[123] *Alexander Romances* are stories narrating both true and romanticised accounts of the life of Alexander the Great (356- 323 BCE). The unknown authors are often referred to as Pseudo-Callisthenes. Callisthenes (a relation of Aristotle) was a historian who accompany Alexander during his Asiatic expedition. He originally wrote a Hellenistic account of Alexander's expeditions, although many versions of the story of Alexander gained a wide readership in both antiquity and the Medieval Age. Throughout antiquity versions full of magical and marvellous accounts enjoyed wide circulation in Alexandria, in Rome. Through a complex series of recensions and retellings the tale spread to Armenia, Syria, and beyond, later reaching Persia where the tale accounted for Alexander as the real son of Darius a devout Muslim. European versions in Latin or vernacular languages were popular across the continent and in Great Britain. The Romances, telling tales of heroic travels to exotic locations, and Alexander's meetings with remarkable men all contribute to the myth surrounding the actual Alexander the Great (Mcinerney 2007: 424, 425).

[124] The origin of the religion known as "Islam is placed around 610 CE when Muhammad, a highly religious man received messages in a cave near Mecca" (Denny 2016: 99) (in present day Saudi Arabia) which he perceived as revelations from Allah (in Islam God, the absolute, all-powerful, and all-knowing, all-merciful creator and ruler of the universe). The messages were "first recited by Muhammad, later his disciples, and then recorded as text which came to known as the Holy Qur'an" (Denny 2016: 99). The key principles of Islam are known as the Five Pillars of Islam. "These are the most important obligations of a Muslim under Sharia law, and which conservative Muslims perform faithfully. They are the foundation of traditional Muslim life. Shahadah: the testimony that there is none worthy of worship except God and that Muhammad is his messenger; Salah: establishing of the five daily prayers; Zakat: the giving of charity; Ramadhan: fasting from dawn to dusk in the month of Ramadan; Hajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca during the month of Dhul Hijjah, which is compulsory once in a lifetime for one who has the ability to do that" (Denny 2016: 99-104).

Empires in the Global Renaissance, Su Fang Ng remarks on the Aceh Empire (*Atjeh Ryk*) and how they appropriated "Alexander the Great as a model of kingship". Many Southeast Asian kingdoms, Aceh included, imitated Melaka (the Malaysian kingdom) in "fashioning a royal mythic genealogy going back to Iskandar Zulkarnain" (Fang Ng 2019: 234) (Alexander the Great). Iskandar Mudah imitated Melaka's sultans, of whom the first to convert to Islam called himself Iskandar Shah. The name Iskandar Muda, translated into English, means Alexander the Young. Sultan Iskandar Muda's reign is considered Aceh's golden age, due to Iskandar Muda's appetite for conquest, expanding the kingdom to include "Padang in Sumatra and Johor on the Malay Peninsula" (Fang Ng 2019: 234, 244).

In the sultanate of Aceh Dar al-Salam (referred to as *Atjeh* in Dutch), in the second half of the seventeenth century, there was a succession of four female rulers (Kahn 2017: iii). The "four female monarchs in succession ruled this Muslim kingdom for half a century (1641-1699). Sultanah Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah (1641- 1675), Sultanah Nur Alam Naqiatuddin Syah (1675-1678), Sultanah Inayat Zakiatuddin Syah (1678-1688) and Sultanah Kamalat Zainatuddin Syah (1688-1699)" (Kahn 2017: 2). It is remarkable that "these queens ruled Aceh for half a century" (Kahn 2017: 2) when female rule was exceptional. Female rule in Aceh "originated as a deliberate experiment" by the rich nobles who were also state officials, as "a response to the absolutism" of the ruler Iskandar Muda (Kahn 2017: 2).

With no apparent male after Iskandar Muda's death, his daughter "succeeded him and became the first female ruler of Aceh in 1641" (Kahn 2017: 19). She took the title of Taj al-Alain Safiatuddin Syah and reigned for 35 years until her death in 1675. The last female ruler was succeeded by a male ruler in 1699 (Kahn 2017: 18, 19, 20). During the time of their rule the Dutch East India Trading Company as well as the England East India Trading Company "were increasing their commercial hold" on the region (Kahn 2017: 1). Indigenous policies "suffered increasing interference and pressure from Westerners" (Kahn 2017: 18). Most historians claim that Aceh declined by 1699, due to "the growing power of the Dutch" that "led to the decline of royal power" (Kahn 2017: 18). Regarding the last of the four female rulers Kahn (2017: 35) writes that:

> …the last of the four queens by the name of Kamalat Syah was installed, her origin seems to be totally obscure. She ruled until 1699 when she was deposed by a challenger of Arab descent, Sultan Badr al-Alam Syariff Hashim Jamal al-Din who ruled from 1699 to 1702….

In the last act of the play Martha reveals her Javanese name by saying …*Martha nou, maar Kami toe... /Martha now, but Kami then...* (Leipoldt: 52). I propose that the name *Kami* is perhaps a shortened, Westernised version of the name *Kamalat,* referring to the last sovereign Kamalat Syah (1688-1699) of the *Atjeh Ryk*. Martha says that she is:

…Prinses, ranee, afstammmeling van die vorste
Van Atjehs trotse ryk… (Leipoldt 1930: 47) /

Princess, ranee, descendent of the sovereigns
of Aceh's proud kingdom…

Ranee is a version of the predominantly Indian name Rani, meaning queen (Wagenaar & Parikh 2008: 1123). As previously stated, the Prologue is set in 1699, the exact year that sovereign *Kamalat Syah* was overthrown. Although her reported death is 1700, it might be that Leipoldt wrote a fictional narrative concerning the Indonesian queen. Alternatively, Leipoldt might have created the fictional character Martha/Kami as an imagined ''offspring" of Queen or Sultanah *Kamalat Syah*, however nothing can be confirmed concerning Sultanah Kamalat's children or spouse (Kahn 2017: 35), and therefore Matha's 'true' identity remains hypothetical. Martha's character is historically ambiguous. Martha refers to herself as the offspring of the royal Aceh, Iskandar family. The royal family, the name Iskander and lineage are historically accurate, although Martha's narrative as a fallen Aceh princess is fictional.

Leipoldt perhaps used the imagined character Martha to embody the forgotten or lost historical narratives of the East. Martha's 'speculative past' may symbolise identities that were cut loose from their past. Western dictation of historical events often leads to the erasure and omission of narratives, experiences and viewpoint of colonised identities. There is an abundance of lost and forgotten histories of colonised identities that postcolonialism endeavours to rediscover through uncovering and revisiting the past.

Martha's character as Princess Kami of the Aceh Empire can be viewed as part of an imperialist dynasty. However, the play uncovers her fall from sovereignty and establishes her as Martha, a colonised Indonesian. She can therefore be described as an ambivalent character. Her royalty and honourable and proud heritage are hidden beneath the generalisation, subordination, and domination that colonialism entrenched upon colonies; discarding the layers of history celebrated by generation; in this case, that of Indonesia. It can also be stated that the fact that Martha has two names: Kami (Eastern) and Martha (Western), reflects an accurate depiction of what Frans Fanon called cultural assimilation. The change in name signifies the loss of cultural identity, tradition and language under the dominant rule of Western colonial governance.

In the second part of the Prologue Martha reveals a key object, a family heirloom (*erfstuk)* (Leipoldt 1930: 38):

Hierdie hand…en hierdie kris, my erfstuk…
My vader syne (Leipoldt 1930: 38) /

This hand…and this kris, my inheritance…
My father's

Figure 21: Drawing of an Indonesian kris (Van der Merwe 2020).

Martha discloses that she has been carrying a kris, defined as a type of dagger, specifically characteristic of the cultural traditions of the East Indies. The kris or *keris,* as it is often referred to, is an ornamental dagger with a particular blade that mimics a *naga* (snake) due to its *lok* (spiral) design. The kris is valued as an important aspect of family tradition, particular to Javanese culture and is considered the national weapon of Java (Terada 1994: 144). In Javanese culture it is believed that the kris possesses what is termed *hantu,* a spirit and that many are capable of sorcery or *tuju* by pointing the blade at an enemy. It is believed that the *pande* or craftsmen's ritualistic and sacred process of forging the blade instils the mythic qualities of the kris. It is also believed that one can kill someone by merely stabbing the victim's shadow or footprint. The hilt of the blade often incorporates *raksasa* (demon) images to ward off evil spirits (Terada 1994: 144). The sig-sag spiral design of the kris is reminiscent of the body of a moving snake. The Javanese consider the kris as a spiritual object that connects its bearer to their ancestry. The blade hilt is often highly decorative with symbols and motives incorporated into the designs, reflecting the owner's status and heritage (Draeger 1972: 57, 58, 59).

Martha states that her kris belonged to her father and she intended to take her own life with it, because, as she puts it: *die lewe was 'n donkerswart van smart/* life was a dark black sorrow (Leipoldt 1930: 38). Martha's character can be viewed as experiencing an overwhelming sense of humiliation as she has now come to realise that Van Noodt exploited her. Her death would have been her offering: *my onteerde bloed as offerande/*my disgraced blood as offering (Leipoldt 1930: 38), but she found resolve through planned revenge and the kris becomes the powerful object through which she can claim retribution. The kris becomes the final part of Martha's 'rite of passage' as she fully embraces her newfound purpose.

Moreover, the kris can be interpreted as a testimony to Martha's forefathers, a motive alluding to the presence of Martha's Javanese culture, traditions, and heritage. It can therefore be stated that it is not just the hand of Martha carrying the kris; symbolically her history and ancestry is also part of the act of retribution that she intends to impose to attain revenge. The narrative, from this point forward, becomes driven by her reprisal and the kris a warning and a reminder of Van Noodt's awaiting destiny.

Figure 22: Character interpretation of the Imam (van de Merwe 2020).

Another overarching theme that is explored, not only in the Prologue, but throughout the play, is the reference to Christianity alongside Islamic faith, a testimony to the multicultural nature of the developing colonies. In the character description of the play, Leipoldt indicates that the two characters present in the Prologue are Martha and a Priest/*Priester* (1930:34).

In the Prologue the priest tries to calm and forewarn Martha that justice does not, and cannot, lie in the hands of mortals; that Allah will inflict punishment where he deems necessary. The priest's words

are prophetic warnings of what will occur later in the play. The scene ends with the Muslim call to prayer by the muezzin: *Die muezzin roep tot bidstond/*The muezzin calls out the hour of prayer (Leipoldt: 38). The muezzin is a person trained with a strong voice to perform a type of chant singing from the location of a Mosque, announcing the commencement of the daily Islamic prayers (Levin & Köchümkulova & Daukeyeva 2016: 425, 426, 429).

Figure 23: Drawing of a ship sailing from Jakarta to Cape Town (Van der Merwe 2020).

4.2.2 *Eerste bedryf*/Act one

The events in Act One occur thirty years after the Prologue scene and the location is transported from 1699 colonial Indonesia to 1729 colonial South Africa. The specific location is set in the developing city of Cape Town, in the foyer of the Castle of Good Hope that looks out onto a marketplace: *Die voorportaal van Die Kasteel in Kaapstad. Vóór die Markplein, met Tafelberg as agtergrond…* (Leipoldt 1930: 39).

Figure 24: Drawing of Leipoldt's description of Cape Town in Act one (Leipoldt 1930: 35) (Van der Merwe 2020).

Leipoldt includes the description *Tafelberg as agtergrond/*Table Mountain as background in a similar way (as well as in contrast to) the description of the setting of the Prologue with its *berge daaragter/*mountains in the background. The reference to Table Mountain continues to reveal

Leipoldt's 'romantic appreciation' for sceneries and serves to create a stark shift in geographical features by using landmarks as location signifiers. However, these romantic descriptions of landscapes have postcolonial implications and can be construed as Orientalist practices of othering, and or as practices that mask the reality.

During the time period of the play Governor Gysbreg Van Noodt is appointed as the official administrator and head of the seat of government that occupies the Castle of Good Hope. Gysbreg Van Noodt was the head of state of the Cape Colony from 1727 until his death in 1729 (Du Toit 1895: 23).

Figure 25: Drawing of the entrance gates of the Castle of Good Hope (Van der Merwe 2020).

As previously discussed, the Prologue is set in Java, Indonesia where the Batavia Castle is located. In the play the Batavia Castle and the Castle of Good Hope both become symbols of Dutch colonial infiltration through their European architectural features that are displaced in their located 'tropical' environments. Both the Castle of Good Hope and the Batavia Castle are built in the shape of a

pentagons with five bastions and display elements of European medieval[125] and Renaissance architectural features.

Both castles are also referred to as fortresses, strongholds built to protect and facilitate colonial administration. Therefore, the architectural elements of these buildings demonstrate militaristic defence attributes influenced by Medieval Europe (the period from circa 500–1500), such as small windows, thick-stone-walls often built at slanted angles for advantage against attack. The structure in its entirety generally is encompassed by ramparts (Jayasena & Floore 2010: 235, 238, 239, 240). During the medieval ages land was considered as the basis of wealth and authority. The European kings bestowed land upon wealthy members of the elite society for political strategies, military support, and administrative assistance. Medieval castles were built and owned by wealthy members of society that in turn fostered and administrated small towns on their land in a social structure termed feudalism[126] (Stokstad 2005: 37- 39).

Medieval castles and their association with "land holding" schemes as well as being structures of administration, further contribute to the narrative of colonisation. These medieval inspired colonial fortresses of Europe founded in far lands in the name of imperialism, evinces a declaration - a proclamation of land ownership. The theme of displacement is further emphasised due to these, structures who were constructed in European in style, using local materials and colonised slaves to assemble the fortresses (Jayasena & Floore 2010: 235, 238, 239, 240).

Apart from the medieval motifs evident in the colonial castle structures, there are also design decisions inspired by principles of the Renaissance era. During the Renaissance there were attempts

[125] During the medieval ages (500-1500) castles "peppered the landscape" in Europe. The image of the medieval castle conjures up fairy-tale motifs of gallant knights, damsels, heroic sword fights and dark dungeons. The medieval castle is often depicted as a stone-built-stronghold, residing on the crest of a hill, or clinging to the edge of a cliff overlooking its vast ownership of land. The medieval structural features are personified through fortified gates, rising towers offering surveillance, a surrounding moat for additional protection, a drawbridge that welcomes visitors that leads to large sliding doors and lastly characteristically harbour dungeons in their vaults. The medieval castles' fortress attributes were the product of an essentially elite, masculine warrior society. "The medieval castle has been called the perfect architectural expression of the European Feudal age" (Stokstad 2005: 37, 38, 39).

[126] Feudalism is a social, political and economic structure founded on principles such as lord vassal relationships, "a pattern of landholding " (Abercrombi & Hill & Turner 2006: 147) based on grantings in return for military and agricultural services, the possession of private armies and the agency of lords over "peasants". Feudalism functions in a hierarchy network of personal authority that is traced to the ultimate authority, namely the king. During the medieval ages there was a five-hundred-year system of Feudalism (Abercrombi & Hill & Turner 2006: 147).

to build "the ideal city" an effort to deploy a Utopia: "…an ideal commonwealth whose inhabitants exist under perfect conditions" (Todd & Wheeler 1978: 7). The ideal city of Renaissance design is frequently based on geometrical patterns or grids that are often arranged to form stars. The star-like shape is reminiscent of a compass, an instrument of significant symbolic value in the Renaissance period (Tod & Wheeler 1978: 40).

Figure 26: Drawing of a compass (Van der Merwe 2020).

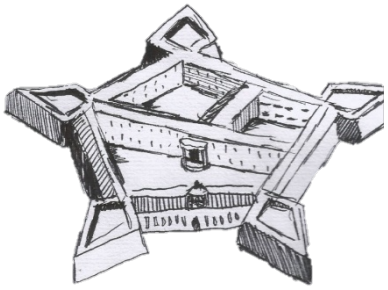


Figure 27 Drawing of the Castle of Good Hope (Van der Merwe 2020).

These star designs are characteristic of the colonial fortresses that spread its shape to encompass all angles of the landscape for observation and regulation; symbolically built on ideals of utopias. However, they ironically became symbols of infiltration from the viewpoint of the inhabitants of the colonies. As previously stated, a fortress, designed as a structure of defence (Jayasena & Floore 2010: 5) denotes a symbol of militarism, a key motif in colonial domination and subsequently another theme pertinent in the *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

The first character introduced in Act One is a *Skildwag/*Sentry, the protector of the castle gates. The sentry is a *Duisman* or Dutchman (Bergerson 2008: 384), revealed by Martha's dialogue:

MARTHA:
(staan still en rig haar oë na hom. Is dit 'n duisman wat met my praat?
SKILDWAG:
Ja, die skildwag. Wat kom jy hier maak? (Leipoldt 1930:42) /

MARTHA:
(stands still and turns her eyes to him). Is that a Dutchman talking to me?
SENTRY:
Yes, the sentry. What business do you have here?

The first dialogue in Act One is between the *Skildwag/*Sentry (coloniser) and *Slamse visser/*Muslim Fisherman (colonised). The *Slamse Visser/* Muslim Fisherman is *besig om sy seën reg te maak/*getting

ready to pray (Leipoldt 1930: 39). The fisherman's name is later revealed to be Abdoel (Leipoldt 1930:40). Abdoel is a derivation of Abdullah and means "servant of Allah" (Ahmed 1999: 3).

The term *slamse* in contemporary Afrikaans is considered an outdated derogative term referring to members of the Muslim community at the Cape, also known as the followers of Islam. In early Afrikaans, the words Muslim and Islam were combined to form *slamse or slamaaiers* (Haupfleich 1883: 120). Although the term *slamse* is deemed derogative in the contemporary Afrikaans language, it is surmised in this study that Leipoldt used the word in context to the time period of the play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), where using language contemporary to the time period accurately reflects social, racial, religious and political hierarchies practiced in the eighteenth-century Cape Colony; it also reflects language use of the time period in which the play was written.

The term *slamse* denotes the transference and displacement of colonised identities from their home counties to Africa. Leipoldt created a scene that portrays the colonial Cape as a multicultural contact zone where a Dutch colonialist (Sentry/*Skildwag*) and a Muslim Fisherman (*Slamse Visser*) communicate in a hybrid language of Afrikaans in the southern part of a continent (Africa) where neither of their ancestries are indigenously embedded.

Perhaps one of the most notable Cape colonial *contact zones* is *die markplein/*the marketplace (Leipoldt 1930: 39). In the stage directions Leipoldt mentions two locations: *Die voorportaal van Die Kasteel in Kaapstad/*The foyer of the Castle in Cape Town and *Vóór die markplein/*In front the marketplace.

The stage directions continue by indicating that the *Skildwag/*Sentry stands *Voor die Kasteelpoort/*In front of the Castle gate (Leipoldt 1930:39), locating the actions of the scene directly in front of the Castle of Good Hope. The foyer might then refer to the parade and the market perhaps refers to Greenmarket Square, one of the oldest market spaces in Cape Town (Dyers & Wankah 2012: 231) located further from the Castle across the parade. Historical accounts of Greenmarket Square date to more than three hundred years ago. Originally the open space in front of the Watch House was known simply as "the place on which the Burgher Watch House stands". The building dates to 1696, when Cape Town's first rudimentary police force was implemented. The open space in front of the building later became known as the *Groente Markt* (Daniels 1973: 15). The square was chiefly used as a slave and farmers' market, where a multitude of colonial cultural identities presented products. These

colonial market spaces also saw people reduced to products in the form of slave trade. (Dyers & Wankah 2012: 231).

The Parade, located opposite the Castle of Good Hope, was used as a venue for many public gatherings and was a focal point for a variety of social events such as military parades and fairs. It was also located close to the pillory and one of the gallows structures. Lastly, the parade was also used as a marketplace for the farmers that came to sell their produce. (Daniels 1973: 15, 18). I interpret Leipoldt's stage directions to include both the Parade and Greenmarket Square due to the colonial significance that both these spaces emphasise.

Act One presents a glimpse into the hierarchal systems of eighteenth-century colonial Cape Town. It presents prejudiced ideologies evident in the dialogue, specifically in forms of address and pronouns that guide conversation between the Dutch and the Muslim populations. As previously mentioned, there is already a derogative attribute to the fisherman who is identified through the term *slamse*, in contrast and in subservience to the *Skildwag/*Sentry whom the fisherman addresses as *Baas*/Master and *Seur/*Sir throughout the act (Leipoldt: 39 – 51).

SLAMSE VISSER:
Sal my baas my kan se hoe laat dit nou is, asseblief, Seur?
SENTRY:
Dink jy ek dra 'n horlosie, Slamaier? (Leipold 1930: 39) /

ISLAMIC FISHERMAN
Could my master tell me what time it is, please Sir
SENTRY:
Do you think I carry a watch, Muslim?

The guard on the other hand, calls the fisherman *slamaier* and continuously denotes the words hulle/*julle*/them/you people to separate and categorise the Islamic Fisherman and his community: *Daar is 'n paar van julle/*There are a few of you people*, smokkelbesigheid wat julle Slamaiers dryf*/smuggling business that you Muslims operate (Leipoldt 2030:39). The words *smokkelbesigheid/*smuggling business stereotypically assigns the fisherman the role of criminal. The Dutch guard is dissociating himself from the Cape Malay fisherman and exemplifying a tone of othering.

Figure 28: Drawing of the *Slamse Visser*/Islamic Fisherman (Leipoldt 1930:35) (Van der Merwe 2020).

The fisherman in turn tries to attain a sense of individuality by rejecting the guard's generalisation about, and stereotyping of his community by replying:

SLAMSE VISSER:
Ag, foei tog, my seur, moenie so sê nie.
Ons het mos nie teen die Kompanie gesondig nie-
nie ek nie... (Leipoldt 1930:39) /

ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
Oh no, sir, don't say that,
We have not sinned against the Company,
At least not I…

The fisherman tries to explain that the Muslim communities also form part of the identity of the Cape Colony and are greatly affected by the decisions and actions of the Dutch authority:

SKILDWAG
Wat de duiwel is dit vir jou wat duismense onder mekaar maak?
SLAMSE VISSER:
Nee a, my seur dit raak ons mos ook as hulle verspot is.

Die oubaas is mos ook ons oubaas net soos hy die seur syne is (Leipoldt 1930: 41) /

SENTRY:
What the devil is it to you what the Dutch people do amongst each other?
ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
No Sir, it affects us greatly if the Dutch act foolish.
The Governor is just as much our master as he is yours

The social structure of the Cape Colony is further typified through the title *Oubaas/*Old Master (Leipoldt 1930: 39), that both the guard and the fisherman use when they address the Governor, acknowledging him as the head of the seat of administrative power.

It is important to recognise that the term *oubaas*/old master is historically criticised as 'colonial vocabulary' that establishes unequal power relationships between predominantly white masters and their 'subjugated' slaves. The term "baas" according to the *Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek* (1993) is synonymous with words such as *eienaar*/owner, *besitter*/one in possession of and *beheerder*/ruler or the one in control (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993: 53) *Oubaas/*Old master and *baas*/master is a form of address that depicts the unequal power relation in language, assigning predominantly white men a position of superiority, subsequently deferring the speaker who addresses the *baas*/master, to a position of inferiority (Molamu 1995: 146). Relationships throughout the play are defined by social barriers of race, class, rank, religion, and language that are predominantly regulated by the Dutch colonisers. Act one also demonstrates the full extent of the colonial administrative power by unpacking themes of colonial defiance and colonial compliance.

Act one alludes to various levels of the penal system practised in the colonial Cape Colony, for example the guard is quick to warn the fisherman for his outspoken statements about the Governor: *Jy is alte vrypostig/*You are too presumptuous, saying he might pay the price of six dozen lashings against the oak tree Muslim/*dit sal jou ses dosyn teen die eikeboom oplewer Slamaier* (Leipold 1930: 40). The concept of crime and punishment is further emphasised by the overarching theme of execution. Act one opens with a conversation about the prospective hanging (Leipodt 1930: 39) that will take place later that day at Roggebaai gallows, of three men who are charged as the *belhamels/*ring leaders (Leipoldt 1930:46) in a plot to overthrow Governor Van Noodt.

The visceral violence conjured by the image of the gallows is one of the cruel realities of colonial authority. The term gallows or *galg* as it is referred to in the play (Leipold 1930: 40, 46, 50) defines a physical structure that could either be temporarily assembled at a scene of crime or had permanent

stations in town squares as “many judicial districts had dedicated places of execution” (Evans 1996: 99- 108). During the eighteenth century in the Cape Colony, there were two main execution locations; one was stationed near the Castle in Buitekant Street and the other site of ‘justice’ was at Greenpoint Common, known as Gallows Hill (Botha 1962: 285- 286; De kock 1963: 146).

Figure 29: Drawing of the gallows at Roggebaai (Leipoldt 1930: 35) (Van der Merwe 2020).

SLAMSE VISSER:
Is dit al besluit om die ander seurs te hang? (Leipoldt 1930:40)/

ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
Has it yet been decided to hang the other sirs?

Gallows Hill is in Roggebaai. In *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt: 1930) it is continuously mentioned that the execution will take place at Roggebaai. In Act one the guard states:

SKILDWAG:
Ek glo so. Maar daar is nog geen sekerheid nie.
Die heemraad is nog aan sit.
Julle mense loop verniet Roggebaai toe (Leipoldt 1930: 40)/

SENTRY:
I believe so. But nothing is decided yet.
The council is still contemplating.
You people are pointlessly walking to Roggebaai.

Later, in Act two Martha says:

MARTHA:
En stuur haar Roggebaai toe,
na die plek waar hy sy sondes ophang en vergeet (Leipoldt 1930: 51)/

MARTHA:
And send her to Roggebaai,
to the place where he hangs his sins and forgets.

During the eighteenth century Roggebaai was a bustling fishing and whale harbour with an unsanitary reputation, due to the shallow seawaters accumulating city waste. The violent storms at the Cape also caused a number of shipwrecks to shore at Roggebaai (Hart 2012: 5). Roggebaai is a place that signifies death in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). "Shipwrecks resonate in our terror for oblivion of absolute failure" (Ronnberg & Martin: 452). Ships were often considered symbols of the state, a structure that functions on cooperation of citizenship to assure welfare. If a voyage was successful it evoked hope, deliverance, salvation, and bounty in contrast to a shipwreck, the ultimate symbol of failure, misfortune, and death. It seems ironic and appropriate that the space where the colonial state punished and sentenced citizens to death is the same space where its misfortunes and failures also encounter death.

In the article *Cape Execution: The gallows at the cape of Good Hope as represented in the colonial art of Johannes Rach and Lady Anne Barnard* (2011: 156), Russel Viljoen writes that "during the eighteenth century, the Cape Colony developed into a society where crime and punishment" were equally violent, with a justice system that favoured stringent penalties to those who tried to revolt against the colonial administration. Russel Viljoen cites Lionelllo Puppi's *Torment in Art: Pain Violence and Martyrdom* with the statement: *"*Gallows were, in fact, a concrete symbol of the law"[127] (Puppi 199: 380). Viljoen

[127] The gallows and noose have become associated with the Apartheid era and are viewed as symbols of the political injustices of that period in South African history. On 15 December 2011, "the opening of the Gallows Memorial Museum at the Pretoria Central Correctional Facility, a project undertaken by the Department of

continues to describe how the Cape Colony had a notoriously grotesque reputation with regards to their public executions. The executions were often accompanied with torture practises involving hot tong brandings, strangulations, suffocations, beheadings and evicted individuals were often "being broken on wheels" and/or "dragged through the streets". These practices all contributed to the violent spectacle of punishment and humiliations (Viljoen 2011: 157, 158).

The gallows[128] in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) represents crime and punishment, obedience and disobedience and the ambiguous concept of justice[129]. Roggebaai becomes a symbolic space where the administrators of the Cape Colony impose their 'justice' under their dominant rule. In the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), the term 'justice' can be described as ambivalent because it is used by both the colonial and colonised characters as a justification for their actions. The narratives of Martha, Governor Van Noodt, and their son, Gysbreg are driven by the concept of 'justice'. Martha's main aim throughout the play is to punish Van Noodt for past inflictions:

MARTHA:
…Was vir my hoop op eind'lik wraak op hom -
Wraak wat, verdubbel deur die jare, wag
Totdat die tyd van weervergelding kom (Leipoldt 1930: 48)/

MARTHA:
…Was my hope to finally have revenge on him -
Revenge that, doubling with the years, waits
Until the final day of retribution arrives

Governor Gysbert Van Noodt, according historical accounts, unjustly accused seven soldiers of desertion and overruled the court council decision, when they voted for a lighter form of punishment (Hardie 2015: [sp]). Van Noodt ultimately sentenced the soldiers to their death, stating: 'they shall

Correctional Services, took place. This project saw the gallows, at what was previously Pretoria Central Maximum (C-Max) Prison, which had been dismantled in 1996 following the abolition of the death penalty in South Africa, restored and reopened as a museum. At the top of the notorious 52 steps that condemned prisoners climbed to reach the execution room, the then president unveiled a dedicated wall with individualised plaques for each of the 134 political prisoners who had died there between 1960 and 1989" (van Laun 2018:1).

[128] "Throughout medieval and early modern Europe", gallows represented and reinforced "the boundaries of judicial authority and moral behaviour" contributing to how a society was shaped (Coolen 2013: [sp]). Executions have also been described as rituals that offer moral catharsis to a society through the cleansing of the tainted, resulting in purification and validation of a society's values (Evans 1996: 99–108). This can however result in unjust penal structures when these practices are combined with racial bias and class hierarchies that favour particular members of a society.

[129] Justice is defined as a concept fundamental to ethic and political "theory and is associated with the notion of equality" (or impartiality) with the injunction to treat equals equally. Justice aspires to attain and maintain self-respect. Corrective justice is "concerned with the treatment of individuals in social transactions, especially punishing an individual for an offence" (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006: 207).

hang…I take it upon myself' (Du Toit 1895: 22). In the play the soldiers are still deemed as traitors, however, unlike the historic accounts only three of the leaders are brought to face the gallows, as made clear by the *Heemraad/*Council member in Act two:

HEEMRAAD:
Dis tevergeefs.
Twee ure het ons met hom gestry.
Hy wil die galg hê vir die drie belhamels -
Niks anders as die strop nie…(Leipold 1930: 46)/

COUNCIL MEMBER:
It's in vain.
Two hours did we argue with him.
He wants the gallows for the three ring leaders -
Nothing else but the noose…

It becomes evident that Governor Van Noodt is enforcing his own justice due to the resistance towards his authority. The soldiers facing the gallows also acted upon their understanding of justice by deserting Van Noodt, whom they deemed to be a tyrant and an unjust leader.

One of the accused soldiers is particularly remarked upon by the Fisherman. The Fisherman describes this accused soldier as a *'n Regte duisman/*A true Dutchman but, emphasises how this particular character can speak fluently to Muslim people in 'their' language (Leipoldt 1930: 40):

SLAMSE VISSER:
Foei tog! En hy is so 'n mooi seur. 'n Regte duisman
Seur, en so regop soos 'n paal. Ons Slamaiers, hou baie van hom
Seur, want hy kan ons taal gooi soos een van ons Imans (Leipoldt 1930: 40).
.

ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
Such A pity! And he is such a beautiful sir. A True Dutchman
Sir, and as tall as pole. We Muslims like him very much
Sir, because he can speak our language as if he is one of our own Imans.

This particular character remains a mystery until his identity is revealed in Act two. Act one of the play creates agency through opening the events on the occasion of a possible execution. In Act One some knowledge, specifically with regards to creating understanding about the way that Governor van Noodt is perceived in the Colony, is cleverly withheld, while other information is suggested. The Fisherman compares van Noodt to a *jakkals/fox* that can detect deceit: *Die oubaas is mos soos 'n jakkals…hy weet van alles/The old master is like a fox…he knows about everything* (Leipoldt 1930: 40) The Fisherman also describes him as a man with an appetite for *galjoen*/blackfish and *arak* (Leipoldt

1930: 39, 40). *Galjoen/*blackfish is endemic to the South African coastline and is also presently known as South Africa's national fish (Rooyen 2012: 62).

The Fisherman in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930: 40) states that he often fishes at Rooikrans, a popular fishing site off Simonstown and Millers Point. The Dutch East India Trading Company controlled the fishing rights, although slaves and farm workers were allowed to fish, provided it did not interfere with their farming and labouring activities (Isaacs 2013: 17-20). The Fisherman also mentions that he sometimes provides the Governor with *arak*. *Arak* is an Asian alcoholic drink (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993: 45) and is the national liquor of Lebanon, made from grapes and seasoned with anise (Sageer & Bhabha 2017: 281). *Arak* as a foreign drink associated with Asia and *galjoen* is endemic to the South African coast. Through the experience of the coloniser *arak* and *galjoen* are 'exotic' delicacies. The multitude of different cultural references evident in the produce and products mentioned in the play, contribute to the notion of colonial spaces as contact zones that cater to the transference of otherness between different communities. Products are also the foundation on which the Dutch East India Trading Company built their empire through reaping, transporting, and providing products in a network of distribution.

The Governor, as a fox with an appetite, reveals his character to be greedy. Martha later validates this statement by saying that he is greedy with an insatiable appetite for power: *gierig, gulsig na gesag* (Leipold1930: 48). It can be stated that Van Noodt's selfish and greedy character attributes can be representative of the greedy nature of Western colonial pursuits.

Figure 30: Drawing of Martha thirty years after the events of the Prologue (Leipoldt 1930) (Van der Merwe 2020).

The second half of Act one re-introduces Martha, thirty years after the events of the Prologue. She walks into the scene, startling the fisherman who fears her, calling her a *nare ontongvrou*. The term

ontongvrou is an old Afrikaans synonym for *towerheks* (Kannemeyer 2005: 87) translated in English as a sorceress or witch.

His words: *nare ontongvrou/unpleasant witch* convey a negative attitude.

SKILDWAG:
Dis mos die blinde Martha van Markpleinhoek,
Hoekom noem jy haar ontogvrou?...
SLAMSE VISSER:
Blind of nie blind nie, Seur sy kan toor.
Mastig, Seur sy kan toor!
SKILDWAG:
Dis net omdat jy bang is vir haar, Slamaier.
SLAMSE VISSER:
En wie sou nie vir haar bang wees nie?
As Seur weet wat sy gedoen het,
en nog kan doen…Dis mos nie plek vir my hier nie…
Ek en sy akkordeer mos nie, Seur. (Hy vat sy seën en loop weg. Martha kom stadig vooruit) (Leipoldt 1930:41)/

SENTRY:
That is the blind Martha of Marketplace Corner,
Why do you call her a witch?...
ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
Blind or not, Sir she can conjure
Heavens, Sir, she can bewitch!
SENTRY:
You're just afraid of her, Muslim.
ISLAMIC FISHERMAN:
And who woudn't be?
Sir, if you only knew what she has done and can do...
I should leave….
We don't get along, she and I, Sir.
(He takes his blessings and walks away. Martha slowly approaches)

There is a distinct difference between the way that the Dutch guard (*Skildwag*) and the Islamic Fisherman (*Slamse Visser*) announces Martha's entrance. This particular moment in Act one exposes different realities that either accept or reject 'magic' as a part of the realm of realism. The guard rejects Martha's so-called sorcery, diminishing the Fisherman's convictions and affirming Dutch colonial hierarchy and Cape Malay otherness. Later in the scene the guard sarcastically continues to remark on the Fisherman's fear of Martha:

SKILDWAG:
…wat kan toor en vir wie al die Slamaiers bang is
net soos hulle vir hul Eblies bang is…(Leipoldt 1930: 42)/

SENTRY:
…that can conjure and whom all the Muslims fear
Just as they fear their *Eblies*…

Eblies, a derivation of *Iblis*, is an aspect of the devil in the Qur'an (Leeming 2005: 192). Representing an entity that is without Allah, as opposed to another aspect of the devil – *Shaitan* (Satan), the direct enemy of God. *Eblies* is regarded as the supernatural creatures: *jinn* in pre- Arabian and later Islamic mythology (Leeming 2005: 192). *Jinns* "are the evil inclinations of the souls of mankind, in the same way that angels are the inclination of the "good" in mankind" (Ashquar 2005:3).

In *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), Leipoldt depicts the debates and general attitudes that the coloniser ascribes to the beliefs of the colonised. Leipoldt presents both realities, of accepting and rejecting magic through the experience of individual characters. However, the political, class and racial differences reveal how the tension between Eastern and Western ideologies unfolds in moments of interaction. It is interesting to note how Leipoldt attempts to continuously practise a form of self-awareness of his Western positionality in his writing of Eastern characters through allowing the Eastern characters to oppose the thoughts and biased opinions of the Dutch characters.
The scene sees the *Skildwag/*Sentry greeting Martha, again using derogative language designating her position in Cape society.

SKILDWAG:
Ja, dis die meid van Markpleinhoek - die blinde meid
En sy loop asof sy die Goeverneur se vrou is…(Leipoldt 1930: 41)*/*

SENTRY:
Yes, that is the *meid* of Marketplace Corner - the blind *meid*
And she walks as if she is the wife of the Governor…

In the book *Like family: Domestic workers in South African History and Literature,* published in 2019, Ena Jansen defines the term:

> The derogatory Afrikaans word *meid* objectifies, insults and belittles black women. In Dutch *meid* means 'girl' and 'servant woman'- it does not have the same negative connotations the term acquired in South Africa. In Afrikaans … the term was not likely used in relation to a white woman. Mostly black women were referred to as a *meid* because of the assumption that black women, irrespective of their age, were servants and irresponsible, if not childish. However long the term has been used as a racial slur, it has only recently been acknowledged as hate speech on a legislative level (Jansen 2019: 13).

The guard uses the term to signify Martha's stature in the Cape Colony - where hierarchy is concerned, she is beneath the Dutch identities. The Sentry uses the derogative term *meid* to establish his character's position of power through othering Martha as inferior, reducing and stereotyping her as

being subservient. Martha's inferiority is based on racial prejudice and depicts the power imbalance between the white colonisers and the Black, Asian and or coloured colonised cultures.

Furthermore, Martha is described as blind (Leipold 1930: 41) Martha can no longer view herself through her own eyes. Her blindness can be interpreted as symbolic of her loss of autonomy over her own identity. Her identity is described through the derogative writings, behaviour, and language of the coloniser towards her and her cultural practises (Quinn 2017: 17-20). Martha, as a representative of the colonised, has lost the ability to name herself - of self-description.

Figure 31: A drawing that depicts Martha's loss of sight (Van der Merwe 2020).

Furthermore, Martha is displaced from her home, Java. In *Die Afrikaanse Literatuur 1652-2004,* J. C. Kannemeyer remarks on the contrast between Martha's character in Jakarta where she was hailed as an Eastern princess, to the colonial Cape milieu, that discards her as an old, blind, *ontongvrou* (witch) (2004: 87). The colonial space of the Cape dismantles her Eastern nobility and reduces her to a servant - *Martha van Marskpleinhoek*/Martha from Marketplace Corner. Later it is revealed that Martha weaves baskets.

KOOPMAN:
…jy's mos daardie meid
Wat op die Markpleinhoek sit

en mandjies vleg (Leipoldt 1930: 46)/

TRADESMAN:
…you are the "meid", aren't you
Who sits and weaves baskets at the
corner of the Marketplace.

Figure 32: Drawing of a Javanese basket (Van der Merwe 2020).

In Indonesia, traditionally, mats and baskets have been plaited from grasses and plants such as pandan, mendong and bamboo. Weaving baskets is an ancient village craft practice. Different patterns are named *kepang* (braided), *ombak banyia* (water wave) and *Nitik Wajik* (interwoven, patterned) (Ave & Achadi 1988: 56). The baskets (*mandjies*) that Martha crafts at the Marketplace (*Markplein*), could be seen as expressions of her cultural identity and can therefore be interpreted as a ritualistic action that connects her to Java and her past. Market spaces, as previously discussed, become spaces where cultural identities are tangibly realized and 'showcased' in the form of products. Furthermore, Martha is a tradeswoman: she weaves 'Javanese baskets' and sells them at the corner of Greenmarket Square. Colonialism's capacity to reduce cultural traditions to a product that can be sold, reinforcing otherness, is also made visible in the character Martha.

The last half of Act one can be interpreted as the beginning of Martha's journey of revenge.

SKILDWAG:
Wat kom jy hier maak?
MARTHA:
Ek kom die oubaas sien. Ek moet die oubaas sien (Leipold 1930: 42)/

SENTRY:
What is your business here?
MARTHA:
I've come to see the old master. I must see the old master.

Martha refers to Van Noodt as oubaas/old master (Leipoldt 1930:42). Martha's position is continuously belittled within the context of the colonial setting, in stark contrast to Van Noodt who is addressed as *Oubaas*/ Old Master (Leipoldt 1930: 42). It can be stated that in his position as Governor and as colonialist, van Noodt views the Cape Colony in its totality as his possession - he is the owner, the ruler, the master. Even though Martha is not occupying the role of a slave, it is evident that the master - slave binary frames her interactions with white characters.

Martha is outside the castle gates with the intention to enter the fortress. The Sentry enacts his duty to safeguard the fortress and refuses to grant her entrance.

MARTHA:
Dan sal ek maar binnekant wag tot hulle klaar is.
SKILDWAG:
Dan sal jy maar buitekant wag to hulle klaar is.
Wie's jy dat ek jou sal binnelaat? (Leipoldt 1930: 42)/

MARTHA:
Then I shall have to wait inside until they are done.
SENTRY:
Then you shall have to wait outside until they are done
Who do you think you are that I will allow you to go inside?

The two words *binnekant/*inside and *buitekant/*outside convey the concept of a boundary, a border established by the castle walls. Walls and borders are built to establish boundaries to fortify and protect. Walls and gates are symbolic political safeguards, validating importance and authority by separating 'those on the inside' and 'those on the outside'. Closed borders signify ethnic and political division. Martha, as the colonised, is challenging a boundary at the end of Act one. In doing so, she becomes a transgressive force.

In the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), the Cape Colony under the administrative rule of Governor Gysbreg Van Noodt, is experiencing political tension, as established by the internal rebellion of the soldiers who deserted Van Noodt and who are to be hung as traitors. While Martha waits for the *Sersant/ Sergeant* in front of the Castle, as instructed by the guard, to give her permission to enter the castle gates, the Guard curiously enquiries if she is really a witch (Leipoldt 1930: 42).

SKILDWAG:
As jy werklik kan toor… maar dis onsin.
Niemand kan toor nie (Leipoldt 1930: 43) /

SENTRY:

If you are truly a witch …no what nonsense
Nobody can conjure spells…

The scene constructs an ambivalent reality with regards to 'magic', reiterated in the guard's conspicuous yet curious attitude toward Martha and her 'magical' abilities. Martha uses his curiosity as an opportunity to manipulate him to open the gates:

MARTHA:
Kom Duisman, wat verlang jy?
SKILDWAG:
Op die oomblik net een ding.
MARTHA:
…Dat die Raad hulle nie moet veroordeel nie,
want jy is bang… Ja Seur, jy is bang hulle sal praat (Leipoldt 1930: 43*) /*

MARTHA:
…Come now Dutchman tell me, what do you want?
SENTRY:
At this moment, I desire only one thing.
MARTHA:
...That the council will show mercy,
because you're afraid…Yes Sir, you are scared that someone might say something…

This scene discloses that the guard himself was part of the act of treason against the Governor and is afraid that he might be caught and punished like the others. Although reluctantly, he surrenders his authority, duty and colonial stature and allows Martha to enter the castle grounds. The guard hopes that she does possess some greater power to influence the outcome of the execution. This scene ends with Martha saying:

MARTHA:
Jy kan sê ek het jou getoor. Die sersant sal dit glo, want hy ken vir my…
(Sy verdwyn binne die kasteel. Die skildwag staar agterna, en loop dan ongerus op en af) (Leipoldt 1930: 43)*/*

MARTHA:
You can say I put a spell on you. The Sargent will believe you, he knows me…
(She disappears into the castle. The sentry watches her and anxiously paces up and down).

Leipoldt manages to create a scene where Martha's magic remains mysterious. She never overtly uses her 'powers' to conjure a spell; she alludes to her abilities and through her secrecy she creates ambiguity. She creates the possibility of 'magic'. The ambiguity becomes her strength as she 'magically' convinces the guard to allow her to enter. By passing through the gates of the castle, Martha is successful in her transgression of colonial boundaries.

4.2.3 *Tweede bedryf*/Act two

C. L. Leipoldt constructs a narrative that unfolds in layers of different colonial spaces. As Martha's journey continues, moving from outside to the inside of the castle, the spaces and places become more intimate. The location of Act two is removed from the vast landscapes of the previous scenes. This space is removed from nature, isolated from its environment, and is framed by stone walls. The wall is a district boundary that aims at separation, symbolising elitism, establishing hierarchy and othering the land beyond its confines.

> *Op die stoep van die Goewerneur se huis in die Kasteel…Martha, wat stadig die trap opgekom het, leun teen een van die pilare waar die rooi rose rank. Voor haar is die groot deur van die huis. Links staan 'n soldaat en praat met ander soldate onder die stoep. Regs staan 'n Heemraad en gesels met 'n Koopman* (Leipoldt 1930: 44)/
>
> On the front porch of the Governor's house in the Castle…Martha, who slowly walked up the stairs, leans against one of the pillars where the red roses trail. Facing her is the large door of the house. Left, a soldier is talking to other soldiers at the bottom of the porch. Right, the Councilman is talking to a Tradesman.

One of the most significant details of the stage description is the red roses that trail around the pillars*/waar die rooi rose rank* (Leipoldt 1930: 44). The red rose has been the age-old national emblem of England since the time of the Lancaster Plantagenets (fifteenth century) (Walton 1987: 2). The events of the play are set in 1729, prior to the British occupation of the Cape. The red roses can be interpreted as a foreshadowing of England's infiltration as seat of administration in the Castle. The red roses are trailing around the pillar, taking hold of the Dutch colonial structure.

In Act two the characters are reduced to archetypes, personifying characters through their occupation, for example the *Soldate/Soldiers*, *Heemraad/ Council Member* and *Koopman/Tradesman*. These archetypes can possibly be unpacked as representing aspects of colonisation. The *Soldiers* represent imperial militarisation, the Council Member represents colonial administration and the Tradesman represent the Dutch East India Trading Company.

HEEMRAAD
Hier, neem die lasbrief aan die Raad, oorhandig dit
Aan die sipier. Sy Edele Gestrenge Vermaan tot spoed (Leipoldt 1930: 44)/

COUNCIL MEMBER
Here, take the warrant from the Council, hand it to the warden.
His Strict Excellency demands haste

Figure 33 Drawing of the *lasbrief* (warrant) (Van der Merwe 2020).

Figure 34: Drawing of the gallow's noose (Van der Merwe 2020).

Act Two begins with a *lasbrief/*warrant*,* being handed to a soldier and instructing him to make haste with its delivery to the *sipier/*warden. In Afrikaans, the word *sipier* refers to the *tronkbewaarder van gevangenes/*jail warden to inmates (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993: 766). Van Noodt signed the warrant letter, ordering the death penalty for the soldiers accused of treason, unknowingly signing his own son's, Gys' death sentence. Gys is the son of a Javanese princess and a Dutch colonial administrator. He is a soldier who is driven by ideals of justice and fairness, but his actions subsequently leads to punishment. His rebellion threatens the authority of tyrant Van Noodt and therefore he is ordered to hang for treason.

According to Christopher Haywood the action in the play highlights the Mixed Marriages Act (1928) (criminalising relationships across ethnic groups in South Africa), forerunner of its successor, the Immorality Act (1949), because in the play Martha and Van Noodts son Gys is one of the soldiers that are hanged on the day of van Noodt's death (Heywood 2000: 76). In myths, folklore and fairy-tales fathers who kill their sons are presented in conjunction with themes of power, jealously, intimidation and a general fear for the loss of complete dominance (Pattanaik 2010: 1).

The space of the castle informs the attitudes of the characters and the register of their speech reflect a sense of higher importance. The forms of address are elevated, in contrast to the prior colloquial conversation between the fisherman and the guard. Governor Van Noodt is not referred to as *oubaas*/old master but rather as *Sy Edele/His Excellency* and the Council Member is addressed as

*Edelagbare/*Honourable. The narrative unfolds through Martha's ascending the hierarchal structure of the Cape Colony as she proceeds through the different locations.

Act Two evinces colonial politics. The *Heemraad*/Council Member and then *Koopman/*Tradesman discuss the competence of Governor Van Noodt, and the events regarding the execution in a cynical tone:

HEEMRAAD:
Sy Edele Gestrenge is vandag
Net soos 'n tier en kyk op alles skeef…
Jy weet sy neiging…nukkerig, agterdogtig,
Opvlieënd, wreed - ja, werklik, soos jy weet,
Hy is soms werklik wreed…(Leipoldt 1930:44)*/*

COUNCIL MEMBER:
His Strict Excellency is just like a tiger today
And is unsatisfied about everything…agitated and suspicious,
Fuming, cruel – yes, indeed, as you know
he is sometimes truly cruel…

It is evident that even among members of his own administration he is decidedly known as a cruel man. The Council Member also describes him as a tiger, contributing to the previous animal comparison that described van Noodt as a fox (Leipoldt 1930: 40). In the study, *Archetypes and Motifs in Folklore and Literature,* Jane Garry and Hasan EI-Shammy write that the fox is often used as a symbol of the trickster- characters who have cunning, devious attributes (2005: 473). In the book *The Archetypal Symbolism of Animals,* Barbara Hannah describes the tiger as a symbol that is frequently used in "Asiatic" tropes as a symbol of royalty. She remarks that the tiger, similar to the lion, is considered "king of the beasts" and that it represents the king in civic social relations amongst men (2006: 287). The Governor is a kind of sovereign of the civic social relations in the Cape Colony and Act two confirms his tyrannical nature that has resulted in the betrayal of his own council, soldiers, and tradesmen. It is curious that Leipoldt chose to describe the Governor as a tiger instead of a lion that is an endemic animal to South Africa. The image of a tiger (an "Asiatic" trope) (Hannah 2006: 287) can be unpacked as part of Oriental imagery.

The *Heemraad/*Council Member is fearful of the Governor and that his spies might overhear his conversation with *Koopman/*Tradesman, resulting in their possible execution for treason.

HEEMRAAD:
…sê niks –
Veral nie hier nie. Elke hoek het ore
En agter elke deur skuil oë (Leipoldt 1930: 44)*/*

COUNCIL MEMBER:
…say nothing –
Especially not here. Every corner has ears
And hidden behind every door eyes are lurking

In contrast the *Koopman*/Tradesman proclaims:

KOOPMAN:
Ek is nie bang nie.
Wat ek te sê het, sal ek voor hom sê.
Daar moet end kom…Sy Ed'le as tiran
Of wrede dwing'land met sy dwing'landy,
…want ek weet goed
Dat julle, Heemraads, ja en amen sê
Op alles wat die ou tiran gebied- (Leipoldt 1930: 45)/

TRADESMAN
I'm not afraid
What I want to say I will say in front of him.
It must come to an end…His Excellency's tyranny
Cruelly enforced…
I know well enough that you, the Council members, say amen
to everything that the old tyrant commands -

It is of significance that the *Koopman/*Tradesman defines Van Noodt as a *Tyrant*/Tiran (Leipoldt 1930: 45). As discussed in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, colonisation can be considered a tyrannical structure of governance that infiltrates, greedily 'takes' or claims ultimate autonomy and vanquishes any threats to its power. It can be stated that Van Noodt symbolises and personifies colonialism's tyrannical nature.

The *Koopman/*Tradesman is adamant that the actions of the Governor is unfair and unjust. He continues to insult the conviction of the *Raad/*Council, calling them weak, and too afraid to serve true justice, saying: *Die Raad is net soos potklei in sy hande/*The Council is just like clay in his hands (Leipoldt 1930: 46). Martha, who has been listening to their conversation, makes her presence known and tries to persuade the *Heemraad/*Council Member and the *Koopman/*Tradesman that she has the ability to end the unjust actions of Van Noodt. Her words are met with scepticism: *Wat kan jy verkry?/*What will you be able to achieve*?* (Leipoldt 1930: 46). Martha retorts by stating she has more might, power and ability to *breek Sy Edl'le/*break His Excellency:

MARTHA:
Wie weet, ek het wat nóg die Heemraad,
Die Here Majores, die winkelier,
Nóg enige ander iemand het, die mag

Sy Ed'le soos 'n wilgertak deur die wind
Gebuig te breek tot bitterste berou (Leipoldt 1930: 46)/

MARTHA:
Who knows, I am capable of more than the Council,
The Important Gentlemen, the shopman
More than anyone, I have power like the wind
Bends a branch of a willow tree
To bend and break His Excellency
Until he repents bitterly…

In the book *Folklore and Symbolism of Flowers, Plants and Trees***,** Ernst and Johanna Lehner (2003: 128), describe how the willow tree is often a representation of slighted love and more generally symbolises grief and mourning. Martha's statement may allude to how Van Noodt slighted her thirty years ago on Jakarta and how she now wishes to inflict the same grief and torment, the same sense of dread (*bitterste berou*) onto him.

The *Koopman/*Trademan recognises Martha as the woman who weaves baskets at Marketplace Corner, '*n towerheks, soos Saul se heks van Endor/* a witch, like Saul's witch from Endor (Leipoldt 1930: 46). In the Bible's Old Testament, 1 Samuel 28: 3–25 accounts for a sorceress who was visited by Saul, the first king of Israel. Saul had previously prohibited the practise of sorcery in his Kingdom, however due to his growing concerns pertaining to the outcome of the war against the Philistines, he disobeyed his own jurisdiction. His servants had informed him of a women (the witch of Endor) who could predict the future, overcome with fear, he disguised himself and sought answers and assistance from the witch of Endor. He pleaded her to conjure the spirit of the prophet Samuel to reveal to him his fortunes (The Bible 1983: 321).

The accounts of the witch of Endor locates three character archetypes, namely a witch, a ghost and a prophet. Martha's character can be viewed in relation to all three of these archetypes. I will briefly discuss all three of these archetypes in relation with Martha and how the accounts of the witch of Endor bears reference to broader motifs within the play.

Firstly, the *Koopman/*Tradesman compares Martha to the witch of Endor - an outcast. Martha understands that the inhabitants of the Cape Colony consider her as an outcast:

MARTHA:
Die kinders tart my uit as towerheks,
Die ouers skel my uit as ontongmeid…
Want ek is Martha van die Markpleinhoek -
Net maar 'n skeldnaam, byna nie meer mens nie (Leipoldt 1930: 47)/

MARTHA:
The children mock me as a witch,
The parents scorn me as a sorceress
Because I am Martha from the Marketplace Corner
Merely someone to scold, hardly even human anymore

It is through this lens that Martha's character, who is continuously referred to as a witch and *ontongvrou* from both Eastern (represented by the Fisherman) and Western (represented by the Tradesmen) viewpoints, become the focal point that reveals the complexities, the tension, the misconceptions, and misinterpretations caused by different belief systems functioning alongside each other and deemed as 'other' by one another. When the Islamic Fisherman describes Martha as a witch, it can be interpreted as a cultural belief value that is true with reference to the reality of the Javanese character during this time period. When the colonial Dutchman compares Martha to a witch, it can be interpreted as reinforcing otherness, contributing to colonial misinterpretations of cultural rituals and religions. Through colonial contact, the differences in belief systems and cultural practices were highlighted and hierarchies with regards to religion were established. It can be argued that Martha's character continuously being described as a witch could be placed in the context of Oriental stereotyping, specifically Edward Said's explication of the West's conception of the East 'as mythic' and otherworldly.

Myths frequently locate the witch in dense dark forests, secret "nadir of wells", gloomy hollows and isolated byways; she is associated with the "marginal suspect and auspicious in her presence" (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 702). The fact that in Leipoldt's play, Martha's 'given name' is *Martha van Markspleinhoek/*Martha of Market Place Corner, also designates her a specific location in society - 'the corner', she is the outsider and an outcast. The idea of the corner is also 'witch-like' in its marginal isolation. Corners represent the secluded, abandoned, a space of withdrawal (Bachelard 1969: 140). Corners can become inhabited by that which has been forgotten, the betrayed and abandoned by those who have forgotten them (Bachelard 1969: 142).

Martha's description as a witch denotes otherness, exclusion, marginalisation as well as exposes colonial derogative language due to its colonial association with the term pariah (See Chapter 3.2:

Magic realism). In Martha's citation she describes how she feels mocked, scorned and hardly even human anymore (Leipoldt 1930: 47). Martha's words tragically reveal how the colonial setting has dehumanised her.

Furthermore, in the Biblical tale of the witch of Endor, there are motifs alluding to prophecies. The word prophet stems from the Greek for *pro* (before) and *phanai* (to speak). The prophet archetype has longstanding associations with religion, as a divine character who acts as messenger between the heavens and earth, and who can advise and give guidance (Soccio 1995: 26). The prophet characters have also been part of fables, myths and folklore and can on occasion be presented as oracles, enchantress or wizards, with the ability to tell fortunes and provide insight into events that are yet to occur. The prophet character is often wise and knowledgeable, but can also be an ominous figure foreshadowing events, giving warnings of bad omens (Gillie 1972: 681; Osborne 1970: 930).

There are two characters who can be discussed as prophetic in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). The first character is the Imam, in the Prologue who attempts to reason with Martha not to take fate into her own hands:

PRIESTER:
Nee, suster God is goed.
Wat hier geskondig word, word hier vergeld…
…laat wat bestem is, wag
Tot god bestemming skik. Geen eed, geen vloek
Tref teen die doel van Allahs wil en mag… (Leipold 1930: 37, 38)/

PRIEST:
No, sister God is good.
The sins that are committed here, will be paid for
Be patient, until
God uses judgment where judgment is needed.
No oath, no curse
Can overrule the will of Allah…

The play ends with Martha acknowledging the Priest's forewarnings and accepting that the power of justice cannot be yielded by her:

MARTHA:
…Die Iman op die strand daar dertig jaar
Gelede…hy was reg… (Leipoldt 1930: 54)/

MARTHA:
…The Iman there on the beach thirty years
Ago…he was right…

Martha's character, furthermore, also displays prophetic qualities. In the play, according to the Fisherman, Martha has special abilities: *sy kan dolos gooi/*she can throw bones and *sy maak paljas uit tjokkas/*she makes charms from inkfish (Leipoldt 1930: 52). *Paljas*, means a spell that is cast (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993: 623) and *dolosse* are bones of animals used by diviners to predict the future (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993: 143).

In fairy tales magical crystals, mirrors and cauldrons are emblems of the witch's "lunar eye". She sees with "second sight", meditating sacred realities inaccessible to conventional faculties of perception. The witch can commune with the dead, look into the past, and foretell the future, though she may tell it in "riddles" (Ronnberg & Martin 2010: 702). Martha is described as the witch that can predict the future. Martha's utterance: "*verdoem tot in ewigheid"* (*cursed into eternity)* (Leipoldt 1930: 38) can be interpreted as a forecast of Van Noodt's torment and inevitable death.

Furthermore, in the accounts of the witch of Endor, the witch conjures a ghost, reawakening the past in search of answers to the future.

KOOPMAN:
Soos Saul se heks van Endor kan voorspel
Wat duister in die toekoms lê verskuil…(Leipoldt 1930: 46)/

TRADESMAN:
Like Saul's witch of Endor can predict
What darkness lies hidden in the future…

For the purposes of this study, unpacking the notion of reconjuring or reawakening the past to understand or predict *wat duister in die toekoms lê verskuil/*what darkness lies hidden in the future is vital. As discussed in Chapter 1, ghosts can be interpreted as personifications of shadowy warnings (Ronnberg & Martin 2010:788). In *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), in Act one, Van Noodt's absence of presence can be interpreted as the past haunting and tormenting Martha who describes him as '*n suur herinnering aan die swart verlede/a sour remembrance of the black past.* In relation to the notion of torment, the absence of presence and disturbed memories, Van Noodt becomes a ghost disturbing Martha's peace. Furthermore, Martha can also be interpreted as a symbol of Van Noodt's past, a ghost, a haunting presence seeking justice for former afflictions.

MARTHA:
Waar ook hy loop, waar ook vermoeid hy lê,
…Waar ook in smart en teenspoed hy onthou
Die smart wat hy gekerf het in my siel…
Daar sal ek wees... (Leipoldt 1930: 36)/

MARTHA:
Wherever he walks, wherever he lies exhausted,
…Wherever in sorrow and adversity he remembers
The pain he carved into my soul
There I will be…

The word *ghost* can be used metaphorically as a political term to refer to things and beings excluded or forgotten (Lee 2017: 9). Martha asserts that she will not be forgotten, that she will torment Van Noodt and wherever he walks (Leipoldt 1930: 36) she will be there haunting him.

Continuing forward in the play the structure of the second half of Act two of the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) shifts from dialogue into a monologue. Similar to the Prologue, the text resembles a poem, continuing the narrative of the Prologue. Martha begins by acknowledging her current condition as an outcast of the Cape Colony and in spite of all that she has become, she still retains pride in her noble lineage from *Iskande*r and *Atjeh*. Martha's monologue continues by conjuring a nostalgic, dreamscape of Java.

MARTHA:
Daar waar, verskuil in frisse môremis,
Gordyn-gesluier deur goud-bestraalde gloed,
Rys pragtig teen die môreson se prag,
Van Bogors ryk die wolke-bekroonde berg
Met sewe spitse Salak, waar hy spog
En oor die oerwoud opkyk na die son,
En dwars oor die padi-velde na die see
En neersien op die land van Wehstenburg,
Oor Soekaradja en oor Buitenzorg…(Leipldt 1930: 47)/

MARTHA:
There, hidden in the fresh morning mist
Behind a curtain of golden rays,
Rise beautifully against the morning sun
Borgor's kingdom, the cloud crowned mountain
With seven peaks Salak, where he boasts
peering over an ancient forest at the sun,
Over padi fields to the ocean
Looking down at Wehstenburg,
Over Soekaradja and over Buitenzorg…

There is a theatricality in the opening of Martha's monologue. She describes a curtain of golden rays (*Gordyn-gesluier deur goud-bestraalde gloed*) opening onto a spectacular landscape inviting the audience and or reader into the world of Indonesia, as though it is the beginning of a fable, exotic and Orientalist in is romantic, dream-like description of Borgor.

Martha's monologue is dense with references to Indonesian historical sites. Bogor is in in West Java, thirty-seven miles from Jakarta. In medieval times it served as the capital of the Sunda Kingdom. "During the Dutch colonial era it was named Buitenzorg" (Kannemeyer 1999: 354). The summer residence of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies was also located in Buitenzorg. Because of the exceptional geographic location and mild climate, it became the official Dutch administrative centre in 1746. Bogor lies near the volcanic mountain "Salak and was seriously damaged by the eruption, in January 1699, of the Mount Salak volcano" (Indonesian: Gunung Salak) (Ricklefs 2008: 170). After the eruption, fires destroyed a large area of forest in the area which were turned into padi fields and coffee plantations (Ricklefs 2008: 170). *Padi-velde* refers to rice fields (Kannemeyer 1999: 355).

Leipoldt visited Buitenzorg, the palace and gardens, during his second visit to Batavia (Jakarta) (Kannemeyer 1999: 354). According to Kannemeyer (1999: 355) Leipoldt was impressed by the landscape vista from his hotel Hotel Bellevue, from where he could see the two famous volcanic mountains Pangrango and Salak and the numerous pointed mountain tops: the environment of the 'paradise garden' (a botanical garden founded in 1817 by the governor of the Dutch East Indies) lead Leipoldt, with his interest in botany and his view of the grandeur and splendour of the earth, to write one of his most beautiful descriptive passages in his dramatic monologue in *Van Noodt se laaste Aand*. Sukaraja, as it is spelt today, is in Kalimantan (the Indonesian part of present day Borneo). It is possible that Leipoldt confuses Sukaraja with Surabaya in East-Java as he describes the view on Sukaraja "vanuit Bogor's ryk" (Kannemeyer 1999: 355).

Martha's monologue refers to Buitenzorg as a paradise: *Dit was my paradys*. *Daar met Van Noodt, soos Eva met haar Adam*/It was my paradise. There with Van Noodt, like Eve with her Adam [130](Leipoldt 1930: 47). "Paradise is a place of contentment, a land of luxury" and fulfilment. Paradise is frequently described as a "higher place", "the holiest place, in contrast to this world,

[130] Described in Genesis 2 (The Bible 1988: 12) as the first human beings created by God and the first inhabitants of the paradise or the Garden of Eden: expelled from the Garden of Eden Paradise, "a place" of ultimate "happiness and delight" (Lehner 2003: 26). Paradise is often portrayed with "pastoral imagery" in contrast "to the miseries of human civilization: in paradise there is only peace, prosperity, and happiness" (Lehner 2003: 26). The palm tree is one of the most ancient symbols used to depict the tree of Life (Lehner 2003: 26). In the biblical tale of Adam and Eve, they have to choose between the tree of Life (arbor viate) or the tree Knowledge, also known as the tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (*arbor vel lignum scientiae*). Led astray by the figure of the devil in the form of a serpent, they choose mortality by eating fruit from the tree of Knowledge, bringing forth 'the fall of man' (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:3). Feminist scholars have long drawn attention to the problematics regarding this narrative.

or underworlds such as Hell" (Delumeau 2000: vi). It can be surmised that Martha feels exiled from her home country that she remembers as a paradise, in contrast to her experiences in the Cape Colony.

Martha describes *rottang-rondomringde boorde/*orchards encircled by rattan, and in the centre a *Blaar-ontblote boom/A leafless tree* (Leipoldt 1930: 48). Martha continues to describe how, in a ceremonial act, they engraved a sign (*ons teken/*our sign) into the bark of the *Blaarontblote boom/ Leefless tree*:

MARTHA:
Ons teken ingekerwe teen die tyd
As boom en bas en trou en trots vergaan… (Leipoldt 1930: 48) /

MARTHA:
Our sign carved against time
Even if tree and bark and trust and pride falter…

Figure 35: Drawing depicting Van Noodt's engraving on the bark of a palm tree in Buitenzorg (Van der Merwe 2020).

Symbols carved on tree bark is an ancient practise often "used to mark trails, the ownership of land and resources", creating signs in rituals for forms of worship, and lastly to capture moments in time, to venerate a "memory" (Dreslerova & Mikula 2010: 1067).

Carvings and markings can be discussed with reference to the formation of scars, an events or incidents that left traces. It can be stated that colonialism carved into or left its mark on colonial territories, creating scars in the historic narratives and territories of the colonised. The notion of historical scars can be linked back to postcolonial theory of "phantom borders" that locates how the presence of colonial infiltration and Western curated borders and boundaries are still engraved in the structures of a contemporary post-colony (Kolosov 2020: 3). Furthermore, the notion of scars directly links back to the concept of coloniality and the presence of absence of colonial invasion.

Martha is describing a ceremony, a declaration and a promise of *trou/*trust that was betrayed, the promise *vergaan/*faltered, however the memory is buried in the bark of an Indonesian tree. The description of lovers in a paradise memorialising a promise on tree bark displays mythic, fairy-tale imagery, referencing the themes of life and death, marriage and betrayal, the beginning and the end, simultaneously in Martha's recollection.

C. L. Leipoldt's description of paradise in the play lends itself to be discussed as Orientalist. It is his memories of his encounter with Buitenzorg that inspired the poetic description of paradise. When the East is feverishly romanticised or observed through a lens of peculiar distancing that borders on exotic fixation it can lead to stereotyping and false exaggerations (Quinn 2017: 17-20). However, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) and Martha's monologues are embedded with an abundance of insight and attempts at historical and cultural acracy, self-articulation that refuses to be dominated, contained or stereotyped by the Oriental colonial gaze. In a sense, he critiques Oriental writing, villainising the coloniser and creating an ambivalent heroine; deemed 'the other' by her colonial environment and yet, through the narrative, seeking to ensure justice by continuously expressing her sufferings, her experiences of loss and betrayal due to imperial invasion. The question as to the extent to which a person can see through the eyes of another, specifically in the light of racial, cultural, contextual and gender differences, is a vehemently debated point.

Martha interrupts her mystical fable of the lovers in paradise with the reality of Van Noodt's deceit.

MARTHA:
Ja, ek was gierig, gulsig na genot,
En hy was gierig, gulsig na gesag;
En toe die tyd vir skeiding aanbreek, hy
Te hoog om laag te buie vir sy liefde,
En ek te laag, om sonder trots te wees
'n Gril…'n pret vir een Jaar lank; daarna,
'n Afgedankte vadoek vir altyd (Leipoldt 1930: 48)*/*

MARTHA:
Yes, I was greedy, eager for pleasure,
And he was greedy, eager for authority;
And when the time for parting arrived, he
Too high to step low for his love,
And I too low, to be without pride
An amusement…pleasure for one year; afterwards
A throw away kitchen cloth for ever.

Act two reveals the identity of the mysterious character accused of treason, alluded to by the Fisherman as a *Regte Duisman/*True Dutchman. The character is revealed to be the son of Van Noodt

and Martha. She tells the story of how her son, whom she calls Gys, acquired the rank of a *korporaal/*corporal in the Cape Colony by working consequently as a *staljong/*stable hand, *bediende/*servant, *soldaat/*soldier, *matroos/*sailor and a *sersant/*sargeant (Leipoldt 1930: 48, 49). It is with her son that she sailed across the sea to the Cape of Good Hope. It is notable that Martha, as a Javanese woman, is described as a craftswoman making baskets, while her son, who inherited his father's features (sy *kind my Gysbreg - met sy oë en sy mond/*his child my Gysbreg – with his eyes and his mouth (Leipoldt 1930: 48)), could attain stature in the Cape Colony, revealing the gender and racial prejudices evident within a colonial society, that favoured whiteness above other racial identities.

MARTHA:
En met hom het ek oor die see geseil
Om hier 'n woning by die Mark te kry,
Hier, waar die berg sy tafelskadu gooi
Op Riebeeck se Kasteel, en Duiwelskop
Die kanferwind van ou Jakarta keer
En voortslaan oor die vlak van Bot'lary (Leipoldt 1930:49)*/*

MARTHA:
And with him I sailed across the sea
To get a home here at the Market,
Here, where the mountain throws its table shadow,
On Riebeeck's Castle, and Devil's Peak stops
The camphor wind of old Jakarta
And lashes out further across the plain of Bot'lary

There is a sense of longing in Martha's monologue. Martha describes her journey of displacement from her home country of Indonesia to South Africa. In contrast to the imagery of the Cape Colony, Martha refers to *die kanferwind van ou Jakatra/*the camphor wind of old Jakarta. The Sumatran camphor tree (Dryobalanops aromatica) is indigenous to Indonesia and has an aromatic fragrance as well as having medicinal properties (Ritonga & Dwiyanti 2018: 2175). Leipoldt's descriptions of the cities (Jakarta and the Cape of Good Hope) have tactile, sensory characteristics. Within Leipoldt's writing, one can locate references to folklore. The location of *Duiwelskop*/Devil's Peak is notorious for the myth of the Dutch/ Afrikaans tale of 'Van Hunks'[131] (Miller 1979: 61). "*Duiwelskop*/Devil's peak is part of the mountain backdrop to Cape Town"; while Signal Hill and Lion's Head are to the right of Table Mountain, Devil's Peak stands to the left (Miller 1979: 61).

[131] "Devil's Peak is a translation from the Dutch *Duivels Kop*", and the name "supposedly comes from the folk-tale about a Dutch man called Jan van Hunks, who lived at the foot of the mountain circa 1700" (Miller 1979: 61). Van der Hunk was fond of his pipe and made a bet with a stranger that he would "win a pipe smoking contest" (Miller 1979: 61). The "stranger turned out to be the devil" (Miller 1979: 61). The familiar cloudy tablecloth covering Table Mountain, is the smoke left by van der Hunks and the smoking contest with the devil (Miller 1979: 61-65). It can be stated that Van Hunks' story is an example of hybrid tale created by and from, Dutch Europeans contact with the landscape of South Africa.

This study recognises the immense store of superstitions, folktales and supernatural beliefs that the Western world harboured and that were transported along during the establishment of settler communities in the colonies as well as, in the case of the story of van Hunks, the conjuring of 'new' folktales in the colonies (Naidu 2002: 1). It is significant that in Leipoldt's tale the camphor wind from Jakarta is blocked by Devil's Peak, as if Martha's destiny is the devil's work. The wind lashing (*voortslaan*) on the plains in the Cape region might refer to the notorious forceful South-Eastern wind of the Cape. Martha describes the wind as if nature conspires against her and she might associate the stormy, destructive wind of the Cape (originally named the Cape of Storms by the Portuguese), with van Noodt's nature. The shadow over van Riebeeck's castle (The Castle of Good Hope), suggests her negative attitude towards what the castle represents.

At the end of Act two, Martha states that her son did not know that Van Noodt was his father and that she does not know whether to feel proud or dismayed by the fact that her son, following in the footsteps of his mother, bravely fights for justice where greed prevails. Now he is sentenced to death because of his heroism. All that she asks is for long awaited justice to take back her pride and dignity that was stolen from her thirty years ago in Jakarta. Moved by her tale of woe, convinced by her jurisdiction and professions of justice, perhaps hoping that she can truly change Van Noodt's conviction, the *Heemraad /*Council Member and *Koopman/*Tradesmen allow Martha entrance to Van Noodt's *Raadkamer* Council Chamber Leipoldt 1930: 50).

4.2.4 *Derde bedryf/*Act three

The final act is set in the *Raadskamer/*Council Chamber of the Castle of Good Hope. Martha has entered into what can be described as the centre or the heart of the Cape colonial administration. Martha's journey into the castle could be viewed as an invasion or an infiltration of colonial territory, therefore symbolically reversing colonial invasion and infiltration of her (home) country. Her intent is to regain her own agency to take back, in her words: *wat vir dertig jaar gesteel is/*that which was stolen for thirty years (Leipoldt 1930: 52). Martha's journey of infiltration and regaining her autonomy can be described as transgressive, she is continuously crossing borders and breaking the confines of the colonial structure. The stage directions at the beginning of Act three describe the room that she enters:

> *Die Raadskamer in die Goewerneur se huis in die Kasteel. 'n Groot sierlike kamer, met 'n lang blink stinkhouttafel, bedek met papiere, boeke, daarteen onbesette stoele; aan die bo-ent die groot stoel van die Goewerneur. Op die grond 'n donkergekleurde tapyt*… (Leipoldt 1930: 51) / The Council Chamber in the Governor's house in the Castle. A large, graceful room, with a long shiny stinkwood

> table; covered with papers, books, against it empty chairs; at the top-end the large chair of the Governor. On the floor a dark coloured carpet…

The room is enclosed, completely separated from the South African landscape. The room and the objects that adorn it, contribute to depicting importance, notably the *donkergekleurde tapyt*/dark coloured carpet on the floor. Carpets are decorative objects, historically embellishing the houses or palaces of the wealthy, who could afford ornamental luxuries. During colonisation Persian carpets became a popular trade and was often seen in colonial residences (Osborne 1988: 835, 836). The dark carpet in Van Noodt's council room, arguably of Persian origin, signifies what can be termed an 'imperial trophy' utilised by the coloniser as objects for adornment symbolising conquest and wealth.

The dominant object in the room is the *stinkhouttafel/*stinkwood table. In the book *Treasures at the Castle of Good Hope/Skatte in die Kasteel de Goede Hoop,* William Fehr writes that numerous furniture pieces in the castle were crafted from the wood of stinkwood trees (Cape laurel) (1963: 47, 52). The stinkwood trees are endemic to southern Africa and were found on the slopes of Table Mountain during the eighteenth century. Regarding the collection in the Castle of Good Hope, William Fehr (1978: 27) concludes his book by stating that:

> Many of these tangible objects supplement the absorbing narratives of the great travellers and explorers who, over the centuries rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made it a half-way house on their adventurous voyages to the Far East. Because of the historical link between the Cape and Batavia, we find numerous articles which are of eastern and western origin, while others reflect the impact of western and eastern civilizations on our culture.

I acknowledge that this citation can be critiqued for its Orientalist descriptions that take on a tone of appraisement for colonial pursuit by describing the colonisers as "great travelers and explores" and on "their adventurous voyages" (Fehr 1978: 27). The citation however assists in uncovering how the Castle might have been decorated with artifacts from both Europe and Indonesia. These objects can be viewed as symbols of displacement, uprooted, taken, stolen or traded during the height of colonial trading enterprises.

Furthermore, the citation remarks that some crafted artifacts are direct results of colonial contact zones - where different cultures interact, often resulting in hybridity whilst acknowledging the unequal power dynamics that favoured Western viewpoints (Wilson 2019: 712). In the book *Die geskiedenis van Volkskuns in Suid Afrika*, J. Celestine Pretorius remarks that any cultural object is a direct result of location, period, tradition, and circumstance. According to Pretorius, during the periods of colonisation, the merging of European and African motifs can be seen in historical furniture

design, decoration, tools, and other craft forms (1992: 7, 8). Raw materials (wood, stone, sand), that were reaped from the colonised land, were often used and transformed into architecture, furniture and other objects that evince European influence. These objects and furniture are important staples of South African cultural history, specifically for white Afrikaners whose heritage is imbedded in and developed through contact zones (language, cultural traditions, folklore, architecture, craft, etc.). The objects in the council room such as Van Noodt's chair and the *stinkhouttafel/*stinkwood table are furniture crafted from endemic South African materials that were manipulated to mimic European designs, depicting colonial hybridised craftsmanship. The act of manipulating and crafting endemic trees into European styles and shapes could be viewed as having an element of violence - symbolising colonial invasion of land. Uprooting and forcefully shaping and restructuring the colonised landscape to mimic European ideals arguably signify postcolonial theories of assimilation, whitewashing and mimicry.

It is interesting to note that the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) is textured with images of wood, evident in Martha's cane, ships, shipwrecks, the structure of the gallows and colonial furniture, as well as the abundance of references to trees: palm trees, the tree of life, the tree of knowledge, the weeping willow and the stinkwood tree.

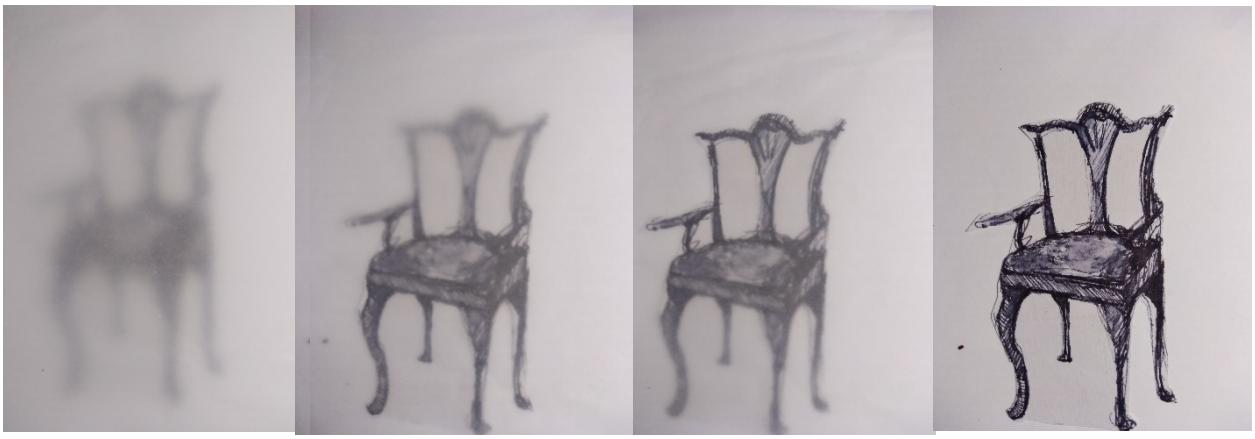


Figure 36: Depiction of Van Noodt's ghostly chair reawakened and revisited in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) (Van der Merwe 2020).

The stage directions emphasise Van Noodt's chair, placed at the head of the table, denoting him the highest figure in the administrative hierarchy. The chair in the scene is hauntingly present because the myth as well as the historical accounts describe how Van Noodt died in his chair. Van Noodt's chair

can be viewed as a *memento mori*[132]. *Memento mori* is a Latin phrase that means "remember we must die" (Wellman 2020: 2). The chair may be viewed as a foreshadowing of the events that are to come. The chair becomes a prophecy ominously waiting to come into fruition. The chair is a reminder of Van Noodt's inescapable death by the end of the play.

Act three is the first and the last act in which the governor is physically present. He is described in the stage directions as standing at the window with his left hand pressed against his chest Leipoldt 1930: 51). Windows and doorways can be interpreted as transparent thresholds, barriers between the outside and the inside, the eyes of a house that look out voyeuristically onto the world (Ronnberg 2010: 564). The governor is simultaneously removed from and involved with the landscape of South Africa and the Cape Colony, picturesquely framed by the window, distancing him from the tangibility of the city. He is embodying the role of the master, he is the conquerer and his gaze, out of the window onto the African landscape is arguably possessive.

The last scene begins with Van Noodt expressing immense pain, paralleling Martha's exclamations of agony in the Prologue and 'fulfilling' Martha's desire for Van Noodt to suffer. Van Noodt uses the words *vervloek* (cursed) and kris as comparative imagery to convey his pain. The opening line, can therefore be seen as a realisation Martha's prophetic curse:

VAN NOODT:
Hierdie vervloekde pyn…
Net soos 'n kris…(Leipoldt 1930:51)/

VAN NOODT:
This cursed pain…
Just like a kris…

As though reawakening the past, Martha makes her presence known, startling Van Noodt:

VAN NOODT:

[132] The phrase *memento mori* is speculated to have originated "from an ancient Roman tradition in which a servant would be tasked with standing behind a victorious general" parading through his town, basking in the "glory of the cheering crowds; the servant would then whisper in the general's ear: *Respice post te! Hominem te esse memento! Memento mori!"/ "*Look behind you! Remember that you are but a man! Remember that you will die!*"* (McKay 2020: [sp]). Since antiquity until the twentieth century, the reminder of eminent death and of the temporality of life was seen as an impetus to strive to live morally in order to attain eternal life in death: "churches would display art with *memento mori* imagery to compel viewers to meditate on death, reflect on their lives, and re-dedicate themselves to preparing to meet God". Since antiquity symbols of death (skulls, skeletons, dying flowers, flies scavenging for food, grave stones, angelical icons, etc.) have been made visible in a variety of visual forms like painting, sculpture, mosaic, pottery tapestry, architecture and even in the designs of sewing patterns (McKay 2020: [sp]).

Wat maak jy hier?
Wie het jou toegelaat? Wat kom jy soek?

MARTHA:
Ek soek wat ek vir dertig jaar verloor het.
Ek soek wat vir dertig jaar gsteel is.

VAN NOODT
Wie is jy?
Ek ken jou mos…die meid wat mandjies vleg… (Leipoldt 1930: 52) /

VAN NOODT:
What are you doing here?
Who gave you entry? What are you looking for?

MARTHA:
I seek what I have lost for thirty years.
I seek what was stolen for thirty years.

VAN NOODT
Who are you?
I know you…the "meid" who weaves baskets

Figure 37: Drawing of Martha with her baskets and walking staff (Van der Merwe 2020).

She forces Van Noodt to confront his past while she also confronts the ghost (Van Noodt) that has haunted her memories for thirty years. She resurrects memories of long forgotten Jakarta.

Figure 38: Drawing of Jakarta (Van der Merwe 2020).

MARTHA:
Ruik jy nog
Die ruik van melati-bloeisels wat
Sy in haar jong onnoselheid vir jou
Gepluk het onder Elberveldt se muur
Op ou Jakarta… (Leipoldt 1930: 52).

MARTHA:
Do you still smell
The smell of melati-blossoms that
She picked for you in her young stupidity
Under Elberveldt's wall
On old Jakarta

Figure 39: Drawing of *melati* blossoms (Van der Merwe 2020).

The *melati* plant is also known as jasmine (*jasminum sambac*) and is an ornamental aromatic flower plant in the form of upright trunked shrubs that bloom yearly. In Indonesia, the most common type of jasmine is white jasmine (*jasminum sambac*) (Muslimah, Lizmah, & Fayanti 2020: 188). Martha says that she picked the jasmine flowers under Elberveldt's wall (Leipoldt 1930: 52). According to Horton 210), the historic figure Pieter Elberveldt or Pangeran Pecah Kulit (the name means *the broken skin*), born in Batavia in 1660, was the Eurasian son of a German burgher and a Siamese Christian woman. He is viewed as a hero and martyr in Indonesia for plotting a revolt against the Dutch East India Trading Company and the European community in an attempt to establish an Islamic state. He was captured,

tortured and executed in April 1722. His name lives on in Batavian folklore and a monument in the form of an inscripted wall[133] was erected at his old residence In Oud Jakartaweg in Jakarta. The monument features a whitewashed (often rumoured to be his real) skull placed on the top of the wall on a spike, becoming part of the myth of Pieter Eberveldt (Horton 2010: 148).

Figure 40: Pieter Eberveldt's Monument (Leipoldt 1930) (Van der Merwe 2020).

Regarding this exceptional monument, which was erected with purpose it was to scare or warn the viewer, Yamomoto (2003: 110, 11) writes:

> During the final 220 years of colonial rule in Indonesia, there was a monument in Batavia which more than any other displayed to the public the horrific futility of betraying authority: The Head of Pieter Erberveldt. The wall-like monument was graced with a plastered skull impaled upon a metal spike and decorated with inscriptions intended to perpetuate the enraged feelings of the Dutch towards the Eberveldt rebellion (2003: 110, 11).

The inscription on the monument was engraved in Dutch as well as in Indonesian and reads: "In detested memory of the punished traitor Pieter Erberveldt. No one will be permitted on this spot to build, knock together or plant now or in the future, Batavia, 14 April 1722". The original wall with the spiked skull still stood in Oud Jakartaweg when Leipoldt visited Batavia. Leipoldt documented the engraved inscription on a piece of paper, evincing great interest in Eberveldt's story (Joubert 1997:

[133]The wall was demolished by Japanese soldiers in 1942, during World War II, (Yamamoto 2003: 111) but later rebuilt and moved to the Taman Prasasti Museum in Tanah Abang. According to Yamamoto (2003: 138) "the Erberveld monument symbolised the genuine rebel who is eternally opposed to authority". The spelling variants Eberveldt, Erberveld and Elberveld are found in different sources.

42). Furthermore, in the book *Gordel van Smarag* (1997) Elsa Joubert writes that prior to writing *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), Leipoldt wrote a *versdrama/*verse drama about Pieter Elberveldt (1997: 87) for *Die Huisgenoot* (1922). Here follows an excerpt from the verse drama:

...Elberveldt (nadinkend)
Vrind, ek is geen profeet
Wat in die toekoms skimme kan gewaar,
Maar glo my dit is moontlik dat daar kom 'n dag
Ver in die toekoms waar die tyd…
Sy wraak sal neem…(Leipoldt 1922)/
...Elberveldt (pondering)
Friend, I am no prophet
that can see into the future.
But believe me it is possible that there will come a day
in the distant future when time…
will have its vengeance…

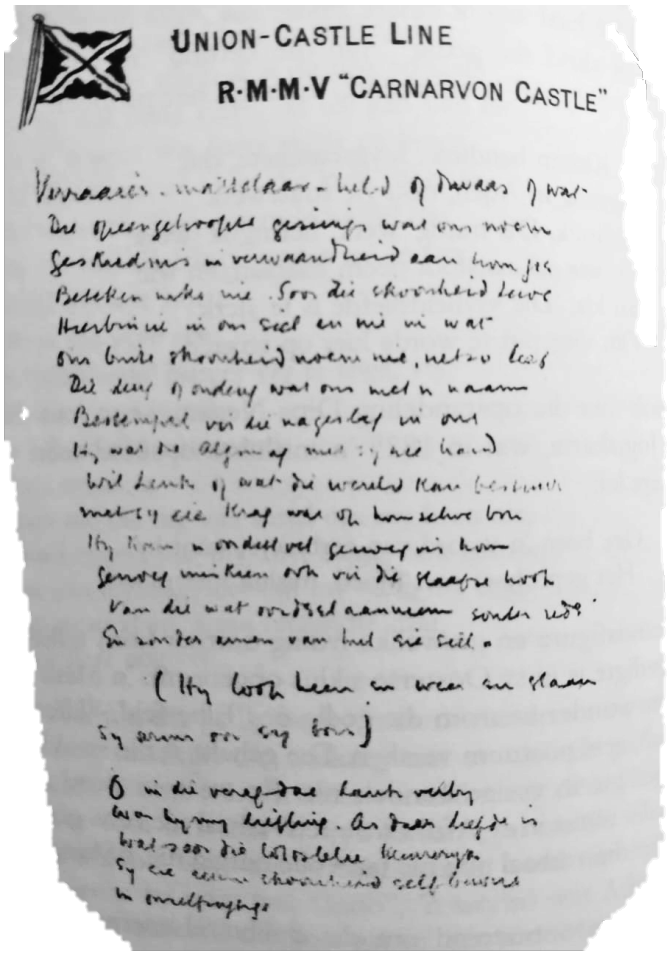


Figure 41: C. L. Leipoldt's note of the inscription on Pieter Eberveldt's monument. Documented by Elsa Joubert in her book *Gordel van Smarag* (Joubert 1997).

This particular citation from the prose can be compared to the Tradesman's previous quotation: *Soos Saul se heks van Endor kan voorspel Wat duister in die toekoms lê verskuil* (Leipold 1930: 46)/ Like

Saul's witch of Endor can predict What future lies hidden in the dark…, similarly signifying motifs of prophesies and cursed futures.

Figure 42: Pieter Eberveldt's "skull" attached to his monument (Van der Merwe 2020).

Elberveldt was executed in 1722, which means that Kami could not have picked the jasmine flowers at Elberveldt's wall when she and Van Noodt were young lovers, as van Noodt had already betrayed her by 1699. I speculate that Leipoldt might have drawn inspiration for the plot and characters of the play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), after becoming familiar with the heroic story of Elberveldt and his parents. The mention of the jasmine flowers at Elberveldt's wall might be viewed as poetic license on the part of Leipoldt, for the sake of drawing parallels between Kami and van Noodt's son and Pieter Elberveldt. In my reading of the play, the accounts of Eberveldt and is rebellion against the Dutch East India Company is mimicked by Martha's rebellion and her own Eursian son's execution for treason. There is also strong juxtaposition of life (the jasmine blossoms) and death (the skull, the end of a relationship and the doomed tale of Pieter Eberveldt) motives in the citation of Martha's words. Death is an important theme in the last act of the play, present through the *memento mori* of the chair, the kris (weapon of reckoning), the soldiers facing the gallows and Van Noodts eminent death.

Throughout the play Martha is trapped by her circumstances that reduced her to a racial stereotype in the Cape Colony. The play centres on Martha's feelings of loss, betrayal and how she aims at asserting herself through vengeance, with the intent to regain autonomy and pride. Martha's utterances can be interpreted as the yearning of a marginalised, if not silenced voice, to be heard. They expose the potential for prejudice in Western viewpoints. Her language can be described as regal in its address. Her words become her greatest weapon against authority and through her monologues she is able to relay her suppressed suffering and shift what is seen as the margin to the centre, powerfully elevating her cultural importance in a colonial setting. Her monologues can be interpreted as in-depth explorations into her interior life, in circumstances where she is ostracised due to the colonial exterior reality. However, in the last act, Martha's character experiences transformation, from being described as the *meid* of Marketplace Corner, to describing herself as the Javanese princess Kami. She denounces her Western name and reclaims her nobility:

MARTHA:
Jy ken my goed…Martha nou, maar Kami toe…
…Die lang vegete Kami, nou nie meer,
So dom-onnosel soos in daardie tyd…(Leipoldt 1930: 52, 53)*/*

MARTHA:
You know me well…Martha now, but Kami then…
…The long-forgotten Kami, now not as
Ignorant and stupid as in that time…

Martha restores her own power, she is no longer a forgotten memory, but a reality and energised with a purpose of reckoning. She continues by creating a new version of Kami, not the Kami from a love story, but rather a Kami in a tale of revenge:

MARTHA:
Kami wat gevlei het,
Is lankal dood en in haar plek bestaan
Net Kami wat 'n tier is… (Leipoldt 1930: 53) */*

MARTHA:
Kami who flattered,
Is long dead and in her place exists
Only Kami who is a tiger…

She compares herself to a tiger, the animal previously used to describe Van Noodt (Leipoldt 1930: 44), shifting her character from prey to predator. She has taken the kris out of her dress pocket and intimidatingly points its blade towards Van Noodt, who has fallen back into his chair in anguish. Martha's actions toward Van Noodt can be described as violent. This particular moment in the play can be discussed with reference to, what Frantz Fanon called cultural catharsis. Frantz Fanon states

that colonised cultures have a strong need for "collective catharsis" (2004: 94). Franz Fanon states that "violence frees the native from his inferiority complex and from the despair and inaction. It makes 'him (or her) fearless and restores his (or her) self-respect" (2004: 94). Martha restores her self-respect, holding a weapon up against the *Oubaas/*Old Maste*r,* powerfully reducing him to the subservient and reversing the power relation between coloniser and colonised.

Van Noodt learns about his and Martha's son, facing death at the hands of his own father and Martha demands that he revoke the *lasbrief/*warrant.

MARTHA:
Herroep wat jy geskryf het,
Of hierdie kris…
…Skryf… skryf… of hierdie kris… (Leipoldt 1930: 53) /

MARTHA:
Retract what you have written,
Or this kris…
…Write…write…or this kris…

The stage directions point to a faint voice off in the distance: *Daars 'n geluid in die kamer, net soos 'n veraf dowwe stem/*There's a sound in the room, just like a far-off muffled voice (Leipoldt 1930: 53).

MARTHA:
Daar…hoor jy nie? Hy roep, jou Gys en myne…
Hy daag jou voor die regstoel…dis klaar … (Leipoldt 1930: 54) /

MARTHA:
There…don't you hear? He calls, your Gys and mine…
He summons you before the seat of judgement…it's finished…

In the myth as well as the historic account of Van Noodt, mention is made of one soldier who, before facing the gallows, allegedly turned his head to the governor's house and shouted: "Governor van Noodt, I summon you in this very hour before the judgement seat of omniscient God, there to give account for the souls of myself and my companions!" (Du Toit 1895:22).

In the play Van Noodt falls back into his chair without making a sound, his face pale (Leipoldt 1930: 54). Martha continues her monologue, unaware that Van Noodt had died in his armchair. That night was Van Noodt's last evening.

MARTHA:
…en nou, nou dat ek kans het
Om haat en wrok op een slag uit te wis
Met hierdie kris, die erfstuk van my vader…
(Sy buig oor hom en streel sy hare)
Nou dink ek aan my Gysbreg wat daar hang,

En wat jou roep om voor die regstoel
van Allah te verskyn… (Leipoldt 1930:54) /

MARTHA:
…and now, now that I have the chance
To wipe out hate and resentment with one stroke
With this kris, the heirloom from my father…
(She bends over him and strokes his hair)
Now I think of my Gysbreg hanging there,
And calling you to appear before the judgement seat
Of Allah…

Martha confirms that the 'voice in the distance' was her son's last words before realising that she is as much responsible for their son's death as Van Noodt.

MARTHA:
Nou dink ek aan my Gysbreg wat daar hang,
En wat jou roep om voor die regstoel
Van Allah te verskyn, Hy roep ook my,
Want ek is tog sy moeder - jy sy vader -
As een van ons voor Allah moet verskyn,
Moet ook die ander by wees... (Leipoldt 1930: 54) /

MARTHA:
Now I think of my Gysbreg hanging there,
And calling you to appear before the judgement seat
Of Allah, he also calls me,
For I am his mother – you his father –
If one of us has to appear before Allah,
The other must appear too…

*Haar hande stryk oor sy gesig; sy voel hoe koud dit is/*Her hands caress his face; she feels how cold it is (Leipoldt 1930: 54). Startled, she lets go of the kris and it drops to the floor. Martha lets go of the past when she realises that Van Noodt is dead. Her purpose and intent in making him hear and understand that his actions have consequences, could not be accomplished. Martha is suffering penitence in the scene. Her son dies and the man who has tormented her and caused her tremendous loss died before she could execute her plan of revenge. Martha states that the Iman thirty years ago at Jakarta had been right. Martha's closing words in the play echo those in the Prologue, ending with prayer:

MARTHA:
Die Iman op die strand daar dertig jaar
Gelede…hy was reg…dis bidstondtyd
God is God…God is groot…daar is net een God
en hy is God…(Leipoldt 1930: 54, 55) /

MARTHA:

The Iman on the beach there thirty years ago
…he was right…it is the hour of prayer
God is God…God is great…there is only one God
And he is God…

Notably Martha calls the priest character from the Prologue *Die Iman…/*The Iman…(Leipoldt 1930:54). *Iman* means the belief and faith in Allah (Ahmed 1999: 269) and the term *Imam* denotes the position of Islamic spiritual leaders similar to the concept of Western priests (Ahmed 1999: 80). Leipoldt perhaps inaccurately used the term *Iman* instead of *Imam*. Considering that the character Martha describes is a priest the term *Imam* would have been more appropriate. It can also be the case that the name of the priest character is Iman and that Leipoldt chose the name Iman as a literary motif emphasising faith and divine intervention. Martha admits that one cannot take fate into your own hands and that only Allah has the ultimate right of punishment. Her words at the very end of the play might convey Leipoldt's view of the unnecessary division and strife between races and religions

The title of the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930*)*/The Last Evening alludes to 'finality'. In the last act 'endings' are present in the form of the deaths of Van Noodt and Gys. However, the ending of the play can be viewed as hauntingly unresolved. The doomed fate of all three main characters under the colonial structure of the Cape Colony in early eighteenth century is evident in the final act of the play.

The son of Martha and the Governor, Gys suffers the same fate as his father Van Noodt, dying a painful, cursed death as destined by Martha's proclamations of doom in the Prologue. Martha is defined through the loss of her culture, tradition, home country, her sight and loss of her lineage (effected through the death of her son). Her narrative is destined to depict her struggle to regain all that which she has lost. Even in Van Noodt's death she cannot rid herself of his "presence of absence" (Zlomislić 2007: 38). Van Noodt's actions and choices appear to transcend death, rendering Martha's suffering inescapable. She is perhaps the most haunted character by the end of the play: haunted by the death of her son and by the unattained justice. Her torment lies in the fact that she can never escape her anguish and that she is forever trapped as the colonised: haunted and affected by the actions of the coloniser.

Ultimately Martha's character can be described as a symbol of the colonised: suffering the loss of cultural history, a detachment from their ancestry, often dislocated from their home countries and experiencing immense grief under colonial authority where racial and class hierarchies determine their stature in society. Governor Van Noodt represents the tyrannical coloniser and personifies the cruelty of colonial greed, reaping the colonies of wealth with no regard as to how the act of infiltration

effects the colonised countries and vanquishing any threats to its autonomy. Van Noodt's haunted torment lies within his incapability to escape his own greed and appetite for power. Van Noodt dies as a tyrant, never resolving or redeeming his faults, rendering him ossified in a state of villainy in South Africa's historic and cultural memory. It can be stated that the unresolved, haunted ending of the play aptly represents the perpetuation of coloniality and its ghostly presence in the post-colonial.

Informed by the colonial historical overview in Chapter 2.1: The voyage, as well as the postcolonial theoretical framework established in Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, I unearthed some of C. L. Leipoldt's intertextual references embedded within the text. I excavated references pertaining to historical accounts, myths, significant cultural artifacts and geographical settings. I scrutinised the characters, their relationships, their forms of address, the locations found in the play and key objects and unpacked their possible symbolic significance.

I will now provide a brief summary of the characters, settings and themes that I uncovered during the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), that will inform specific choices for my adapted playtext. Martha's character arguably represents colonised identities suffering immense loss and oppression in colonial settings dominated by colonial ideals and structures. Martha's character is driven by vengeance. Her character is transgressive; throughout the play she oversteps the boundaries and designated confines of the Cape Colony that is based on racial bias and Western European exclusivity. Governor Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt represents colonial greed and tyrannical governance. Their son Gys is a rebel, he is driven by a sense of justice and in his pursuit of fairness is inadvertently hanged, by his own father.

The secondary characters such as the *Priester*/Priest, *Koopman*/Tradesman, *Heemraad/*Council Member*, Skildwag/*Sentry and the *Slamse Visser/*Islamic Fisherman embody themes such as cosmopolitan religious views and traditions, colonial trading enterprises, colonial political administration and law enforcement, dislocated identities, the slave trade and the Cape Muslim communities; all forming the identity of the cosmopolitan space of the Cape Colony during the eighteenth century. The play is set during 1699 and 1729, locating the actions of the play at the height of the colonial pursuits of the Dutch East India Trading Company's (VOC). *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) specifically locates sites such as the Castle of Good Hope in the Cape and intertextually references the Batavian Castle in Jakarta. The relationship between the two locations is charted by Dutch trading routes to the East, specifically the Spice Islands of the Indonesian Archipelago. The analysis of the play established the shorelines as liminal contact zones and sailing ships as vessels that

travel between continents, establishing European imperial networks. The play continuously highlights the importance of trading enterprises that formed the foundation of Dutch colonial empire building. Market spaces such as Greenmarket Square and Roggebaai's fish market embody cosmopolitan, multicultural spaces that act as contact zones.

Furthermore, these castles (Batavia and Castle of Good Hope) can be considered as beacons of European dislocation, erected in 'foreign' landscapes, symbolising European philosophies of feudalism and classism. As fortresses these Castles expose colonialism's militarisation tactics. The castles, as spaces of administration, structure the politics, economy and laws of the colonial societies, establishing violent penalty systems such as lashings and condemnation to protect the coloniser's authority. In the play betrayal, punishment and justice are key motives that drive Martha's Van Noodt's and their son Gys' actions in various ways and from different perspectives. In *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) the gallows simultaneously becomes the ultimate symbol of punishment for justice and a space that inflicts injustice. The gallows at Roggebaai marks the space where Gys, whose transgressions against colonial authority was met with punishment, dies in the pursuit of righteousness.

Notably, C. L. Leipoldt wrote different forms of address for the Eastern (Martha and Islamic Fisherman) and Western (Van Noodt as well as the *Priester*/ Priest, *Koopman*/ Tradesman, *Heemraad/* Council member*, Skildwag/* Sentry and the *Slamse Visser/* Islamic Fisherman) characters, exposing racial and class hierarchies systemically imbued in the language of the time. Hierarchal systems are also evident in allocated borders and boundaries that prohibit colonised cultures, such as the access that Martha and the *Slamse Visser/* Islamic Fisherman have to the Castle grounds. These race and class barriers reiterate concepts of otherness between cultures where 'whiteness' and 'Europeanness' are deemed higher than the Eastern identities within the colonial setting of the play. The theme of otherness is most notably emphasised by Martha's ostracisation as an *ontongvrou/*witch, unpacked as a synonym for the term pariah. Martha's loss of sight can be interpreted as the loss of autonomy over her own identity, judged by a colonised world that views her identity as less and shuns her to the outer 'corners' of society. Martha is a fallen Eastern *Ranee*/Princess*,* revealing colonialism's capability for destruction, dislocating cultures from their ancestry and stunting continuation of endemic narratives in long standing lieages and altering the course of their histories.

Ultimately it can be stated that *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) addresses themes such as betrayal, justice, vengeance, punishment, death, lineage, loss and consequence. These key themes, excavated

through my analysis inform specific ideas for the adapted playtext. In Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined and Chapter 6: *Dryfhout* (2021), A hauntological postcolonial allegory, I will refer back to the themes and motifs uncovered in this section of the dissertation.

4.3 A reflection of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930)

Moving towards an adapted playtext, I will firstly conclude that *Die Laaste Aand* Leipoldt 1930) can be interpreted as a warning against tyrannical rule, specifically aimed at critiquing white Afrikaner nationalism during the 1930s. Secondly, I will conclude that C. L Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) can be viewed as a prophecy rendering him a prophetic writer that showcased insight into 'cursed' post-colonial futures and the consequences of tyrannical injustices. Lastly, I intend to unpack the 'unearthed' magical and fairy tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). I ultimately identify the aporia in the source text and use what surfaces from the aporia to rupture 'the border' that separates the magic from the real in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), to create a magic realist playtext

4.3.1 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a warning

Ghosts in literature can be used to express concerns about mortality and cultural discontinuity; during times of social change ghosts are also seen as signifiers of something ailing in a society (Lee 2017: 8). Framed by the white Afrikaans nationalist social and political context of the 1930s, Leipoldt chose to return and uncover an 'unheroic' ghostly myth of the tyrannical Governor Van Noodt in *Die Laaste Aand* (1930). I argue that Leipoldt used nationalism's appetite for folklore against itself, by not celebrating a folk hero but rather engaging with a figure from history that is a villain and a tyrant. I view *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as a play that comments on white Afrikaners' capacity for tyranny during the onset of apartheid in the 1930s. Van Noodt is a Dutch colonialist. His nationality and position as colonialist embody a vital part of white Afrikaans heritage. I do not critique his Dutch nationality but rather highlight the concepts of greed and a general sense of superiority evident in Van Noodt's character. Van Noodt does not represent South African colonialism in its entirety but rather specifically embody colonialism's capacity for greed, cruelty, tyranny, violence and unjust judgement. Governor Gysbreg Van Noodt can be interpreted as embodying one aspect of white Afrikaners' ambivalent identity - the coloniser.

4.3.2 C. L. Leipoldt: a prophet

I initially speculated about the probability that the early twentieth century typified a postcolonial environment for white Afrikaner identity in South Africa (See Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks), due to the ambivalent nature of white Afrikaner identity as both colonised and coloniser. The early twenty

century is fixed as a colonial moment within the broader context of South African history. White Afrikanerdom did not 'entirely' free itself nor the rest of South Africa's multicultural identities from the bonds of colonialism. The early twentieth century is not marked as a moment of postcolonialism, but rather the beginning of the next chapter in South Africa's colonial history that saw the rise of apartheid. The context in which the play was written frames and, in a sense, traps the literary output of the 1930s within the context of colonialism.

I propose that C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) can be termed a *prophetic play*, marking him as a *prophetic writer,* predicting and forecasting, from what was his colonial present, the themes that will be evident in a post-colony. C. L. Leipoldt is Saul's witch of Endor who can predict what darkness lies hidden in the future (Leipoldt 1930: 46). Like the witch of Endor, Leipoldt conjured up a ghost from the past to bring a message not only to the 1930s nationalist context, but also to the contemporary present. C. L. Leipoldt could be viewed as a visionary with political and cultural foresight for his time, intrinsically understanding that in the aftermath of colonialism and apartheid white Afrikaans identities will be cursed or as Martha states: "*verdoem tot in ewigheid"* (*cursed for an eternity*) (Leipoldt 1930: 38) haunted by the tyrannical shadow of its identity.

Disconcerted with the heroic nationalist white Afrikaans nostalgia of the 1930s that failed to acknowledge the villainous aspect of colonialism lurking in the shadows of its identity, Leipoldt presented a tyrant. In the trajectory of South African history, it can be stated that the abolishment of apartheid and the first democratic election in 1994, followed by the Truth and Reconciliation trials (TRC) (1995-2002); mark a moment where white Afrikaners acknowledged and accepted their *shadow self;* in a sense becoming aware of the ghosts of the past. It could be stated that in contemporary post-colonial South Africa white Afrikaners are tormented by these restless apparitions representing past wrong-doings.

4.3.3 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a fairy-tale

In this section I discuss *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) in relation to fairy tale motifs to highlight key elements in the play that might be construed as aporia or as magical, in order to provide a matrix of ideas for the reimagining process. I will locate possible fairy-tale motifs underpinned in the play's narrative, locations, objects, and characters.

As previously discussed, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) references an abundance of myths and folktales. The play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) is perforated with mythical motives, whether they

are intertextual or directly described, for example the tale of *Adam and Eve* (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:3) and Saul's *witch of Endor* (The Bible 1983: 321). Other myths include the intertextual historic references like the Eastern name Iskander, Iskander Romances, ancient Javanese kingdoms such as the Macedonian Empire (808 BCE- 168 BCE), the Majapahit Empire (1293-1527) and the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom (Atjeh), whose historic accounts are intertwined with myth, blurring the line between fact and fiction. The recollection of 'mythic' Pieter Eberveldt (whose narrative is mimicked by the death of the character Gys in the play), whose death marked him as a colonial martyr, is also a reference point in this regard. The Eastern artefact, the kris, valued as a supernatural object in Javanese culture) is arguably the most mythical object in the play. C. L. Leipoldt constructed a play layered with historical accounts, intertwined with myths from Indonesia, Dutch Colonial Cape Town and ultimately white Afrikaans folklore. The play also draws from the historic accounts of the ferocious South African historic figure Governor Van Noodt, whose death transcended into white Afrikaans cultural myth. However, the myth of Van Noodt transformed into a ghost tale, characterising him as a cruel apparition haunting the Castle of Good Hope.

Myths often accept magic and the supernatural as part of the narrative (Schrader 2012: 1) and folktales that include magical elements are considered fairy-tales (Tiffin 2003: 8, 9). Fairy-tales are framed by elements such as archetypal characters, mythical creatures, monsters, supernatural beings, powerful objects, mysterious locations as well as enchantments, curses, and spells (Warmer 2014: 2, 3, 4). *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) showcases what can be considered 'magical' and fairy-tale-like elements, most notably through the continuous description of Martha as a witch or *ontongvrou* that this study established as a synonym for pariah, alluding to Western colonial ostracisation of the 'other'. Martha's revengeful utterance of a curse also evokes imagery of enchanted tales where witches cast grotesque spells onto their victims as retribution, or for reasons of mere mal-intent. Martha has a wooden walking cane: *Sy stap met haar stok en voel haar pad/*She walks with her cane and feels the way forward (Leipoldt 1930: 41). Her walking cane may evoke images of a sorceress' staff, similar to a wand, the medium through which power and magic flows (Washington & Pyykkonen 2008: 114).The most notable mythic object in the play is Martha's family heirloom- the Indonesian kris embedded with references to ancient Islamic mythic tales that possesses 'supernatural' capabilities.

Another object that can be transposed into a fairy tale realm is Van Noodts chair. In *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) the chair is placed at the head of an administrative table, signifying hierarchy, authority and dominance. In a fairy tale the chair can be ecquated to a king's throne. The king who sits as this particular throne is a tyrant Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt. Considering the previous analysis of the

characters, settings, objects, and motives in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), key elements that evoke fairy-tale images can possibly be summarised and listed as medieval castles (Batavia Castle and the Castle of Good Hope), an innocent maiden (Kami), a tyrannical king (Van Noodt), a witch (Martha) with a mythical dagger (the kris) and a righteous young knight (Gys their son). Furthermore, the play can be reduced to a fairy-tale-like story-arc, with a narrative centring around a witch once betrayed in love, a vengeful curse and in the name of justice; a plot to dethrone the tyrannical king.

In the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) Martha's son Gys can be compared to the archetype of the righteous knight's insubordination to a tyrannical king, arguably embodied by van Noodt. In the play Gys occupies the position of a Dutch colonial soldier, ironically intended to ensure obedience, but who disobeys the unjust ruler by staging a mutiny. Gys stands in direct opposition to Van Noodt who is (unbeknownst to them both) also his father. The characters can possibly symbolise change, the future, justice, and transformation in opposition to the establishment, the past and injustice. In the text *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) Van Noodt punishes Gys for his disobedience by hanging him at the Roggebaai gallows. Fairy-tales that depict fathers killing their children often expose unnatural paternal instincts where the father considers the child as an external threat to his autonomy and who therefore needs to be exterminated. When a narrative of a father killing his son is encountered, themes such as "intergenerational familial and patriarchal power relations and authority…" are explored (Daniel 2006: 148). It could be stated that hidden within the narrative of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) is a strenuous relationship between an oppressive father threatened by a rebellious son.

These simplified fairy-tale motifs highlight the innate objectives of the main characters, as well as the over arcing themes underpinning the story. This study does not intend to adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a fairy-tale, where the narrative fully occupies a fantastical space. This study intends to adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a magical realist text. These simplified fairy-tale motifs are possible elements that might fuel the adaptive narrative, consequently establishing magical realist elements rooted within fairy-tales.

Although it references what can be considered 'magical' elements, C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) is not considered as a magical realist text in this study, predominantly because the magic remains in the realm of cultural myth and folklore and is subsequently presented as such. The 'magical' elements in the play do not break, rapture, or live alongside reality as is usually expected in a magical realist text. The 'magic' in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt1930) is continuously questioned and, depending on the viewpoint of a particular culture, is either accepted or rejected as part of reality. It can be stated

that the conversations regarding magic in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) explore themes of cultural bias within a colonial environment, exposing cultural difference, prejudice, and tensions between the Eastern and Western cultural practises such as philosophy, spirituality, and religion.

As Rian Oppelt (2013: 116) remarks, it is exactly within the combination of both romanticism and realism that Leipoldt's writing style is located. I posit that Leipoldt's writing in *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) is situated at the very edge of where realism transcends into magic realism. As such, Leipoldt's text lends itself to an adaptation where the cloaked magical elements might be actualised, unveiling them alongside 'reality'. I intend to (unlike Leipoldt who kept 'magical elements' ambiguous) rupture the 'border' that separates the magic from the real to create a magic realist text.

Informed by the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) and unearthing the magical qualities and fairy tale motifs hidden beneath the 'real', I present the reimagined and adapted playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) in Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined.

PART THREE

CHAPTER 5: *DIE LAASTE AAND* (LEIPOLDT 1930) REIMAGINED

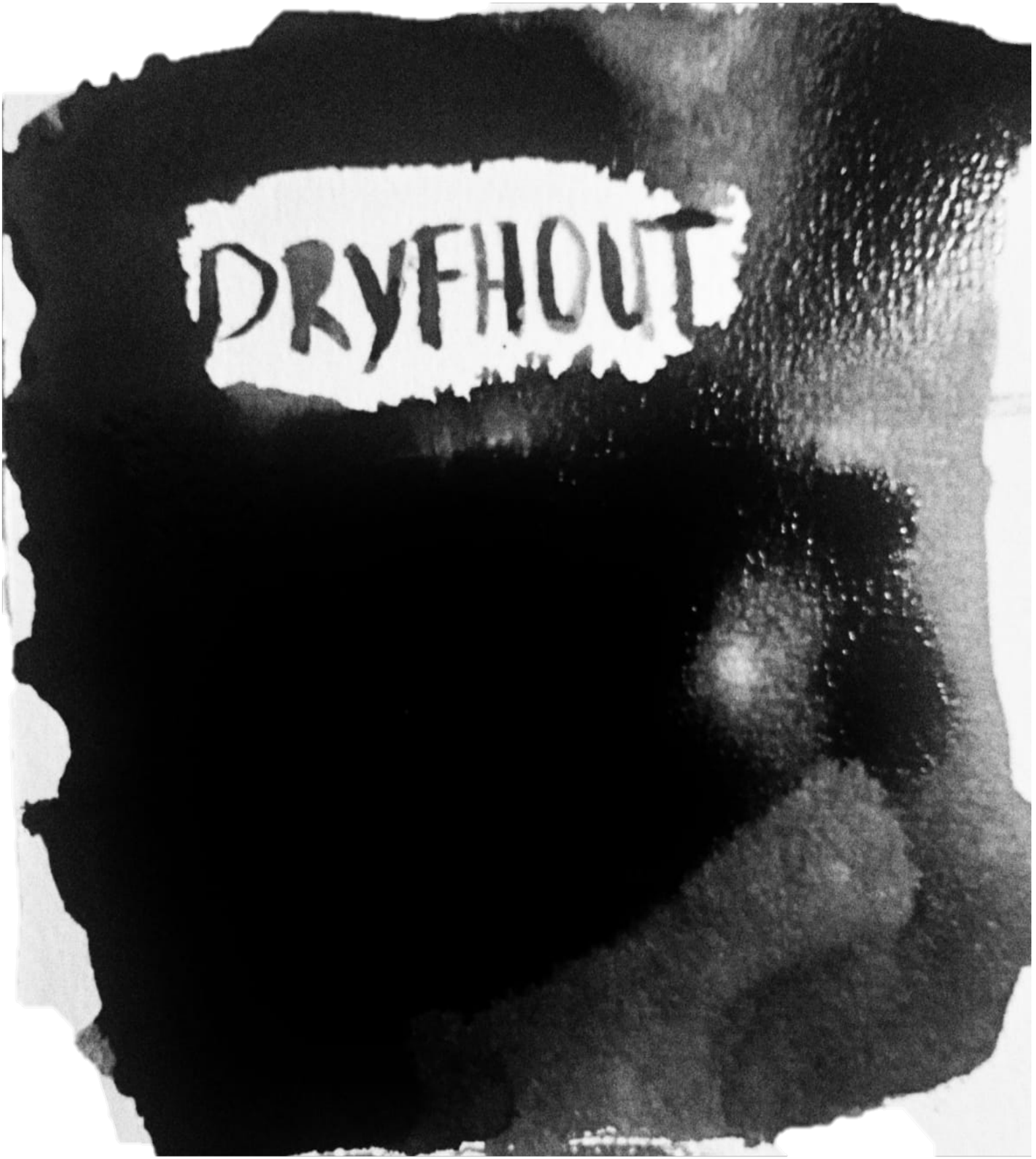
5.1 *DRYFHOUT* (2021)

Informed by the historical overview in Chapter 2.1: The voyage, the postcolonial theoretical framework of Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, the analysis and 'unearthing' of magical and fairy tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as well as using magic realism's transformative capabilities (such as metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification and breaking of the rules of linear time) I adapted and reimagined *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a playtext titled *Dryfhout* (2021). I will firstly present the adapted playtext and in Chapter 6: *Dryfhout* (2021), a hauntological, postcolonial allegory**,** I will unpack the reimagining and adaptation process with reference to the transformative characteristics of magic realism. Lastly I discuss how *Dryfhout* (2021) can be interpreted as a hauntological postcolonial allegory.

DRYFHOUT

'n Verwerking van C. L. Leipoldt se toneelstuk *Die Laaste Aand* (1930)

deur Nell van der Merwe



DIE PERSONE

Kami: ‘n Jong Kaaps-Maleise vrou, afstammeling van Martha van Markpleinhoek.

Pieter: ’n Taamlik bejaarde man, afstammeling van Goewerneur Gysbreg Van Noodt.

Die velore seun: (Geesverskyning) Pieter as kind in die 1950s.

Soldaat: (Geesverskyning) Pieter as ‘n jong man in die 1980s.

Gysbreg: (Geesverskyning) Pieter se pa wat ook die rol vertolk van die vervloekde man in die skaduwees.

Goewerneur Gysbreg Van Noodt: ‘n Geesverskyning.

VOORSPEL

Die toneel is Kaapstad. Dis is die namiddag. Die stad is ongemaklik stil. 'n Agtergrond van 'n skadu-Tafelberg, belig deur die skemerson. Kami staan by die verste punt van die kaai en kap brokke en stukke hout. Die klank van die byl wat teen die hout slaan weergalm in die donker van die aand se stilte. Die koue seebranders slaan stadig asof vermoeid in skuimlose eentonigheid teen die podiums van die dek.

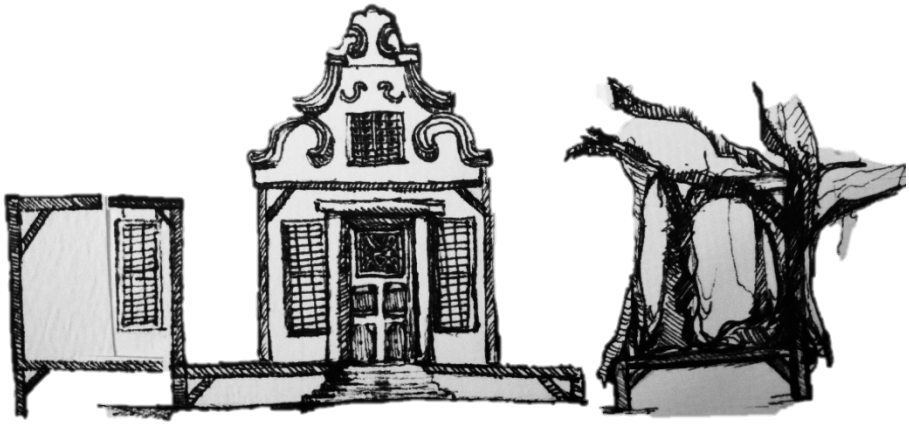
Kap. Kap. Kap.

KAMI: Is dit die einde? Sy roep my soms. Die moederwind van oue Jakarta. 'n Kreun van anderkant Tafelberg. Sy klink soos muezzin-musiek, 'n koor van priesterkonings. Dis bidstondtyd en sy roep my terug. Soms hoor ek dan ook haar fluister, sy verklap geheime van vervloë Oosterse koninkryke, vervalle rami, haat wat jou blindelings lei tot wraak en sy vloek. Daar is onrustigheid in ons lande. Ek hoor haar noodlot weemoedig rondkla in die donker van die nag. Sy treur by die brokstukke van die tempel Penataran. Daar bieg sy haar gebed. Sy treur oor tyd se wreedste eienskap - vergankliheid, en vra dat iemand sal onthou.

Kami begin weer die brokstukke hout te kap. Die kapklank van die byl word oorgeneem en verander in 'n geklop aan 'n houtdeur. 'n Jong wit seun, geklee in klere vanuit die 1950s hardloop die toneel binne. Hy is verdwaal en roep na sy pa. In sy hand, uit stinkhout gekerf en rof gevorm, 'n speelgoedskuit.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Pa? Waar is Pa?

Die ligte doof in. Die Kaapse wind waai troosteloos. Die toneel is die voorstoep van 'n ou Kaaps-Hollands huis.



Kami stap by die trappe op en klop aan die voordeur. Aan die linkerkant van die huis, geboë gegroei, staan 'n blaarlose Oosterse banyanboom. Op die bas van die boom, al deur tyd misvorm, is die letters G en K ingekerf. Gehurk by die voet van die boom is Gysbreg, Pieter se pa, ook geklee in klere uit die 1950s. Asof oorval met 'n blinde koors van desperaatheid, grawe hy, op soek na iets onder

die grond. In die voorgrond hardloop die velore seun na die huis en gaan by die voor deur in. Kami loop, volg hom agterna. Sy klop-klop aan die deur.

GYSBREG: (Grawe) Hoor jy?

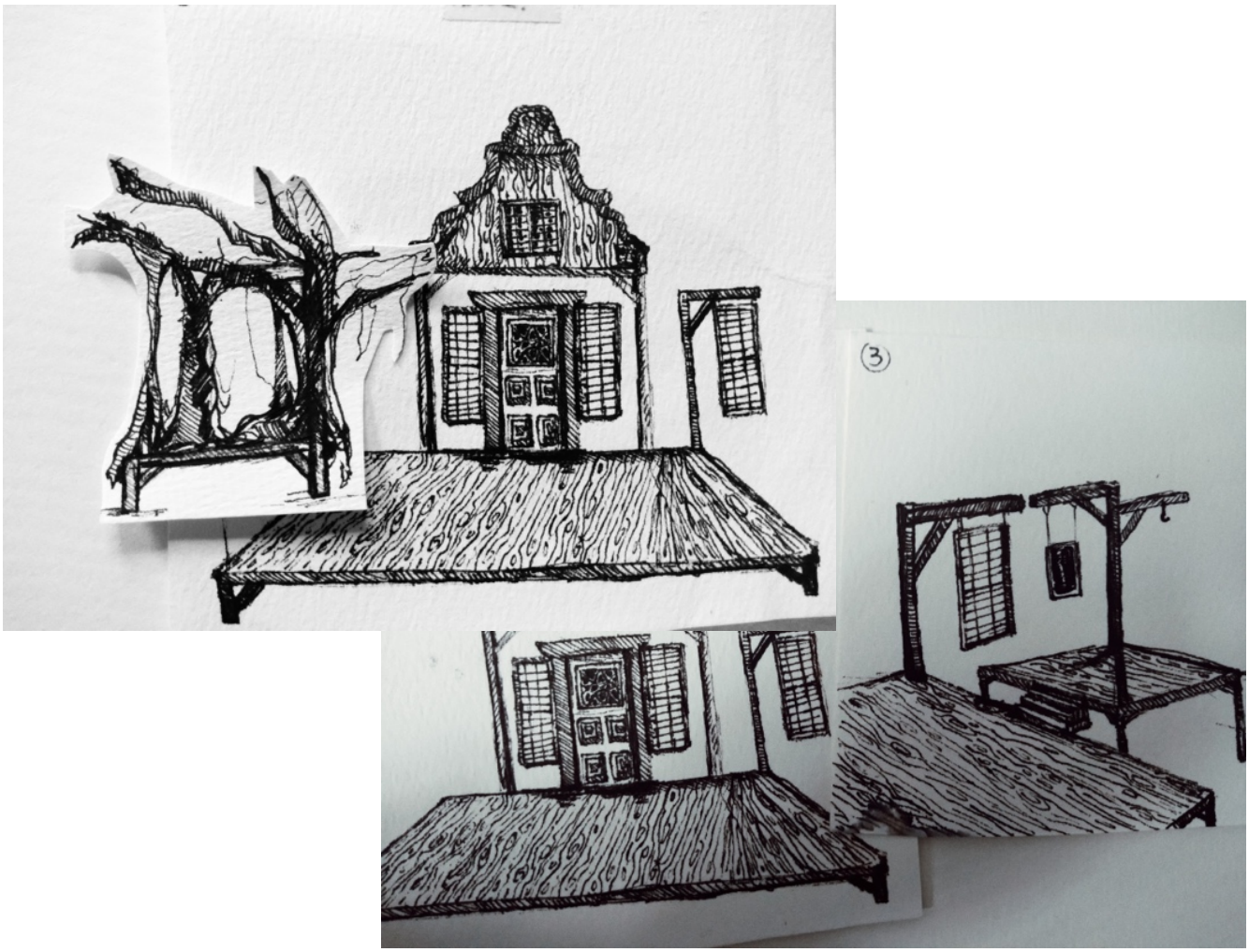
Klop. Klop.

GYSBREG: Die oordeelshamer.

Die lig doof uit. Gysbreg verdwyn in 'n poel van swart skaduwee.

Klop. Klop. Klop.

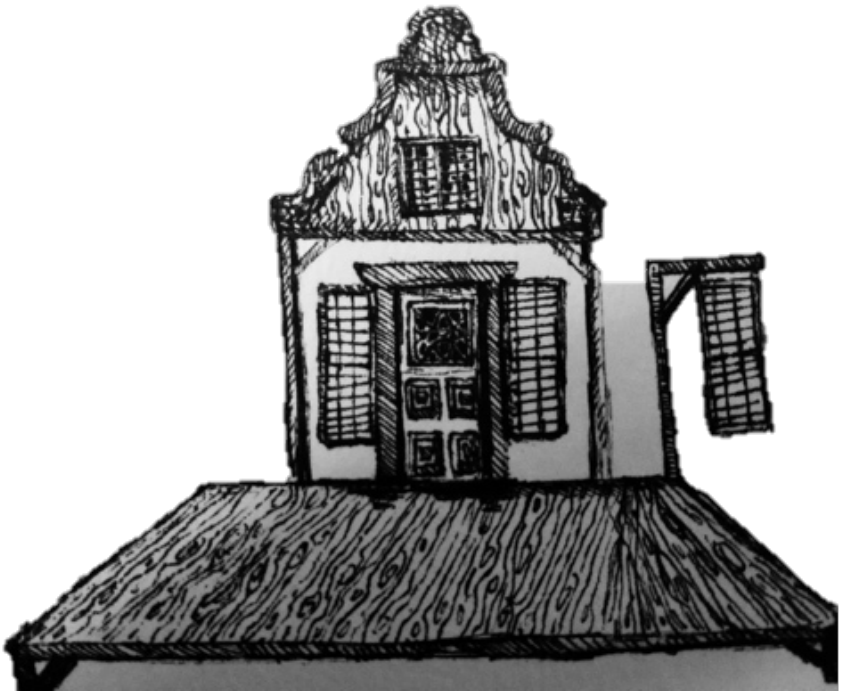
Die wind huil. 'n Brander breek. Die stel draai om.



TONEEL EEN

Die toneel is binne Pieter se ou Kaaps-Hollandse huis. Die voorvertrek is 'n vervalle ruim sitkamer, versadig versier met 'n versameling van reisigersvoorwerpe. Op die houtvloer is 'n donkergekleurde Persiese tapyt. 'n Stinkhouttafel staan in die hoek bedek met ou boeke, kaarte en briewe, asof iemand ou familie-argiewe uitgegrawe en uitgelê het. Pieter, 'n bejaarde man met 'n puntige, iesegrimmige gesig, plaas hout in die mond van 'n asgeskroeide kaggel; voer en stook 'n vuur. Op die kaggel se mantel is 'n speelgoedskuit, rof uit hout gekerf. Sentraal in die kamer is 'n twee stoele in afwagting teenoor mekaar geplaas. Die een is sierlik ontwerp en die tweede een nederig in sy eenvoud. In die volgende vetrek staan slegs 'n wastafel. Op die wastafel is 'n lampetbeker en 'n wasskottel. Bo die wastafel hang 'n spieël vanaf 'n houtbalk.

Klop.



PIETER: Is dit al weer die uur van geregtigheid? Wat geskondig was word vandag hier vergeld vir lang gedane onreg en verraad.

Klop.

Ek voel die aanbreek... die pyn… hier vanuit my linkerskouer steek en kruip tot na my linkerhand. Al die jare doof vir vermaning en nou hierdie blinde pyn van verdwyning. Ek, wat met vernedering terugkyk na my bloedlyn wat strek van Karel die Grote en nog verder terug. 'n Vloek my erfstuk, my vader en syne.

Klop.

Wat moet geskied sal vanaad geskied.

Klop.

PIETER: (maak die voordeur oop en gaan sit op die dekoratiewe stoel) Soos ‘n vreemde tydsongeluk is ons verdoem om dieselfde toneel oor en oor uit te speel. Nes jy vantevore my pa en syne kom besoek het, besoek jy vanaand dan ook vir my. Altyd gierig vir vergelding, Martha. Hier op Goewerneur Van Noodt se stoel sit ek gereed vir oordeel voor die regshof van geskiedenis.

KAMI: Ek is nie Martha nie, Van Noodt.

PIETER: (verstom) Wie is jy dan?

KAMI: Die toneel sal aanhou herhaal tot jy en joune teruggee wat van my en ons gesteel was. Jy sê jy sit gereed vir jou oordeel. Ek staan vanaand gereed om die oordeel uit te spreek. Ek noem jou huigelaar, leuenaar en kolonialis. Van Noodt jy is ’n dief.

PIETER: Ek is nie Van Noodt nie, nog geen dief nie.

KAMI: Gee dan terug wat aan my en ons behoort Van Noodt.

PIETER: Ek is nie Van Noodt nie.

KAMI: Jy is gedoop met die naam.

PIETER: Waarom grawe jy die verlede op en kom lê dit hier by my voete neer? Ek is nie meer die dief, nog huigelaar, nog eerbreker, nog kolonialis in jou verhaal nie…net die suur herinnering aan een…die spieëbeeld van ‘n tiran. Ek is net ‘n man met ‘n vervuilde vervloekde naam. Ek is nie Van Noodt nie, nes jy verklaar het dat jy nie Martha is nie.

KAMI: Bloed onthou.

PIETER: Tap my dan leeg. Ek is moeg om te onthou.

KAMI: So lank ek lewe hou…so lank sal ek die wat herinner moet word herinner van wat ek en myne veloor het. Ek sal aanhou om die verlede op te roep om te kom klop aan jou deur totdat die verlede vrede vind…Dit is my plig…

PIETER: Plig? Daar waar die skepe oor die bare gegly het, was mans aangehits deur plig om te reis na vir wat vir hulle vreemde donker lande was, om rykdom te oes. Plig laat jou nie teen ’n tiran-koning, ’n gierige kompanjie of nationalistiese staat skondig nie. Plig verander onskuld in soldate. Hier sit ek met die nagevolge van my voorvaders, so ook my eie diensplig. Plig gaan nog ons amal sien hang.

KAMI: Ek hang al reeds. Van Noodt en die hand wat die oordeelsbrief geskryf het was wit. Die hand van die tronkbewaarder was wit en die hand wat die strop om my nek gesit het was wit.

PIETER: (kyk af) Plig maak jou blind. Dit gee jou toestemming om te vermoor.

KAMI: So ook toestemming vir wraak**.**

PIETER: Wraak vedubbel deur die jare.

KAMI: Dan weet jy mos.

PIETER: Dan weet ek wat?

KAMI: Wie ek is.

PIETER: En wie is jy?

KAMI: Jou weervergelding.

PIETER: Is dit hoekom jy, die naamlose een, my kom besoek het vanaand, met wraaksug jou bestemming?

KAMI: Ek is nie naamloos nie.

PIETER: My Wederkoms, gee vir my ‘n naam dat ek jou op jou naam kan noem.

KAMI: Kami.

PIETER: (herken die naam) ‘n Vergete naam.

KAMI: Nou nie meer nie. So gekies en aan my gegee deur my ma Martha en hare. ‘n Antieke naam wat tak uit die adellike bloed van Prinses Kamalat Syah.

PIETER: ‘n Kosbare geskenk van jou ma. Daar is vanaand ‘n Oosterse prinses in my Kaasps-Hollandse huis.

KAMI: Moet nie vergeet dat die hande wat jou huis gebou het bruin was nie.

PIETER: Arme kind, name uit die verlede kan swaar sleep in die hede.

KAMI: Met trots dra ek my erfstuk Van Noodt. Ek het 'n belofte aan my ma Martha gemaak. 'n Eed aan die groot Iskanders lomm'ryk familieboom. Dit is my eer om vir die wat in die verlede getroop was van taal en wil, om met taal my eie wil uit te oefen. Ek sê weer ek dra met trots my erfstuk. Ek dra met trots my naam.

PIETER: As kind het my pa vir my stories vertel van Kamalat Syah Prinses, ranee, afstammeling van die vorste Van Atjeh se trotse ryk, vervalle Martha van Markspleinhoek van die oue Kaapkolonie, verwyt as 'n heks en ontongvrou…

KAMI: My ma het stories vertel van 'n wrede Duisman, gierig gulsig na gesag. 'n Goewerneur aan die Kaapkolonie in die jaar 1782. En my voormoeder Kami, die eerte gedoop met die Westerse naam Martha, was 'n slagoffer van sy vraatsug. Maar ten spyte van haar Oosterse verlies, haar ontworteling uit Indonesië, het sy met haar famliedolk, die Indoniesiese kris, soos 'n tier die Kasteel de Goeie Hoop ingevaar om jou voorvader te daag voor die regstoel vir sy sondes. Op die uur van geregtigheid het Van Noodt Martha se wraak ontval en onverwags gesterf.

PIETER: Die ontongvrou het die wrede heersers, sy nalating en die naam Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt gevloek tot in ewigheid.

KAMI: Sy verdiende loon.

PIETER: Vanaf die laaste aand, word ons almal - pa en seun - keer op keer deur Martha en haar nalatenskap besoek en herbesoek.

KAMI: Waar ookal hy loop, waar ook in heerskappy en trots hy troon, waar ook in smart en teenspoed hy die smart wat hy gekerf het onthou, daar sal ek wees.

PIETER: Hier is ons nou, Kami. Vasgevang in die tronk van ewigheid soos voorspel deur skrywers vanuit 'n ander tyd. Jy die tronkbewaarder. Ek die boef. Reeds gearresteer en reeds deur die regter gevra hoe pleit ek oor die sondes van my gesag…

KAMI: (Kami gaan sit op die stoel duskant Pieter) En hoe pleit jy?

PIETER: Skuldig. As sondebok wat amok gemaak het, wat amok gedink het, het ek in die biegkamer al my kru dade gedeel en ontleed. Ek het herken en erken. Die soldaat se jas hang in die waskamer, kos vir die motte. Ek het probeer hervorm deur tyd, maar tyd het my in 'n monster gevorm en monsters hoort altyd oorwin te word. En nou hier vanaand sit ek weer in die aanklagstoel in jou oorwinningsverhaal.

KAMI: En hoe pleit jy?

PIETER: Hang af.

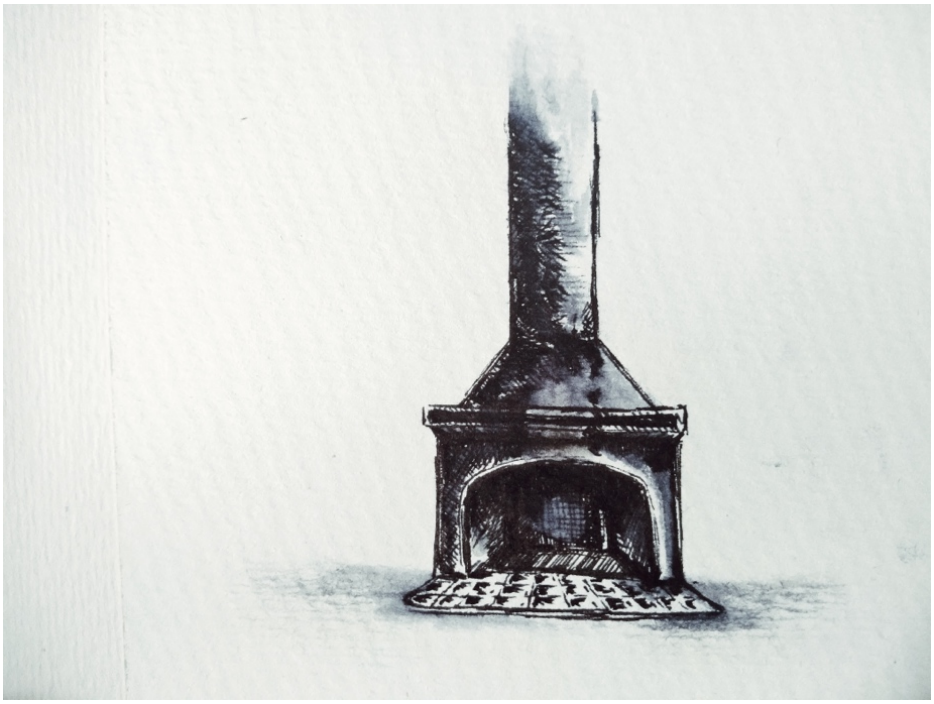
KAMI: Van?

PIETER: Waarvan word ek op hierdie uur beskuldig?

KAMI: Jy is blind.

PIETER: My oë sien alles

Kami: Wat sien jou oë?



PIETER: (Hy kyk na die kaggel en hoe die hout tot as vergruis in die warm gloed van die vlamme) Ek sien hoe hout tot as verkrummel. Ek sien die man wat grawe, gekniel asof in hy in gebed stoei met die land se grond. Ek sien die velore seun. Ek sien die soldaat by die voordeur wat staan en wag om te klop, soos hy altyd kom klop as die skemer Kaapstad kom besoek. En daar in die hoek van die sitkamer, sien ek my toekoms. (Pieter kyk op na Kami) Ek sien ook vir Kami. Sy staan voor my. Ek sien hoe sy huil. Sy is troosteloos. Ek is moeg om te kyk. Ek is moeg om te te sien.

KAMI: Moet ek jou jammer kry Duisman?

PIETER: Miskien.

KAMI: En tog…

PIETER: Ja?

KAMI: Tog, sê ek jy is blind. Jy versier jou huis met antieke trofees van die Ooste. Tog sê jy jy wil die geskiedenis vergeet. Jy weerspreek jouself, Duisman. Jou huis is dan gedek met nostalgiese voorwerpe en dit is juis iets nostalgies wat ek kom haal.

PIETER: Wat kom jy haal?

KAMI: n Voorwerp, verplaas vanuit iemand anders se verhaal.

PIETER: Ek is geen dief nie.

KAMI: Die bewaarder van gesteelde goedere is net so goed die dief self. Gierig soos die draak *Feriem* sit jy hier in jou paleis van goud gevul met gesteelde skatte van jou en joune se reise. Jy trap op wat meer werd as goud is. Jy trap op my trots.

PIETER: Wat moet ek vir jou teruggee?

KAMI: Waar is my erfstuk? Waar is my familiekris?

PIETER: Voel jy dit ook? Lachesis se garing loop klaar. Ek is na aan die einde en wat vanaand moet geskied sal geskied. Kan ons vanaand terugkeer in tyd om wat ons hier in die hede so pynlik voel te salf?

KAMI: Die tapyt is klaar geweef.

PIETER: As jy is wie jy sê jy is Kami, dan is daar ook iets wat jy vir my kan teruggee.

KAMI: My hande is leeg**.**

PIETER: En my hande (kyk af na sy handpalms) is gevloek. Kami, afstammeling van die ontongvrou wat jare terug my familie op Jakartastrand getoor het. As hierdie gevloekte hande sou teruggee wat aan jou en joune behoort, jou erfstuk, jou familiekris, sal hierdie hande nie meer gevloek wees nie?

KAMI: Jou sondes kan nie afgewas word nie.

PIETER: En as ek hierdie twee hande sou toevou (vou hande toe), nie om te bid nie om te smeek?

KAMI: Daarvoor is tyd verby.

PIETER: Ons is dieselfde, Kami. Ek en jy.

KAMI: Ons is nie dieselfde nie.

PIETER: Nes ek gevloek is met die sondes van my voorvaders is, is jy gevloek om daardie sondes te straf. Vertel my Kami, voel jy ook soms hoe jou voorvaders se verwagting, jou verstrengel en versmoor?

Die stilte word onverwags onderbreek deur iemand wat klop aan die voordeur.

Klop. Klop.

Daar waar skrywers sit en tonele spin, en herhalend patrone weef, laat ons nou vanaand ons verhaal se patroon onderbreek. Laat alles in die spel ontrafel.

KAMI: Ek glo nie in *Qadar* nie. Ons het mag oor ons eie gedrag.

PIETER: Weerspreek dan Martha se woorde, keer die vloek wat reeds hier vanuit my bors begin groei het. Keer die vloek voor ek nes my pa en syne tot dryfhout versteen; tot flenters breek en die see my graf word.

Klop. Klop.

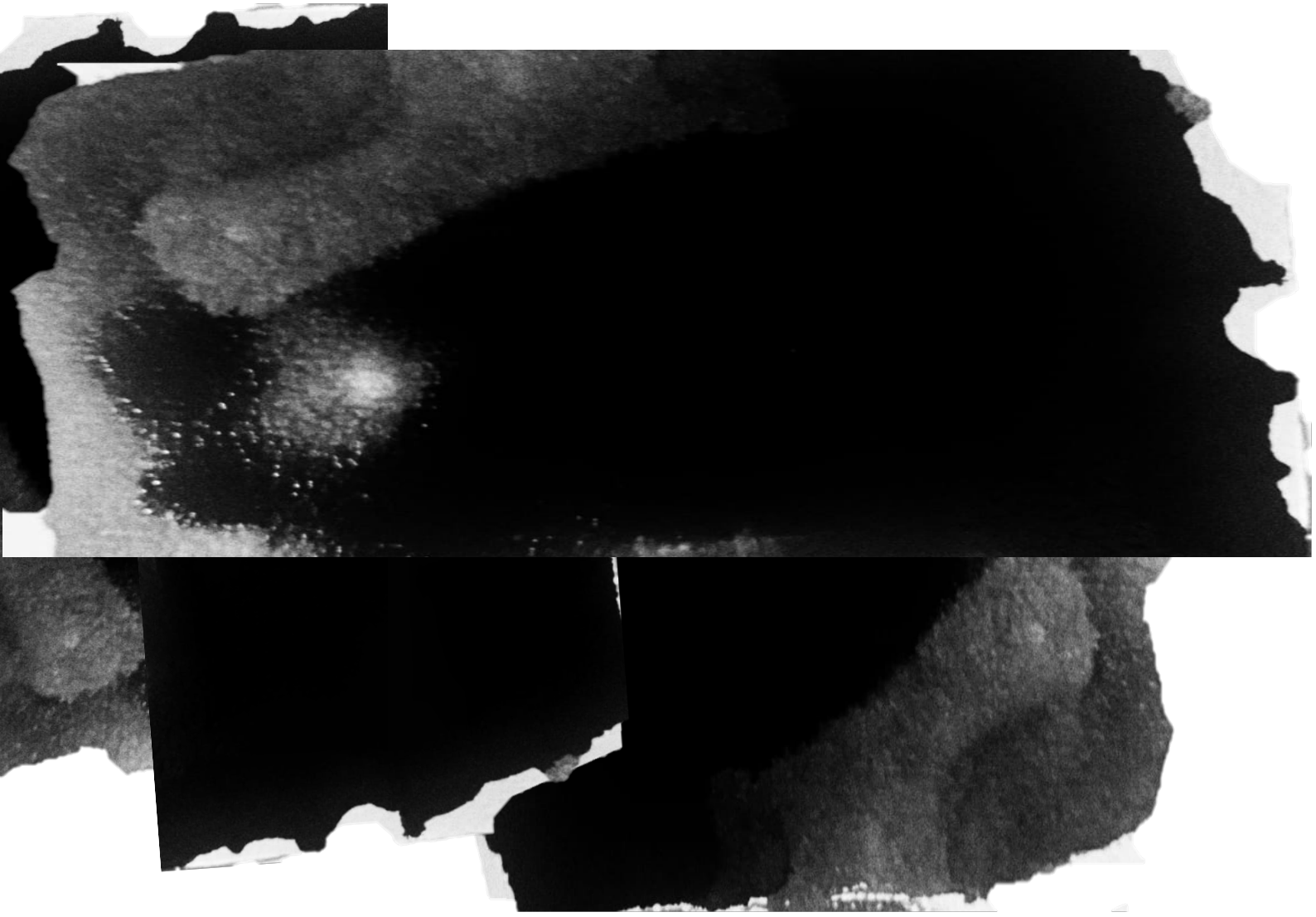
Kami staar deur die kantvenster, asof betowerd na die agtertuin.

KAMI: Wat probeer hy begrawe?

Haar oë is gerig na die stil, leë teenwoordigheid van niemand in die mik van die boom.

KAMI: Die man. Daar in jou agtertuin.

Die wind huil. Die skemer verkleur blou. Die aand het aangebreek.



TONEEL TWEE

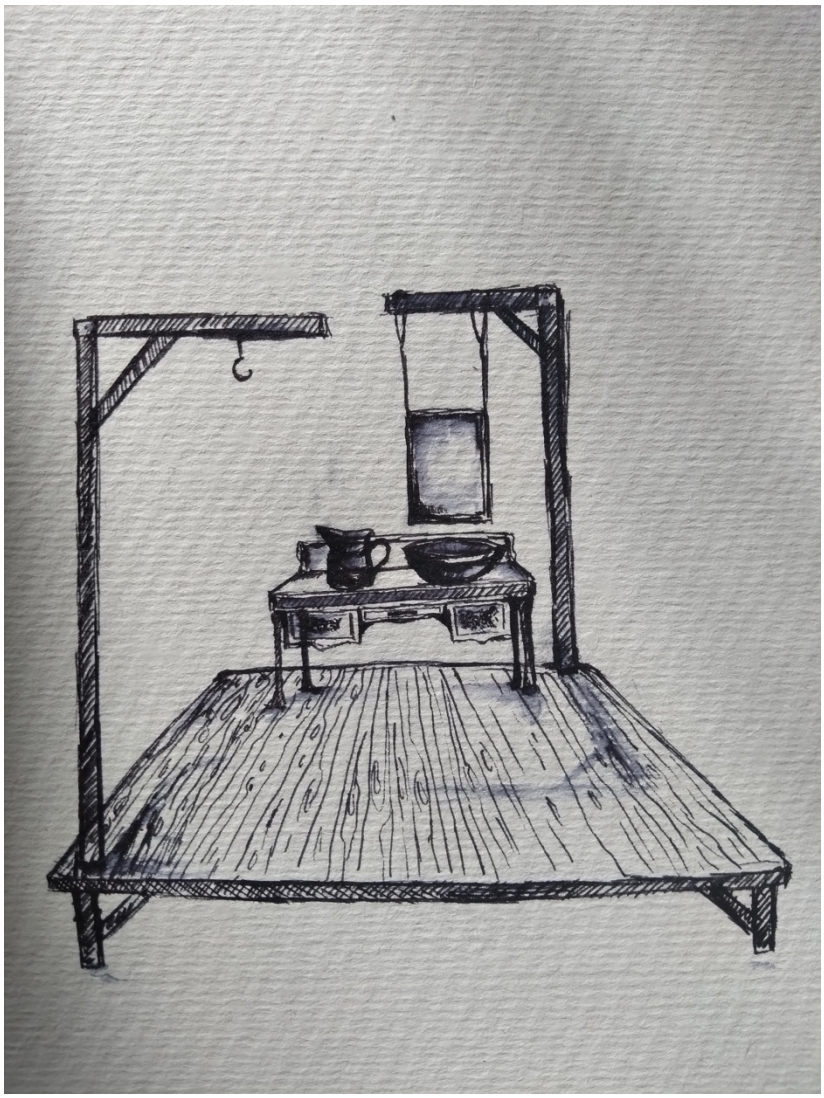
Die vensterrame strek hulle donker sakduwees op die houtvloere van die sitkamer, terwyl die maanlig indoof. 'n Flou vlam klou aan die laaste brandhout. Pieter stap na die kaggel.

PIETER: Ek het al lankal besef.

KAMI: (stil)

PIETER: Dinge vergaan nie net tot niks nie. (Hy haal die houtskuit af van die mantel) Stof tot oorskot en as tot erfstuk.

Die huis oorval met ongemak. Kami word wasbleek. Verskrik, staar sy na die waskamer.



PIETER: Moet nie bang wees nie. Ek sien hulle ook.

KAMI: Wie?

Stadig, asof 'n herinnering ontwaak vanuit 'n diep slaap, doof daar lig op die waskamer in. 'n Balk gooi 'n skaduwee teen die agtergrond en die silhoeët van 'n galg raam die toneel. Voor die spieël,

met sy rug gedraai na die gehoor, staan die velore seun by die wastafel en kyk na sy weerkaatsing in die spieël. In sy hand hou hy steeds die houtskuit.

PIETER: Die oorblyfsels. Die verlede dra baie gesigte. Ek herken my gelaatstrekke in elkeen. Ek sien my gesig in skepe, 'n galg, grond en in die klank van 'n geweer.

Onder die skaduwee van die galg neem die velore seun die lampetbeker en skink water in die wasskottel. Versigting, balanseer en laat dryf hy die skuit op die water. Terwyl die seun die skuit in die water plaas, sit Pieter versigtg die skuit in sy hand terug op die mantel.

PIETER EN DIE VELORE SEUN: (tesame) Ek moet my gesig was.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Onskuldig-

Die seun vorm sy hande in 'n bak. Hy skep water vanuit die skottel en spoel sy gesig af.

PIETER: Skuldig is die seun gebore en gedoop met gister se sondes. Sy taal word geplant op sy tong. Plig word op sy bors ingesalf. Hy word ingegrens. Heiligheid is blykbaar die kleur van khaki. Geseënd is hierdie seun.

Die seun was herhaaldelik sy gesig. Teen die einde strek hy sy arms voor hom uit, asof hy iets vashou. Hy rig 'n denkbeeldige geweer teen sy spieëlbeeld.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Eers blik.

Pieter slaan sy vuis neer op die stinkhouttafel.
Kap.

VELORE SEUN: Dan bok.

Pieter slaan nog 'n keer teen die tafel.

Kap.

VELORE SEUN: En toe…

Twee harde kapklanke weergalm deur die vertek.

Klop. Klop.

Daar is iemand by die voordeur. Die ligte versag in die waskamer waar die velore seun bly staan asof tyd hom ingesluit het.

KAMI: Wie klop aan jou deur Duisman?

Pieter staan in geduldige afwagting by die voordeur. Hy kyk hoe die deur oopstoot. Die kosyn raam die silhoeët van 'n soldaat. Die soldaat tree die toneel binne, onbewus van Pieter en Kami. Hy is geklee in 1980s *army browns*.

PIETER: Hy verwyt sy jas. Hy trap oranje stof in die huis in.

Kami kyk verskrik hoe die soldaat verby haar stap, blind vir haar teenwoordigheid, na waskamer en hang sy jas op die hak van die voorste balk. Hy spoel sy gesig af by die wastafel. Sy uitvoerings word waargeneem deur die velore seun. Pieter volg die soldaat terwyl hy terugkeer na die sitkamer. Die soldaat roep…soek na sy pa.

SOLDAAT, VELORE SEUN EN PIETER: (tesame) Pa, waar is Pa?

Die wind huil. Die laaste vlam in die kaggel smelt tot rook. Alles wat hout is kraak. Daar is 'n geskarrel. Die voorpunt van 'n groteske wrak-agtige stuk vlerk sleep swaar en verdwyn binne 'n skaduwee. Agter Kami se rug, verskuil in die donkerste hoek van die kamer, staan iets onheilspellend. Kami voel hoe die ondier in die hoek haar merk met sy oë. Skielik voel die vertrek moordklein.

Pieter: Moet nie omdraai nie, Kami. In die hoekies van ons witmanshuise is Pa's lankal nie meer mens nie. So ook in die hoek van die kamer, weggeskuil in die smart van die swart skaduwees is 'n pa lankal nie meer mens nie. Moet nie omdraai nie. Dis my skaamte. Moet nie na hom kyk nie.

Kami, staan soos 'n standbeeld gevries, te bang om te beweeg. Uit die hoek van haar oog sien sy hoe Pieter en die Soldaat omkeer en die donker hoek konfronteer.

SOLDAAT, PIETER EN DIE VELORE SEUN: Hierdie gesig moet gewas word Hierdie gesig is gevloek. Hierdie gesig is hout.

Die stilte skeur. Van uit die skaduwees kraak 'n stem. Kami en Pieter staan getuies van 'n oomblik uit die verlede wat homself uitspeel in die hede.

GYSBREG: Ruik jy dit Pieter?

SOLDAAT: Wat Pa?

GYSBREG: Die melatibloeisels.

PIETER: Nee Pa.

GYSBREG: Sy is op pad.

PIETER: Wie?

GYSBREG: Sy kom saam met die kanferwind van Jakarta.

SOLDAAT: Wie Pa?

GYSBREG: Die nare ontongvrou. Toordery. Sy kan dolos gooi en sy kan jou 'n knoop in die derm laat kry. Sy maak paljas uit die tjokkas wat die klonkies vir haar op Witsand vang. Sy is so oud soos die berg en slim. Sy kan jou tot hout toor as sy wil. En sy wou.

Agter die soldaat draai Kami om. Vaagweg sigbaar in die donker kyk sy vas in 'n gesig toegegroei met flenters hout.

GYSBREG: Moet nie omdraai nie. Sy is hier. Sy staan en kyk na my. Sy staan daar voor die kaggel.

SOLDAAT: Hoekom het sy gekom? Wat wil sy hê?

Die soldaat se laaste woorde ontbind asof die oomblik wegval. Net so mistig as wat hulle verkyn het, verwyn die seun, die soldaat en die gevloekde man tot niks. Lig doof in. Skielik staan Kami en Pieter in hulle teenwoordigheid se afwesigheid. Die kamer is stil. Kami kyk vas in die leemte van die hoek, die ruimte steeds ontroer deur die vorige oomblik se donker gebeure.

KAMI: Jy is man omring met *jinn.*

PIETER: Ek hoor hulle steeds. Kraak en trap, hang en was. Hierdie balke skree. Hierdie is 'n hangman se huis. Tussen vis en sand is bloed. In die nag droom ek van Roggebaai. Die plek waar ons vroeër ons sondes probeer hang en vergeet het. En nou hang my gewete my sondes in die aand op teen die balke van my huis sodat ek nooit sal vergeet nie. Jy het kom soek na jou vrede in 'n doolhof van 'n wit man se spoke. Jy is reg ek is man omring met *jinn.*

KAMI: *Balasa.* Jou huis is rusteloos. *Iblīs* dwaal hier rond.

PIETER: Laat my huis slaap. Ek is nie meer Goewerneur Van Noodt nie. Jy is ook nie meer die vervalle Oosterse prinses Martha nie. Vergeet van die verlede. Vergeet van plig, wraak en geregtigheid. Verlos jouself en so ook my, van die las en die gewig van geskiedenis. Voor dit soos die wind 'n wilgertak, my kan buig, my knak en breek tot bittere berou. Weerspreek die vloek.

KAMI: Jou karakter gaan getoets word.

PIETER: (stil)

KAMI: Jy vra vir die ontongvrou vir salf en genesing maar sy het geen toormiddel wat jou huidige worsteling kan sus nie.

PIETER: Waarom nie?

KAMI: Jy is gewond en jou wonde is diep, ongesalf en siek. Maar dit is nie hierdie hand of hierdie tong wat jou wonde veroorsaak het nie. Jy het jou wonde self in jou vel inkegerf. Jy het jouself gevloek met jou eie tong en met jou eie taal…Daar is net een ding wat ek vanaand vir jou kan teruggee.

PIETER: (lig sy kop in gierige afwagting)

KAMI: 'n Keuse. My hande is leeg. Wonde word gevorm deur dade en dit is ook dade wat dit kan genees. Kies vanaand, om sonder vergoeding, aan my my Ma se kris terug te gee. Smeer self salf aan die snye ingeprent op jou gevloekde hande. En met jou gevloekde hande oorhandig aan my, my vrede want my huis is ook rusteloos en my siel is ook gewond.

Pieter kniel by die kaggel. Hy stapel brandhout en stook weer 'n vuur.

PIETER: Hy begrawe nie iets nie.

KAMI: (stil)

PIETER: Die man in die agteruin. Hy begrawe nie iets nie.

KAMI: (stil)

PIETER: Hy is besig om iets op te grawe.

'n Java-rysvink begin te sing.

TONEEL DRIE

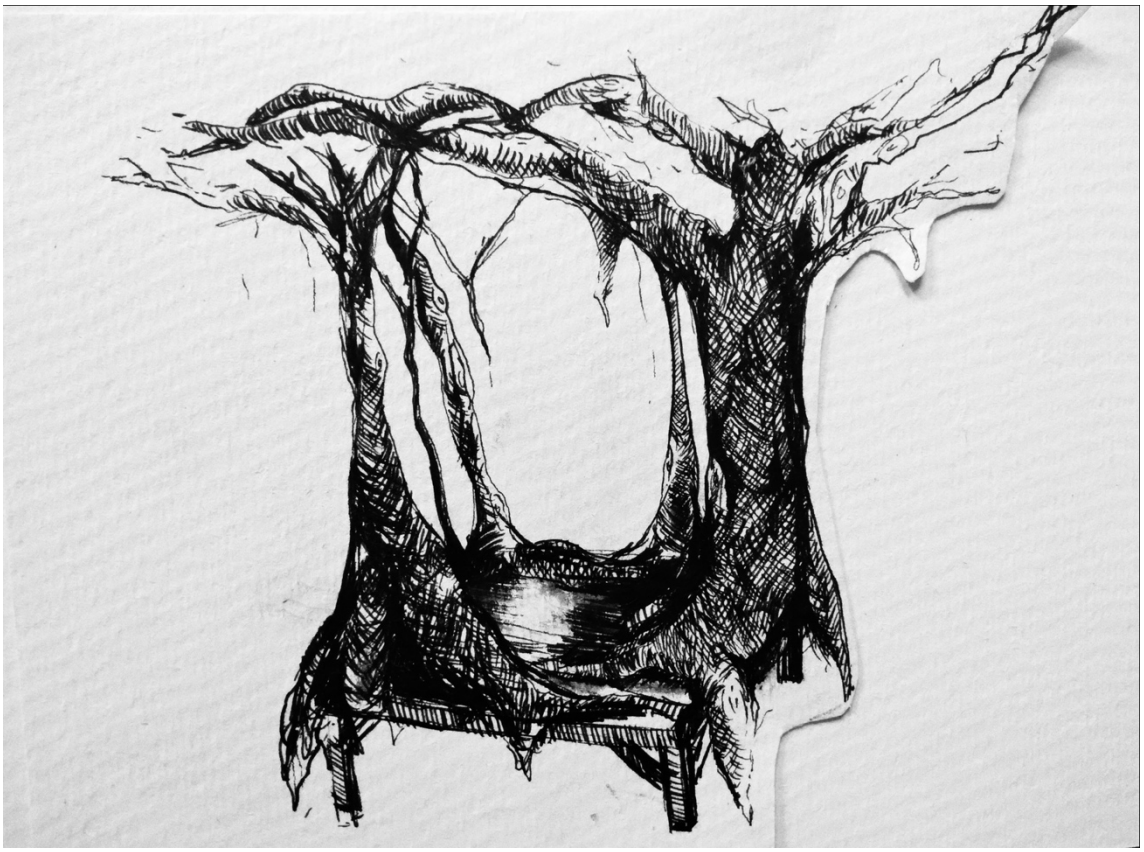
Die klank van die Java-rysvink se soet fluit sweef op 'n Oosterse wind en waai deur 'n oerwoud. Pieter verdwaal in 'n gedagte en gaan sit weer in sy stoel.

> **PIETER:** Daar waar verskuil in frisse môremis, gordyn-gesluier deur goud-bestraalde gloed, rys pragtig teen die môreson se prag, van Borgorsryk, die wolk-bekroonde berg met sewe spitse, Salak, waar hy spog en oor die oerwoud opkyk na die son en dwarsoor die padi-velde na die see en neersien op die land van Wehstenburg, oor die Soekaradja en oor geil vergroende groei van veld en wilde donkerpurper lomerpronk - 'n paradys. As kind het ek verdwaal in die tuine van Buitenzorg. My pa het altyd na iets gesoek. Die drang na die Ooste. Hy het altyd gesoek in die groen, soet waas van Oosterse mis. In hierdie mis het ek hom veloor.

Saam met Pieter se herroeping van sy herinnering, verskuif die toneel na Java. Daar verskyn 'n groen en mistige lig op die banyanboom. Gysbreg sit in die mik en grawe na iets toegegooi onder die grond.

> Daar waar die druipmos hang; verwarde toiing. Windgetorring en taai, staan in 'n rondomringde boord, 'n blaarontblote boom en op sy bas, ingeskrewe teen tyd, 'n teken van lang vergete liefde. By die voet van banyanboom, gekniel, was my pa koorsig besig om iets op te grawe uit die modder van Indonesië.

Die toneel onder die boom raak skielik stil. Gysbreg word omsluit, vasgekeer in tyd.



> **KAMI:** Die grond is verontrus. Hoekom? Wat het jou pa beroer?

> **PIETER:** Vrees oor verganklikheid.

KAMI: Julle steel landskappe met julle oë, neem dit gevange, sluit dit toe in hokke of hang dit op teen mure vir Westerse genot. Al loop jy rond in Oosterse tuine, sal jy nooit in intieme aanraking kom met die wesens wat daarin woon nie.

PIETER: Dit is die besef van die Ooste. Jy is reg. Oral om my hou ek die Ooste kluisenaar. En hier (vat aan sy bors) is een so 'n gevangene.

Kami kyk verstom na Pieter wat 'n kissie, gekerf uit kanferhout uit sy baaidjie se binnesak haal. Terselfdertyd ontdooi die toneel onder die boom en Gysbreg grawe 'n *peti* uit van onder die grond.

Daar (hou die kissie uit na Kami) vat terug wat aan jou behoort.

KAMI: 'n *Peti harta karun.*

Kami neem die kissie vanuit Pieter se hand.

PIETER: 'n Skatkis…

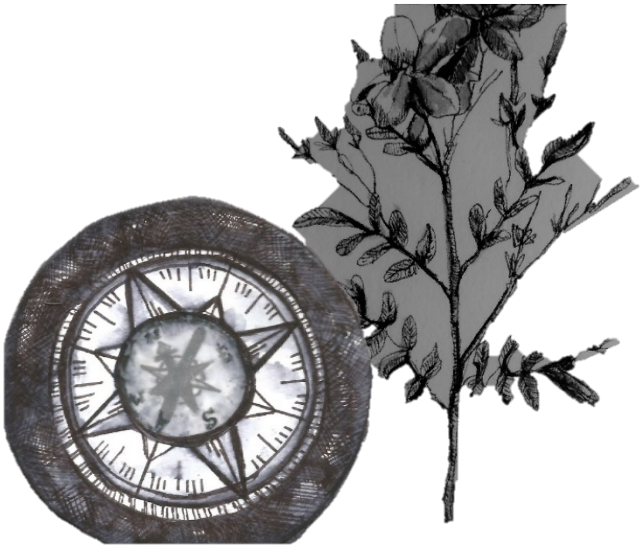
Kami maak die *peti* oop. Onder die boom weerspieël Gysbreg haar beweging en maak die *peti* in sy hande ook oop. Die lig doof stadig op Gysbreg onder die Bunyanboom uit. Die herinnering loop dood.

KAMI: (kyk verward op na Pieter) Waar is die kris?

PIETER: 'n Kompas en uitgedroogte jasmyn. Tyd besit 'n magiese krag om feite te verander in mite. So ook is die kris blootgestel aan daardie krag.

KAMI: (agterdogtig) Waar is my erfstuk?

PIETER: Die kris bestaan nie meer nie. Die kris is net tasbaar vir karakers in vehale. In hierdie skatkis is daar lankal nie meer goud nie. ‘n Stukkende kompas en uitgedroogte jasmyn. Dit is wat my pa opgegrawe het. En vanaand het jy kom grawe hier in my Duisman-huis, my skattepaleis. En al wat oorgebly het om herondek te word is ‘n rigtinglose kompas en uitgedroogte jasmyn, eens gepluk by Eberveldt se wit muur.



KAMI: Is dit al wat jy vir my kan teruggee? ‘n Bitter herinnering aan ‘n bitter tyd?

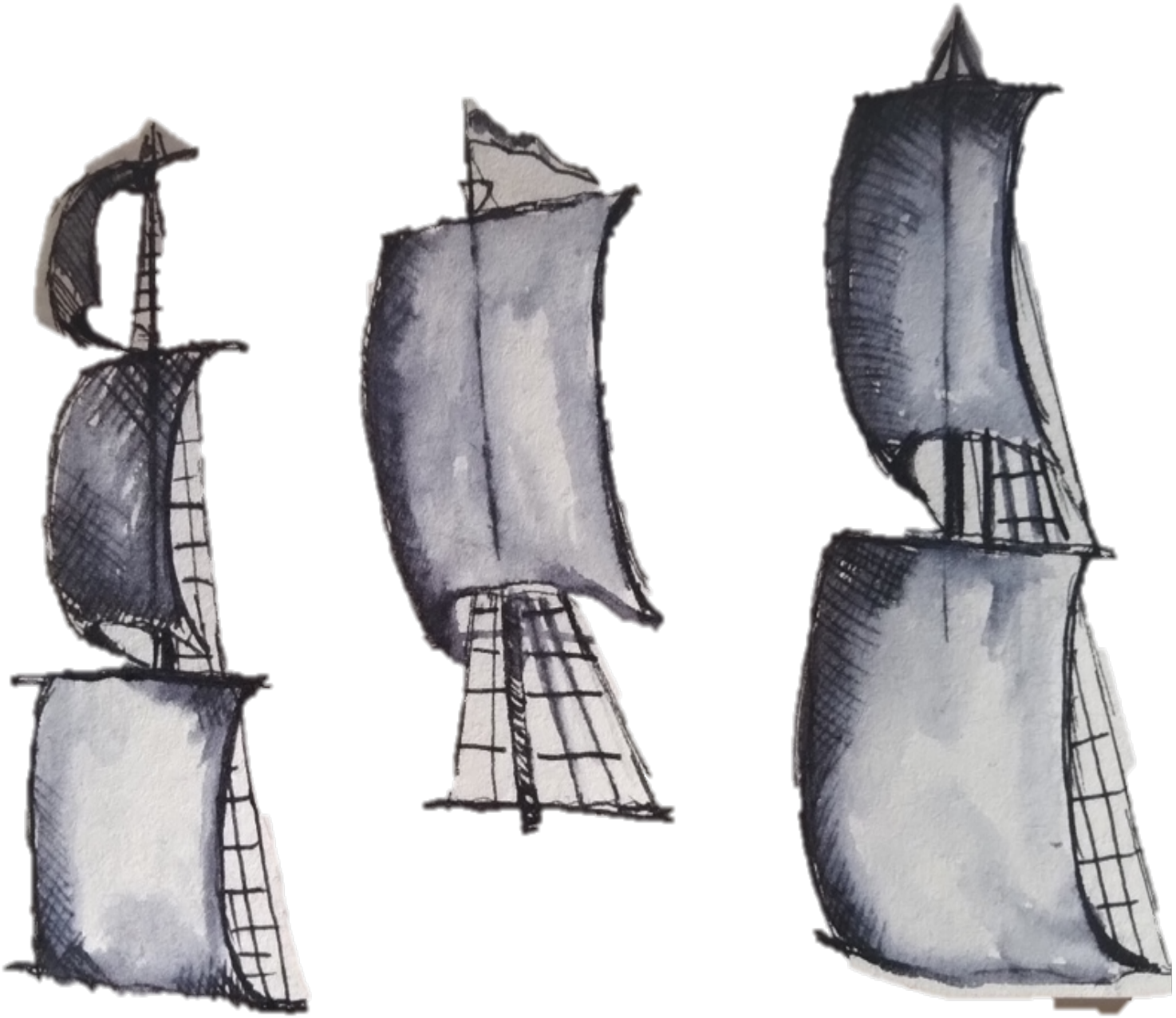
PIETER: Die Laaste Aand is besig om te gebeur, die vraag is, sal die oggend ooit aanbreek?

KAMI: Is dit die einde? Mens sal dit dan nooit terugkry soos dit was nie.

PIETER: Rou. Laat die rook dit vat na die hemel. Verbrand die herinnering in die vuur. Krummel die oorblyfsels tot as. Begrawe wat nooit opgegrawe moes word nie. Lê haar tot rus.

KAMI: Is dit al wat oorbly? Net maar trooslose smart waarteen my siel kan spartel soos ‘n kewer teen die lig, om soos ‘n kewer met verskroeide vlerke ellendig in ellende te beswyk (huiwer) Gee my krag. Dorre blare smelt tot rook en die see se blou tot skuim. Kan ellende ook dan soos mis voor die son verwyn? Ek bid dat die vlamme sal genees.

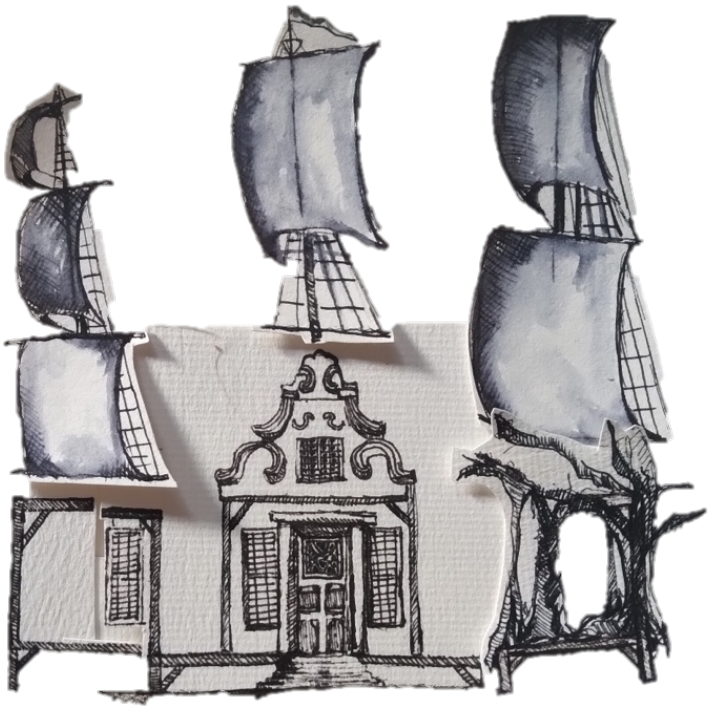
Kami plaas versigtig die *peti* in die mond van die kaggel. Pieter en Kami staan getuie terwyl die vlamme die kanferhout afbreek. Die lig doof uit en die stel draai om.



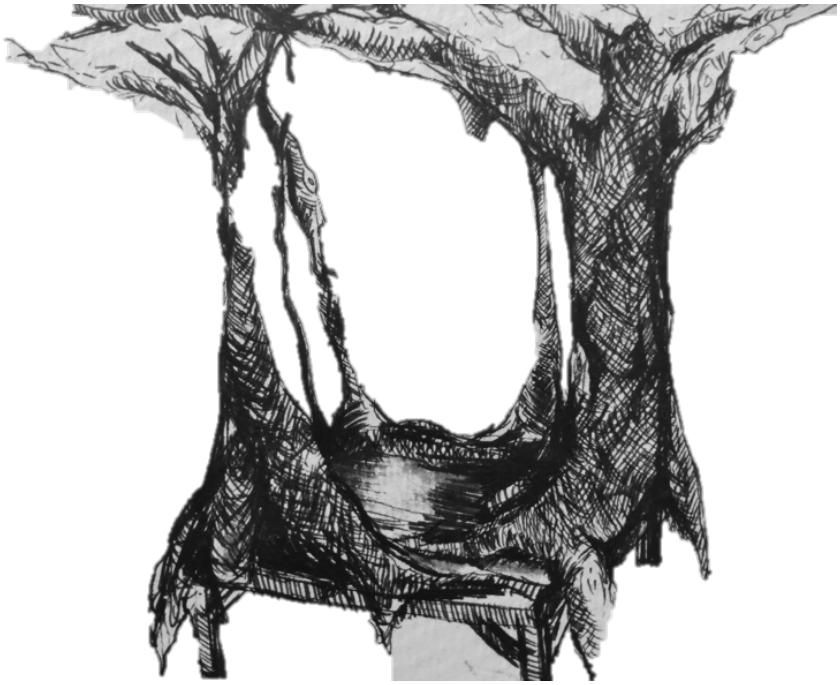
Tesame met die omkeer van die stel stap Kami na die voordeur van die huis. In die donker oorgang, bo die huis, sak daar drie balke af op die toneel. Groot gespan, vas aan die maste is spookwit seile.

TONEEL VIER

Die toneel is buite die Kaaps-Hollandse huis. Die nagwind waai droog en warm. Kami stap by die voorstoep se trappe af. Onder die blou maanlig draai Kami om en kyk terug na die huis wat skielik vertoon soos 'n seilskip. Binne die huis, geraam deur die stoep-venster staan 'n geesverskyning wasig en grys, 'n figuur opgetoor vanuit 'n ander tydperk. Die figuur is Goewerneur Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt.



'n Brander breek. Die lig doof uit op die huis. Kami hoor voetstappe agter haar rug. Sy draai om en sien hoe die velore seun verby haar hardloop. Sy volg hom agterna. Blou lig doof in op die banyanboom. In die mik van die boom, tussen die skaduwees van die kronkel-gegroeide takke verskyn die velore seun. In sy hand is die vervloë Oosterse kris. Met die skerp punt van die *wilah* kerf die velore seun sy naam in die bas van die Oosterse boom. Kami gewaar die oomblik. Die seun skrik vir Kami se onverwagte teenwoordigheid en steek die kris agter sy rug weg.



DIE VELORE SEUN: Dit is te laat.

KAMI: Hoekom?

DIE VELORE SEUN: Alles het reeds gebeur.

KAMI: Wat is in jou hand?

DIE VELORE SEUN: (stil)

Kami tree nader en vryf haar hand oor die letsels ingekrap op die boombas.

KAMI: Jy kerf diep wonde in die vel van die boom.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Ek wou maar net my merk maak en my naam inskrywe teen tyd.

KAMI: Wat steek jy weg?

DIE VELORE SEUN: Dis myne.

Die seun kyk verdag op na Kami. Hy onthul stadig die kris van agter sy rug.

KAMI: Waar het jy dit gekry?

'n Kapklank weergalm in die agtergrond.

Kap.

Die seun kyk na die voet van die boom en beduie met sy vinger na die grond.

KAMI: Waar is die kris nou?

Soos kloksag klink daar weer 'n kap-klank.

Kap.

Die seun strek weer sy hand vorentoe maar wys die keer in die rigting van die huis. Asof hy 'n geheim verklap, fluister hy die antwoord vir Kami.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Onder die houtplanke. Onder Van Noodt se stoel.

Tesame met die die slag van nog 'n kap, doof die toneel weg in donkerte. Oorval met die leemte na-gelos deur die besef van 'n leuen, keer Kami terug na die huis. Daar weergalm nog 'n kapklank in die agtergrond. Terwyl sy die voordeur oopmaak draai die stel stadig om, om weer eens die sitkamer te vertoon. Die ligte doof warm in op die vertrek. By die voordeur steek Kami vas. Sy staar in afsku voor haar uit.

TONEEL VYF

Voor die sagte oranje gloed van die vlamme in die kaggel, op van Noodt se stoel, sit 'n hout-agtige gedrog en kerf. Pieter is nie meer 'n mens nie. Vanuit Pieter se bors vertak wrakstukke hout. Die flenters hout spruit deur sy linkerskouer en versprei oor sy linkerarm, deur sy linkerhand af na die vloer, om 'n swaar wrak-agtige vlerk te vertoon. Die linkerkant van sy gesig is gruwelik bedek met splinters wat pynlik deur sy vel steek. In Pieter se regterhand is die velore Oosterse kris. Met die skerp punt van die *wilah* probeer Pieter die groei van die vloek afkerf. 'n Verskrikte Kami tree versigtig die toneel binne.

PIETER: (asof hy verdwaal het in tyd) Ruik jy dit?

KAMI: Die smart is gekerf tot in jou siel.

PIETER: Die melatibloeisels. Die dood ruik soos Jasmyn.

KAMI: Die verlede is nie dood nie. Die Laaste Aand het nog nie aangebreek nie. Gee terug wat aan my behoort Van Noodt.

Pieter loop vermoeid na die kaggel. Die wrak-agtige vlerk kraak saam met elkeen van Pieter se bewegings.

PIETER: Dit is te laat. Alles het reeds gebeur.

Kami gryp - strek haar hande uit terwyl Pieter die kris in die geel vlamme van die kaggel gooi. Pieter sleep die monstervlerk agterna. Hy gaan skuil in die swart skaduwee van die hoek. Hy is onbewus van Kami wat pynlik afkyk na die rou brandwonde ingeskroei op haar handpalms.

KAMI: Jy beskuldig my daarvan dat ek die verlede opgrawe en hier by jou voete kom neerlê. As regter. As jou wederkoms. As jou gewete sê ek jy is skuldig omdat jy die verlede aanhou begrawe. 'n Voordoodse begrafnis. Julle amal staan doof om die graf maar ek hoor haar skree. Die lyk in die kis is nog wakker en ek hoor haar skree.

Weerloos teen die vlamme sit 'n onbehople Kami troosteloos by die mond van die kaggel. Geleidelik word die klank van die byl wat kap harder.

Kap. Kap. Kap.

Die skaduwee in die hoek van die sitkamer groei en strek totdat die sitkamer in geheel ingesluk is deur die donkerte.

.

EPILOOG

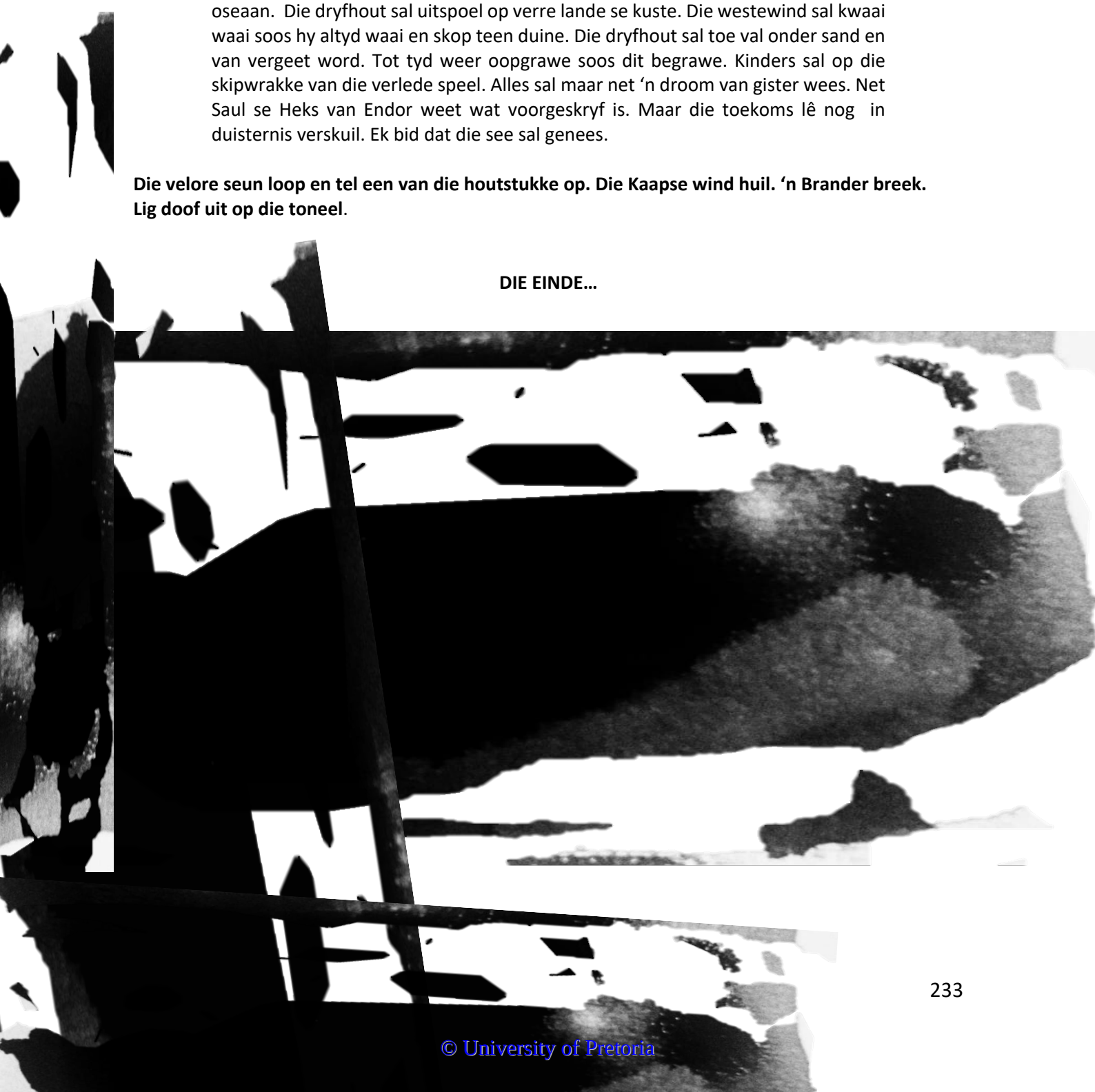
'n Agtergrond van 'n skadu-Tafelberg, belig deur pers oggendson. Kami staan by die verste punt van die kaai en kap brokke en stukke hout. Die klank van die byl wat teen die hout slaan weergalm deur die mistige lig van die oggend se stilte. Die koue seebranders slaan stadig asof vermoeid in skuimlose eentonigheid teen die die podiums van die dek. Daar dwaal 'n velore seun die toneel binne.

DIE VELORE SEUN: Hoekom kap jy, breek die houtstukke en voer die flenters vir die see?

KAMI: Dit is flenters van geweld. Dit was 'n uitheemse boom wat sy wortels te diep hier geplant het. Die see sal genees. Die hout sal dryf in die koue Atlantiese oseaan. Die dryfhout sal uitspoel op verre lande se kuste. Die westewind sal kwaai waai soos hy altyd waai en skop teen duine. Die dryfhout sal toe val onder sand en van vergeet word. Tot tyd weer oopgrawe soos dit begrawe. Kinders sal op die skipwrakke van die verlede speel. Alles sal maar net 'n droom van gister wees. Net Saul se Heks van Endor weet wat voorgeskryf is. Maar die toekoms lê nog in duisternis verskuil. Ek bid dat die see sal genees.

Die velore seun loop en tel een van die houtstukke op. Die Kaapse wind huil. 'n Brander breek. Lig doof uit op die toneel.

DIE EINDE…



CHAPTER 6: *DRYFHOUT* (2021), A HAUNTOLOGICAL, POSTCOLONIAL ALLEGORY

In the following chapter I discuss my adaptation process - reimagining C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) - by using magic realism to create the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021). I begin by investigating the realist elements of the adapted playtext. I provide a brief plot summary and focus on the two main characters (Kami and Pieter) with regards to their intentions that are guided by realist principles, such as scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 305), psychological turmoil (Steyn 2004:144) and feeling trapped by social and political circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58). I describe how the conflicts in *Dryfhout* (2021) unfold during the duration of 'one evening' but that linearity is disrupted by the presence of ghostly characters. I then turn my attention to the magic elements in the playtext. As previously discussed in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), there are numerous magical and fairy tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), such as the utterance of a curse, a mythological dagger and fairy tale archetypes such as an ostracised witch, a rebellions knight and a tyrannical king. Drawing from these magical intertextual references, in *Dryfhout* (2021) I rupture the border that separates the magic from the real, and create a playtext where magic and reality coexist in a hybrid space.

Informed by the possibility for transfiguration implied by the utterance of a curse, I discuss how I use metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification to actualise specific magical elements, such as the fragmented, wooden, winged monster. I continue to describe how specific descriptions and locations in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) influence the set design. I explain how I recycle objects from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) that can ultimately be interpreted as mementos of the colonial past and of the prior source text. Throughout this chapter, I continuously unpack how *Dryfhout* (2021) can be considered a hauntological postcolonial allegory and how the concepts of personification, recycling, metamorphosis and breaking the rules of linear time coincide with Jacques Derrida's concepts of the presence of absence (Zlomislić 2007: 36). I conclude that the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021), as an adaptation and as a collage of recycled mementos and transfigured imagery, can be considered a product that is in itself hauntological. *Dryfhout* (2021) is haunted by the presence of absence of the prior text *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

In Chapter 1, I explained that I use a practice-lead approach to the adaptation process. I locate this study in a "messy space" that allows me to interweave creativity and intuition to offer multiple and new ways of seeing (Cook 2014: 7). Throughout the thesis I continuously insert ink sketches alongside theoretical discussions, historical accounts and the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Imagining a visual representation or envisioning a scene, a character or a set design are often my initial

responses when engaging with a text and theatre making. The ink sketches are my intuitive and creative imaginings, they are visual renderings of the concepts discussed in the dissertation. In Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), the ink sketches were particularly informed by Leipoldt's characteristically poetic and descriptive writing style (Oppelt 2013: 116). Through the process of adaptation, 'new' images were continuously conjured, specifically when I started engaging with the transformative characteristics of magic realism. In this chapter I will refer to specific images and how they were informed by C. L. Leipoldt's text as well as personifications of postcolonial theory.

6.1 Realism in *Dryfhout* (2021)

The playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) is mostly influenced by the last act of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) where Martha confronts Governor Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt (Leipoldt 1930: 52). The events in *Dryfhout* (2021) predominantly unfold over the course of 'one evening', inspired by the title of Leipoldt's play: *Die laaste aand*/The last evening. In my adaptation I decided to centre the narrative on a young Cape Malay woman Kami (a descendent of Martha) who confronts Pieter Van Noodt (a descendent of Governor Gysbreg van Noodt) in search of a displaced family heirloom, the fabled Indonesian kris.

Realist theatre often occurs in one location, frequently in a specific character's house (Fernandes 2007: 44). Pieter is an elderly man living in an old colonial *Kaaps-Hollandse* (Cape Dutch style) family house that is the predominant location of the characters' interactions. The set design of *Dryfhout* (2021) can be described as a fragmented realist box set.

Pieter's house is filled with antiques and objects from bygone eras, colonial treasures and heirlooms, considered by him his inherited property. Pieter's character is plagued by memories and tormented by past afflictions. The interaction of Kami and Pieter can be framed by realist conceptions of scientific determinism, whereby the events are driven by a strong sense of cause and effect (Kuritz 1998: 305). The primary focus is placed on the interior lives of the characters, their motives, intentions interactions and reactions. The drama unfolds intensely within the context of a seemingly mundane moment (Steyn 2004: 144-147).). In my view, the plot in *Dryfhout* (2021) mainly focuses on the characters' inner lives; their psychological suffering regarding issues of guilt and justice, their motives in either uncovering or burying the past and their intentions all unfolding in the drama of Kami's and Pieter's interactions and dialogue. Realist theatre often centres on a character's navigating feelings of being trapped by circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58, 59). Both Pieter and Kami feel trapped by the postcolonial and post-colonial circumstances. Realist theatre uncovers how circumstance, societal

pressures and economic anxieties contribute to human behaviour (Kuritz 1998: 306, 307). Kami feels a need for restoration and uncovering - that which has been lost or stolen due to colonialism - an obligation to her ancestors, while Pieter feels trapped by his white Afrikaner identity and his awareness of the weight of the villainous history of his identity. He opts to try and move beyond the past, in a sense burying or supressing it.

Even though the narrative in *Dryfhout* (2021) is informed by certain aspects of realist theatre conventions, the playtext ruptures the rules of reality. Although the narrative unfolds during the course of 'one evening'; the evening is disturbed and intruded upon by 'supernatural' occurrences. Linearity is continuously disrupted by the ghostly presence or vestiges from other eras.

6.2 Breaking the rules of linear time

Magic realism's conventions such as personification and the breaking of linear time facilitate the existence of ghosts within its narratives (Zamora & Farris 1995: 498). The narratives can often shift between the present and the past or present both at the same time (Chanady 1995: 14). As I demonstrated in Chapter 5: *Dryfhout* (2021), my playtext firstly abides by the rules of a realist text. The events of *Dryfhout* (2021) unfolds over the course of one evening. However, *Dryfhout* (2021) also presents ghostly characters that interrupt the present as 'visitors' from the past. There are scenes where the past and the present occur simultaneously. The ghostly characters in *Dryfhout* (2021) are spectres from different time periods in South African history, specifically referencing key moments of white Afrikaner history.

In the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) Pieter is haunted by different characters, memories and various visitors from his past. As Kami points out: *Jy is man omring met jinn* /you are a man surrounded by *jinn*. He lives in a house that is disturbed and restless. Firstly, the playtext engages with the eighteenth century, established as the height of Dutch imperial settlement in the Cape Colony. The adapted text specifically (re)engages with the year 1729, typified by Leipoldt in his play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) by including the Governor Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt.

Secondly, Pieter is tormented by the ghost of his father, Gysbreg. Pieter's remembrance of his father feverishly digging in the mud and dirt of Indonesia, is a memory that continuously intrudes his present. Gysbreg is presented as a man in 1950s clothes. I chose the 1950s as an intermediate time period locating Gysbreg as a man whose formative years were the 1930s and 1940s. In the playtext he is a manifestation of the era during which nationalism was the dominant ideology of white Afrikaners. Pieter is haunted by his nationalist father. Pieter's father (Gysbreg) has two forms: a ghostly man and

a tormented creature who lurks in the shadows of the Cape Dutch house. In *Dryfhout* (2021) Pieter tells Kami not to turn around and look at the cursed monster: *Moet nie omdraai nie. Dis my skaamte. Moet nie na hom kyk nie*/Don't turn around. He is the shame of my past. Don't look at him. Pieter is ashamed of his monstrous father and of his monstrous past, knowing that he himself is cursed and will soon also become transfigured into the same creature.

Memories of Pieter as a lost boy (a prodigal son) and as a young soldier returning from the Border war also dwell in Pieter's house. The little lost boy is 'born innocently…guilty' (*onskuldig…skuldig gebore*): already a vestige innocently perpetuating coloniality as a white Afrikaner. Symbolically personified and mimicked by the wooden ship he carries in hands he is a vessel for coloniality - born from a colonial contact zone, a son of a white nationalist father and ultimately becoming a soldier or servant for the National Party as a young man.

Figure 43: Image of wooden toy boat (Van der Merwe 2021).

Pieter is also haunted by a spectre of himself as a Border war soldier from the 1980s, returning home. This particular memory and visitation from the past performs a violent action against his own identity's sense of duty towards the National party. When he returns home, he hangs his army coat on the hook of the front beam in the washroom. As previously stated, the beams are designed to resemble the structure of a gallows. The soldier is hanging his nationalist past, hanging his duty towards his white Afrikanerdom - condemning his past.

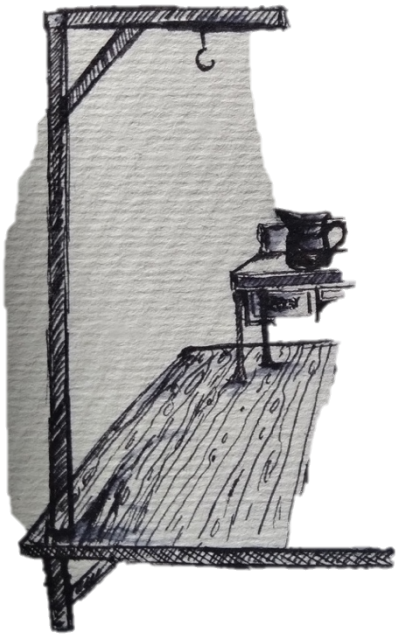


Figure 44: Image depicting the wooden beam in the washroom (Van der Merwe 2021).

The action of hanging or condemning his army coat and his identity, mirrors the accounts of the soldiers that where unjustly hanged for treason, both in the historical accounts and in the narrative *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). However, in *Dryfhout* (2021) it is not a father hanging his son, or a tyrant unjustly hanging those he views as a threat to his autonomy, it is a son who symbolically hangs himself. He recognises the injustice within him and tries to murder or kill the tainted aspect of his identity. This action of hanging his 1980s army jacket is meant to demonstrate a moment of internal conflict, revolt and rebellion against an aspect of white Afrikaner identity that is flawed and villainous-white Afrikaans nationalism. In this particular spectre, described as a rebellious soldier, the fairy tale archetype of the rebellious knight is also present.

The spectres of the prodigal son and the rebellious soldier that continuously infiltrate his house are aspects of Pieter's torn identity that demonstrate his inner turmoil. In act two of *Dryfhout* (2021) Pieter refers to these ghostly characters as *oorbyfsels*/residue, directly implying that the ghosts can be viewed as traces or that which is still present, that which has remained and that which is unresolved. The term *oorblyfsels* is meant to signify the haunted(ness), the residue that defines coloniality in a post-colonial present.

Hauntology centres on the idea that ghosts disrupt linear chronology and by implication, the notion of history (Derrida 1994: 4). As vestiges of the past, ghostly characters can be unpacked alongside Jacques Derrida's theory of hauntology that explicates the intrinsic and perpetual interweaving of the layers of history (Derrida 1994: 4). These ghostly characters, as allegorical vestiges, personify the bygone colonial times, the nationalist history, apartheid history, Border war history – all issues that are presently haunting and interwoven into contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial South African present, specifically the fabric that constitutes the contemporary white Afrikaner's identity. The plot of the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) breaks the rules of linear time, layers different moments in time and presents a narrative that conjures the past into the present. *Dryfhout* (2021) allegorically presents a post-colonial present that is tormented by the injustices of the past.

The play *Dryfhout (2021)* not only includes supernatural elements in the form of ghosts, but also the presence of a cursed, grotesque, wooden monster.

6.3 Actualising the 'magical' through metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification

Magic Realism's iconographic elements such as metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification (Chanady 1995: 14), assisted me to transform elements from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into the fantastical during the adaptation process. In the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) Martha utters a curse: *Ek vloek sy naam…My Gysbreg, wees gevloek, Tot in die ewigheid…ja wees verdoem/ I curse his name, until eternity…yes be cursed* (Leipoldt 1930: 38). A curse, as it is often encountered in fairy-tales, can affect its victim by instilling disfigurement and transfiguration (Gondwe 2008: 3-4). Similar to the principles of a 'curse', metamorphosis also functions as a form altering condition, instilled as punishment or reward, salvation or condemnation, memorial or psychological realization (Solodow 1988: 174). Martha curses Van Noodt to suffer, she curses him with eternal torment that can potentially manifest itself in a tangible transfigured, fantastic form. In *Dryfhout* (2021), Pieter suffers punishment through metamorphosis brought forth by a family curse. Notably, in *Dryfhout* (2021), Kami rejects the claims that Pieter's current turmoil is due to her family's past condemnation of Van Noodt and his lineage:

KAMI:
Jy is gewond en jou wonde is diep, ongesalf en siek. Maar dit is nie hierdie hand of hierdie tong wat jou wonde veroorsaak het nie. Jy het jou wonde self in jou vel inkegerf. Jy het jouself gevloek met jou eie tong en met jou eie taal…Daar is net een ding wat ek vanaand vir jou kan teruggee…'n keuse/

KAMI:
You are full of scars and your scars are deep, infected and sick. But it was not by this hand nor this tongue that your scars came to be. You carved your own

wounds into your own skin. You cursed yourself with your own language and with your own tongue…There is only one thing that I can offer you tonight…a choice.

Kami does not accept the role of the witch in Pieter's narrative. She declares him the master of his own destruction and the master of his own actions. Importantly Pieter's character is presented with a choice in the playtext, emphasising that it is his own actions that define him. The current haunted(ness) experienced by the contemporary white Afrikaner is not due to mythic curses, it is due to past afflictions that white Afrikaners had autonomy over and when presented with choices chose unjustly. White Afrikaners cursed themselves. Throughout the play *Dryfhout* (2021) Pieter is transfiguring into a wooden winged monster.

Figure 45: Collage depicting the various imagery of wood, found in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) (Van der Merwe 2020).

Die Laaste Aand (Leipoldt 1930) is textured with images of wood, evident in Martha's cane, ships, shipwrecks, the structure of the gallows and colonial furniture, as well as the abundance of references to trees: palm trees, the tree of life, the tree of knowledge, the weeping willow and the stinkwood tree. There is an opportunity to actualise the transfiguration of the curse in the form of fragmented shards of wood. In the Act three of the play Van Noodt describes his cursed torment by stating:

VAN NOODT:

Hierdie vervloekde pyn…
Net soos 'n kris
Wat deur my linkerskouer steek en kruip
My linkerarm af tot na my linkerhand,
En om my bors 'n strop trek en die lug
Belet om my te lawe en my lyf
Verlam, sodat ek glad geen krag besit nie…(Leipoldt 1930:51)

VAN NOODT:

This cursed pain…
Just like a kris
That pierces through my left-shoulder and creeps down
My left arm down until it reaches my left-hand
It strangles around my chest
Impeding the air to give me life and my body
Numb, void of power…

Van Noodt specifically describes how "the cursed pain" travels from his left-shoulder to his left-hand. Combining this quote, the notion of cursed transfiguration, magic realism's capacity to facilitate metamorphosis, and the abundance of references to imagery of wood in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) I created the following image:

Figure 46: Picture of the cursed man as a hybrid, half-man-half-wooden monster (Van der Merwe 2020).

The image depicts Pieter as a hybrid, half-man-half-wooden monster. The wooden shards are the degraded remnants of the wooden motifs, objects and structures found in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt

1930) reiterating the concept of recycling. Considering the transformative recycling process evident in constructing the wooden winged figure, shards of wood may be considered as traces or remnants of the past.

Figure 47: Picture of Van Noodt's chair transforming and being recycled into a wooden wing (Van der Merwe 2020).

The fragmented wooden wing can also be viewed as a deconstructed, reimagined and recycled portrayal of Van Noodt's chair. In this study Van Noodt's chair has continuously been described as an object that is a memento of a tyrannical colonial past, with reference to the ghostly myth and historical accounts of Governor Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt. In Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) the chair was unpacked as a symbol for authority, dominance and colonial administration. Furthermore, In Chapter 4: *Revisiting Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), I stated that if *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) is transposed into a fairy tale, Van Noodt's chair can be viewed as a throne of a tyrannical king. In *Dryfhout* (2021) I aimed at unveiling and depicting the grotesque tyrannical themes embedded within the object. In a sense, I broke apart Van Noodt's chair and recycled and reimagined the shards into a monstrous wooden wing.

In Chapter 4: *Revisiting Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) I described how the furniture crafted in colonial contact zones often used endemic trees and manipulated them to mimic European-like designs. I stated that this can be viewed as violent forms of colonial hierarchal intrenchment and the reinforcement of European ideologies onto colonised landscapes and colonised identities resulting in cultural assimilation. I aimed at deconstructing the European-like chair, reverting it back into an

organic form that is instead taking over, or invading the skin and body of Pieter, the character that represents the coloniser.

The wooden fragments are shaped in a shape similar to a wing stretching from his left shoulder: *"[vanuit my] linkerskouer steek en kruip my linkerarm af tot na my linkerhand…/through my left-shoulder and creeps down my left arm down until it reaches my left-hand… "*(Leipoldt 1930: 51). *The '*flotsam and jetsam' - like wooden fragments appear to be slowly 'creeping', spreading as though infectious over the character's entire body until he is lame: *"Verlam, sodat ek glad geen krag besit nie* /Numb, void of power" (Leipoldt 1930: 51). The image of a winged man evokes and can potentially reference myths such as the *Flight of Icarus.* In *The Flight of Icarus,* "the great craftsman Daedalus made wings so he and his son, Icarus, could fly. But Icarus flew too close to the sun and his waxen wings melted" (Wilkinson 2009: 53). The myth of Icarus, his wings and his 'fall from flight' is often interpreted as a lesson in overreaching ambition (Wilkinson 2009: 53). I positioned sailing ships as colonial vessels of ambition, deliverance, salvation, and bounty in contrast to a shipwreck, the ultimate symbol of failure, misfortune, and death. "Shipwrecks resonate in our terror for oblivion of absolute failure" (Ronnberg & Martin: 452*)*. The metamorphic image of the wooden winged figure realises and personifies the concept of a shipwreck. It can potentially visually present, the failed weight of ambitious, avaricious colonialism and the villainy of the past - that which the contemporary white Afrikaner identity can be considered cursed with, to heavily drag with them in post-colonial South Africa.

The metamorphic process of slowly transforming into shards and wreckage of wood can arguably be interpreted as the physical manifestation of *demnatio memoriae* of white Afrikaans identity within a post-colonial society. As previously established, white Afrikaners can be considered an ambivalent identity, neither belonging to Europe or Africa. The fragmented wooden shards can also be described as resembling a tree that has been uprooted and can therefore be investigated with reference to themes of displacement and dislocation. Echoing the motifs of dislocation, the wooden winged figure, bird-like in his appearance can be compared to European migratory birds[134]. However, this one-winged creature cannot fly and return back to its country of origin, doomed to occupy a liminal space, neither belonging 'here nor there'- an ambivalent creature. His ambivalence is further exemplified by the fact that he is only half transformed, he is a character in transit, in the process of metamorphosis. The play

[134] There is a link between Africa and Europe by the flight of migratory birds that travel in between the two continents. In the article *The natural link between Europe and Africa-2.1 billion birds on migration,* Steffen Hahn, Silke Bauer and Felix Liechti state that "the Palaearctic-African migration system comprises enormous numbers of birds travelling between Europe and Africa twice each year…" (2008: 624).

alludes to his inevitable 'complete' metamorphic transfiguration, but he is only seen transfixed in a state of liminality, hybridity symbolically crystallised in a form of a 'crisis' of identity" (Sonnekus 2016: 31) aptly representing the ambivalent white Afrikaners' turmoil in the contemporary post-colonial state.

In the *Verklarende Afrikaanse Woordeboek* (Labuschagne & Eksteen 1993) the term *Dryfhout (2021)* is defined wood as washed up by the ocean, belonging 'neither here nor there' drifting in-between continents. The contemporary white Afrikaner can be described or equated to dryfhout, fragmented ambivalent shards of colonial sailing ships, neither completely belonging to Europe nor to Africa.

By 'breaking apart' and recycling the imagery of wood found in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), I created *dryfhout/*driftwood - I created fragmented, drifting remnants of the colonisers' colonial past. The play *Dryfhout* (2021) depicts the wreckage of the colonial past in the postcolonial and post-colonial present.

6.4 A haunted set

Informed by the term *dryfhout/*drifwood, I designed a set that mimics the concept of fragmented pieces of wood drifting or floating in the ocean. As depicted in the drawings, the set is constructed by only using wood as the building material. The wooden texture of the set is meant to replicate the patterns of stinkwood, referencing the furniture described in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). The set in its entirety can be viewed as a reference to Van Noodt's chair, sailing ships, shipwrecks and the structure of the gallows.

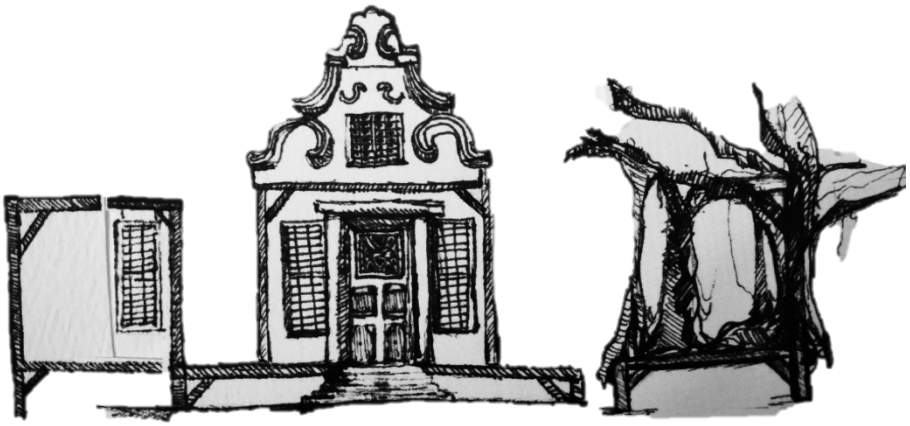


Figure 48: Drawing of the set for *Dryfhout* (2021) (Van der Merwe 2021).

In Act four of *Dryfhout* (2021) Kami turns around and looks back at the Cape Dutch house. To her the house suddenly resembles a colonial sailing ship, arguably a moment that demonstrates coloniality. The Cape Dutch style house is a colonial remnant in itself. Colonial traces emanate from various structures, are embedded in objects and are entangled in architecture, language, and can be inherited in identity .

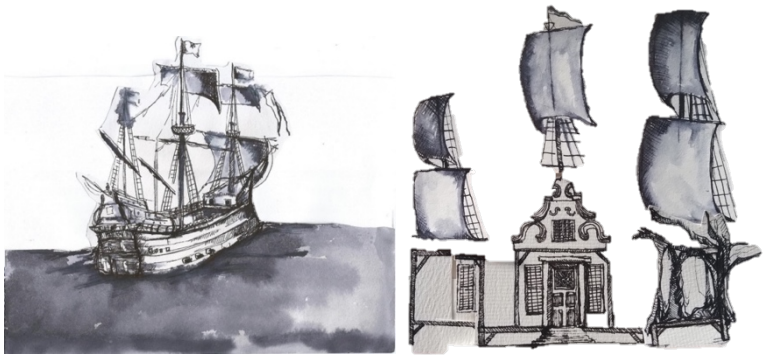


Figure 49: Images depicting how the set transforms into a sailing ship (Van der Merwe 2021).

I specifically designed the wooden beams of the Cape Dutch house to resemble the structure of gallows:

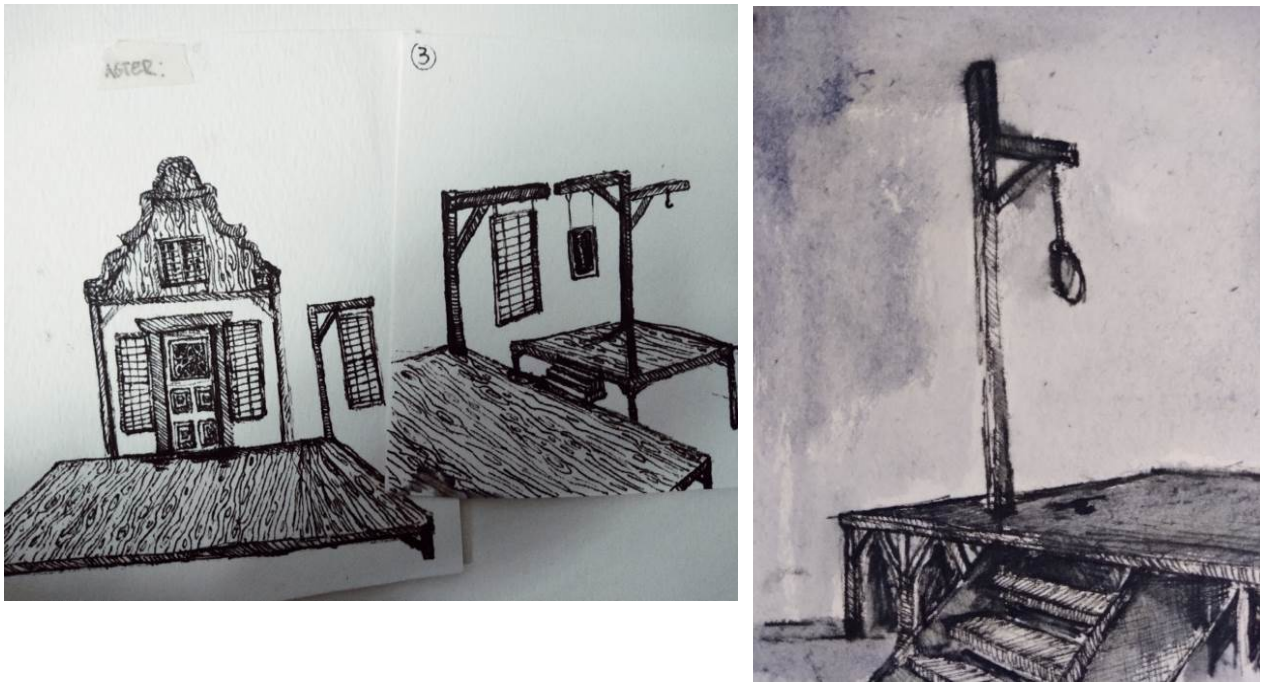


Figure 50: Images depicting how the set was inspired by the structure of the gallows (Van der Merwe 2021).

In *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), Roggebaai and the gallows are described by Martha:

MARTHA:
En stuur haar Roggebaai toe,
na die plek waar hy sy sondes opgehang en vergeet (Leipoldt 1930: 51) */*

MARTHA:
And send her to Roggebaai,
to the place where he hangs his sins and forgets.

In *Dryfhout* (2021) Pieter states :

PIETER:

Ek hoor hulle steeds. Kraak en trap, hang en was. Hierdie balke skree. Hierdie is 'n hangman se huis. Tussen vis en sand is bloed. In die nag droom ek van Roggebaai. Die plek waar ons vroeër ons sondes probeer hang en vergeet het. En nou hang my gewete my sondes in die aand op teen die balke van my huis sodat ek nooit sal vergeet nie…/

PIETER:

I still hear them, the creaking of the floorboards, hanging and washing. These beams are screaming. This is a hangman's house. Among fish and sand is blood. At night I dream of Roggebaai. The place where we once tried to hang and forget

our sins. And now at night my conscience hangs my sins from the beams of my house so that I will never forget.

Dryfhout (2021) intertextually references and recycles C. L. Leipoldt's description of Roggebaai and the historical account of the unjust hanging of the soldiers, as well as the colonial penalty systems. Death is ominously present throughout the playtext. It could be suggested that the entire play's events occur on the wooden decks of a gallows. The playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) is itself an artifact that partakes in iconoclasm and the condemnation of colonial memory. From my postcolonial present, I am persecuting, hanging, convicting the colonial and tyrannical history. However, the conviction does not appease the ghosts of the white Afrikaners' house. Pieter and the contemporary white Afrikaner remains beleaguered by the wrong doings of the past. The house remains restlessly haunted by unjust history.

6.5 Recycled objects

Objects can "narrate the past" (Pierce 1994: 20), functioning as signs and symbols carrying messages for the present (Pierce 1994: 2021). In *Dryfhout* (2021), the past is present through inserting, and recycling objects, originally found in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Throughout the play the recycled objects act as mementos, not only regarding the prior text but regarding prior histories, realising the aspirations to achieve a hauntology-like text. In Chapter 3.2: Magic Realism I explained that within fairy-tales, objects are considered highly symbolical (Warmer 2014: 4). Informed by the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), the following key objects were recycled for *Dryfhout* (2021): the ghostly relict that is Van Noodt's chair, the Persian carpet, the stinkwood table, melati blossoms and the Indonesian kris. In *Dryfhout* (2021) these objects embedded with particular references to historical accounts and myths signify themes of coloniality, loss, conflicts pertaining to belonging, and questions and debates about inheritance and ownership.

Figure 51: Collage of recycled objects (Van der Merwe 2020).

In Act three of *Dryfhout* (2021) Kami opens a small treasure chest expecting to find her family kris, but instead the chest contains a broken compass and dries up melati blossoms. The melati blossoms are a direct reference to the historical accounts of Pieter Eberveldt uncovered and unpacked in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). In *Dryfhout* (2021) the melati blossoms are deteriorated, they are described as *uitgedroogte jasmyn*/dried out jasmin and can be considered as a *memento mori*. The melati blossoms symbolise the death and loss experienced by colonised countries, specifically with reference to Jakarta and Indonesia. The melati blossoms stand in relation with the character Kami who, as the offspring of the colonised, feels as though she is left with nothing but the deteriorated wreck that was the effect and result of colonialism's tyrannical reign. She states: *Is dit al wat jy vir my kan teruggee*? '*n Bitter herinnering aan 'n bitter tyd?/* Is this all that you can give back to me? A bitter memory from a bitter time? Kami's character is haunted by the discarded fragments of her heritage that have been destroyed during prior eras of colonial invasion.

The other object in the chest is a broken compass and relates to Pieter's character. Throughout this dissertation the compass has been described as the impetus for European sea voyages that lead to Western 'discovery' of new continents and subsequently colonial occupation, as well as inspiring the design and layout for the Castle of Good Hope and the Batavian fortress of Indonesia. I reuse and recycle the compass in my playtext. The compass is broken in *Dryfhout* (2021), Pieter describes it as a *rigtinglose kompas*/directionless compass. The broken compass reiterates motifs of the ambivalent white Afrikaner neither belonging to Europe nor to Africa, occupying a liminal, ambivalent space and caught in a postcolonial "crisis of identity" (Sonnekus 2016: 31).

The most significant recycled object in *Dryfhout* (2021) is the Indonesian kris. As established in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), this mythic object is embedded with supernatural qualities and is considered as a culturally important family artifact (Terada 1994: 144). Unlike the reference in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), in the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) the kris is displaced and Kami is driven by a sense of duty to uncover and take back that which has been stolen from her and her family. The missing kris represents all that has been displaced, lost and forgotten due to Western colonial domination over narratives, artifacts, territories and histories. Kami's actions can be described as postcolonial due to the fact that she is uncovering the past, rediscovering that which has been forgotten and unearthing lost histories. Furthermore, Kami accuses Pieter of keeping stolen artifacts:

KAMI:
Julle steel landskappe met julle oë, neem dit gevange, sluit dit toe in hokke of hang dit op teen mure vir Westerse genot…/

KAMI:
With your eyes, you steal our landscapes and take it captive, lock it in cages or hang it on your walls for pleasure the pleasure of the Western gaze.

Throughout the playtext Kami asks Pieter to give back her family heirloom. In my view, the tension between Kami and Pieter with regards to stolen artifacts mimic unresolved postcolonial repatriation debates and ongoing discussions between colonised countries' 'asking' Western countries to return valuable historical and significant cultural artifacts that were reaped and are kept in 'foreign' museums (Soussi 2019: [sp].

The objects in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) are dense in symbolic meaning and rich with colonial and cultural references. By recycling them, Leipoldt's references do not dissolve, they merely attain another layer of hauntological meaning. Therefore, the adaptive playtext is not only dense with objects from the source text but also layered with intertextual references narrated by the object. Through recycling these objects, they attain a ghostly quality as anthropological objects from a prior history that continue to transcend time and space, functioning as relics of the past in the present. These objects assist in my process of adaptation by echoing the notion of recycling, ultimately functioning as creative heirlooms inherited from Leipoldt's 1930 play: found, reawakened and (re)used in the present.

6.6 Personified objects

In *Dryfhout* (2021) I also add 'new' objects such as the axe, the treasure chest, the fireplace, soil, a mirror, a wash basin, a water jug and a banyan tree. Although these objects were not directly found and recycled from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), I constructed and imagined them through personifying intertextual references and postcolonial themes.

Figure 52: Drawings of the axe and the fireplace (Van der Merwe 2021).

In *Dryfhout* (2021) the axe is an object that dismembers; it is an object that stands in direct opposition to wood. As previously established, the element wood is specifically associated with colonial signifiers such as sailing ships and Van Noodt's chair. The axe is an object that has the capacity to transform wooden objects into fragmented pieces of driftwood. The character who yields the axe is Kami who stands in opposition to colonialism and its after effects. The axe can be analysed alongside concepts such as political iconoclasm and decolonisation that dismembers vestiges of colonialism. The axe's sound when splitting wood is a continuous motif throughout the play. In the first scene the sound is compared to a *oordeelshamer*/a gravel - another wooden object. A gravel is associated with judgment, punishment and atonement for sins. It can be argued that the concept of a gravel unpacks themes such as condemnation of memory. Colonial memories and the contemporary white Afrikaner are indicted *vir oordeel voor die regshof van geskiedenis*/brought to judgement before the courtroom of history in the post-colonial and postcolonial present.

Another element in contrast with the imagery of wood is the fireplace. The fireplace has the capacity for creating warmth, but also destruction. In *Dryfhout* (2021) the fireplace rescinds artifacts such as the compass, the jasmine flowers and the kris. The fireplace is arguably a symbol of death and loss - ritualistically burning, grieffully dispelling artifacts, historical heirlooms and lineage into ash – to

nothing but a trace[135]. In Act five of *Dryfhout* (2021) Kami burns her hands when she attempts to retrieve the kris from the flames. Kami's hands are injured in an attempt to reclaim and salvage what she and her family have lost due to colonial disputes. The wounds on her hands will heal into scars - reminders and traces of colonial violence that are imprinted into her skin, becoming an allegory for coloniality and its harmful capabilities that continue to transcend into futures.

Another natural element in the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) is soil. In *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), as discussed in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), Leipoldt includes references to the Biblical tale of Adam and Eve (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:3). In the Biblical tale, after Adam and Eve disobey God and are consequently punished for their sins (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:17). Significantly, God's punishment for Adam relates to man's relationship with soil and land: "Cursed is the ground for your sake; In toil you shall eat of it All the days of your life (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:17)…" It will grow thorns and thistles for you..." (The Bible, Old Testament, Genesis 3:18). In my view, in the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021), the soil intertextually references the Biblical tale of Adam and Eve and relates to themes in *Dryfhout* (2021) with reference to sin, a curse, consequence and punishment.

In the playtext soil is specifically related to the character Gysbreg, the ghostly memory of Pieter's father, who is continuously digging and searching for the kris buried under the soil at the banyan tree. Pieter says : *Ek sien die man wat grawe, gekniel asof in hy in gebed stoei met die land se grond/* I see the man who is digging, kneeling as if he is praying, grappling with the country's soil. The symbol of soil in *Dryfhout* (2021) relates to postcolonial themes such as empire building, colonial invasion, borders and boundaries, mapping and marking territories, white Afrikaner *boers* and post-colonial land reformation debates.

Soil also relates to the image of graves. In *Dryfhout* (2021) actions such as digging, burying and uncovering become motifs that relate to the characters' strenuous relationships with the past. Pieter wants to bury the past and Kami wishes to uncover excavate that which has been lost. Throughout this dissertation, uncovering, rediscovering and reawakening the past have become quintessential

[135] Although not directly related to South African postcolonial and post-colonial motifs the fireplace, in my view, also bears reference to the image of a furnace and the Holocoust. In the beginning of the twentieth century, in the after math of the Holocaust (1933-1945) the image of a furnace had acquired additional symbolic meaning pertaining to genocide, death, death camps, crematoria, loss and mourning (Bartlett 2018: [sp]). The fireplace in *Dryfhout* (2021), in relation with the image of a furnace, becomes a warning for the ultimate, grotesque and destructive capabilities of nationalistic tyranny.

identifiers for postcolonialism. The treasure chest buried beneath the soil is dug up by Gysbreg, stolen from its 'grave'. The treasure chest can be interpreted as symbolic of cultural artifacts. The actions of disturbing land and reaping wealth have been established as a marker of colonialism.

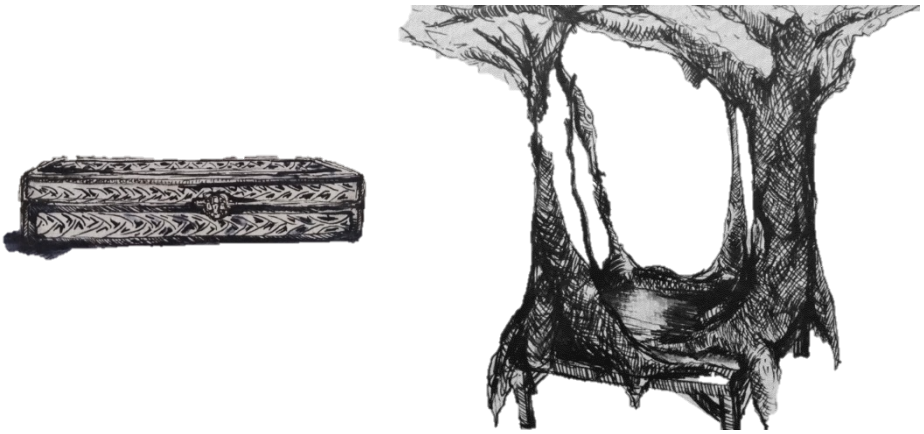


Figure 53: Drawings of the *peti* and the banyan tree (Van der Merwe 2021).

The treasure chest is buried beneath a banyan tree. The image of the tree was inspired by Leipoldt's poetic description of the Borgor Empire. Furthermore, in Indonesia the banyan tree is a symbol included in the country's postcolonial and democratic coat of arms, representing the third principle of Pancasila,[136] namely unity. In the article *Myth Meaning on Garuda Pancasila Indonesian State Symbol* (2018) Arief Johari explains that:

> the banyan tree symbolizes a large tree that can be used by many people as a shelter below. This represents the State of Indonesia which is the shelter of all the people of Indonesia. The banyan tree also has tendrils and roots that spread in all directions. This represents the diversity of ethnic groups that are united in Indonesia (Johari 2018: 326).

In *Dryfhout* (2021) The banyan tree occupies two spaces. Firstly, it becomes a reference to the East and acts as an Indonesian location on stage. Secondly, the tree is planted in the back garden of Pieter's Cape-Dutch style house and in this sense embodies dislocation, displacement and uprootedness. The

[136] In the article *The Strong State And Pancasila: Reflecting Human Rights in the Indonesian Democracy* (2016) Zaenal Mutaqin writes: "*Pancasila* was created as the result of negotiation between the nationalist and the Islamist groups that yearn to apply the Jakarta Charter (Piagam Jakarta). It drives every regime to a dilemmatic position to stand in an outright principle of secular state respecting all religions and believes as stated clearly in the 1945 Constitution" (2016: 161). Pancasila is the philosophical values that guide state and nation laws and principles of democratic Indonesia. Pancasilla is an amalgamation of several principles, namely the principle of belief in one and only god, the principle of fair and civilized humanity, the principle of unity of Indonesia, the principle of democracy is in the lead of wisdom in a consultative / representative and lastly the principle of "social justice for all the people of Indonesia" (Mutaqin 2016: 161).

bark of the tree is engraved with the letters G and K, a direct reference to *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 193). However, in *Dryfhout* (2021) the carved letters are misshapen, but traceable, due to years of growth and of the tree attempting to heal its scars - a metaphor for postcolonialism.

In act four of *Dryfhout* Kami sees the Prodigal Son carving his name into the bark of the banyan tree.

KAMI:
Jy kerf diep wonde in die vel van die boom.

DIE VELORE SEUN:
Ek wou maar net my merk maak en my naam inskrewe teen tyd/

KAMI:
You are carving deep wounds into the skin of the tree.

PRODIGAL SON:
I just wanted to make my mark to be remembered

The tree bark in this scene becomes a symbol of colonised countries that suffered colonial in invasion at the hand of Western imperial desires. Kami's words: *Jy kerf diep wonde in die vel van die boom/* You are carving deep wounds into the skin of the tree, serve as a warning to the little boy who is not thinking of the consequence of his action in carving his name onto the tree bark. Carving his name also resonates with colonial themes of colonisers marking, mapping, naming and claiming territories.

In this scene Kami is directly referring to the wounds caused by colonialism and its haunting after effects in the postcolonial state. The tree bark is also equated with skin, referring to how colonised identifies are still suffering from the consequences of previous unjust histories that entrenched upon their freedom due to racial bias and the expropriation of Western domination over colonised countries homelands. The scars on the tree bark mimic and foreshadow Kami's burnt hands in act five. The image of scars and markings speaks to the notion of phantom borders are described as the "scars in the contemporary post-colony" (Kolosov 2020: 1).

Some of the most prominent themes of *Dryfhout* (2021) are the concepts of inheritance, lineage and genealogy that can hauntingly perpetuate coloniality. The mirror becomes an object that literary reflects identity as well asking the onlooker to reflect upon their own identity. The mirror is also turned towards the audience as though the object is confronting the audience with the question of their identity, lineage and past. The Prodigal Son holds a make believe gun to his reflection again reiterating

the notion of condemnation vilifying his inherited 'face', the reflection of a tyrant his inherited name, his inherited past and his inherited ambivalent white Afrikaans identity.

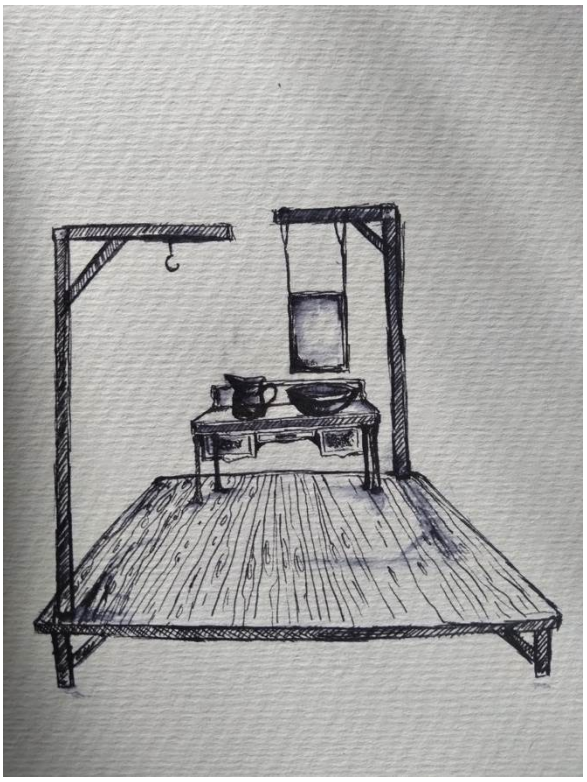


Figure 54: Drawing of the washroom (Van der Merwe 2021).

Underneath the mirror is a wash basin. The wash basins can be compared to a baptismal basin that simultaneously symbolises being christened with a name and the washing away of sins. However, Pieter continuously rejects his inherited name that has become a symbol for a tyrannical past. Through christening him with a name he is ironically christened with the sins of his forefathers, not withholding or denying the fact that he benefited from his colonial positionality. The washroom becomes a space of reflection, atonement and redemption - a confessional. Postcolonial discourse asks for the act of reflection and to look back into the past. When white Afrikaners look back into the colonial past, the mirror reveals a cursed face.

SOLDAAT, PIETER EN DIE VELORE SEUN:
Hierdie gesig moet gewas word. Hierdie gesig is gevloek. Hierdie gesig is hout /

SOLDIER, PIETER AND THE PRODIGAL SON:
This face should be washed. This face is cursed. This face is wood

6.7 The presence of absence of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930)

While writing *Dryfhout* (2021), I continuously engaged with the source text *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), scavenging for words and phrases to (re)use, rephrase and redistribute to different characters. As established in Chapter 4.1: C. L. Leipoldt an ambivalent man and Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), Leipoldt's writing is characterised by a particular poetic tone and by a heightened form of speech. In *Dryfhout* (2021) I did not necessarily try to imitate the tone, however because the nature of recycling facilitates strategies like (re)using and repurposing; my writing and phrasing inadvertently mimicked and adopted the heightened tone established by C. L. Leipoldt in the source text. Leipoldt's 'voice' ultimately emanates from the recycled phrases and words in *Dryfhout* (2021) hiding behind the adapted text. Furthermore, in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) I excavated ideas from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) for my adapted playtext. C. L. Leipoldt, as the informant of the recycled and transformed objects, the characters, the setting and the themes is still hauntingly present in the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021). *Dryfhout* (2021) can therefore be described as a transformed collage that merge the past and the present. The playtext is imbued with fragments of the prior text. These fragments are traces, the presence of absence of C. L. Leipoldt, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt, 1930), and Van Noodt's ghostly myth hauntingly buried beneath the transformations and adaptation. *Dryfhout* (2021) as a recycled, reimagined and adapted playtext demonstrates a hauntological state of existence.

Figure 55: Collage depicting the presence of absence of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) haunting the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) (Van der Merwe 2021).

Informed by the analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), by adapting the play through finding and recycling objects, breaking the rules of linear time and applying magical realist principles of metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification to create fantastical imagery, I adapted and reimagined *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a hauntological postcolonial allegory titled *Dryfhout* (2021).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This chapter offers a conclusion to the thesis and the insights I have gained. The chapter provides an overview of the research project, outlining the adaptation process and explaining how I came to answer the thesis question. I specifically offer a reflection and critique of my playtext *Dryfhout* (2021), addressing some of the shortcomings of this research project. I also refer to possibilities for further research and lastly I provide a thesis conclusion, relaying my research findings. In its refraction of white Afrikaner identity, *Dryfhout* (2021) not only presents a hauntological allegory for contemporary South Africa, but positions post-colonial white Afikanerdom as a hauntology in and of itself.

7.1 Overview of research project

This literature-based study investigated how C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) could be reimagined and adapted to create a playtext that allegorically speaks to the haunted postcolonial and post-colonial South African present, by using magic realism. Magic realism is a postcolonial literary and theatre genre that speaks to the concepts of hauntology and ghosts that stand central to my adaptation and reimagination of Leipoldt's play.

This study argued that the postcolonial and post-colonial South African present is haunted. More specifically, I stated that contemporary white Afrikaner identity is tormented by ghosts — vestiges and reminders of the tyrannical injustices of the past. To demonstrate my argument, I delineated and discussed Jacques Derrida's term hauntology or *hantologie,* that uncovers the 'presence of absence' as a state of being (Zlomislić 2007: 36). Hauntology and the related notion of the presence of absence consolidate to confirm that the past is perpetuated and interwoven into the fabric that constitutes the present. This study applied hauntology as a lens, organising principle and framework through which to acknowledge and be responsive to a past which is both in, and not in, the past. Throughout this study the terms hauntology and the presence of absence were used to describe how contemporary South Africa is perforated with colonial traces, or the 'presence of absence' of colonialism: the ghost of the past haunting the present.

I structured the study in three parts. Part one consisted of Chapter 2: Historical overview. This chapter offered a contextual and theoretical framework that informed my analysis of Die *Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) in Chapter 4: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Chapter 2.1: The Voyage, firstly gave a broad overview of South Africa's colonial histories, specifically how it pertains to white Afrikanerdom. Chapter 2.1: The voyage, provided me with a contextual understanding of South Africa's colonial history, specifically unpacking the circumstances of the Cape Colony during the eighteenth century, that ultimately guided my understanding of the setting and time period of the events in *Die Laaste*

Aand (Leipoldt 1930). This chapter also provided me with an understanding of the formation of white Afrikaner identity. I traced specific historical markers that led to the formation of white Afrikaner nationalism in the beginning of the twentieth century. These markers outlined the historical context in which C. L. Leipoldt wrote *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) and which influenced my interpretation and reading of his text. Chapter 2.1: The Voyage, outlined the formation of the establishment of apartheid and the enduring efforts toward a post-apartheid state. This subsequently marked the beginning of a new era in South Africa, framed as post-colonial.

Moving beyond colonialism, Chapter 2.2: Shipwrecks, concerned itself with the aftermath and socio-political consequences of Western colonial dominance. I defined and unpacked postcolonial discourse as a field of study that revisits the past, unearths that which has been lost and attempts to heal through reimagining and breaking the borders of entrenchment constructed during previous colonial histories (Meusburger, Heffernan & Wunder 2011: 289). This chapter gave me an understanding of as well as a theoretical framework for postcolonial concepts such as cultural assimilation (Fanon 2008), Orientalism (Said 1935), otherness (Lacan 1936) and the unequal power dynamics between the colonisers and colonised. I also defined and discussed Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) theories such as ambivalence, mimicry, hybridity, and the third pace of enunciation. I specifically located and described white Afrikaner identity as ambivalent, continuously shifting between or embodying both the roles of the colonised and coloniser. I used these postcolonial concepts in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), as a theoretical framework that guided my analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), allowing me to surface aporia in the playtext that offered an inroad to adaptation by means of magic realism.

I then discussed how postcolonialism and post-colonialism do not necessarily indicate the complete demise of colonialism with reference to terms such as decoloniality and coloniality. I pointed out how these terms uncover the perpetuation of colonialism within social and political structures (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, cited in Omage 2020; Maldonado-Torres 2007). Furthermore, I pointed to specific examples of postcolonial and decolonial disputations, such as South African land reform disputes (Makhando 2012) as well as conversations regarding (re)naming and naming of the country's geographical features (Musitha 2015). I also relayed ongoing contentions pertaining to the repatriation of cultural artifacts (German 2008). Furthermore, I established that the post-colonial and postcolonial South African present is arguably practising political iconoclasm, condemning the colonial past and dismantling images, objects and symbols associated with tyrannical injustice. I framed the contemporary white Afrikaner as an identity in crisis (Sonnekus 2016: 31). I stated that white Afrikaner

identity is grappling with the tyrannical 'wrong doings' of the past; that have subsequently turned into tormented ghosts haunting the present state of white Afrikanerdom. Lastly, I reiterated this study's conception of ghosts as apt analogies to describe the contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial present. This section constructed a theoretical framework that not only informed my postcolonial analysis of C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand*, (1930) but also informed particular creative choices during the adaptation and reimagining process that aimed to construct a postcolonial allegorical playtext.

As part of the historical overview, in Chapter 2.3: Theatre resurrects, I demonstrated that as history unfolds, white Afrikaans theatre has the capacity to reflect, comment and protest political and social contingencies. To do so, I provided a broad, and necessarily incomplete overview of white Afrikaner theatre history to position white Afrikaans theatre in the broader South African theatre landscape. I uncovered how colonial contact broadly influenced storytelling modes in South African theatre. I referred to representative examples of playwrights and playtexts, whilst acknowledging the unequal power dynamics that unjustly favoured the development of white artistic output. I also briefly located C. L. Leipoldt and his play *Die Laaste Aand* in the 1930s. Lastly, I positioned theatre as having the capacity to revisit tormented histories - ultimately resurrecting ghosts as an act of critical refection.

In part two of the thesis I turned my attention to the adaptation process. Chapter 3.1: Adaptation, outlined the theoretical framework of adaptation and reimaging, specifically unpacking how this study engaged with adaptation as a mode of reimaging and recycling. Chapter 3.1: Adaptation, posited that my reading of adaptation is in alignment with postcolonial theory through its ability to revisit and reflect on the past. This chapter defined adaptation by discussing it in terms of repetition (see 3.1.1), recycling (see 3.1.2) and reimagining (3.1.3). In this chapter I also provided examples of South African texts that were created through adaptation. I specifically referred to white Afrikaans playwriter Reza de Wet, as an example of the use of adaptation as a mode to comment on political contingencies and unearth grotesque realities of white Afrikaner identity, through magic realism. This indicates that a precedent exists to adapt works from the Western canon, firstly by means of magic realism and secondly, to critically engage with the tyranny of the past.

In Chapter 3.2 I defined the term magic realism and established its origins in 1925 as genre that developed from artistic movements such as expressionism and surrealism, and traced its application in postcolonial literary output during the latter half of the twentieth century. Magic realism situates itself in between the dichotomy of reality and the imagined. I defined and unpacked the term into two

distinct discourses: 'realism' and 'magic', specifically locating how they pertain to storytelling modes. Firstly I defined realist theatre and notably outlined realist theatre conventions such as scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 305), psychological turmoil (Steyn 2004:144) and feeling trapped by social and political circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58), that later informed certain aspects of the adapted playtext. I then discussed the term 'magic', in relation with concepts of the imaginary, fantasy, fairy-tales, folklore and myths. I particularly noted that nationalism has an appetite for folktales and often uses them to propagate 'folk' pride. I discussed how fairy-tale tropes frequently depict narratives where tyrannical rulers are brought to justice and that nationalism's appetite for folk tales can ironically be used as a tool against itself. In Chapter 4.3.2: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a fairy-tale, I used the information pertaining to tyranny and fairy tales to inform my reflection on *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) and validated magic realism's capacity to construct stories that can allegorically unveil political injustices.

Importantly Chapter 3.2: Magic realism, located magic realism as a postcolonial literary genre that breaks boundaries, presents multiple perspectives, uncovers lost or forgotten myths and folktales and has the capacity to uncover the past. I stated that magic realism is a mode that interweaves the 'unreal' with 'the real', ultimately creating a world that is located in a hybrid space. I outlined key magic realist conventions such as metamorphosis, anthropomorphic personification and 'breaking the rules of linear time' that ultimately informed the transformations of the reimagining process of this dissertation that aimed to adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a hauntological, postcolonial allegorical playtext.

Moving towards an adapted playtext: Chapter 4.1: C. L. Leipoldt an ambivalent man provided a brief bibliography of the historic figure C. L. Leipoldt. This chapter argued that C. L. Leipoldt opposed white Afrikaans nationalism in the 1930s. I referenced scholars such as Louise Viljoen (2000, 2003), Rian Oppelt (2015) as well as novelist and writer Elsa Joubert (1997) who present him as a "self-reflective Orientalist" (Viljoen 2003:80) that continuously cross-questioned his own culture and positionality as a white Afrikaner that was privileged and framed by colonial hierarchy and prejudices. I particularly discussed C. L. Leipoldt as an ambivalent man due to various contradictory aspects that locate him as both a rationalist and a romantic, a medical doctor and an artist, not to mention his ambivalent white Afrikaner identity as well as his self-reflective Oriental writing (Viljoen 2003:80). I ultimately described him as a "border dweller" (Tlostanova 2013: 133), a writer who interrogates "history even as he partakes in it" (Oppelt 2013:8). My understanding of Leipoldt as an ambivalent, "self-reflective Orientalist" and border dweller informed my interpretation of his 1930s play *Die Laaste Aand*.

Informed by the colonial historical overview in Chapter 2: The voyage, as well as the postcolonial theoretical framework established in Chapter 2: Shipwrecks, in Chapter 4.2: Revisiting *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) I revisited and analysed *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). As the narrative unfolded, indicating my adaptation process, I revealed how I discovered and unearthed some of C. L. Leipoldt's intertextual references embedded within his dense, poetic text as I came across them in each act of his play. I excavated references pertaining to historical accounts, geographical settings, myths and significant cultural artifacts, the characters as well as their colonial positionalities and hierarchical relationships, in order to scrutinise them and unpack their possible symbolic significance. The analysis of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) ultimately became the source for various ideas that informed specific choices for my reimagined playtext *Dryfhout* (2021).

Considering the character description of C. L. Leipoldt that marks him as a self-reflective Orientalist and border dweller, as well as taking into account the analyses of *Die Laaste Aand* (1930), in Chapter 4.3.1 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a warning I posited that *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) can be interpreted as a anti-white Afrikaner nationalistic play. C. L. Leipoldt wrote a play that can be interpreted as a forewarning for the unresolved haunted(ness) that the postcolonial and post-colonial future will endure in the aftermath of colonialism. I ultimately framed C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) as a prophetic play, marking him as a prophetic writer, predicting and forecasting, from what was his colonial present, the themes that would be evident in the South African post-colony. I concluded that C. L. Leipoldt is *Saul's witch of Endor*, who can predict what darkness lies hidden in the future (Leipoldt 1930: 46). I argued that C. L. Leipoldt can be considered a visionary with political and cultural foresight for his time, intrinsically understanding that in the aftermath of colonialism and apartheid, white Afrikaans identities would be cursed or, as Martha states: "*verdoem tot in ewigheid*" (*cursed for an eternity*) (Leipoldt 1930: 38), haunted by the tyrannical shadow of its identity.

Figure 56: Collage of the prophetic cursed future (Van der Merwe 2021)

Lastly Chapter 4.3.2 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a fairy-tale, described *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as a text that is dense with intertextual references of cultural myths, fairy-tale motifs and historical accounts that can validate and inform 'magical' transfigurations for the adapted playtext. I unearthed and unpacked magic and fairy tale motifs in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) such as the utterances of a curse, a mythological dagger and fairy tale character, archetypes such as an ostracised witch, a rebellions knight and a tyrannical king (Leipoldt 1930). I recognised the potential to turn *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) into a playtext that is presented and exists as a fairy-tale. However, this study aimed to create a magic realist text that is allegorical for the haunted postcolonial present. Drawing from these magic intertextual references, for my adaptation I identified the aporia in the source text and used what surfaced from the aporia to rupture 'the border' that separates the magic from the real in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930), to create a magic realist playtext.

Chapter 5: *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) reimagined, presented the adapted and reimagined text: *Dryfhout* (2021). The playtext was followed by Chapter 6: *Dryfhout* (2021), a hauntological, postcolonial allegory, where I unpacked my adaptation process, specifically uncovering how I used magic realism to reimagine C. L. Leipoldt's play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930). I firstly relayed the realist elements of the adapted playtext. I provided a brief plot summary, and described the two main characters (Kami and Pieter) with regards to their intentions that are guided by realist principles such as scientific determinism (Kuritz 1998: 305), psychological turmoil (Steyn 2004:144) and feeling trapped by social and political circumstances (Fernandes 2007: 58). In *Dryfhout* (2021) the plot mainly unfolds during the duration of 'one evening' but linearity is disrupted by the presence of ghostly characters.

The past is present through ghostly characters such as the prodigal son, the soldier, Gysbreg and Van Noodt - visitors from bygone time periods interrupting the unity of time and space. The set of *Dryfhout* (2021) can also be described as haunted. The wooden beams of the Cape Dutch style house mimic the structure of a gallows. The presence of the gallows is a *memento mori* (a reminder of death), a reminder of the colonial past as well as an intertextual reference for Roggebaai, the location of gallows in *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

I then turned my attention to the magic elements of the playtext that were informed by Chapter 3.2 Magic realism and Chapter 4.3.2 *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930): a fairy-tale. Notably, in the playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) there are proclamations of an old family curse. The curse is a remnant of and a reference to Martha's proclamations on the shore of Jakarta in the play *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). However, in *Dryfhout* (2021) the character Kami refuses to be the witch in Pieter's narrative - she declares him the maker of his own undoing. A curse has the magical properties to transcend, travel and perpetuate through time, and is presented as such in *Dryfhout* (2021). These cursed characters (Gysbreg and Pieter) transform into fragmented wooden-like creatures. I created the wooden cursed monster by referencing various wooden objects from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Notably, I was inspired by the image of a shipwreck and the shards of wood that drift in the ocean as traces, fragments, and remnants of the past. The transfigured misshapen wooden wing is also a reimagined, grotesque rendering of Van Noodt's chair. Therefore, hauntingly imbedded in the transfiguration of the curse are references to the presence of absence of *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) as well as the ghostly myth of Van Noodt.

The monster is constructed and made from shards of the driftwood of sailing ships that belong neither here nor there. The fragmented pieces of wood can be likened to traces of colonialism, remnants of the past that surface, resonating with the concept of coloniality. In the contemporary postcolonial and post-colonial present, white Afrikaner identity in itself can be considered a reminder and a vestige of colonialism and the tyrannical injustices of the past.

I also recycled other key objects from *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) such as Matha's Indonesian family heirloom - the kris, the broken compass -a remnant of colonial pursuits and exploration and the dried Jasmin flowers – that I uncovered as a reference to the historical account of Pieter Eberveldt, that itself is a tale and historic account of death, loss and punishment. The objects are notably ingrained with specific references and historical accounts, therefore their presence in *Dryfhout* (2021) hauntingly add layers of historical references. These recycled objects can be viewed as transplanted

mementos scavenged from *Die Laaste* Aand (1930) and salvaged in *Dryfhout* (2021). The playtext *Dryfhout* (2021) is perforated with artifacts or traces of its predecessor, *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930).

Furthermore, I used personification to transform certain postcolonial themes into objects, such as the axe and the fireplace that were inspired by the concept of iconoclasm. The banyan tree was inspired by themes of dislocation and uprootedness. Furthermore the soil is a texture that evokes land reform debates, the wash basin that, for me, aligns with themes of sins and redemptions, and lastly a mirror that reflects positionality, lineage and identity. These objects are vestiges of meaning constructed through and embodying postcolonial political themes.

Dryfhout (2021) was constructed by and from the past. *Dryfhout* (2021) ultimately surfaced as a collage of historical and intertextual references hauntingly buried beneath the transformations of the reimagined and adapted playtext. *Dryfhout* (2021) as a recycled, reimagined playtext in its entirety can be considered a hauntology, haunted by the presence of absence of C. L. Leipoldt and his 1930s play *Die Laaste Aand* (1930).

7.2 Shortcomings

I predominantly focused on the white Afrikaans character Governor Pieter Gysbreg Van Noodt in *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). While I was writing *Dryfhout* (2021), I was acutely aware of my own positionality as a white Afrikaner and descendent of colonisers, and of the question of whether I can do justice by writing a narrative where one of the main characters (Kami) is that of a Cape Malay woman, whose lineage stems from the history of colonised and enslaved people. I am left with questions: as a white Afrikaner, am I perpetuating colonial bias and impeding freedom and autonomy by writing and giving voice to previously oppressed and voiceless identities? Could my attempt at writing Kami perhaps mimic the attempt of C. L. Leipoldt himself in writing the character Martha? Or could *Dryfhout* (2021) be criticised as a playtext that reinforces what it aimed to subvert - positioning me, like Leipoldt, as a self-reflexive Orientalist who cannot step out of the hegemony of her own Afrikaner cultural background? There is potential for Cape Malay South Africans to revisit *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) and excavate and unpack the haunted(ness) of the character Martha and reimagine *Die Laaste Aand* (1930) from the perspectives of formerly colonised or enslaved people.

Furthermore, in this study, I focused on how magic realism, together with recycling and reimagining could be used to adapt *Die Laaste Aand* (Leipoldt 1930) and therefore did not unpack all the modes of

adaption present in the crafting of *Dryfhout* (2021), for example the process of transposing words into imagery.

7.3 Further studies

This study recognises opportunities for further studies; notably that the playtext *Dryfout* (2021) can be staged as a performance, continuing the adaptation process, resurrecting and reawakening the ghosts of the past through dramatic and embodied action. Further research studies might include revisiting other literary works by C. L. Leipoldt, uncovering other prophetic aspects in his writing. Another avenue for future research could locate other ghostly characters across Leipoldt's body of work, to scrutinise them and speculate as to their possible symbolic significance with regards to social and political shifts. There might be an opportunity to reimagine other colonial white Afrikaans archival plays, utilising magic realism to adapt and recycle them into postcolonial and post-colonial playtexts as a means of critically interrogating contemporary Afrikaner identity.

7.4 Findings: The ghost is within

Magic realism is an apt genre to use for the process of postcolonial adaptation. The genre aligns with postcolonial discourse through its ability to look back into the past and excavate and reimagine texts alongside present contingencies. The genre also possesses innate transformative capabilities. Magic realism allows for fantastic elements such as spells and curses that can transform, alter and transfigure, resulting in metamorphosis and anthropomorphic personification, both of which I used in my adaptation process as key elements to reimagine *Die Laased Aand* (Leipoldt 1930). Furthermore, the genre has the capacity to break the rules of linear time and allows for the presence of the past to be actualised in the form of ghostly characters that ultimately aligned with the thesis's organising principle - hauntology.

This study began with the ghost story of Governor Gysbert Van Noodt, the fuming apparition of the historical tyrannical governor who unjustly hung seven soldiers for treason, whose spirit is said to be lingering in the Castle of Good Hope. I posited that Governor Gysbert van Noodt's ghost has 'returned,' disturbing the post-colonial present with the memory of colonialism and the tyrannical injustices of the past. This study argues that Governor Gysbert Van Noodt's apparition is a metaphor for ambivalent, contemporary white Afrikaner identity and its shadow self. Van Noodt can be considered a "stain on the soul" (Bolea 2020: 17) representative of the tyrannical coloniser. In this regard the ghost of Van Noodt is not an external entity but is rather located within the tension filled white Afrikaner's identity itself.

This study posits that a ghost can be a recyclable symbol. Every white Afrikaner generation is cursed with inheriting the tyrannical ghosts of the past. Every white Afrikaner generation inherits Van Noodt – intrinsically, perpetually recycling colonial ghosts. In the post-colonial and postcolonial present, white Afrikanerdom is cursed never to escape the shadowy tyrannical histories that reside within its identity, constructed from colonial histories. It can therefore be argued that white Afrikanerdom is in and of itself, a hauntology. White Afrikanerdom is constructed of a collage of historical fragments. White Afrikanerdom is driftwood - shards of colonial shipwrecks.

What I've come to realize is that the tyrannical ghost of Governor Van Noodt, which hauntingly resides in the ambivalent, post-colonial white Afrikaner identity, firstly cannot be exorcised. The ghost is a consequence of the monstrous violence of the past that has already occurred and cannot be undone. Secondly the ghost should not be exorcised, Van Noodt is there to remind white Afrikaners of their capacity for injustice. The tyrannical apparition should disturb 'the peace of mind' of white Afrikaners, acting as a grotesque warning, guiding the choices in the present that should not trespass the borders of reason. White Afrikaners in post-colonial South Africa should be haunted - reminded - in order not to repeat the prejudices of the past with an awareness of cause and effect and actions and consequence. Only *Saul's witch of Endor* can predict what the future holds. For now, we all stand in the *waskamer* (washing room) washing our hands in the *wasskottel* (wash basin) and looking at our reflections in the mirror. One is only left to converse with the past as an act of reflection, uncovering texts from the archive to assist in the amelioration of contemporary hauntings emanating from tormented pasts, to learn how to live with ghosts.

Figure 57: Drawing of the *lampetbeker* (ewer) described in the *Dryfhout* (2021) (Van der Merwe 2021).

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