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A case study on the windows of the Witbank Dutch Reformed church: what they convey about the changing religio-political context of this Afrikaans Protestant church

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2010-06-14T12:23:31Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/8173

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to this study

This research was prompted by an actual project for the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church in 2004, when I was commissioned, as a glass artist, to remake some of the 1963 Kesting windows which could not simply be restored. The client requested me to use this opportunity to address some changes in perceived meaning which made adjustments to the symbolism advisable to the church.

This phenomenon, that an Afrikaans Protestant Church had moved from no decoration, to full engagement with symbolism (using traditional stained glass techniques) in this past century, retrospectively left me with the following questions:

- What determines or influences the meaning of a (stained glass) window?
- How and why do the perceptions of meaning change?
- Is there a correlation between changing perceptions and changing external factors?
- What corrective parameters can be used to gauge and restore the desired meaning?
- Is it possible to graphically convey intrinsic meaning which is not subject to change over time?

Homo sapiens has the unique capacity for consciousness and abstract thought, which finds expression in language, ritual and meaningful visual symbols (O'Connell, Airey 2007:10), and is used to engage with the spiritual dimension. There is already evidence of this 77 000 years ago in Africa (Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2004:25). Architecture (as opposed to simply providing shelter) can be defined as designing a structure that carries meaning and it usually conveys this meaning symbolically. This symbolic meaning is encoded not only in symbols per se, but in architectural language and tectonics. There is also a level of socio-economic meaning which is (sometimes unconsciously) encoded into architecture by its very nature as an outcome of economic activity.

In the case of church buildings, meaning can be read on different levels, including the following:

- As spiritual spaces, an important part of their function is to symbolically link the heavenly and earthly by constructing forms mirroring spiritual meaning.

- As artefacts of organized religion, most church buildings are consciously or unconsciously conveying a specific religious (as opposed to spiritual) position. The power of architecture as a spatial experience is such that architectural form has always been used to instruct and even manipulate users of buildings into subjective perceptions and roles by the clients and their architects. Religious buildings have not been exempt from this process (Norman 1990). The power of the building in this context can be gauged from the fact that the iconic image (See figure 1.1) attached to the word "church" has become a structure with a steeple rather than the congregation of people to whom the spiritual concept refers.

- As structures within a social, political and economic context, they express the church's relationship with this context, whether overtly or covertly expressed.

Since architecture conveys meaning, it should be possible to interpret this meaning as an expression of the identity of a church community in a religio-political context by analyzing the design, style and fabric of its buildings. This can especially be focused on church windows, which not only have their own meaning in a spatial and tectonic context, but also often contain specific symbolic images. Even in a secular context, Louw (2007:20) describes the window as "an obvious bearer of symbolic meaning to the outside world about the builder or occupier's intentions, their status and resources." Windows have been used to enhance meaning in religious architecture since early times. Light is a key symbol in most systems of spirituality and the manipulation of light through windows is not only an important architectural device for creating a specific atmosphere, but windows, as admittors of light, are the "eyes" of a building. Their specific use communicates attitudes towards, for example, seeing in and out, darkness and light, and what is emphasized through illumination. In the cathedral tradition, this illumination was used to highlight narrative images in stained glass windows and give the illiterate populace the information that they wished to put across. In the Protestant Christian church traditions where representative art was traditionally frowned upon, the structure and the positioning of windows were important - though more subtle - expressions of meaning. In contemporary church buildings which are not linked to any particular church tradition, light is still one of the commonalities used for symbolic expression, e.g. Comrie's Chapel of Light, Vereeniging (Anonymous, b).

1.2 Literature Review

The only published information on the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows is a short article on the alterations in the church's monthly magazine by the architect (Kesting 1963:16-17) on the intended meaning of his window designs at the time. There is a church information brochure (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007) which outlines the history of the church and its aims and perspectives in 2007. The broader overview of literature giving the background to this case study is as follows:

At the time of the original design of the Witbank church there was no specific Dutch Reformed Church policy on church design. The need for a position on this was shaped by architects such as Gerard Moerdijk (1890-1958) and Wynand Louw (1883-1967) who pleaded for a new architectural style appropriate to Afrikaans Protestant churches and explored the subject as architects before any church policy on the subject was stipulated. This development is partly described in le Roux's article (le Roux 2008) in which he explores the work of Louw, (before Moerdijk) J. Antonie Smith (1910-1996) and Johan de Ridder (b.1927) (both after Moerdijk), while Moerdijk's role is well explored by researchers such as Roger Fisher. It is however not the research on Moerdijk's architecture, but the more subjective work written by Moerdijk and his daughter, that give one the best insights into the way that Afrikaners viewed "Afrikaner church architecture" in the period 1920-1950. Moerdijk's first little book (Moerdijk, Africana E-book Collection 1919) has a preface by the Rev. "father" J.D. Kestell, the champion of Afrikaner Nationalism in the church, promoting the appropriateness of Moerdijk's style for reformed churches and for South Africa. Moerdijk himself then goes on to say that there has not been well-designed church architecture (Afrikaans church architecture? He is addressing this to an Afrikaans readership) to date and that it would require a professional architect to produce this. Since he was the only Afrikaans professional architect at the time, this was not a neutral statement. His daughter's biography (Vermeulen 1999) gives factual information on the great number of churches that he designed following this publication, but especially gives a perspective on the highly emotional, interwoven relationships between Afrikaner churches, Afrikaner Nationalism and architects expressing these sentiments. She writes the book from this very subjective

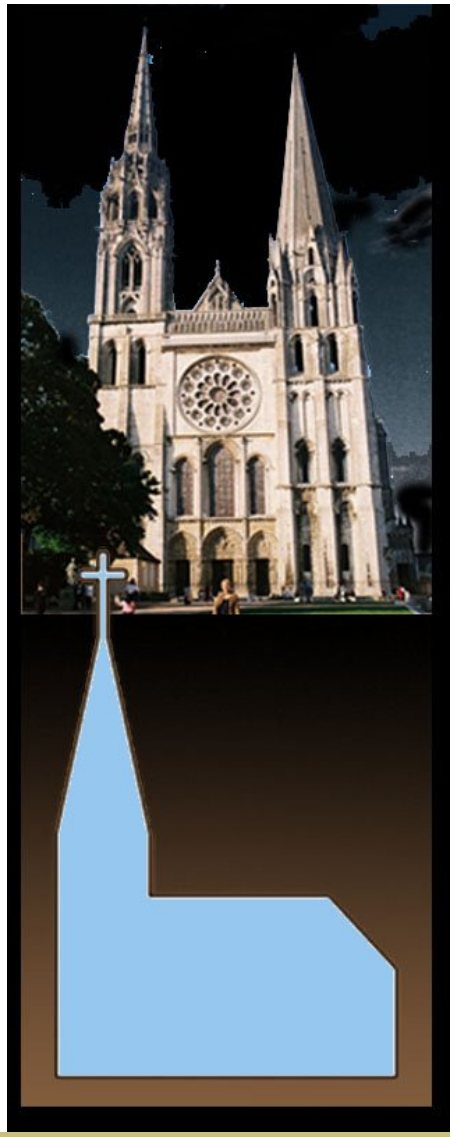


Figure 1.1 The iconic church symbol
Top to bottom: (1) Chartres cathedral, France, 1194-1220 (2) Iconic church symbol, derived from the medieval cathedral

perspective. Woods (2006) on the other hand gives an outside view of the relationship between nationalist politics, Afrikaans church religion and spirituality in the context of the building of the Voortrekker Monument (1936-49), designed by Moerdijk. Information on the inauguration of the Monument is mainly obtained directly from the official "Program en Gedenkboek" issued by the Voortrekkermonument-inwydingskomitee (1949). I have also referred to my own conference paper for SAJAH in which I compare the ideologies and strategies used by the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park (Janse van Rensburg 2009).

Only by the early nineteen-sixties and seventies had the architectural exploration of Afrikaans church form been formalized into church policy documents that were largely influenced by the inputs of D.P. Kesting, the designer of the 1963 Witbank windows. His own doctoral thesis (Kesting 1978) was on the subject of the design of Afrikaans Protestant churches and includes a chapter on symbolism in which he incorporates the changing approach to symbolism of the Protestant churches in Europe in the early sixties and gives recommendations on how this should be implemented in Afrikaans churches, clearly spelling out his approach at the time of his design. Since then there have been documented discussions and decisions taken in the Dutch Reformed Church synod on how church buildings should be designed and on how symbolism should be used, paraphrasing his recommendations.

In order to understand the Afrikaner religio-political context, it was necessary to get some background on the history of the mother church in the Netherlands and its Calvinistic roots. Dowley's (1995) History of Christianity gives a broad overview of church history per se, with specific chapters on movements and key characters in this story. The history of the Dutch Reformed Church in Europe is documented in more detail on a website (Wikipedia contributors, a) while the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives a critical view of how Calvinism developed from the doctrines of John Calvin. (Anonymous, a) The detail on the history of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa is covered in the context of the history of all the churches in South Africa up to 1994 by Hofmeyr and Pillay (1994). Thompson's (1993) book on altars and spirituality in Africa and the Americas covers spirituality and the commonalities of spiritual structures and rituals in a much broader sense. The Dutch Reformed Church's recent 350th anniversary volume (Hofmeyr 2002) presents their history from their own perspective.

This study's research question is situated within a religio-political context and a social history which is further thoroughly described by Giliomee (2004). His comprehensive review of Afrikaner history is written from outside the Afrikaner nationalist perspective of earlier works on Afrikaner history and looks at church history as a separate entity in its relationship to the political and social history of the time. In the context of church history, he summarizes the information that is available in the Stellenbosch archives of the Dutch Reformed Church on the history of Afrikaans Protestant churches very comprehensively and his work can be taken as an inclusive overview of the authors to whom he refers. The overview of South

African church history up to the political changes which peaked in 1994, given by Hofmeyr and Pillay (1994), makes use of timelines in which ecclesiastical events and socio-political events are related to one another, with a background perspective on each period. His later book (Hofmeyr et al. 2001) is a much more specific and retrospective examination of the cause and effect of Afrikaner Nationalism and Apartheid in the church. It ends with a summary of the situation at the time of writing, and the necessity for transformation. The book includes statements by the Dutch Reformed Churches and others which reflect their changing stance over time.

Bunting's critical article on the Broederbond (Bunting 1964) gives some specific information on its relationship with decision-makers in the Afrikaans churches. It compares the overall structuring and effect of the movement with Nazism and also looks at the links between the two movements. Nico Smith has just published a book on the Broederbond giving an insider's perspective on the total integration of Afrikaner Nationalism with the Dutch Reformed Church, of which one should take note (Smith 2009). Annie Coombes' review of visual post-apartheid history (2003) gives an exceptionally broad yet detailed context for this period.

The implications of choices of glass techniques can only be evaluated in the context of the tectonic history of glass and windows. Although Hirst's comprehensive book (2007) on windows deals mainly with developments in England, it is relevant as South Africa was part of the commonwealth at the time when the church was built. It looks very comprehensively at the history of windows and the history of glass in England, but describes glass painting only as it relates to restoration problems. The bulk of the book is devoted to in depth descriptions of window designs and technology, at every period in British architectural history, in order to serve as a reference for historians and restorers. Hentie Louw touches on the context of windows as symbols in his introduction.

When it comes to the more specialized field of stained glass, it is important for the assessment of tectonic meaning to have some background on the available techniques, their visual impact, ease of execution, durability and especially the cost implications of tectonic choices. There are many "how to" books available on stained glass techniques and just as many coffee table books on beautiful stained glass windows, but the development of stained glass techniques is usually only referred to in the introduction of a book of examples. The books on the history of stained glass all give much the same historical technical information, which is never very detailed. Techniques are named and, at best, given a description which is only a definition. I have specifically referred to the introduction in the Victoria and Albert Museum's publication on English Stained Glass (Archer 1985) which gives a good, succinct historical overview of these developments with dates of British examples up to the time of publication and to Oxley's book (1994) on South African stained glass. In the South African context, he looks at the history of stained glass, looks in detail at a few of the best known glass artists who worked in South Africa and gives some examples of their work. He

deals only with work using real (permanent) stained glass techniques. The types of synthetic paints sometimes used by Kesting are therefore excluded and the book predates the 2004 work done by myself. He also deals descriptively with artists' work and does not critically analyze it with regard to meaning.

To understand the choices of glass techniques that are available now, one must refer either to current stained glass manuals or the catalogues of art glass exhibitions, which I have done. In terms of technical information on stained glass techniques, Elskus' (1980) book on glass painting is generally regarded as the definitive guide. This is a highly technical guide to the paints that are currently available and how to use them. Sir Patrick Reyntiens, the renowned British glass painter, has published several books. His technical guide to stained glass painting (Reyntiens 1977) gives a personal and thorough overview for glass artists of all the aspects to be considered in glass painting, from studio layouts to pricing. The range of tectonic choices, styles and approaches to stained glass windows at the end of the twentieth century is well set out by Moor (1989) in a book subtitled "A Guide to the Potential of Modern Stained Glass Techniques in Architecture" while artists' approaches to stained glass as an art medium, moving outside the confines of flat windows, is illustrated in exhibition catalogues (viz. the Women's International Stained Glass Workshop catalogue (undated) and the catalogue of the exhibition of Spanish stained glass from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century (Fundacion Santander Central Hispano 2001a)) and Pilchuck's review (Herman 1992) of forty years of work done in the American Glass Art movement under the guidance of this school. These art works use stained glass primarily as a vehicle for meaning rather than for window-decoration.

O'Connell (2007) gives a fairly comprehensive survey of symbols and symbolism, also looking at origins and meanings of graphic symbols in different social and religious contexts. This was used to evaluate the context of symbols used in visual imagery. The Bible was used as the primary source for the meaning of symbols referred to in this text. The King James Authorized translation was used as theologians generally consider this to be the English translation giving the closest equivalent to the original languages. The text was evaluated using defined biblical hermeneutic principles. Hermeneutically acceptable ways in which the Bible can be interpreted as well as the historic ways in which the church approached this in the past are described in detail in Wood's (1958) book on interpreting The Bible: but the actual hermeneutic theory of post-modern literary interpretation of the Bible that I have used is explained and defended by McKnight (1988).

In terms of an approach to the evaluation of the meaning of buildings in South Africa, Bunn (2007) critically looks at built monuments made by different cultural groupings in South Africa and compares their approaches, the meaning that can be deduced from their symbolism and their interrelationships, e.g. the difference between the British Colonial monumentality which expresses the conquering and taming of a wild environment and Afrikaans monuments which proclaim the overcoming of obstacles on the way to the promised land. In the sense that the Afrikaners built their churches as monuments, much of what he says applies equally to church buildings and needs to be explored in this context. Coombes'

(2003) references to visual context are wider and put into a more specific historic context. She looks at different visual phenomena (architecture, art, etc.) at the same moment in time and how they express the socio-political context of that moment in different ways. Both these writers are useful models for analysis and deduction. This way of describing phenomena could be developed into a constructivist grounded theory approach, as discussed in detail by Charmaz (2003) in Denzin and Lincoln's (2003) in-depth study on the history of qualitative research. This includes the approaches that can be taken and the theory underlying them. Flick's Introduction to qualitative research (2006) is more of a practical guide on how to conduct this type of research.

1.3 The Importance of this Study

Architecture per se is already an exercise in the production of meaning, but the specific role of stained glass windows, as reintroduced into Afrikaans Protestant church architecture in the 1960's, is once again to convey symbolic meaning. A church invests in stained glass windows in order to communicate both its identity and its message. A commissioned artist has a responsibility to communicate the client's position clearly. It is therefore important for artists and architects involved in this process to understand how meaning is conveyed in windows, how this meaning reflects the context of the time, how the perception of meaning changes as this context changes and how this meaning can best be constructed to remain relevant within these changes. This study provides a retrospective case study of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows as one example of an Afrikaans Protestant church which changed its windows, eventually commissioning a fully symbolic window using original stained glass techniques.

Apart from the meaning that a church tries to convey through its windows, it necessarily conveys a great deal of covert meaning on the position of the client in a socio-politico-economic context because Architecture uses the realities of a large capital investment in property and construction technology, in an economic climate, to express its message. This implies that the meaning that can be derived from buildings and windows is usually more comprehensive than the intended symbolism or the explicit statements made by designers or the church. It can even be that the conveyed meaning contradicts the stated meaning, which gives additional information on the position of the client and designer at the time when the windows were made. This type of exploration could produce useful historical insights.

The whole field related to the symbolic role of stained glass windows in Protestant church architecture in South Africa lies unresearched.

In terms of stained glass windows the only book on stained glass in South Africa per se is a slim volume (Oxley 1994) which gives a brief overview of the history of stained glass, lists key South African artists and gives a few examples of their work. Apart from the Roman Catholic "stations of the cross" example analyzed by Frieda Harmsen (1989), the meaning of South African stained glass has not been researched in depth, especially in regard to its symbolism. The only literature available is in church guides or leaflets in which the window artist's explanation of symbolism is given, proving that in most windows this is a key component. The lack of research is a major omission, since church windows have a great impact. They are commented upon and photographed for popular articles, they are costly items in a church building and they have great symbolic potential. This study makes a contribution to this field by analysing a single example in depth.

As far as symbolism in Afrikaans Protestant church buildings as such is concerned, the last review of this subject was done by D.P. Kesting in his doctoral thesis (1978) at a time when he was advocating and reviewing its re-introduction. This was also the time when the various Afrikaans church synod commissions issued policy documents on the design of church buildings. How this was implemented between 1978 and the present has not been documented. Although the development of a specific plan form for Afrikaans Protestant churches has been explored in some detail (le Roux 2008) no one has researched the role or development of windows in Afrikaans Protestant churches. This study makes a contribution to this field by covering the background context of window symbolism in Afrikaans Protestant churches and describing one example in depth at different times during its history.

1.4 Limits and Definitions

This is a retrospective qualitative case study looking at the windows of one particular church building, that of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, from the founding of the church community in 1919 up to the completion of the first of the replaced windows in 2006. It does not represent the larger picture in any way nor does it attempt to comprehensively cover the research gaps identified in section 1.7.1, but rather aims to provide an interpretation of the changes in meaning that can be observed in this particular example, as an expression of the church's identity in a changing religio-political context.

This study is limited to the windows and their meaning; it looks at the church building in the context of the windows.

Note: The town of Witbank has been renamed "eMalahleni" since the completion of the project and the commencement of this study.

1.4.1 Glossary

For the purposes of this study,

- "church" is taken to be the group or "body" of believers who subscribe to the same belief-constructs, and not the building. If a specific church community is under discussion, it means the believers in this particular community, e.g. Afrikaans Protestants or the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church.
- "Protestant" is taken to mean any of the many Christian church denominations or descendants of Christian church denominations that split off from the Roman Catholic church in the early 16th century in order to return fundamentally to the Bible as the only source of authority for all matters of faith
- "Afrikaans Protestant churches" is taken to mean the Calvinist Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa formerly affiliated to the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk), These are the Dutch Reformed Church ("Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk") and the two white "sister churches" that grew from it, i.e. the "Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk" and the "Gereformeerde Kerk" in South Africa. The later "non-white" offshoots from these churches are not discussed here since they did not acquire a built heritage of stained glass windows in the period under review.

- "Afrikaner" in the context of this research is taken (up to 1994) to mean the white, Afrikaans-speaking, culture group in South Africa, and this culture-group as it has acquired other members since then.
- "believer" in this church context is taken to be an individual who subscribes to the oldest, shared Christian belief-constructs as defined in the Apostles' creed.
- "religious" pertains to the structure, organization and official policy of a religious organization
- "spiritual" pertains to a relationship with a deity, whether or not this happens within a formal structure.
- "stained glass" glass coloured by pigments in the glass, by fusing coloured metallic oxides onto the glass or by painting and baking transparent colours onto the glass surface. It is widely used in church windows. (Morris 1969:1255)
- "symbolism" is taken to refer to the practice of using abstract symbols, be they textual or visual, to communicate meaning, and to the practice of attributing symbolic meanings or significance to objects, events and relationships (Morris 1969:1302).
- "abstract" means considered apart from concrete existence. (Morris 1969:7)
- "meaning" is taken to be that which something represents, either intentionally or unintentionally, including its symbolic or semantic content.
- "scripture" is a sacred writing or book. (Morris 1969:1167)In the case of Protestant Christian churches, this is the Bible, excluding the apocryphal books.
- "sacred" means made or declared holy, (Morris 1969:1141) i.e. associated with divine power.

1.5 Aim and Thesis Question

The aim of this qualitative case study is to retrospectively examine the meaning of the windows of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church when it was built in 1920-1923 (architect: W.B. Anderson), altered in 1961-1963 (architect: D.P. Kesting), and when its window restoration was commissioned in 2004-2006 (architect and glass artist: A. Janse van Rensburg), as an expression of this Afrikaans Protestant church community's identity in the changing religio-political context. This meaning should be read formally, tectonically and symbolically. The sample points represent the times when major changes were made to the windows.

The thesis question is therefore:
What meaning can be interpreted from the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows?

1.6 Theoretical framework

I have been following the historical analytical models of authors such as David Bunn and Annie Coombes, who look at built form in relation to the historical context, make their own observations and draw their own conclusions, referring only to other authors in terms of general phenomena or comparable conclusions. Since these are qualitative analyzes, I have consulted literature on qualitative research strategies and borrowed some definitions to describe and defend these approaches.

Some of my data are symbols and scriptural texts, which I have consulted as a source document in my research for this dissertation. A reader-orientated post-modern approach to scripture as a literary text has yielded the most useful results and will be discussed in more detail. This is also the approach that I used to identify the layers of meaning on which my own designs, described in 5.3, were based. The scriptural references referred to in the text are given in full in Appendix B.

1.6.1 Qualitative research theory base

"Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them." (Denzin, Lincoln 2003:4-5)

Qualitative research uses

- investigative strategies such as grounded theory, ethnography, phenomenology, action research and case studies
- methods of data collection such as observation of visual data, questionnaires, interviews of different kinds and self-group reflection
- data analysis methods such as content analysis, thematic content analysis, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, layered grounded analysis and quantitative analysis;
- interpretive, qualitative perspectives include hermeneutics and semiotics.

I have chosen a qualitative approach which does not subscribe to the positivist attitude that there is only one reality to be captured and understood, but a post-positivist attitude which endeavours only to approximate reality, using as many different interpretive practices as possible, which include hermeneutics and semiotics, but the interpretation is by no means limited to any one of these approaches (Denzin, Lincoln 2003:11).

Sampling methods are determined by choosing samples that will give rich and appropriate data, not by statistical methods. A sample of one, or of what is available, properly analyzed, is a valid sample. Trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability replace validation as the criteria for qualitative research (Lincoln, Guba 1985:376). In qualitative research, the investigator as the instrument is accepted to be a gendered, multiculturally situated individual who approaches the world with a set of ideas and interacts with the data from this angle, giving his/her individual perspective to the interpretation. According to Lincoln and Guba "there are no objective observations, only observations socially situated in the worlds of – and between- the observer and the observed" (Denzin, Lincoln 2003:31).

1.6.2 Declaration of researcher position

I am female, South African, come from a white Protestant Afrikaans cultural background, studied architecture at a liberal English university in South Africa, personally experienced the second and third periods under investigation in this study, and was personally responsible for the design and manufacture of the third period window. My hermeneutic approach is a post-modern literary approach to the biblical text from a position of faith. I have often observed but never been a member of the church denomination under discussion, and am not at present a member of any church or religious grouping.

1.6.3 Symbolic theory base

Symbolism is the practice of using abstract symbols, be they textual or visual, to communicate meaning, and the practice of attributing symbolic meanings or significance to objects, events and relationships (Morris 1969:1302).

Table 1.1 Dictionary definition: symbol (Morris 1969:1302)

sym·bol (sĭm'bəl) ***n.***
1. Something that represents something else by association, resemblance, or convention; especially, a material object used to represent something invisible.
2. A printed or written sign used to represent an operation, element, quantity, quality, or relation, as in mathematics or music.
[Latin *symbolum,* sign, token, from Greek *sumbolon*, token for identification (by comparing it with its counterpart), from *sumballein,* to throw together, compare: *sun-,* together + *ballein,* to throw]

"The word 'symbol' is derived from the ancient Greek *symballein,* meaning to throw together. (See table 2.1) Its figurative use originated in the custom of breaking a clay tablet to mark the conclusion of a contract or agreement: each party to the agreement would be given one of the broken pieces, so that when they reconvened the pieces could be fitted together like a jigsaw. The pieces, each of which identified one of the people involved, were known as *symbola,* so that a symbol not only represents something else but also hints at a missing "something", an invisible part that is needed to achieve completion or wholeness. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the symbol carries the sense of joining things together to create a whole, greater than the sum of its parts, as shades of meaning accrue to produce a complex idea" (O'Connell, Airey 2007:6).

We can see from the definitions of symbolism that symbols can be invented to convey meaning, or that objects, events, relationships or people can become symbols because they are significant and through usage, a certain meaning which is greater than the literal meaning has become attributed to them. Since the meaning of a symbol is formed by human interaction with the symbol, a symbol's meaning does change with usage (O'Connell, Airey 2007:6). This means that the intended meaning can be lost if it is not reinforced through usage. A designer can invent a "symbol" or graphic coding for an idea which never catches on. Because people do not interacted with it, it never actualizes this meaning and is then, by definition, no longer a symbol. The meaning of a symbol will change if the way in which people interact with it starts to change. This can include the fact that they add new associations to its meaning and that these can start to override or replace the original one. An event can change the meaning of a symbol, e.g. the World Trade Centre which was a symbol of New York's commercial dominance, became a symbol standing up against threat.

The meaning of a symbol is reinforced and retained by constant interaction and by always referring it back to a known key or benchmark, either documented or transmitted through oral tradition. Scriptures and rituals are the keys that are used to retain and transmit the religious meaning that is being implied with the use of a visual symbol. This makes the sacrosanctity of scripture very important in a religious system: If the scripture may be changed, all the symbolic meaning shifts.

One must remember that language is in itself symbolic. The word "lamp" is a symbol that conveys the meaning of a device that emits light, heat and / or therapeutic radiation (Morris 1969). It may conjure up different specific visual images to different people in different contexts, so the word-symbol can convey a broader concept than a visual image. Graphically, symbols as coded visual images strive to convey generic meaning (signs), as opposed to more complex and specific visual images. Graphic signs can be combined and overlaid in the same way as words, so the symbol of a red outlined triangle (meaning "beware!") enclosing the silhouettes of children means "Be careful of children in the road".

In text, words are combined into more complex meanings, often in figures of speech, which are "images" conveying an abstract meaning alongside the literal one. Scripture, as a rich text, uses many figures of speech, which can be interpreted in different ways, giving countless nuances of meaning. Scripture is in itself a symbol of a complex, multivalent and creative deity. The biblical text describes itself as a "living" word (The Bible: Heb.4:12).

In this research I approach objects and events as symbols, researching what meaning can be, or is, attributed to them. I also look at symbols that were invented to convey a certain meaning and try to assess what meaning they did convey in the past, and do convey at present.

1.6.4 Hermeneutic theory base

Hermeneutics is defined as the science and methodology of interpretation, especially of scriptural text. Scriptural text is defined as sacred, i.e. associated with divine power. This implies that the scriptural text is a form of communication by divine power, putting the reader into contact with divine power. This makes a correct interpretation of this text critical, and even more so if one person is interpreting it on behalf of another, as the interpreter (e.g. the minister or priest) sits in a position to manipulate others.

Scripture needs to be interpreted

- because words are symbols
- because it is generally read in translation
- because its contents, if coming from a source of divine power, should be greater than readers' limited grasp
- and because even the youngest portions of the Bible are 1900 years old, so the context referred to in the text has changed considerably.

The church has always interpreted the text on behalf of its members because for centuries the text was only available in the original languages or Latin. Also, until the time of the printing press, actual copies of the text were rare and costly. Even after this changed, both the Catholic and the Protestant churches kept the interpretation of scripture to the province of theologians, who were trained to understand the original languages and in the historical context in which it should be understood. This kept the contact with divine power within the control of the church, giving the church significant political power, and made it easy for the church to dismiss criticism of church approaches by laity. For this reason new approaches to the interpretation of scripture, such as the Reformation, generally came from theologians such as Luther and Calvin. Changes in the approach to interpretation happened by consensus throughout the church, or when a church subgroup felt that the general church interpretation had fallen into error and reformed. Reformations large and small were generally sparked by genuine attempts to interpret scripture more correctly, since a wrong interpretation would weaken the church's own connection with the divine source. This means that over the centuries there were many defined approaches to interpretation of scripture on which different theologies and dogmas were based. These are retrospectively called "hermeneutics" in church circles without meeting the definition of a *science* of interpretation. The official development of hermeneutics as a critical philosophic discipline only happened during the twentieth century when an attempt was made to set objective logical parameters (and checks) for the interpretations that theologians were disseminating in the name of the church. As part of the discipline of Philosophy, it opened the critical study of biblical text to non-believers. Although "Biblical hermeneutics" as a subject within theological training assumes the sacrality of the text and a position of belief in the reader, (Croatto 1995:2) hermeneutic principles can be applied to the Bible as a

literary text from a position of non-belief as well. This means that as a researcher and as an artist it is possible to approach this research from a hermeneutic theory base without going into a study of theology. There are certain principles which still differentiate biblical hermeneutics from general hermeneutics, even for non-believers, which have to do with the unique property of the biblical text as a unified compilation of ancient texts by different authors, written over time.

The following are basic principles common to all the different approaches to biblical hermeneutics:

As an ancient, rich, literary text coming from a known historical setting there are many levels at which scripture can and should be interpreted if it is to be understood. One of these is the historical level, which requires background on the context of the time in which it was written. The Bible can be studied as a literary text, an historical narrative, an archaeological source document and philologically, but the discipline of hermeneutics implies that the text should only be read with presuppositions that derive only from the text itself (Wood 1958:2).

The Bible should be read as whole or unity, in which diverse subsections elucidate different aspects of the whole and should be seen as complementary rather than exclusive (Hofmann Johann Christian Konrad Von 1959:76-77). Croatto describes it as "a single text" (Croatto 1995:56) Even historically, since the text was accrued over time, references to something in later-written parts of the Bible should be read as including the meaning of the earlier text (Croatto 1995:30). The earlier texts were obviously known to the readers to whom the later texts were addressed.

Post-modern approaches to hermeneutics examined the Bible as a reader-orientated literary text which positions the reader as a participant in the process of production of meaning. This opened up a poetic mythology with rich overlays of meaning as which lend themselves to visual symbolism, bringing hermeneutics into the realm of visual communication as a generator. This hermeneutic approach also made it possible to look at all statements in scripture as literary and mythological, taking it out of the realm of history and sacrality, which seemed in conflict with traditional Calvinist critical-historical interpretations. (See section on church approaches to hermeneutics, chapter 2.2.4) However theorists started to see that a literary approach, if it still assumed the sacrality of the text and did not deny the historical narrative approach, could mediate and unify the scriptural and literary functions of the biblical text. This approach is described and defended in detail by Mc Knight (1988:102-260). When the Bible is seen as truth and literature, it discloses the sacred. "The biblical writings are designed for readers who will find and create meanings that involve them, that match their needs and capacity at cognitive and non-cognitive levels." (McKnight 1988:170). Because the reader has to engage with the text in an imaginative and constructive way, he is not only understanding something of the text, but creating a new world

which will impact upon and change him/her. This is in line with the principles of real communication in relationships. This is also in line with the scriptural concept that the Bible is a "living word", a conversation in a relationship, and that "Christ will transform his bride (the church) through 'the washing of water by the word' (The Bible: Eph.5:26)". The way in which the Bible is written opens rich potential in this type of interaction.

In this context, Wood in his glossary (1958:ii) describes the following layers of interpretation which can co-exist in this hermeneutic approach:
The reader should interpret scripture

- "firstly from the literal or historical sense, i.e. the meaning intended by the author," who may be describing something he has witnessed. (Note, in Christian theology, scripture is held to be divinely inspired, i.e. the author is Moses or Samuel, but the origin or inspiration is the Holy Spirit.)

Then there are a variety of "mystical or spiritual senses" which derive from its origin, viz. "the

- Allegorical sense: a sense behind the literal sense, not consciously intended by the author
- Typological sense: a sense in which a historical connection is presupposed between events, persons or things in the Old Testament and corresponding ones in the New Testament. (*This imbues certain passages with prophetic meaning.*)
- Anagogical sense: meaning attributed to earthly aspects is raised to the heavenly *(spiritualized)*
- Tropological sense: a moral lesson hidden figuratively in the literal words
- Christological sense: an interpretation where certain figures in the Old Testament find their proper meaning when interpreted of Jesus Christ
- Theological sense: interpreting what the Bible teaches of God" (*italics my comments)*

These are all valid senses in which scripture can be interpreted since they are recognized and described within the scripture itself (Wood 1958:2).

I find this hermeneutic approach to make logical sense. It unlocks the creative and poetic riches of scripture in a way that can be fruitfully used by artists, which is in accordance with the scriptural concept of a creative deity who made humankind to also be creative. (The Bible: Gen.2) It gives a plausible explanation to my personal experience of a spiritual reality, confirming its premise of sacrality, and pulls together differing but complementary hermeneutic approaches used in the history of the church. For these reasons I am using a post-modern hermeneutic approach to the Bible as a sacred reader-orientated literary text.

1.7 Research Method

Qualitative research aims to describe, understand and explain human perceptions, behaviour, actions, attitudes and values.

This is a retrospective, descriptive, explorative, qualitative, case study on the windows of a single example of an Afrikaans Protestant church over time. It is not an excellent or a representative example of Afrikaans Protestant church window design, but the example which I needed to understand.

The method was to firstly establish a context for

- windows
- meaning and symbolism
- tectonics
- Afrikaner religio-political history, through a literature study. (Chapter 2);

secondly to collect all the relevant data that could reasonably be found on this church, its windows, and the designers of the windows and then describe

- the history of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church. (Chapter 3)
- the window designers and their approaches (Chapter 4)
- the windows (Chapter 5) in the context of the church building, at every stage of the church's history.

I then examined the windows to explore the meaning that I could find in them formally, tectonically and symbolically and interpreted this as an expression of the church's identity in its changing religio-political context. (Chapter 6). These contexts were discussed (Chapter 7) and finally I drew conclusions from this case study. (Chapter 8)

1.7.1 Data collection

Contextual information was found through database searches on the subjects of stained glass, Kesting, churches, church symbolism, church architecture, symbol, symbolism, hermeneutics, scripture, scriptural meaning. The following databases were used: University of the Witwatersrand; University of Cape Town; University of Pretoria, Kovsideks, SACat, Current and completed research, SACitations, ETD, UJ libraries, Art Index, E-Journals, Avery and SANB.

In order to answer my research question, I needed information on the circumstances in which each of the window designs was commissioned: the client, brief, designer, design approach, resources available, and other influencing factors. I needed information on the actual designs produced, their execution, the end product, the client's response to this at the time and afterwards. I needed information on when changes were made and the motivation for these changes.

My data collection method for information on the church has mainly involved direct observation of the visual material, i.e. the church building and its stained glass windows, and selective interviews. For information on the church's previous form, I have consulted historical and visual texts and interviewed people who knew the previous situation first-hand or have information about the church history. The data types I have used include field notes on the church itself from 2004 to the present, photographs, architectural drawings, interview transcripts, and spoken and written texts including correspondence. The additional data collection methods for information on the context in which the church data should be understood have been a literature study, archival searches and personal experience.

In order to achieve as credible and confirmable a picture as possible, I have questioned various people on the same subjects and interviewed the same people at different times and I have compared these findings with the picture obtained from the literature study. I have, as far as is reasonably possible, consulted all probable sources of information on the church itself. In line with Flick's (2006:374) recommendations for optimizing the credibility of research, this has been a prolonged engagement with the subject, from August 2004 to the present, (being September 2009) and I have returned to sources for further clarification of their communications or more detailed information when the processing of information revealed gaps or uncertainties.

Since the data collection for the earlier phases of the church history was done long after the changes, there are certain gaps in the information available now, viz. on the original design brief and the approach of the designer in 1920, and documentation of the original colour of the 1963 windows. The fact that these gaps exist, is one of the findings of the study. Since the study is qualitative in nature, the gaps do not, according to Denzin (2003), compromise other specific findings of the study as a whole.

1.7.2 Data sources

The information on the context for this study was a literature study. It was sourced from printed, electronically published, unpublished (archival correspondence) and personal transcripts of public presentations e.g. conference papers that have not yet been published. The printed sources include books, articles, brochures, and exhibition catalogues. Some books were from electronically published sources and some information came from websites.

For the information on the church I carried out an exhaustive personal search in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church's own archives and records. This yielded material such as original photographs, architectural drawings and correspondence. The church council gave consent to publish their source documents at their meeting of 1 September 2009. I also conducted exhaustive searches at the Witbank Municipality's building plan record division.

Information on the history of the Dutch Reformed Church and its structures was sourced through personal searches in requested records in the church archives at the Theological School at Stellenbosch University while the correspondence on the Stellenbosch Dutch Reformed Church windows was made available by Johan Krige of their window commission. I requested searches by the Cape Institute of Architects and the SAIA in their archives, and interviewed the role players who are still available. In this instance I conducted repeated interviews with D. P. Kesting, Mr. R van As of the church building committee and the Rev. J. Momsen of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, either in person or by e-mail correspondence. Interviews have been conducted in accordance with the principles of informed consent. The church's building commission documentation (2004-06) on the redesign of the restored windows is in the possession of my architectural practice, Grasfontein Ontwerp CC. The rest of the information was observed and recorded on site by myself. All drawings, if not otherwise credited, are my own work and photographs not otherwise credited were taken by Grasfontein Ontwerp CC.

Although I have used and referenced documented information on stained glass techniques, I have, as a glass artist, also drawn on my own experience. Apart from practical experience, this includes having attended a glass painting course given by Debora Coombs, a seminar on glass art in Architecture presented by Pilchuck Glass School in July 1994, a presentation by Leo Theron given to the Pretoria Association of Arts in 1990 and having had conversations with other established South African artists including Stephanie Fassler and Hunter Nesbit.

The exact sources of data per chapter are given in the table on p21. (See Table 1.1)

Table 1.2 Data sources for this dissertation

CHAPTER	TITLE			
2	CONTEXT			
Sources:		information from a literature study and field notes on personal experience (on stained glass)		
3	BUILDING HISTORY	3.1 EARLY HISTORY	3.2 1961-1963 ALTERATIONS	3.3 2004 ONWARDS: RESTORATION
Sources:		interview Rev. Momsen interview R van As Witbank DRC archives: records Witbank DRC archives: photos Witbank DRC archives: drawings	interview Rev. Momsen interview R van As interviews D.P. Kesting Witbank DRC archives: records Witbank DRC archives: drawings Field notes on Witbank DRC	interview Rev. Momsen interview R van As Grasfontein Ontwerp CC records Witbank DRC correspondence Field notes on Witbank DRC
4	WINDOW DESIGNERS	4.1 ORIGINAL CONSTRUCTION 1920-1923	4.2 ALTERATIONS & ADDITIONS 1961-1963	4.3 RESTORATION: 2004-2006
Sources:		Witbank DRC archives: records Witbank DRC archives: photos Witbank DRC archives: drawings searches done: CIA, SAIA DRC archives Stellenbosch Witbank Municipality	personal interviews: D.P. Kesting Images & text supplied by D.P.Kesting Witbank DRC archives: records Witbank DRC archives: drawings Field notes on Witbank DRC Field notes on St Andrews, Witbank Field notes on Burgerspark DRC Literature study, Biblical scripture	personal viewpoints Grasfontein Ontwerp CC records Grasfontein Ontwerp CC drawings Grasfontein Ontwerp CC photos Field notes on Witbank DRC. Field notes on Grasfontein OntwerpCC Field notes on St Margaret's Witbank Biblical scripture
5	DESCRIPTION : BUILDING & WINDOWS	5.1 ORIGINAL CONSTRUCTION 1920-1923	5.2 ALTERATIONS & ADDITIONS 1961-1963	5.3 RESTORATION: 2004-2006
Sources:		Witbank DRC archives: photos Witbank DRC archives: drawings	personal interviews: D.P. Kesting Witbank DRC archives: records Witbank DRC archives: drawings Field notes on Witbank DRC Biblical scripture	Grasfontein Ontwerp CC records Grasfontein Ontwerp CC drawings Grasfontein Ontwerp CC photos Field notes on Witbank DRC Biblical scripture
6, 7, 8	INTERPRETATION, SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS			
Sources:		Own interpretive analysis of data, with communicative validation of interpretations with D.P.Kesting and with role players involved in the window redesign process from 2004-2006, Biblical scripture		

1.7.3 Data arrangement

These data were arranged chronologically in order to correlate them with the formal changes in the church windows. Gaps were identified and new data searches were conducted to attempt to fill in these gaps. The data were then grouped into three time periods, each ending when the church entered into negotiations to change the windows, i.e. from 1919 to 1960; 1961-2004; 2004 to 2006 (2006 was the cut-off point for this investigation: the process is ongoing). Data were grouped within these categories into church history, the window designers and their approaches, and the church building and its windows.

1.7.4 Data description

From these data, I have described the windows in relation to the overall church design at these times. Where possible, I have used the original architects' drawings and photographs taken at the time. Since photographs of the windows in the early 1960's were not available, I photographically documented the church in 2004 at the time just before the last restoration. The windows had not been altered since 1963, although the colours had faded. I took a second set of photographs in 2006 after building restoration had been completed and the first damaged window had been replaced. I have given written descriptions of the church at these points in time based on these images, archival information, technical information and interviews with role players. From these I made my own analytical sketches showing the placing and content of the windows.

1.7.5 Data analysis

The qualitative interpretation of the data has been explored in terms of the formal, symbolic, tectonic and historic meaning of the windows in relation to the church's expression of its identity in the socio-political, religious and spiritual climate at the time. The results of this interpretation can mainly be assessed in terms of an engagement or a lack of engagement with this expression on the part of the church, which resulted in changing demands for symbolic content, expressed as different tectonic solutions. These did not convey as much about the changing religio-political context as I had anticipated, which is a limitation in this research. They did however convey much more than I had anticipated about the correlation between the church's engagement with meaning and the growing emphasis on stained glass as a technique.

2 CONTEXT OF THIS ANALYSIS

In considering the thesis question, I am evaluating the meaning of the church windows

- as spiritual symbols,
- as artefacts expressing the position of a community within a particular religious organization (viz. the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa) and
- as products of a socio-economic and political reality.

To do this, one needs to understand the interrelationships within the context of the church windows. This has been diagrammatically modelled in Table 2.2. This chapter will present research from literature on the content of the different "blocks" in the model. These are presented as a montage of contextual descriptions, to be understood as an interrelated whole rather than a narrative sequence.

Table 2.1 Dictionary definition: window (Morris 1969:1467).

win·dow (wĭn'dō) *n.*

1. An opening constructed in a wall or roof and functioning to admit light or air to an enclosure, usually framed and spanned with glass mounted to permit opening and closing.

2.a. A framework enclosing a pane of glass; a sash.

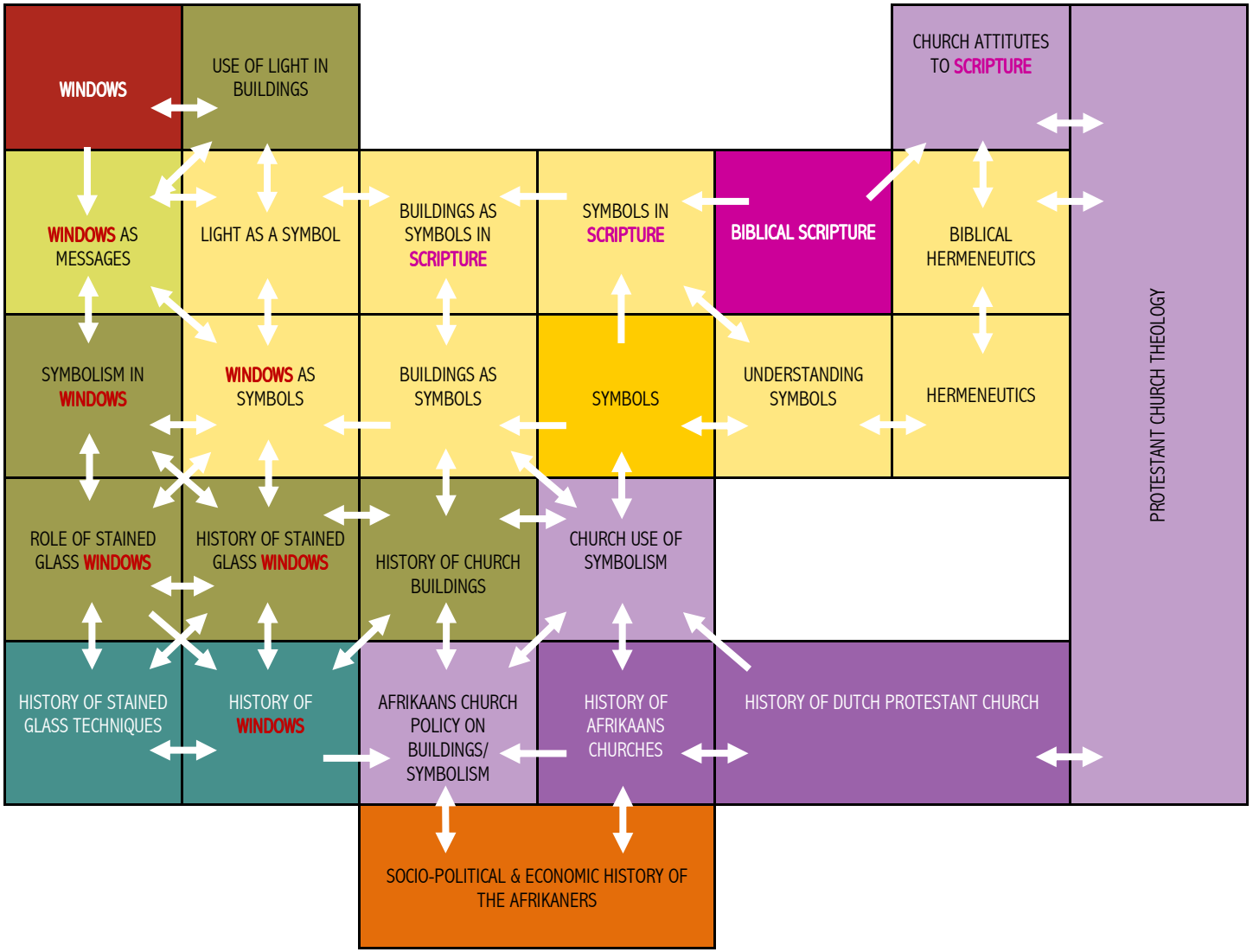
b. A pane of glass, clear plastic, or the like; windowpane.

3. Any opening that resembles a window in function or appearance, as the transparent space on an envelope that reveals the address printed on the enclosure.

4. A code name for strips of metal foil dropped from aircraft as a radar countermeasure; chaff.

[Middle English *window(e),* from Old Norse *vindauga: vindr,* wind, air + *auga,* eye]

Table 2.2 Contextual model for the meaning of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows



2.1 The Window as a Symbol

The deepest clues about the window as a metaphor or symbol can probably be found in language. The origins of the word, Norse *vindauga = vindr* (wind, air) *+ auga* (eye) (Morris 1969) give its main connotations of opening (admitting: in and out) and seeing. (See Table 2.2) Expressions such as "the eyes are the windows of the soul" imply not only sight, but insight into what is hidden. The fact that a company like Microsoft has taken this as an icon for unfolding revelation of information shows that its meaning remains current.

2.1.1 The window as a symbol of wealth and status

As architectural elements, windows first served the purely practical purpose of admitting light into the interior of a structure and were simply openings in walls. In cold or wet climates this made for a cold, draughty interior and ways of protecting these openings from the weather, while retaining translucency, were invented. These devices were generally more costly than the original wall structure and economic constraints determined the number and type of windows that a building owner could afford. In most cases, more light was an advantage, so a greater number of large windows was advantageous but expensive, and became a clear symbol of wealth and status. In many examples of houses, the most expensive window types and the highest density of windows were reserved for the street façade, clearly proclaiming the owner's standing to the public.

Stained glass windows are a case in point where not only wealth, but also jewel-like splendour is communicated, implying the magnificence of the owner. This impression was used to promote the status and authority of the church organization (Norman 1990). Stained glass windows originated in gothic cathedrals as the only type of (backlit) painting that could be clearly seen in the dark, candle-lit interiors. At that stage, the other available graphic techniques were tempera, frescoes and mosaic. These all needed light (more draughty windows) to be seen. Stained glass windows were extremely expensive as they used costly materials and techniques that



Figure 2.1 Windows as eyes
Top to bottom: (1) Picasso self-portrait (Anonymous,h))(2) House drawn by a five year old (3) A French country house with a 'face' (Camesasca 1968:106)

required multiple layers of hand-painting. They were fired at relatively uncontrolled high temperatures and therefore at high risk. Large numbers of stained glass windows therefore implied great wealth. They were as much a way of communicating basic scriptural narrative to the illiterate through pictures as their jewel-like splendour was there to impress people with the glory of God - and the church (Norman 1990).

2.1.2 The window as an eye

If one asks a small child to draw a house, the iconic drawing looks like this: a façade (face) with two windows arranged symmetrically around the door (mouth) in the eye positions. (See figure 2.1) The deepest association is thus with eyes, implying seeing in and out.

"Looking in", the view from outside, has to do with seeing who inhabits this building; with revelation of identity. "The view out" has to do with awareness of and relationship to the surroundings. The framing of views is a very specific decision which communicates a chosen outlook on the surroundings. An example is M.R.A's Hector Peterson Museum, Soweto (2002), where specific views of places at which key events in Hector Petersen's final hours took place, are framed. Christopher Alexander (1977:134) describes how windows can frame small glimpses of views which deliberately conceal and suggest hidden possibilities. Building owners usually exclude views of the surrounding reality which is less beautiful and frame the views that they like, extending their "ownership" to the surroundings as if the views were their paintings on the wall.

For an eye to communicate well, it needs clear vision. In the case of an eye with a cataract, or in need of spectacles, there is light, but the beholder cannot clearly make out what he is seeing. For building users to see in or out a window needs to have a flat, clear, transparent element and not just be translucent. One can specifically limit seeing in and out while admitting light by using frosted, reflective or coloured glass. One can choose to see life "through rose-coloured spectacles". Complete visual cut-off, ("closing the eyes"), is through blinds or



Figure 2.2 The oculi active on 16 December. Moerdijk: the Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, 1936-1949 and M.R.A: Freedom Park, Pretoria, 2004-2008
Top to bottom: (1) Top left: oculus window, VM (2) Top right: sonar image of the eye (3) View of opening in floor to cenotaph below, VM (Anonymous, d) (4) Light shining on cenotaph, 16 December, VM (Anonymous, j) (5) Moerdijk's drawing of the oculus structure, VM (Vermeulen 1999:87)(6) Light from oculus nearing the flame, Sikumbuto, FP

shutters. The use of such devices reveals a great deal about choices of relationship with the surroundings. The parallel with the eye, however, can be taken much further. In the eye, the fact that light is focused on the retina is only the beginning of a process. The sensation from the retina first needs to be turned upside-down in the brain, "seen", this image compared with memory, and then interpreted in the light of past visual experience, to have meaning. The brain also interpolates the missing information from experience (e.g. what the back of the object would look like) to provide the viewer with a three-dimensional mental image of the object which contains much more information than that which has just been sent by the eye. The communicated information comes from "multiple exposures". The same can be said for certain windows.

In the oculus or eye window, direct light from a small window in the roof is projected onto a specific point in the building at a specific time. By focusing on that place at that moment in the year in a very significant way, by harnessing the cosmic movement of the sun to service this symbolic focus, it elevates its importance to cosmic proportions. It is interesting to note that both the sanctuary in the Sikhumbuto at Freedom Park, and the Voortrekker Monument on the hill opposite, use this device to focus sunlight on a significant symbol at noon on 16 December (See 2.2). The fact that this is an annual occurrence links the meaning of any particular 16th of December to the meaning of every other 16th of December, creating an ever-expanding frame of reference and significance. The Sikhumbuto's primary reference is to the founding of Umkhonto weSizwe on 16 December in 1961 (Anonymous,f) and that of the Voortrekker Monument is to the day of the Blood River Battle on 16 December in 1836, (Voortrekkermonument-inwydingskomitee 1949:47) but they are also directly linked to each other through the choice of a shared time reference and the decision to use the same solar symbolism. The Sikhumbuto is thus making direct reference to the power that it has replaced, i.e. incorporated.

2.1.3 The window as a light source

In the physical realm, light is and gives energy and reveals things to the eye. In many cultures light symbolizes transcendence, spirituality and the presence of a good deity or life, as opposed to death and evil. (e.g. Hindu: Diwali, the festival of lights, which symbolizes the triumph of good over evil; (O'Connell, Airey 2007:41); Zoroastrianism: Ahura Mazda, the supreme deity responsible for truth and light, as opposed to the evil Ahriman; (O'Connell, Airey 2007:22)) Light is a key concept in Judeo-Christian scriptures, which form the basis for Afrikaans Protestant theology. Here it is described as the first creation of God; a positive creative act. (The Bible: Gen1:2,3). In the theophanies God himself is described as dwelling in, surrounded by and glowing with light (The Bible: Ezek1:27; Rev1:16); his guiding words are described as giving light (The Bible: Ps119:130) and finally Jesus, as incarnate God, proclaims "I am the light of the world" (The Bible: Jn.8:12), after John stated that "In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not." (The Bible: Jn1:4,5).

The window, which admits light, is thus also a strong spiritual symbol. In Judeo-Christian scriptures it frequently refers to the connection between God and humankind through "windows in the heavens", with the specific meaning of openings through which God releases rain or blessings to earth below. It must be remembered that until well after the time when these scriptures were written, windows were unglazed openings in walls, providing full (not just visual) connection. It is interesting to note that in this scriptural context, where it is stated that God gave David the architectural plan for the temple (The Bible: 1Ch28:12), there were illuminating clerestory windows (not providing any view) in the main body of Solomon's temple (The Bible: 1Ki.6:4). However, if one actually draws an architectural plan according to the descriptions given in 1Ki6 and 2Ch3&4, (The Bible) there are no windows in the holy of holies in which God's presence was manifest, suggesting that since it was illuminated by his presence, it needed no created light. Symbolically, it conveys that when God dwells in a person, the source of light has become internalized and there is no need to admit light from outside. The implication is also that where there is reality, there is no longer any need for symbolism.

2.1.4 The window as a layered montage

Windows are either unobstructed openings punctured through an enclosing surface or they can contain a transparent or translucent pane. This brings about a layering of what can be seen, apart from choices about opening or closing the openings.

The most complex visual layering happens where glass or some other transparent material is used for the translucent element. Because of this material's qualities of light transmission, refraction and reflection, many different focal distances can be seen simultaneously, and the combination can be changed by changing the direction, directness or directionality of the light or even the physical properties of the materials, e.g. in "Smart glass".

A window can reveal

- what is in front of the glass,
- whatever is applied onto the surface of the glass,
- the light that is focused by the glass,
- the light that is diffused inside the glass,
- the colour that is transmitted through the glass and projected onto surfaces beyond the glass,
- the colour and texture of the glass
- what can be seen through the glass beyond the window.

The art of glass painting (stained glass) deliberately uses of all of these dimensions at the same time. (See figure 2.3)

The window is therefore an element in which many different messages can be related to one another.

2.1.5 The window as a visual message

When an image is put into a window, it becomes a strongly highlighted visual message: a canvas or a pin board. It has access to a tonal palette ranging from focused direct light to total blackness, giving maximum contrast. The fact that the image is always subtly changing because of the changing exterior, including quality of daylight, engages the viewer in a way that a static image cannot do, since it is true that "familiarity breeds contempt". The eye is also always drawn to light, focusing attention on windows as opposed to wall from the interior. This combined dynamic makes the window into a strong message board.

Figure 2.3 Following 5 pages: Visible layers in a window
A window can contain layers of information in front of, on, in behind and beyond the glass which are combined into one visual image with interrelated and changing layers of meaning

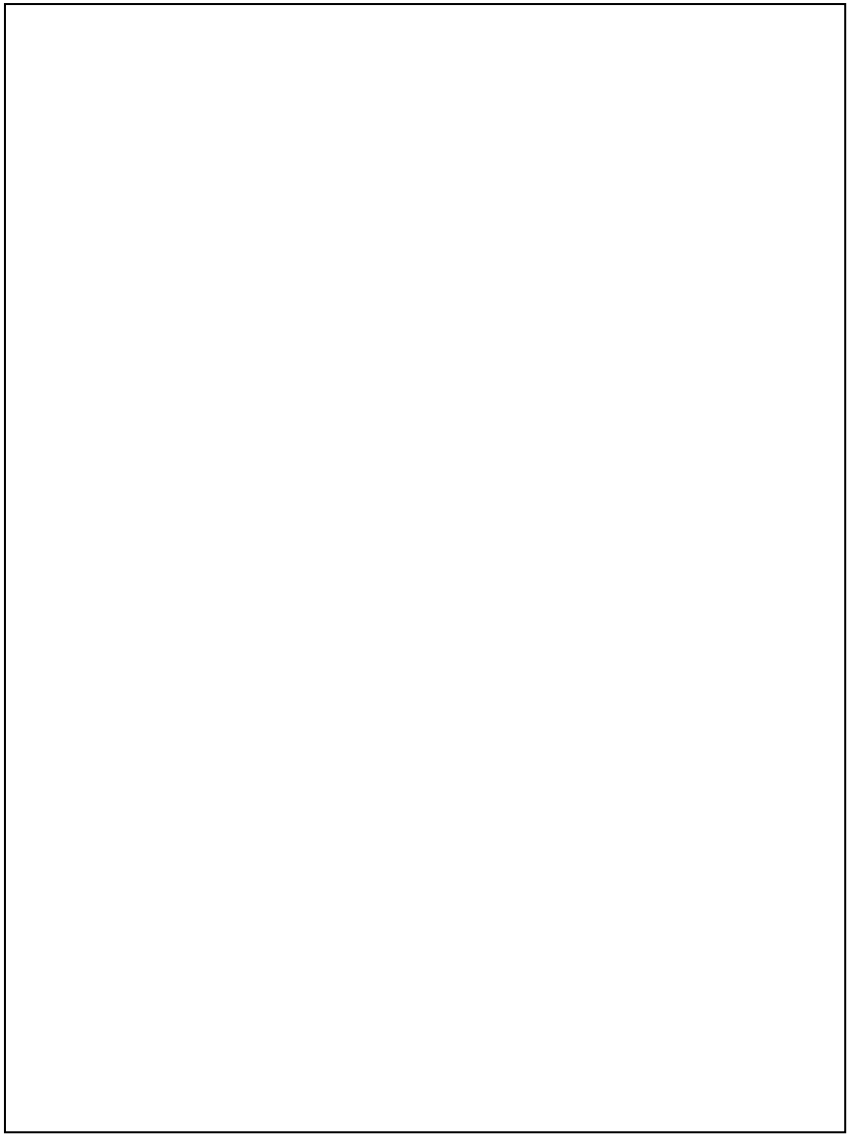
THE OPENING IN THE WALL

(printed onto card with panes cut out)



LIGHT CAUGHT AND FOCUSED IN THE GLASS

(printed onto transparent, textured film)



LIGHT TONED DOWN AND BLOCKED OUT BY PAINT ON THE GLASS

(printed onto transparent film)



GLASS BLOCKING OUT CERTAIN WAVELENGTHS OF LIGHT,

COLOURING IT

(printed onto cut-away coloured film)



LIGHT CAUGHT AND FOCUSED IN THE GLASS

(printed onto cut-away tracing paper)




THE LIGHT SOURCE BEYOND... THE POTENTIAL VIEW

2.2 Meaning and Symbolism in the Church

There are many different approaches to symbols and symbolism in the Judeo-Christian tradition and its syncretic offshoots which cannot be explored in detail in this particular study. To understand the way in which symbolism has been seen in the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church, it is necessary to trace the genealogy of this particular church in the Christian family tree and then look at this branch's approach to symbolism over time: textual, graphic, architectural and ritual, taking us back to the basic anthropological definitions of how mankind has expressed its engagement with the spiritual realm.

In this very specific narrow history, we shall find that the benchmark that was used to measure when this church's course should be adjusted was biblical scripture. Protestant Christian churches proclaim the Bible to be the only true authority on all matters of faith (Hattstein, Deman 2005:27), and a return to what the church understood to be the intent of scripture has formed the basis of most of the reformations or adjustments to this course. As the stated basis of faith, it follows that scripture should direct any approach to symbolism within the Dutch Reformed Church, and if extraneous symbolism that comes in is in conflict with scripture, the conflict should be resolved by returning to the principles of scripture. This means that scripture should be referred to as a primary source, but also immediately brings us to the question of how scripture should be interpreted, and who is qualified to do this.

To put these matters in context, here follows a brief review of

- symbols as used in biblical scripture
- valid biblical hermeneutic approaches
- the history of the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church and its predecessors' approaches to symbolism in the context of their interpretation of scripture and
- the ways in which symbolism can or has been used in architecture and window-painting.

2.2.1 Symbols in relation to scripture

The most direct visual symbols used in scripture are those where the text describes a visual image with an accompanying explanation of its meaning as given to the author, cf.Jer1:11-12 (The Bible). When reconstructed as a visual image in a church context, it can safely be assumed to include this same expounded base meaning, whatever other layers

of meaning may be added. Then there are parables, where a story is told to illustrate a religious lesson and the meaning is once again explained. Visually recognizable key elements in the story once again stand as symbols for a meaning that has been clearly coded. Some parables are direct similes: "Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock" (The Bible: Mt7:24,25) A visual image of a house built on rock has the clearly coded meaning of a wise man, with the illustration of what a wise man does, expounded in the parable. There is personification: "Doth not wisdom cry? …She standeth in the top of high places" (The Bible: Pro.8:1-2) which is taken through to metaphors and extended metaphors such as "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars:"(The Bible: Pro.9:1) in which the extended symbolism is not explained and open to interpretation.

As an example of the hermeneutic principle that the Bible is a unity, accrued over time, let us consider a concept such as "lamb". A lamb slain as a substitutionary (symbolic) sacrifice to obtain life is first introduced in Exodus as a simple concept. (The Bible: Ex.12:3) In Leviticus, the concept of a lamb as a sacrifice to remove sin is introduced (The Bible: Lev.4:32). Later when Isaiah prophetically refers to the coming Messiah "brought as a lamb to the slaughter" (The Bible: Is.53:7) it adds this whole dimension of meaning to his role. When eventually John refers to his cousin Jesus by saying "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world" (The Bible: Jn1:29) this one symbol communicates the fact that he is the Messiah, that He will make a substitutionary sacrifice, that He is perfect ("without blemish"), that this will give life, that it will set people free from their sin and rid them of guilt, and that this sacrifice will be made willingly. In Revelation the information is added that He is the "lamb slain from the foundation of the world", (The Bible: Rev.13:8) i.e. that this sacrifice was ratified in the spiritual realm outside the confines of time. In a scriptural context, the symbol of a lamb means all these things together, although they are elucidated in different passages of scripture.

For the purposes of this dissertation, a "scriptural symbol" is considered to be a verbal image, taken from the biblical text, which has a greater compass of meaning in the biblical text than the dictionary meaning of the word. In a church context which recognizes the authority of scripture, its full gamut of scriptural meanings would be implied by a visual rendering of this image, plus other cultural meanings which would accrue to the image in the cultural-historical context of that particular church community. An example would be the image of the dove, which is scripturally primarily equated with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit (cf. The Bible: Lu.3:22), secondarily with gentleness (cf. The Bible: Mat.10:16) and in a secular context with peace, especially when holding an olive branch, although this also stems from the scriptural allusion to the dove that returned to Noah, symbolizing peace after God's judgement (O'Connell, Airey 2007:97). Because these meanings are compatible, the dove remains an acceptable church symbol for the Holy Spirit, even if it is primarily seen as a symbol of world peace in secular contexts. In the visual language of the church over the ages, the dove has taken on many forms, but the primary generic association remains. There are other symbols which can be related to a scriptural text, but have strong associations with conflicting meanings outside the church. These can still be regarded as "scriptural

symbols", but their meaning is ambiguous and in a church context where churches want their symbols to convey a clear message, they do not sit comfortably. An example we shall examine in more detail is the All-Seeing Eye.

Scripture is described as "mythical" which refers to the fact that even if a described event may have been historical, the meaning of the event is no longer dated and it becomes potentially infinite. Ouaknin (1996: 8) describes this as "not the account of a true event", but "the truthful account of an event." i.e. the scripture conveys a cosmological truth. He goes on to say that "This 'truthful account', collectively accepted by the group, becomes a part of its memory – its 'narrative memory', the individual and collective words which forge the origins of a group of people. The founding words of identity: This is the exact meaning of what we call myth." This means that images in this "narrative memory" become symbols because they stand for a greater meaning than they had in the narrated event, even if they still stand for their literal meaning.

Scriptural symbols include not only visual images and visual reminders of stories, but prescribed symbolic actions such as celebrations of certain days and events and visible rituals expressing the meaning of an invisible spiritual event. In Jewish culture, the dimension of time is added as a layer of meaning to words and images of Old Testament scripture by the prescription of ritual. Thus at the annual re-enactment of the feast of Pesach at which the events of Exodus 12 are remembered, an actual lamb shank is eaten, even in modern times. Ouaknin (Ouaknin 1996:10) speaks of a dialectic of ritual and myth that fertilise each other. Successive layers of meaning over time are added and personalized through the gestural enactment using one's own body. This keeps these symbols both infinite and current. In Judaism, both image and ritual are used to magnify and personalize the engagement with the actual words of scripture.

In the Roman Catholic church, although there was much ritual, it was not all linked to scripture. Because some of it came from extra-scriptural sources and became linked to church tradition, ritual was largely discarded by the Protestant church, which retained only the sacraments of the Eucharist and Baptism. The Protestant church calendar, with its annual cycle of remembering scriptural events, became largely stripped of ritual. Since there was no ritual which referred back to scripture, much of the older, layered meaning of the symbols was lost to all but those who seriously studied scripture. As Afrikaners settled closer to formal churches in the twentieth century, church attendance became the norm. Listening to sermons which consisted of a critical-historic exegesis of one passage of scripture generally supplanted individual or family study of scripture. There were nearly no oral and ritual traditions to reinforce the meaning of symbols.

The result was an impoverishment of the perceived symbolic meaning of scriptural symbols, even though these layers are all present in the original source documents. This puts scriptural symbols on a par with simple popular symbols in the general perception of meaning. At this point in the history of Protestant symbolism it has become necessary to specifically refer back to all the different layers of meaning of a scriptural symbol in order to communicate the same complexity that would obviously have been understood from a simple symbol by a Jewish believer two millennia ago.

2.2.3 Symbolic meaning

Many symbols that do not have a scriptural origin have been used in churches over the centuries. Their perceived meaning has to be evaluated in terms of general and specific readability.

Meaning can range from the universal to the specific. There are certain symbols that are linked to pre-conscious awareness or universal information which recur in different cultures and are generally readable at a subconscious level, even to those outside a specific culture. "Light" as good; "fire" as energy; "eye" as seeing or awareness; "sun" as annual cycles of life and fertility, fall within this category. One will not easily find a culturally specific usage which is in conflict with these uses. Then there are symbols used by wide culture groups such as religions and those used by very specific, small culture groups, e.g. a group of people who participated in a certain event will attach a specific meaning to an artefact associated with that event, which may not mean much to an outsider. An example of this is some of the historical artefacts depicted in the friezes of the Voortrekker Monument, which only have meaning to someone who has been told that version of the story. If a designer devises a new symbol for a culture group, it will not communicate meaning if it has been so idiosyncratically designed that it is not recognized by the majority of that group. Within a culture group it is also usual that the meaning of the symbols they use is orally transmitted in the course of their meetings (or ritual)and therefore consolidated and perpetuated.

2.2.4 The Dutch Reformed Church approach to hermeneutics

The Reformation was the direct result of the reformers' approach to biblical hermeneutics, where they employed the principles that the scriptural text was a true and sufficient basis for all matters of faith and that the text should only be read with presuppositions that derive from the text itself (Wood 1958:2). This ruled out many church traditions that had been accrued over time. The reformers also put scripture back into its historical context, viewing it as, in the first place, a narrative of true events, which could not be ignored in favour of a mystical interpretation. From this was born the critical-historical exegesis of the Protestant Calvinist tradition, which is practiced in church sermons until today. The general viewpoint of the Dutch Reformed Church was for many years that people not trained in theology were not qualified to interpret or preach on the scriptures, although they should read them with

the guidance of a sermon-book. In the time of the Dutch East India Company a sick-comforter (appointed as a reader by the church) was recalled for talking about the scriptures that he read instead of adhering to the prescribed sermon readings (Hopkins 1965:14-15).

With the hermeneutic revolution of the twentieth century, many new tools for interpreting meaning other than the critical-historic method were explored. Some of these did not throw any more light on the scriptural message, and some of them created conflict between academic interpretation and church interpretation. Although the Bible can and is studied as a literary text, an historical narrative, an archaeological source document and philologically, the church question which surfaced again in the twentieth century is how its message should be understood. If scripture is indeed sacred, it must fulfil its own claims of being truthful, which means that that there should not be a conflict between church meaning and more objective academic logic. Sacrality assumes that scripture does have a relevant message which may be understood in the context of today because it is in some way authoritative and definitive. Post-modern critical hermeneutic principles in the training of theologians in the Dutch Reformed Church have challenged the principles that the sacrality of scripture and a literal interpretation of scriptural narratives are the only ways of understanding the message of scripture, and are starting to consider mythical interpretations for events in scriptural narrative that cannot be scientifically explained, rather than the occurrence of miracles as an historical fact. This is causing a big debate between fundamentalists and academic theologians inside the Dutch Reformed Church.

Within some of the more charismatic sections of the Dutch Reformed Church there has also been acceptance of the post-modern approach to the Bible as a reader-orientated literary text, which positions the reader as a participant in the process of production of meaning, and assumes the sacrality of the text while using the historical aspects to set legitimate boundaries of meaning (McKnight 1988:167). This has opened the door to personal reading and interpretation of the Bible by church members and some communities in the church have underpinned this by offering courses in biblical history and interpretation and by giving the laity far more authority and responsibility in the church. This comes from the scriptural assumption that a "believer" is indwelt by the Holy Spirit who can lead the reader in a true understanding of the scripture at mystical levels. The scripture states that prophesy can only be correctly understood through the guidance of the Holy Spirit (The Bible: 2Pet1:20-21, but scripture itself does not demand any other qualification than seeking this guidance. It claims that "the Word" is near and not hard to understand, (The Bible: Deut.30:14) opening up the interpretation of scripture to all believers within the parameters set by scripture itself.

Although the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church resisted the discipline of a hermeneutic approach in the 1930's and is generally not preaching mystical interpretation from its pulpits, it does give Bible students a grounding in these ways of interpretation in the Bible Schools and is generally open to the use of symbolic meaning of scripture in church symbolism.

2.2.5 The symbolism of buildings

Buildings are in themselves symbols, apart from any specific symbolism that they may employ. As structures they shelter and contain like a womb, they are built up from individual elements over time; they are the visible external shell or expressed identity of the inhabitant, the garment or skin. They stand for the intent of their creators, which may be a much greater persona than the client or architect, and what happens to them can then have enormous symbolic impact, e.g. the destruction of the Berlin wall or the Twin Towers.

Church buildings are often referred to as "the house of God", deriving from David's concept that he wanted to build a house for God, which was to be the first temple. According to 1Ch.17 (The Bible), God's response was that He did not live in houses built by human hands and that He had always moved from tent to tent and from house to house to visit his people, even in the time of the tabernacle. In the ensuing conversation He shifted the meaning of "his house" from a physical structure to a line of descent, although He did give instructions for the building of the temple and ceremonially blessed it with his presence when it was inaugurated. The definition of a temple is "a building dedicated to the worship or the presence of a deity" or "anything considered to contain a divine presence" (Morris 1969:1325). The scriptural concept of the physical temple was therefore a building dedicated to the worship of a deity, as opposed to a building containing a divine presence, as if that could be contained in one place.

2.2.6 Scriptural approaches to symbolic architectural structures.

The scriptural descriptions of architectural structures dedicated to the worship of God are deeply symbolic. An understanding of the layered scriptural meaning of the symbolism of Christian structures starts when God made humans (Adam & Eve) to have a relationship with Him. They communicated with God in the garden without a specific "place of worship". Then they sinned and hid from God (The Bible: Gen.3:8). The story of the rest of the Bible can be seen as the story of God's implementation of his plan to restore this relationship.

According to scripture, God gave the designs and specifications to build first a tabernacle and later a temple. These structures and their rituals were symbols to communicate how to move into a personal relationship with God and enable Him "to dwell among them" (The Bible: Ex. 25:8-9, Heb. 9:9). He also specifically manifested his presence in these structures and they could be described as "indwelt by God".

The New Testament states that God moved his visible presence into a human body. (The Bible: John 2:19-22) Through the mediatory sacrifice of Christ, "the Son of man", "on behalf of the people" (The Bible: Luk18:31-33, Jn11:50) the potential for a restored relationship between God and humankind was regained (The Bible: Jn3:16), not through human merit

or religious activity, but through God's grace. (The Bible: Eph. 2:8-9, Gal. 3:28-29) After this the built temple became redundant and was indeed destroyed in 70 AD (Bimson et al. 1985:118) as prophetically foretold by Christ. (The Bible: Mt24:1-2)

After Christ's resurrection and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit to every believer, God is described as dwelling in the "hearts" of believers and it is stated that God's presence can be found "where two or three" believers are gathered together (The Bible: Mt18:20). Paul described the united community of believers as being God's "body on earth", temple(s) of the living God, indwelt by his Spirit, while Peter described individual believers as the "living stones of the spiritual temple" (The Bible: 1 Pet2:5, Eph5:30, 1Cor6:19).

From this it can be understood that the Christian church (the community of believers) was supposed to *be* the dwelling of God and not to *build* "house(s) for God". Where buildings are used as meeting places, they are incidental, and cannot be regarded as a temple housing a deity. As symbolic spaces they should at best point believers towards a personal spiritual relationship with God and not imply that they "contain" God, or that believers have to come to this place in order to worship or communicate with God. The altar (place of translation between the physical and the spiritual (Thompson, Museum for African Art 1993:25,28) is thus the human heart and not the physical communion table: The communion table is thus merely supposed to be a symbol of what should be happening in the human heart.

2.2.7 The symbolism of church buildings.

Looking at the history of Christianity, the building of structures specifically for church meetings only started after 300 AD when church and political power were united and Christianity was recognized by Emperor Constantine. Up until that time, the meeting places for church members were incidental and clandestine and did not try to express a "church" identity lest they attract attention. Symbols were mainly used as a hidden code applied onto walls to indicate to the initiated where secret meetings would take place. After the legalization of Christianity, two types of church buildings evolved.

The one was the simple basilica or meeting hall. The plan form expressed no greater meaning than that of a meeting place, but internally the main visual focus was on the wall behind the communion altar which was often decorated. In time, the basilica took on a cruciform plan, with its obvious reference to the cross of Christ, and the communion table at the crossing or focus.

The other was the centralized luminous space, copied from the temples of the mystery religions, in which the focus was on light and an atmosphere more conducive to a mystical experience. These structures borrowed language and symbolism from the Mithraic cult to which Emperor Constantine had belonged, and also started to express wealth and power. The centralized church of the Holy Sepulchre built at that time is still one of the largest church structures. If one traces the history of Christian church building, the most impressive churches were built by political rulers who increased their authority by linking to the real or implied sanction of the church organization, and the implied sanction of God. That it was a political move on Constantine's part to install Christianity as the state religion while not losing elements of other religions in his empire, is reinforced by the built evidence (Norman 1990).

Eventually after the dark ages in which little development took place, the two church prototypes were merged into the Gothic cathedral which combined the cruciform plan, the mystic focus, the tower reaching heavenward and a general expression of power and magnificence. This image became synonymous with the word "church" even though church leaders often adopted questionable practices to fund their competitive programmes to each build an even more impressive cathedral. Although the language and decoration changed with time, this remained the prototypical church plan for most church denominations that derived from the Roman Catholic church until into the twentieth century. Since Calvinistic churches concentrated on the centrality of the Word and its proclamation rather than on the sacrament of communion as a focal point, there was no "holy area" behind a screen and Calvinistic churches were planned so that the seating faced the focus of the pulpit. Afrikaans Protestant churches eventually departed from the convention of the central processional nave. (le Roux 2008:28) In Protestant churches, light is often concentrated on the pulpit (Kesting 20 June 2007)(Kesting) or admitted in a cruciform focus behind the pulpit. Protestant church buildings, although less often funded by royalty, were not exempt from becoming expressing power (Norman 1990).

2.2.8 Symbols as used in church architecture

Apart from the symbolism of the building per se, use is made in architecture and in the decoration and furnishing of the church building of individual symbols. In the early outlawed Christian church in the Roman Empire, the symbolism was Christocentric but not obvious, pointing to the name of Christ whether in the form of the Christogram or the Greek fish anagram. The other symbol used was an equilateral cross, which was an ideogram found in many cultures at the time. Since the early church consisted at first purely of Jewish converts to whom Christ was simply their expected Jewish Messiah, these symbols were entwined seamlessly with traditional Jewish symbols, cf. the seal of the early church in Jerusalem (Schmalz, Fischer 2000:32).

When Constantine made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire many popular pagan symbols, feast days and usages were incorporated into the church vocabulary at the time. An example is the solar rays , symbol of the sun used in the Mithraic cult, as used in Bernini's Cathedra Petri (1657-1666), in St Peter's in Rome, which was translated to signify the glory of God in the new fusion. At this time, many of the symbols with Old Testament scriptural associations shared by Judaism fell into disuse, having been replaced by more popular versions.

In early Byzantine basilicas the decoration was often in the form of a mosaic or fresco symbolizing the church meeting: Christ and the church, symbolized as the Good Shepherd with his twelve sheep (apostles), e.g., Sant Appolinare in Classe, (547 AD), Ravenna. In the more centralized example of San Vitale, (546-548 AD), also in Ravenna, the subject matter is a magnificent gilded mosaic depicting the Emperor Justinian, and his family, with an obviously redirected focus. (See figure 2.4)

In Gothic cathedrals, the use of symbolism became much more complex. In the 11th century the Scholastic movement sought to consolidate, argue, classify and communicate knowledge under the auspices of scholarly clerics and for the first time the Roman Catholic church sought to disseminate scriptural content to the illiterate masses through visual images, arranged with the same logic and order. (Panofsky 1976:41) The size of church buildings increased, there was an emphasis on narrative decoration and they were looking for strong visual techniques. These were found in sculpture, which formed part of the structure, and backlit glass paintings using the technique of painting with vitreous paints on an assemblage of pieces of glass of different colours. In many cases, the name of the architect / bishop / master mason in charge of the concept is not even known, but the basic underlying ordering was strong enough that individual artists could all work within this framework as creative individuals to produce a rich, integrated whole. The information to be put across was the whole biblical narrative plus any other more "scientific" or mystic knowledge. This meant that visual images were chosen as symbols of a whole portion of text, e.g. the ark floating on water stands for the whole narrative of Noah and the flood. They were



Figure 2.4 Early Christian symbolism
Top to bottom: (1) Seal of the church of Jerusalem, 30-135AD (Schmalz, Fischer 2000:32) (2) Christ the Good Shepherd, Basilica of Sant Appolinare in Classe, Ravenna (547 AD) (3) Mosaics of Emperor Justinian, San Vitale, Ravenna (546-548 AD) (Lassus 1966:60)

intended as reminders to the illiterate of the proclaimed scripture. Windows had achieved a strong semiotic function which was more important than admitting light, and the visual symbolism communicated not only the whole narrative, but the interrelationships between different parts of the narrative and hierarchies of importance. The symbolism was literal, narrative and "indexical" which according to Pierce's semiotic classification meant that people had learned to associate a whole concept with a certain related image or sign (O'Connell, Airey 2007:62).The overall effect was truly impressive and the competition between cathedrals to build the most impressive structure led to non-scriptural practices in order to raise the funds to build these magnificent proclamations of scripture, or of the church's power. The selling of absolutions for precisely this reason was one of the usages that prompted Luther's objections during the reformation.

Although the Protestants were not opposed to beautifying their churches, one of the main Protestant returns to scripture was on the subject of the third of the "Ten Commandments": "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth: Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: … "(The Bible: Ex. 20:4-5) Taken literally, this meant that the Calvinists rejected the Roman Catholic practice of making statues of Christ, Mary or saints and bowing before them, or even of depicting them in paintings. Decoration was strictly non-figurative and as an example, the stained glass windows in the Amsterdam Zuidkerk (Wikipedia contributors *e*) were replaced by plain windows in the seventeenth century after this formerly Roman Catholic church reformed. All the statues and paintings that could be reached in the old Roman Catholic church of Amsterdam were destroyed when it was taken over by the Protestants. (Wikipedia contributors, d)

Protestant churches usually limited their decoration to words of scripture, the symbol of the cross or Christogram and the purely geometric use of colour, although purely decorative motifs such as scrolls were used at times. This remained fairly strictly so in the case of the German, Dutch and Scandinavian churches (Lutheran and Calvinist), although the visual vocabulary of the Church of England, (which had separated itself from the Roman Catholic church for political rather than fundamental reasons) remained much closer to that of the Roman Catholic church. (See figure 2.5) In the Afrikaans Protestant churches it was not even usual to use the symbol of the cross:

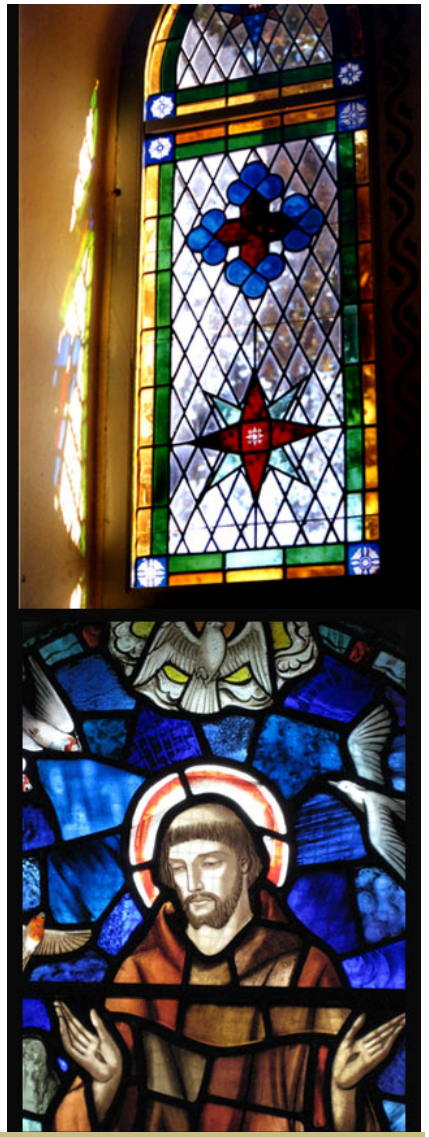


Figure 2.5 Lutheran and Anglican Protestant window traditions
Top to bottom: (1) Window in the Berlin Missionary society church at Botshabelo, Middelburg MPU, 1873 (2) Memorial window, St Francis Church, Parktown, Johannesburg, 1966

The windows of early Cape Town churches (e.g. the Groote Kerk, Schutte, (1841) and the Tafelberg church(1893)) used lightly tinted glass and later churches in the hinterland such as Hendrina (1941) all used strongly coloured glass in purely geometric arrangements.(cf. figure 2.20 and figure 2.10) The Dutch Reformed Church anniversary album refers to the "recent" common usage of the cross as a symbol in its churches.(Hofmeyr 2002:196-197)

Non-figurative decoration avoided the literal sin of bowing before a (graven) image which is not God, but did not safeguard the Protestant churches from the essence of idolatry, which can be scripturally defined as putting another priority (idea/ image) in the place of God. This happened many times in history when the intimacy of a relationship with God was sacrificed to gain political or religious influence while claiming to be acting in the name of God. History provides enough evidence of destructive consequences. This can be seen in the Spanish Inquisition, many colonial conquests "in the name of God" and the Christian veneer over many self-promoting political moves of today, such as Apartheid. In the Afrikaans Protestant tradition, politicians exploited Afrikaner religiousness to consolidate Afrikaner political power, eventually leading to "sins against humanity". The evidence can be read in built structures such as the Voortrekker Monument, where the focus of its "religious" symbolism is unadulterated Afrikaner nationalism: "Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika" (paraphrased as "we lay down our lives for you, South-Africa) (Janse van Rensburg 2009)

In the early 1960's there was a movement amongst Protestant churches in Scandinavia and the Netherlands to regain some of the richness of ritual and symbolism which was present throughout scripture, but had been discarded with Roman Catholicism. This movement was promoted in South Africa by the architect Daan Kesting, who was influential in church and political circles at the time. This resulted in the purposeful re-introduction of the use of symbolism in the design of Afrikaans church structures. Symbolic images were re-introduced. They were still largely non-figurative, but there was a deliberate use of light as a symbolic element and the concept of the window as a message board was re-introduced. Symbolism was also gradually re-introduced in the decades following the 1980's in the form of rituals such as the lighting of advent candles in more progressive church communities.

In the Afrikaans Protestant churches, this development can be seen in the published policy of the Dutch Reformed Church. At first there were no specific guidelines on church building or church design. During the period 1930 to 1960 there was some discussion about the appropriate building form for Afrikaans Protestant church buildings, but it was only in 1966 that a report commissioned by the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church appeared in which issues such as plan form, furnishing and external appearance were discussed. The report ended with recommendations on preferred ways of dealing with art and symbolism in church architecture (le Roux 2008:21). The conclusion of the report was that it was

necessary for the church to formulate policy on these matters as it had been left to architects' individual interpretations in the past. At the same time, the other "sister churches" were engaged in similar discussions (le Roux 2008:21).

The beginning of this movement back to symbolism largely coincided with the period in which Team Ten started exploring a return to a more individual human identity in architecture and urban design and can probably be linked to the global reaction against the sterile and faceless facets of modernism. The bringing in of more complexity, reference and ritual in the Afrikaans Protestant churches took place at the time when Robert Venturi (b. 1925) was saying "less is a bore" (Curtis 1996:560) and the birth of post-modern architecture with its layers of referencing. Daan Kesting's eclectic use of symbols is paralleled in the Architecture of the time by Charles Moore's (1925-1993) increasing eclecticism culminating in the Piazza d'Italia, built in 1975-1978. The Afrikaans Protestant church movement to reinclude symbols, even such simple symbols as the cross, only truly gained momentum in the church as a whole in the last two decades on the twentieth century. (Hofmeyr 2002:197)

That the movement back towards symbolism was a general, subjective movement at church membership level and not just official church policy, can be seen in the example of the windows of the Dutch Reformed "Moederkerk" (Mother Church) in Stellenbosch. The church had been designed and built in gothic revival style by Carl Otto Hager (1813-1880s) in 1863. The windows were gothic in form and by the twentieth century had plain, textured blue glass to modulate the light quality and to prevent people from looking in and out. By the early 1960's, the artist Leo Theron had executed various eye-catching windows in Roman Catholic churches in dalle de verre and an influential member of the congregation came with the suggestion that it would add to the beauty of the church to commission him to replace the plain blue windows with his stained glass art. After some years of discussion, there was agreement that this should be done and he was approached in 1967 to submit designs "on condition that they contained no symbolism", as in those he did for Jan van Wijk's Universiteitsoord church in Pretoria, also in 1967. (Nederduits Gerefomeerde Kerk Stellenbosch various)

By September 1969 in the correspondence between the Rev. Malherbe of the Stellenbosch "Moederkerk" and Leo Theron, the former states that "although our preference is for non-figurative colour compositions, the possibility of symbolic motifs is not excluded and could be considered in the case of certain windows" (Nederduits Gerefomeerde Kerk Stellenbosch various). The designs submitted at this stage included the symbolic depiction of the two sacraments of the Eucharist and Baptism and were approved by the window committee. There was some dissent from certain members of the congregation, but this was more about the unfamiliar colours and un-gothic techniques than about the introduction of symbolism. There was enough general satisfaction that Theron was appointed to do the next group of designs specifically around the theme of scriptural symbols through which Jesus Christ describes himself: "I am the Bread of Life; the Light of the World, the Resurrection and the Life" etc. This started in the early 1970's and took until 1998 to complete. By

this time, not only the ministers but the deacons, elders and ordinary church members were making suggestions on what symbolism should be used to convey more abstract concepts, e.g. that the scripture of Rev. 4 should be used as symbolic references to the elders . By this time, Theron's windows were their pride and joy. It can be observed that even Theron's symbolism, of which the Stellenbosch windows are probably the most advanced Afrikaans Protestant example, made use of symbols that referred back to a single scriptural reference, until the very last ones in the transepts. (See figure 2.6)

In the twenty-first century there has been a re-awakened interest in the ritual, symbolism and understood meaning linked to the Jewish roots of Christianity, that was lost at the time of Constantine's church reforms, when the introduction of the Gregorian calendar gave prominence to events that were synchronous with important pagan feasts. Many Dutch Reformed Churches have in the past decade presented talks or seminars on subjects such as the biblical feasts described in Leviticus and their typological meaning in an eschatological context. Some of this symbolism is being reintroduced into the church in the form of informal celebrations. Along with this, there is an increased awareness of the pagan roots of symbols and usages that have been part of western church culture for 1700 years. More and more popular Christian books are being published on these subjects and there is a growing group of church members who hold the view that symbols which originally referred to Mithras or Ra as solar deities and are now used in a church context are offensive to God, since they were introduced into the church to suit Constantine's political agendas. They base this on the equivalent situation described in scripture in 1Ki12:25-33 (The Bible) which describes God's disapproval when Jeroboam changed worship usages to suit his political agendas and introduced calf statues (the symbols of Mesopotamian deities) in his new worship centre for God. This is a movement which gained enough momentum inside and outside the Dutch Reformed Church to provoke a reappraisal of the symbolism in the Witbank windows in 2004.



Figure 2.6 Windows by Leo Theron in the Stellenbosch Dutch Reformed Church, 1970 – 1998, in chronological order
From left to right: (1) Communion (a church symbol) (2) 'I am the Morning Star' (Scriptural) (3) Rev.4, representing the elders of the church (symbolic Scriptural interpretation)

2.2.9 The role of stained glass windows in church buildings

In 11th century for the first time the Roman Catholic church sought to disseminate scriptural content to the illiterate masses through visual images in cathedrals as opposed to images for the monks' own edification in monasteries. The aim was to remind church goers of the whole Bible, so the full biblical narrative was arranged in carefully ordered sequences of subjects such as Christ's ancestors, prophets, kings, parables, miracles, etc. in the required number of windows.

After the invention of the printing press in 1440 more church goers were literate and had access to written scripture. After the Reformation, this was also available in understandable translations. The primary function of translating text into visual images became unnecessary. With the development of painting techniques in the Renaissance, oil paintings became the preferred art medium for representation, narrative and didactic allegory, and the stained glass window settled into a role of traditional architectural decoration rather than ground-breaking graphic communication. Stained glass windows started to express more of memorial and identity: the saint that the church was named after; the donor who had funded the building; the monarch supporting the church or a memorial to someone (Norman 1990) (See figure 2.7). There were also purely decorative motifs. The function of stained glass windows became to beautify the building, modify the light quality, proclaim the power and the magnificence of the church as an institution and provide a visual barrier between interior peace and magnificence, and the raw realities of life on the pavements. Stained glass windows can be striking in their beauty and even today a church (or an architect) often wants such a window purely in order to give distinction to their building.



Figure 2.7 Roles of stained glass windows
Left to right: (1) Medieval Scriptural narrative, Notre Dame, Paris, 1163 onwards (print, 1999) (2) Donor plaques from the windows of the old Stellenbosch Dutch Reformed Church, 1863 (3) Memorial window, Jan Bitenco, 1988-1991, Dutch Reformed Church Three Anchor Bay, Cape Town (Oxley 1994:42)

In Afrikaans Protestant churches where stained glass, per se, was not traditionally used, the main function of coloured glass in windows was to modulate the interior light quality, giving a rich glow, and to visually separate inside and outside. This can be seen in Moerdijk's churches and also in more contemporary examples such as the Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria and the Arcadia Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria. (See figure 2.8) The latter two both have windows by Leo Theron, where the symbolism does not figuratively include more than the cross, although there is more specific placement of windows in relation to liturgical placement in the church. During this same time period, there has also (more rarely) been the use of stained glass windows to memorialise people or events, in the manner of Anglican churches. Such windows can be seen in the Dutch Reformed Church at Three Anchor Bay by Jan Bitenco, 1988 (Oxley 1994:42). These windows were generally donated later in the history of the church building, replacing an existing plain window, and were not part of the original church design. (See figure 2.7)

The function of stained glass windows in contemporary church buildings is largely defined by that particular church congregation and even if an architect or artist wishes to convey a particular meaning through symbolism, the client (as an individual building committee, often headed by the dominee) has the final say.

In a millennium where church goers are literate and read the scripture, the original function of proclaiming scriptural meaning, whether figuratively or symbolically, can be more than narrative. It can be an opportunity to explore the layers of meaning referred to in scripture and relate this to people's relationship with God today.

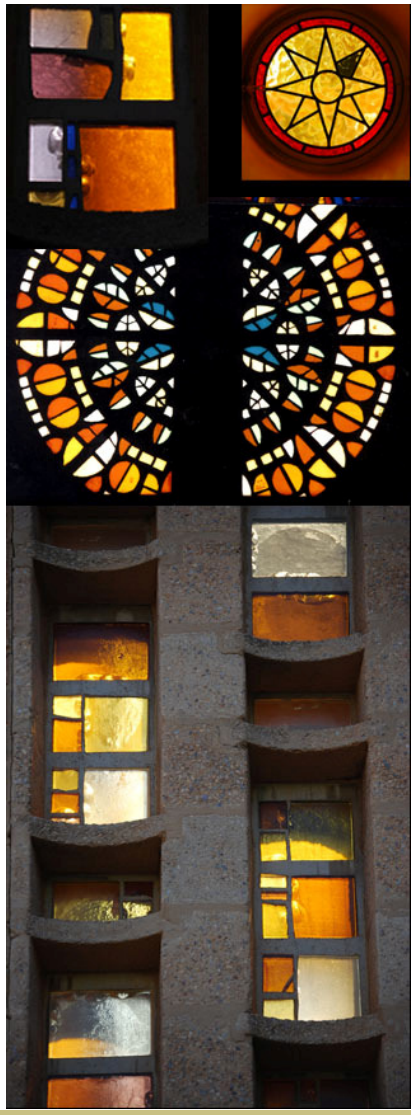


Figure 2.8 Non-symbolic stained glass in Afrikaans Protestant churches
(1) Top left: Detail of dalle de verre windows, Leo Theron: Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1967 (2) Top right: Rolled glass leaded window, Moerdijk : Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria South-East, Pretoria, 1928 (3) Dalle de verre windows, Leo Theron: Arcadia Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1980's (4)Leo Theron: Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1967

2.3 Tectonics of Windows and Glass

The first attempts to close openings in walls with a translucent material to admit light used naturally occurring materials such a thin plates of mica or alabaster, simply built into the masonry. This was obviously a luxury that only the nobility and sometimes the church could afford, and they could not open. An example is the windows in the tomb of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, (470 AD). (See figure 2.9) The development of techniques to manufacture large flat pieces of glass took many centuries. By the time cathedral-builders started to use stained glass, this was a technique to produce a back-lit painting using small pieces of coloured glass joined together with lead and was not primarily seen as a way of weather-proofing window openings. Even their colourless glass was far from clear. (See the sail in figure 2.7) Only once glass technology had developed sufficiently to produce relatively clear, regular pieces of glass which would permit vision, did the technology of a window as glass panes within a hinged frame develop. In the meantime, coloured glass had long been an art medium used to manufacture jewellery, perfume bottles and paintings and this technology was relatively advanced. In fact, only in the last two centuries were any significant developments added to the traditional stained glass techniques (Archer 1985).

In order to evaluate the tectonic meaning of particular window choices in terms of availability, cost and effort, their technical context needs to be understood. In this case study we need only look at the particular context of the last two centuries.

2.3.1 Tectonic development of windows and window glazing since 1900

At the beginning of the twentieth century in South Africa the most common window frames in use were timber frames (for more expensive and elegant buildings) and steel frames as the standard budget item. Clear glass was being produced by one of several methods which gave slightly different textures. (See figure 2.9) By the 1920's it was usually machine drawn cylinder glass. This process was replaced by polished plate glass manufacture in 1923 and eventually by float glass in 1959 (Anonymous,g).

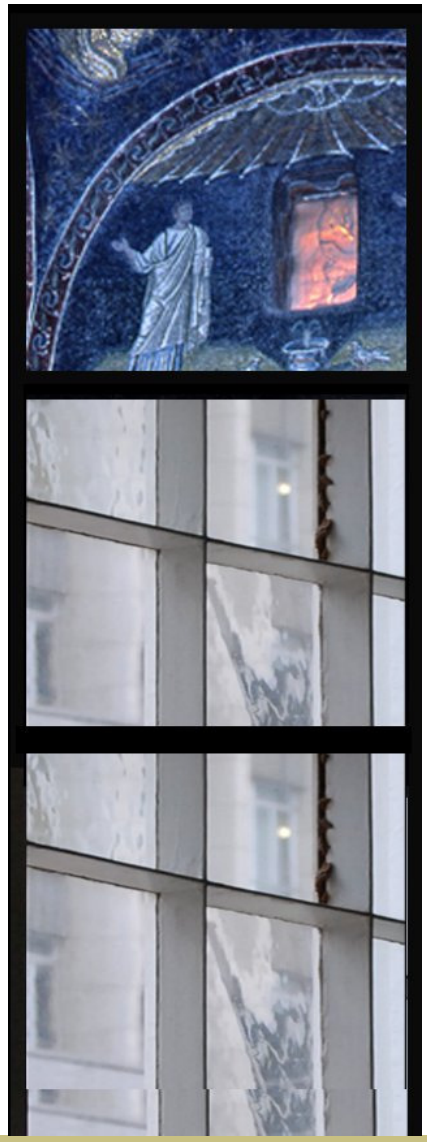


Figure 2.9 Translucency to transparency
Top to bottom: (1) Thin alabaster sheeting window, Tomb of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, 470 (2) Drawn clear glass, transparent but not quite smooth, in the Groote Kerk, Cape Town, 1841

As early as 1888 machine-rolled patterned glass was being produced in colours, making it possible to have inexpensive coloured glass panes. In South Africa, this was all imported, mainly from Belgium or England, as was also the traditional hand-made "antique" glass. This was still used for real stained glass work or as flash glass for expensive, intense colours such as red or cobalt blue, which were not readily factory-produced. In an example such as the Abrahams house built in Hendrina, Mpumalanga, in 1916-17, a combination of rolled and antique flashed glass is used in the decorative glasswork of the front door. (own research, 2002) Most of the Afrikaans Protestant churches built in the early twentieth century by Moerdijk and his contemporaries, use leaded windows made of deeply coloured rolled glass window panes. This glass had become more readily available after the railway network to importation ports had been established. The most popular colours in the early twentieth century were amber and red, while blue cathedral glass started to appear in churches with more modern lines in the sixties (See figure 2.10). Locally, Pilkington Glass commissioned PFG to open a drawn sheet glass production line in Springs in 1951, replaced by a float glass line in 1977. Before that, much clear glass was also imported (Anonymous, g)).

The "dalle de verre" technique was developed by Jean Gaudin in 1927 (Anonymous, c) (See figure 2.11). They are slabs of coloured glass, 30 – 35mm thick and usually 200 x 200 mm or 300 x 300. The technique of cutting or breaking them into desired shapes and casting them into reinforced concrete to produce load-bearing decorative glass panels was developed by this French glassmaker at the time of the development of post-war reinforced concrete architecture. This was the major "stained glass" development in the twentieth century until the manufacture of fusible compatible glass, which made it possible to melt different colours of glass to join without any metal lines. (See figure 2.11) This became possible because different colours of glass were developed to have exactly the same coefficient of expansion. This means that they can be melted together without destructive stresses developing which shatter the glass when it cools and sets.

The more recent developments in glass technology that affect windows have been "smart glass" (not used in church architecture to date)



Figure 2.10 Rolled coloured glass in South Africa Top to bottom:
(1) A combination of imported antique (red) glass and patterned glass used in the Abrahams house, Hendrina, in 1916 (2) Rolled, coloured, leaded glass used in the Hendrina Dutch Reformed Church, 1941 (3) Groenkloof Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1959

and dichroic glass. Although this is extremely expensive and more often used for jewellery, its property of transmitting and reflecting different colours of light has been used dramatically in architectural glazing outside South Africa.

2.3.2 Stained glass techniques

Let us look very briefly at the history of stained glass as a visual art form used mainly in architecture. The ancient Egyptians made and used glass for jewellery and small perfume bottles and coloured it with different metals. The Romans could make relatively pure clear glass and blew it into moulds for large vessels, but it was still difficult to make thin, flat pieces of glass. By the 7th Century painters were using vitreous paints made of finely powdered glass and opaque metal oxides to produce dark lines on small flat pieces of coloured glass (Archer 1985). The dry powder is mixed with water or vinegar and gum Arabic and painted onto the glass with brush strokes. The dry paint can very easily be removed by brushing it away or by scratching it in a clear line. Because it is so easy to remove it, one cannot add a wet brush stroke without smudging the existing lines. It can also not be thinned down to a light grey: This causes an uneven texture. A lighter shade is achieved by lightly brushing away the layer of dark paint at a wet or dry stage. For this reason the glass needs to be fired before the next layer of paint is added. This is done by heating the pieces to 650˚C, when the paint melts into the surface (Elskus 1980). The glass is cooled before it loses its texture. (See figure 2.12)

This process can be repeated many times to obtain a layered depth and richness of painting (See figure 2.13) The base glass colours are very bright and pure, while the paint is black or brown and can tone it down. In Medieval times the glass was heated over a charcoal fire fanned by a bellows and obviously the glass was hand-made, varying in thickness and depth of colour, with a richness and variety of colour caused by many small impurities and varying thickness. This "antique" type of glass is still the most beautiful to use, but often fifteen times the price of the factory-made rolled-glass equivalents, which can have a completely even colour. Firing can be much more predictable now in computer-regulated electric kilns, but otherwise the technique is unchanged, and artists still use the same tools. (See figure 2.14)

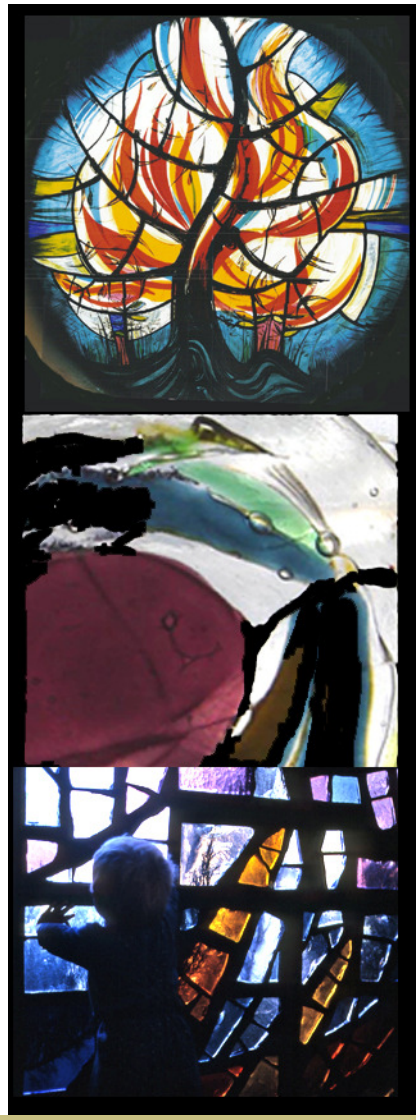
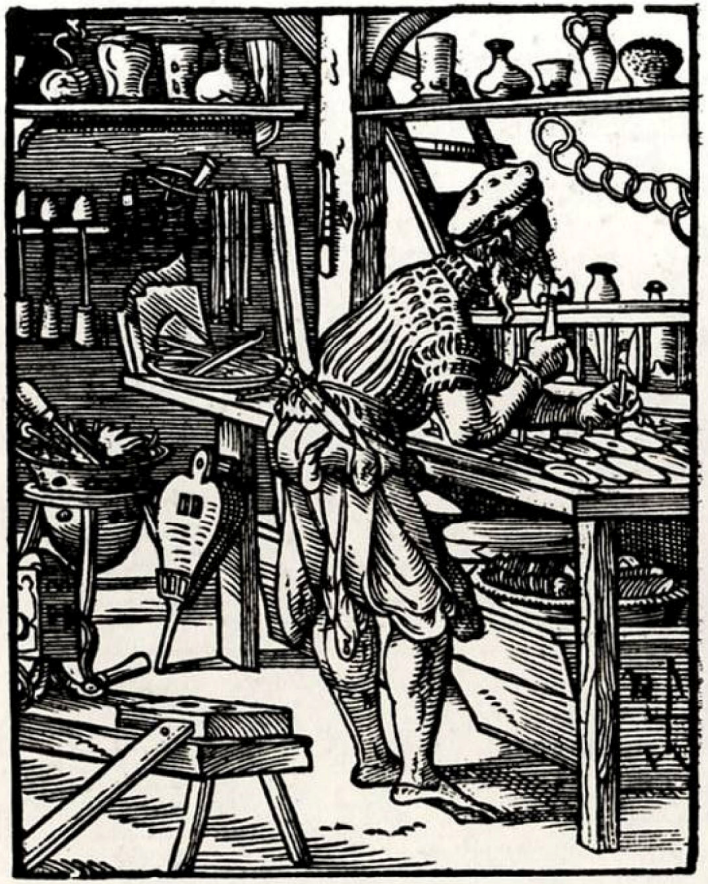


Figure 2.11 Twentieth century glass developments
Top to bottom: (1) Fused compatible glass used in the Burning Bush window, St Margaret's Anglican Church, Witbank , van Rensburg, 2000 (2) A fused, slumped glass platter, using fusible compatible glass, van Rensburg (3) Dalle de verre windows, Leo Theron: Queenswood Catholic Church, Pretoria, 1967

Der Glaſſer.

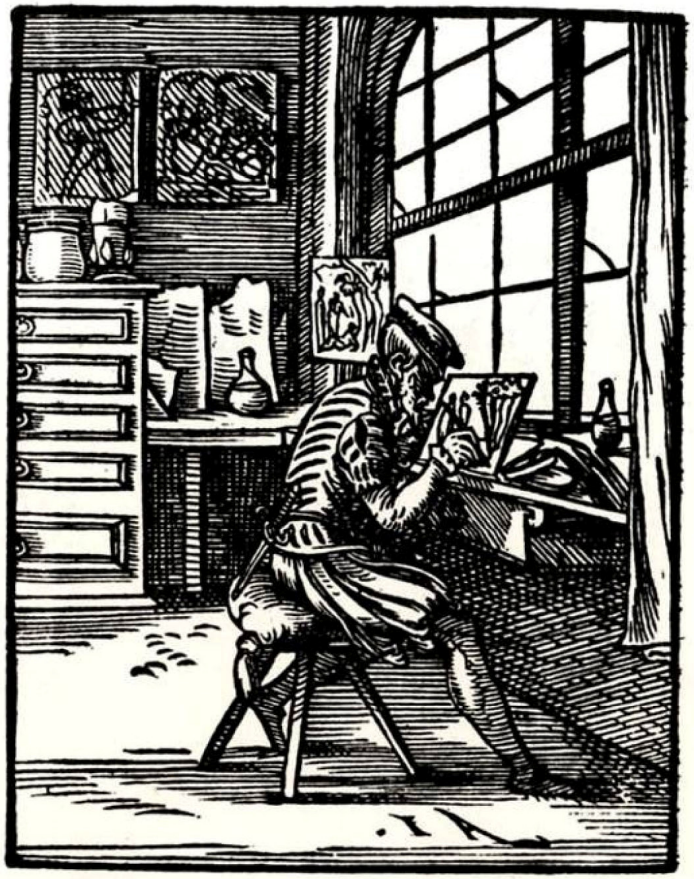


Ein Glaſſer war ich lange jar/
Gut Trinckgläſer hab ich fürwar/
Beyde zu Bier vnd auch zu Wein/
Auch Venediſch glaßſcheiben rein/
In die Kirchen / vnd ſchönen Sal/
Auch rautengläſer allzumal/
Wer der bedarff / thu hie einkern/
Der ſol von mir gefürdert wern.

Der

(Archer, 1985: frontispiece:) The *Glass Painter* and the *Glazier* from Jost Aman's 'Book of Trades', c.1568)

Der Glaßmaler.



Einen Glaßmaler heiſt man mich/
In die Gläſſer kan ſchmeltzen ich/
Bildwerck / manch herrliche Perſon/
Adelich Frauwen vnde Mann/
Sampt jren Kindern abgebild/
Vnd jres gſchlechts Wappen vnd Schilt/
Daß man erkennen kan darbey/
Wann diß Geſchlecht herkommen ſey.

Der

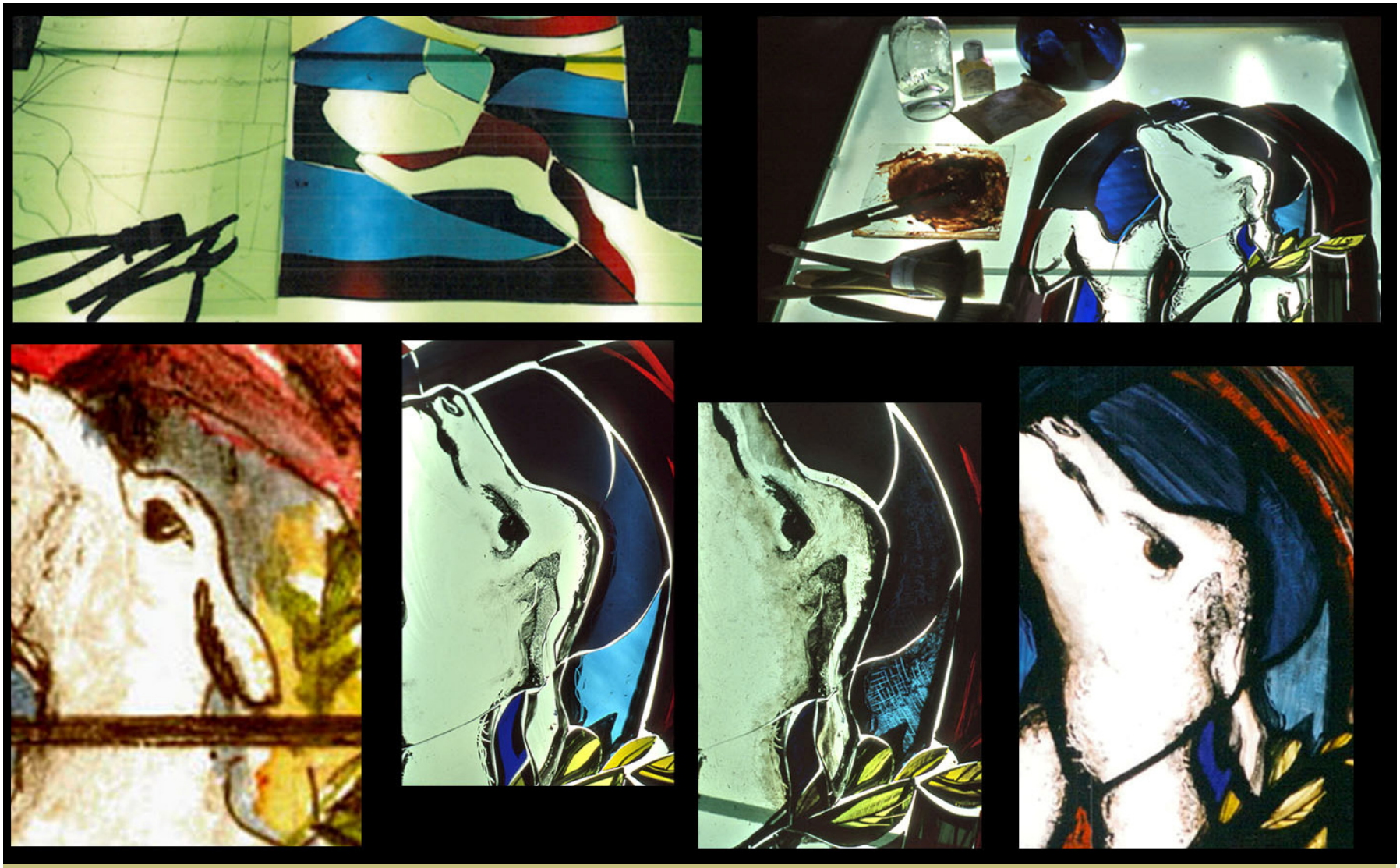


Figure 2.12 The process of painting a window
(1) Top left: cutting the glass from the cartoon (2) Top right: Painting with vitreous paints (3) Bottom, left to right: Design sketch; First black trace lines; Next firing of black and umber matting; Final leaded window

Figure 2.13 Multiple firings of glass paints
Top to bottom: consecutive firings of vitreous paints and silver stain to achieve the effect in the lowest pane.



Figure 2.14 Vitreous paints
Top to bottom: (1) Different colours of glass (2) Vitreous paint on clear glass (3 & 4) Vitreous paint on coloured glass



Figure 2.15 Silver stains
From top to bottom: (1) Grisaille, Norwich, c.1460-80 (Archer 1985:23) (2) English grisaille, 14th–16th Centuries (Archer 1985:19)(3) Deep silver stain, St Margaret's Anglican Church, Witbank, 1998



This word "stained glass" actually refers to "silver stain" which was discovered in the 15th century. When certain silver salts are painted onto the glass surface and heated to just below 650˚C, the silver dissolves in the glass, colouring it a clear amber shade. This is true clear colouring of the glass and not an applied tone. The combination of vitreous paints and silver-stain on clear glass is called "grisaille" and was much used in the 17th century as it was cheaper than using expensive coloured glass. (See figure 2.15) Red glass, for example, is coloured by dissolving gold in the molten glass, which accounts for its price (Archer 1985).

As oil painting technique developed, stained glass artists tried to emulate its more subtle colours without lead lines and developed coloured vitreous paints or enamels which could be painted onto transparent glass. This is only a thin coating of transparent coloured glass melted onto the base and the colours are not strong. If the layer is thick, the enamel starts to craze and the effect gets muddier. The colour intensity is never that of coloured base glass. This has some of the characteristics of a glaze applied to ceramics. The other types of paints that can be melted on are lustres, which consist of a thin metallic coating, giving either a bright metallic (gold or silver) or an iridescent sheen. (See figure 2.16)

Until very recently, different colours of glass could not be joined by melting them together, so pieces of different colours had to be joined with metal. For many centuries H-shaped lead strips (calms) were bent around the glass and their ends soldered together to form "cages" in which the glass pieces were enclosed. (See figure 2.17) This accounts for the black outlines around each colour. The joint between the glass and the lead is filled with putty, made of one part whiting, one part lamp black and one part linseed oil to seal it into a waterproof window.

Only in the 19th century did Louis Comfort Tiffany invent a technique to make the "cages" of thin strips of adhesive copper foil, fixed exactly around the edge of each piece of glass. If a perfect fit can be achieved by grinding the glass to an exact size, these edges can be soldered together in a much thinner line, giving a lighter structure. This technique is generally practiced by hobbyists nowadays. They use unpainted factory-made glass which is available in many textures and translucent or opalescent colour-mixtures developed by Tiffany to avoid having to paint the glass. Tiffany glass is in fact unsuitable for painting as it becomes opaque during firing but beautiful in itself. This technique has retained the name of "stained glass" although no glass staining occurs. (See figure 2.17)

Glass painting techniques did not develop further until the American art glass movement of the 20th century, when artists started to exploit glass as an art medium and not simply to decorate architecture. (See figure 2.18) At this stage, flat glass became a more three-dimensional medium, either assembled into sculptures or individually formed by slumping it into shallow-relief shapes or melting it onto other glass. With this combination of techniques following the development of fusible-compatible glass, the need for black dividing lines

Figure 2.16 Enamels Top to bottom: (1) Abraham van der Linge: The Deposition, after Rogier van der Weyden, 1629. Enamels on glass, painted to simulate an oil painting (Archer 1985:27)(2) Ariane van Rensburg: Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 2006. Blue enamels on amber glass (3) Ariane van Rensburg: St Margaret's, Witbank, 1998. Platinum lustre on blue glass

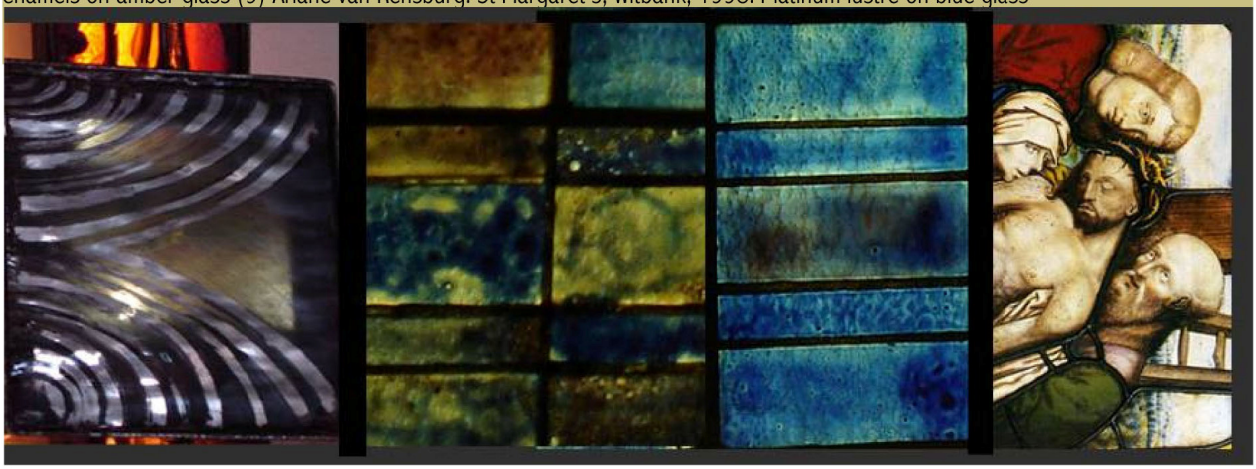


Figure 2.17 Jointing techniques
Top to bottom: (1) Leading a window (2) Leaded window partly soldered (3) Tiffany opalescent glass with foiling joints (Anonymous)(4) Tiffany window depicting foliage (INTERNET: www.richmondhistorycenter.comimagesTiffanyGlass)

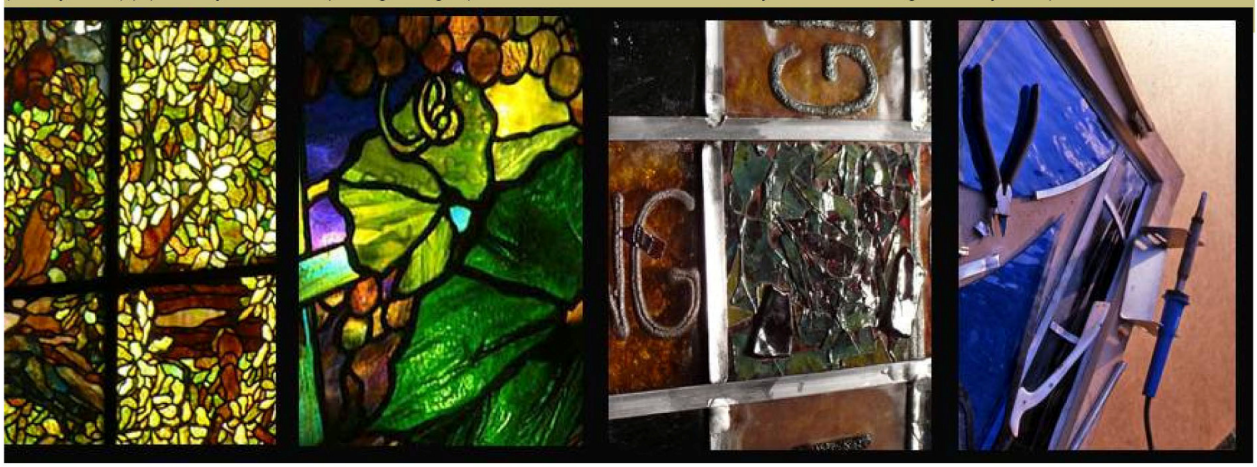


Figure 2.18 Modern art glass
Pere Valldeperez: Glass sculpture Medditeranea, 2001 (Fundacion Santander Central Hispano 2001b)



has also disappeared. In fact, if cost is not a factor, it is possible to achieve any effect one can imagine using a variety of art glass techniques. Although the glass is fragile, these techniques in themselves are very permanent, as evidenced by medieval windows which still display their full glory a millennium later.

There is no comparison between the appearance and permanency of true stained glass and the types of synthetic resin developed to produce fake "stained glass" effects in the 1960's, such as the "Glassparence" paints used by Kesting, described in his correspondence as "Glassparents" (sic). These consisted of an opaque black outliner applied in a thick bead and transparent coloured varnishes to cover the surfaces between them. The whole "stained glass window" could then be painted on a single pane of plate or float glass without the limitations cutting glass into different shapes, of course in a fraction of the time and at a fraction of the cost. The colours were very bright and garish. The paints were advertised as "permanent" and were used quite extensively in Protestant churches in South Africa in the sixties. They did last relatively well if protected from ultraviolet radiation, but the colours in the full sun started to fade after about thirty years and after forty, only the faded outliner remained. These paints have since been discontinued.

2.4 Afrikaner Religio-Political History

2.4.1 The genealogy of the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church and the Calvinist approach

The Dutch Reformed Church, the oldest Reformed church in the Netherlands, was established at the Synod of Emden in 1571. The Dutch Reformed Church is described as the successor to the (non-aligned) congregations which came into existence during the Reformation under the teachings of John Calvin, who broke away from the Roman Catholic church around 1530 (Wikipedia contributors, a). Calvin followed in the footsteps of Martin Luther who started the Protestant Reformation in Germany in 1517. Calvin's teachings spread through France, Switzerland and the Netherlands to reach Britain. Both Reformers challenged the Roman Catholic church with the fact that some of its teachings and traditions were no longer in line with biblical scripture and proclaimed scripture as the only authority for the church. The fact that they were excommunicated by the Roman Catholic church caused a wave of violent reaction against the Roman Catholic church amongst their followers, who rejected many of the usages and traditions of the Roman Catholic church out of reaction, even if not on scriptural grounds. For centuries there were bloody wars between the two groups and the Roman Catholic church officially denounced Protestantism as a heresy, but support for the reformist views remained strong. In this general upheaval, various individual church congregations "reformed" and eventually unified under agreed creeds and edicts. The Heidelberg Catechism, recognized by the Dutch Reformed Church, was one of the earliest. At the time of the establishment of the Dutch Reformed Church, reformists were still

being persecuted by Catholic kings in the Netherlands, which accounts for their founding synod being held in Germany. By 1578 it could meet on home ground and the Netherlands remained a Protestant haven where the Protestant church was relatively free from prosecution. At one stage the synod of the Dutch Reformed Church was even under Royal control.

The canons finally accepted by the Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands were ratified at the Second Synod of Dort. This settled the ecclesiastical and theological orthodoxy of the church into increasingly immovable dogma which started to suffocate spiritual life. A reactionary movement known as the Second Reformation took place within the church, which put renewed emphasis on personal salvation resulting in a personal relationship with God. It stressed personal spiritual piety, free from subjectivism, and not motivated by the church as an organization. This approach was influential in the brand of Calvinism which was brought to South Africa (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:12).

2.4.2 Afrikaans church history in its socio-political and economic context

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape in 1652 to found a halfway station for the Dutch East India Company, he established it under the church jurisdiction of the classis of the Dutch Reformed Church in Amsterdam, whose authority was delegated to the Dutch-East India Company (DEIC) for most organizational matters. Membership of the Dutch Reformed Church was compulsory for civil servants in the Netherlands at that time of the Batavian Republic and the DEIC demanded not only church membership but compulsory church attendance from its employees in the Cape. Non-attendance was severely punished. (Hopkins 1965:15)The DEIC did not permit the Roman Catholic church to function at the Cape, and only eventually recognized other reformed churches such as the Lutheran church in Cape Town. Religious tolerance was only finally legalized in 1804 (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:45). The Amsterdam classis kept the Cape churches strictly under its direct control, only allowing them to meet once or twice to sort out local problems (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:18-21). A Cape synod was only allowed in 1824. Until the time of the British annexation of the Cape, ministers of religion at the Cape were employees of the DEIC through which they reported to the mother church in the Netherlands and church and politics were never unmingled (Hopkins 1965:13).

When French Huguenots were settled in the Cape by the DEIC, it was on condition that they would, within a certain time, become integrated in the Dutch-speaking community both with regard to language and church. This, together with a sizeable contribution of intermarried slaves, was one of the important influences which led to the development of an Afrikaans culture as distinct from the Dutch. During the early nineteenth century the explorer Lichtenstein described the spiritual character of the Huguenots (by then Afrikaners) as "the religious sense diffused itself in so large a measure over the whole colony… it has here maintained itself in nearly the true and genuine spirit of Protestantism" (Lichtenstein 1803-1806: 121) (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:14). There is general agreement amongst different authors that Afrikaners in the previous centuries, by and large, took their religion seriously.

Another European influence at the time of the Dutch settlement of the Cape was the Societies of Freemasons. Freemasonry is described as being "the oldest and largest fraternal organization in the world" (Harwood 2006:6). It is a closed society into which members are initiated by degrees, using rituals and symbols originating in the ancient Egyptian mysteries and the building craft. The organization's aim is that members should help one another, creating affiliations which span beyond political differences and can thus potentially have great power (Harwood 2006:8).

Freemasonry travelled to the new colonies with the European settlers. It was well-established in the Cape by 1803 when the new Masonic Lodge was opened by the Dutch-East India Company Commissioner de Mist, himself the Vice-Grand Master of the Netherlands Freemasons. (See figure 2.19). The Lodge was built and decorated by the same Freemasons who were involved in the construction of the Groote Kerk (Oberholster, Malan 1972). The greater church has over the ages officially opposed Freemasonry, for various reasons, including the fact that Freemasonry's basic premise is that fullness of life is attained through succeeding degrees of illumination in secret knowledge, while the Christian gospel proclaims that fullness of life is available only through Christ's substitutionary sacrifice for sin, by grace, without needing to attain anything. However, since ministers of the church were also employees of the Company, the role of Freemasonry in the Cape Dutch Reformed Church should not be underestimated and its symbolism became an accepted part of the built heritage of the Afrikaans Protestant churches in South Africa, e.g. the All-Seeing Eye (See figure 2.20) on the 1798 gable of the reverend Borcherds' parsonage in Stellenbosch. (Oberholster, Malan 1972)

The All-Seeing Eye is one of Freemasonry's best-known symbols.(O'Connell, Airey 2007:98) According to Harwood (Harwood 2006:58) within Freemasonry this stands for the All-Seeing Eye of "the Great Architect of the Universe", the Supreme Being in whom all Masons believe. Mystically, its origins can be traced to the eye of Horus. The other architectural symbol frequently encountered is the obelisk, also with obviously Egyptian solar origins. (Harwood 2006:39) This is often used specifically on the graves of Freemasons and it is most likely that the very unclassical obelisks on the classical pediment of the Groote Kerk were introduced by Mr. Schutte, the Mason builder-designer, (Oberholster, Malan 1972) who had also built the Lodge de Goede Hoop next door.

Buildings in the Cape were still European in form, but built of lime-washed unburned bricks with simpler decoration. In Protestant tradition, church buildings were relatively devoid of figurative decoration. As far as windows were concerned, they used geometric tinted glass designs in the grander churches such as the Groote Kerk and clear drawn glass windows in most other churches such as the "Sendinggestig", which was the first mission church built for the slaves. (See figure 2.21) Painted medallions in windows were introduced in the windows of the Stellenbosch Moederkerk, but were donor-plaques without religious symbolism. Inland churches generally had plain windows until the late nineteenth century.

Figure 2.19 Freemasonry symbolism in buildings: From top to bottom: (1) Public monument, Eilat: Pillars of Solomon (2) Ritual Freemasonry apron: Solomon's temple (Harwood 2006:43)(3)Thibault: Lodge de Goede Hoop, Cape Town, 1801-03 (Oberholster, Malan 1972:17)

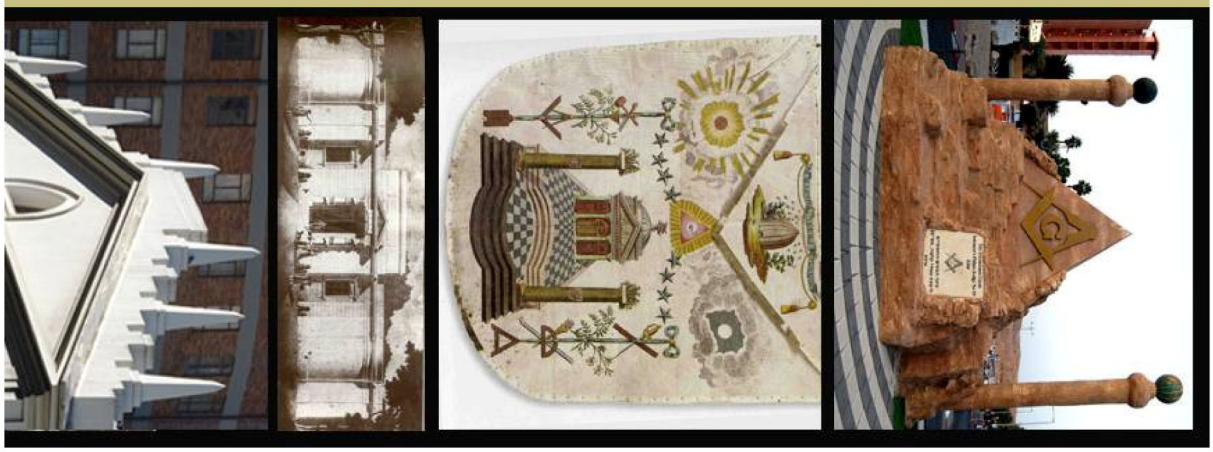


Figure 2.20 The "All-Seeing Eye"
From top to bottom: (1) Eye of Horus (XIIIth World Congress of Psychiatry, 2005) (2) All-Seeing Eye on Freemason's apron ((Harwood 2006:43) All-Seeing Eye, gable of La Gratitude, Stellenbosch, 1798) (3)

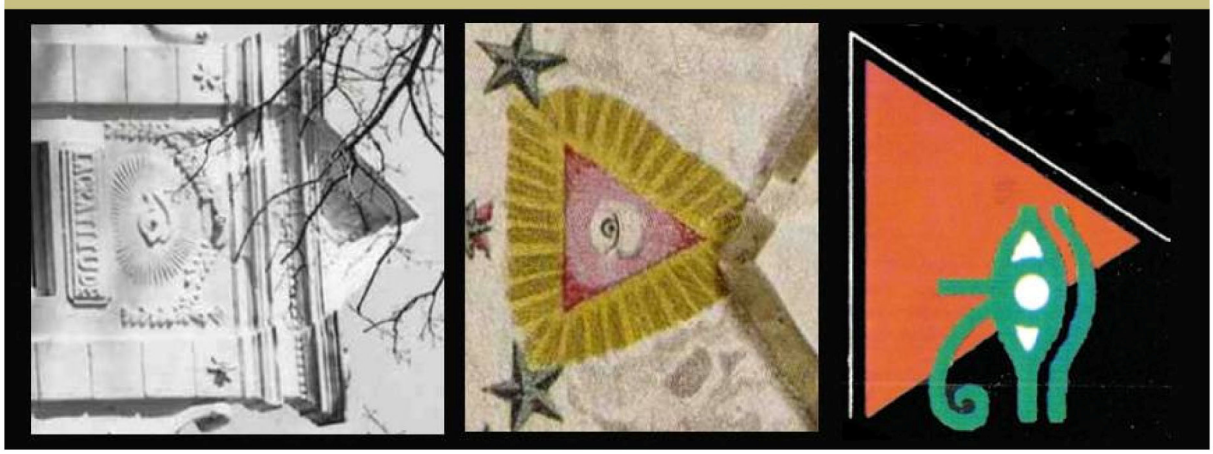


Figure 2.21 Nineteenth century Cape church windows
From top to bottom: (1) Coloured glass window in the Groote Kerk attended by the DEIC officials, Cape Town, 1841
(2) Plain glass window in the slaves' Sendinggestig, Cape Town, 1804



After the British claimed the Cape in 1806, the Dutch Reformed Church fell directly under the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, without Company interference. The Dutch Reformed Church in the Netherlands then fell under the personal protection of the Dutch royal family from 1815 to 1853. The churches in Cape Town and Stellenbosch continued much as before, while the group of farmers, who departed on the Great Trek in 1834, started a new subculture. (Note: "Great" refers to the size of the group who participated (Giliomee 2004).

While these pioneers strictly and regularly observed their church meetings as a group and studied scripture as families, they had no church buildings and their relatively difficult life made their stated dependence on God (Giliomee 2004) a real issue. When they eventually established the "Boer Republics" in the latter 1800's, they had a strong need to establish their identity as "Christian" Afrikaner states and new towns were generally established around the dominant church building, which was often built before the town. The Afrikaans churches in the independent republics (which had been functioning independently of the Dutch church structure for some time), broke ties with the church in the Cape, which still resorted under the Classis of Amsterdam. This was the start of the separation of the Afrikaans Protestant church into three separate "sister churches", whose differences were political rather than theological (Giliomee 2004).

By the time the Boer Republics capitulated in the Great South African War (1899-1902), the Afrikaners in the hinterland had been devastated. Not only had their farms, their only source of income, been burned to the ground, but 9% of the civilian population, (Giliomee 2004) had died in British concentration camps. Stripped of governance and excluded from many employment opportunities, the Afrikaners' main symbol of identity became their church buildings, for which they increasingly wanted a distinctly "Afrikaans" visual identity. Marginalized and disillusioned, they banded together to build up a political and economic force which would not leave them vulnerable again. Where they had earlier turned to God for protection, they changed their true trust to Afrikaner Nationalism. Following the model of Freemasonry, the Afrikaners founded their own closed society to promote their political aspirations in the form of the "Afrikaner Broederbond" in 1918. This had prominent ministers of the Afrikaans churches in its membership and used the churches to further its aims (Bunting 1964).

From this point onwards, changes in Afrikaans church policy were determined more by race and politics than by theology (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994) and the Afrikaans reformed churches remained more conservative than their European counterparts in order to maintain their status quo. By 1930 there was a growing consciousness in Europe of the problems inherent in the interpretation of scripture and the hermeneutic revolution demanded that doctrinal theology, if biblical, must take scripture as an internal norm, and subject its conclusions to scholarly investigation and control. (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:227) Du Plessis' inclusion of the new hermeneutic principles in the theology syllabus was rejected by the Dutch Reformed

Church, (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:226) as its justification of Apartheid depended on uncritically introducing extra-biblical values into scriptural interpretation. It eventually cost him his professorship in 1930. In the following fifty years the theologians within the Dutch Reformed Church who actually raised their voice against politicized church policies on scriptural grounds were rare individuals and were generally overruled or ignored (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:254).The control of the Broederbond was so ubiquitous that the church remained under the direct influence of its Broederbond membership without the Broederbond actually advising on or interfering in church matters until well into the seventies (Smith 2009:116).

Gerard Moerdijk (1890-1958), the first Afrikaans architect to qualify in London, returned to South Africa in 1913. (Vermeulen 1999:36) A Broederbond member, (Vermeulen 1999:49) who had married into a strongly nationalist family, he promoted the idea that Afrikaans Protestant churches should have their own unique style, selling his own designs for these (Moerdijk, Africana E-book Collection 1919). His new style was an eclectic mix which sometimes combined Greek theatre seating with Byzantine plan forms and Cape-Dutch gables and was certainly not found elsewhere (See figure 2.22). He also introduced the use of commercial coloured glass window panes to mediate the light quality in churches. Due to the poverty after the Great South African War, most Afrikaner communities only started to build or rebuild churches by the 1920's.

During the period 1920 – 1952, Moerdijk worked on over 160 Afrikaner church projects in Southern Africa (Vermeulen 1999:150-153). Bunn (2007:103) said that Afrikaner monuments should be seen "not singly, but as an emerging system or 'points of organization' referring to each other, setting up a visible syntax linked to the collective historical memory of an identifiable group". The same can be said of this Afrikaner church network which also suggested that Afrikaner identity and its linked political aspirations were somehow sanctioned by God (See figure 2.22). One of the great tools used to establish this concept and unite Afrikaner sentiments in 1938 was a country wide centennial commemoration of the Great Trek. Church figures like "Father" Kestell used the occasion to mobilize Afrikaners to stand together to help their poverty-stricken brothers. In the end the churches were fully involved in justifying and supporting Afrikaner Nationalism and its progeny, Apartheid (Woods 2006). A key component of the Centennial was the move to build a monument that would symbolize Afrikaner sacrifice, identity, and perceived nationhood, with Gerard Moerdijk as the architect. Afrikaner churches, cultural societies and citizens in general were drawn into laying this cornerstone of Afrikaner Nationalism (Woods 2006). The monument was only completed after World War II, allowing influences and ideas, also from Nazi Germany, to mature (Woods 2006, Giliomee 2004, Bunting 1964). An Afrikaner Nationalist Party government was elected to political power in 1948 and the new Prime Minister D.F. Malan, a former minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, unveiled the completed Afrikaner icon the next year, with full participation of all the Afrikaans Protestant churches. (Hofmeyr 2002:188) (See figure 2.23) Villa-Vicencio says: "the Afrikaner churches saw their primary role to lie in maintaining Afrikaner unity, providing extensive moral and ideological support for the Afrikaner cause" (Hofmeyr et al. 2001:132).

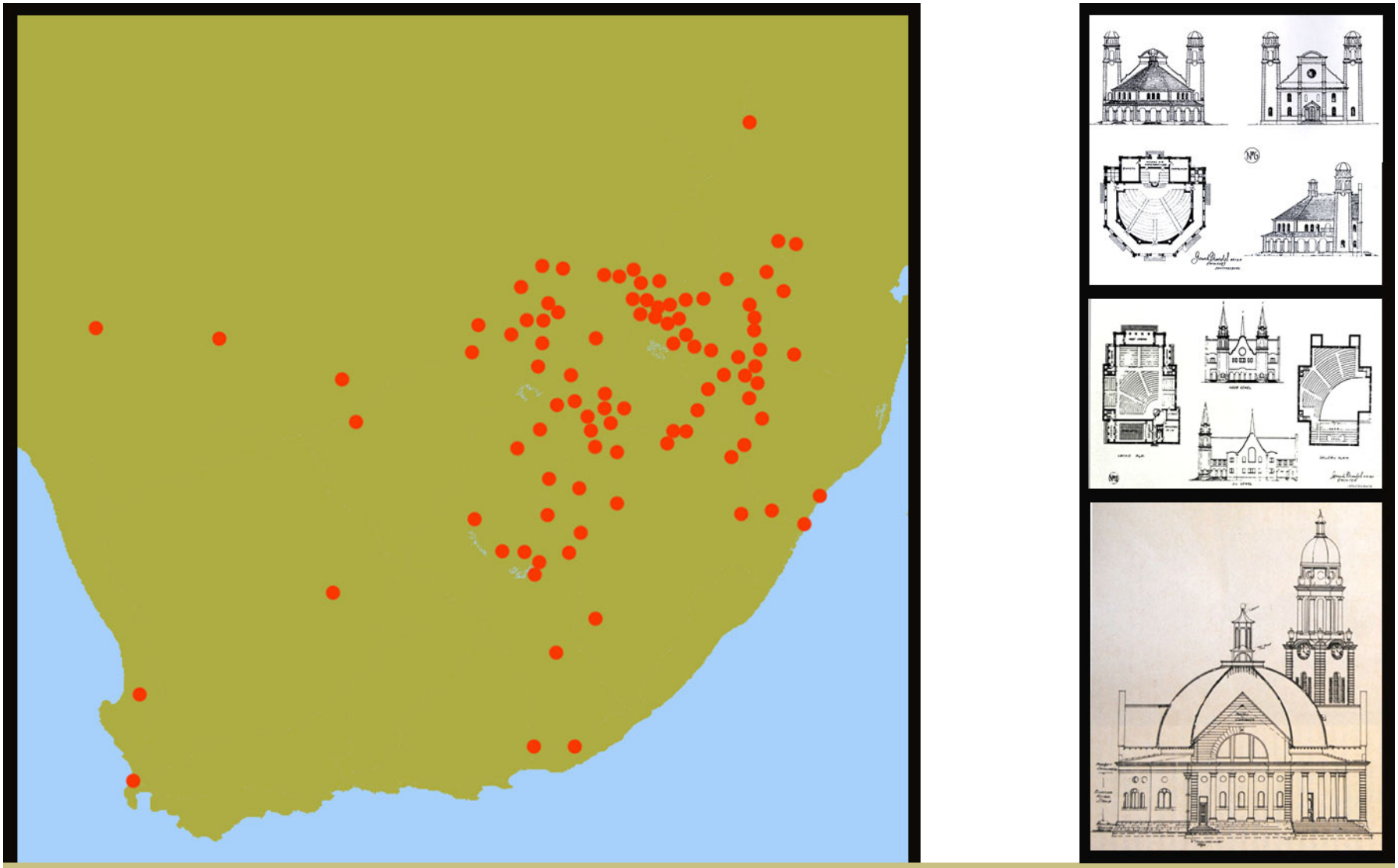


Figure 2.22 Moerdijk churches 1918-1958

(1) Left: Map showing the network of locations with churches designed by Moerdijk (after list in Vermeulen, 1999:149-152) (2) Right: Examples from Moerdijk's church pattern book: no.6 (top) & no.11 (middle) (Moerdijk, Africana E-book Collection 1919) Bottom: Moerdijk's drawing for Dutch Reformed Church Pretoria South-East, 1927-28 (Spies 1970:14)

Vermeulen (1999:x) describes the Voortrekker Monument as "the greatest church he *(Moerdijk)* ever built, the sanctuary of the Afrikaner nation". Moerdijk himself described the concept as a national religious altar (Vermeulen 1999:130). One can see clear visual references to the Leipzig Völkerschlagt-Denkmal, (Anonymous, i) which uses specific Masonic symbolism. As an altar, the Voortrekker Monument can be described as an altar to Afrikaner nationalism, (Janse van Rensburg 2009) which was strongly influenced by Nazi sentiments, especially through the Broederbond (Bunting 1964). It can be regarded as the "flagship" structure in the network of church meaning, where the perfect fusion of church and state had been monumentalized. Bunn (Bunn 2007:103) states that the problem is that the meaning of the individual structure is then "dependent on a system of differences across the total field". This means that a shift in political meaning at the Voortrekker Monument could shake the foundations of meaning in churches linked to this same system, which is indeed what happened in 1994.

More modern church building styles were developed during the Apartheid era, but with the same departure point as that of Moerdijk, whose influence extended beyond his lifetime. Architects such as de Ridder modernized the shape of the Afrikaans church based on a "tent" idea. Many clergy were members of the "Broederbond" (Bunting 1964) and often appointed architects from this membership. Two prominent church architects during this time were Jan van Wijk and Daan Kesting. (See figure 2.24) who were also appointed to design numerous key Afrikaner structures. (Van Wijk: Rand Afrikaans University, SABC Cape Town, Afrikaanse Taalmonument; Kesting: SABC Johannesburg, Civitas, many buildings for SANLAM, etc (Kesting 2004))

It is not possible to judge which was cause and which was effect, but in the late 1980's several changes coincided in Afrikaner political awareness and church history. On a national scale, there had been a rising charismatic and pentecostal movement in the established Christian churches (Pillay, Hofmeyr 1991) which emphasized more personal guidance by the Holy Spirit, opening up possibilities which had been discouraged, especially in the politicized Afrikaans church tradition. Although these movements had originated and even

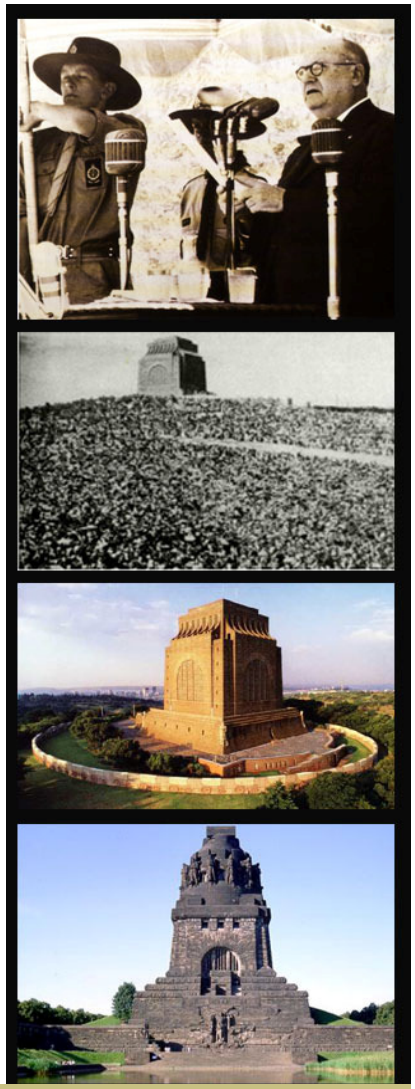


Figure 2.23 Moerdijk: The Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria, 1936-1949
Top to bottom: (1) Inaugural address by Nationalist Party Prime Minister D.F.Malan, 16 December 1949. The chapter caption reads 'from (church) minister to Prime Minister' (Hofmeyr, 2002:188 from Burger-Collection, SA Library) (2) Crowds gathered for the inauguration of the Monument (Vermeulen 1999:98)(3) The Voortrekker Monument (INTERNET: www.south-africa.me.uk) (4) Leipzig Völkerschlagt-Denkmal (Anonymous, i)

impacted South Africa earlier, the effects only started to penetrate into Dutch Reformed circles in the late seventies. Some thinking started to change within some Afrikaans churches which started to move away from their traditional perspectives in the eighties (Hofmeyr 2002:226). When this move could not be accommodated within existing dogma, new Afrikaans charismatic churches separated themselves from the three traditional "sister churches". One can see this as real change in the spiritual climate, as it caused movement out of entrenched advantageous Afrikaner politico-economic positions.

In the eighties, a growing white voice was heard that Apartheid was wrong, as evidenced by the South African Council of Churches' decision to have a day of prayer "for the abolition of all apartheid structures" in 1986 (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:287). Politically, the growing opposition to the Apartheid system could no longer be suppressed and it became clear even to nationalist leaders that major change was inevitable. During this co-incidence of spiritual renewal and changing politics, the first democratic election took place in 1994 and culminated in a peaceful changeover of power. In subsequent years public statements of repentance for Apartheid were made. In 1998 the Dutch Reformed Church declared Apartheid a sin and rejoined the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, from which it had been banned (Hofmeyr et al. 2001).

The emphasis in the traditional Afrikaner religious community was changing to a more personal spirituality. Some people, disillusioned with the Afrikaans churches' political bias, moved to non-attendance, other religions or non-belief. Some left these traditional churches for more charismatic or "less Afrikaans" churches. Within the traditional churches, there is (at present: 2009) a growing rift between those who cling to the church institution as their Afrikaans cultural identity and those who see a need for renewal. (Hofmeyr 2002:226-227)Those who do, tend to group together forming fewer but larger urban churches, (See figure 2.24) while the original Afrikaans churches have lost many members (Hofmeyr 2002:226). The result is that the building of new church buildings has practically stopped, excepting in the case of urban mega-auditoriums.



Figure 2.24 Modern Afrikaans churches
From top to bottom: (1) Jan van Wijk: Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1967 (2) Daan Kesting: Burgerspark Dutch-Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1969 (3 & 4) Merwe van Rooyen: Moreletapark Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 2006. The largest mega-church in the Dutch Reformed Church family

There is also a growing awareness amongst Christians in different cultures that the centre of worship sits not in a building, but in an individual's personal relationship to God, and that personal relationships do not have to be regulated by a religious organization. There has been a growing interest in personal study of scripture, as evidenced by the growing number of Bible study groups (Hofmeyr 2002:227) and "Bible schools" affiliated to churches. There has also been a smaller movement, especially amongst Afrikaners who formerly saw themselves as serious church members, to leave mainline churches to start small "house churches", not affiliated to any particular church denomination. On the theological front of the Afrikaans Dutch Reformed Church, there is a growing rift between the post-modernist approach of theological seminaries that no longer take the reformed doctrine that scripture is the authoritative Word of God as an unquestioned starting point, and individuals defending a fundamental, personal dependence on scripture as the only truth. In this one recognizes some of the elements of the recurring reformation pattern.

Europe entered the post-Christian era some time ago. In the Netherlands a very small proportion of the population are church members. This is in part because former church members have abandoned the church and partly because the population growth in the Muslim sector of the population is so much greater than the growth in the Christian sector. Some time ago the Dutch Reformed Church, Lutheran church and other reformed churches in the Netherlands united to form the Protestant Church in the Netherlands in 2004 (Wikipedia, a, contributors). In South Africa, Afrikaans churches are not yet at this point. Although Afrikaans church membership is now open to anyone, this did not automatically mean that the barriers between the formerly white Dutch Reformed Church and the Black, Indian and Coloured "daughter" churches disappeared. It can be surmised that some of the white resistance against this is economic, since the churches' incomes are rather disparate. As Afrikaans Protestant churches lost membership in the late twentieth century, the three "sister churches" have been discussing the advantages of ignoring their differences and reuniting to have some combined strength, but the discussion still continues (Hofmeyr 2002:243).

3 WITBANK DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH & BUILDING HISTORY

The town of Witbank (now eMalahleni: place of coal) was formally founded in 1903, although there was already an informal town in 1890 where the train station on the strategic railway line from Pretoria to Maputo was opened in 1894 (Van Dyk 2003). The Witbank Dutch Reformed Church sits in the heart of the old town centre, near the station, on the corner of Kruger Street and Haig Street, next to the Receiver of Revenue. The site sits a block from the old main road to Middelburg, which is now bypassed by the N4 that continues east towards Nelspruit. Two highways, the N12 from Johannesburg and the N4 from Pretoria, converge here. Witbank is an industrial town on the coal-fields of the Highveld. The coal mining in the area has made this a good site for stainless steel manufacturing and power stations, making the Middelburg-Witbank district the economic hub of Mpumalanga, despite the fact that Nelspruit is the capital.

The industrial activity happens throughout the surrounding area, but outside the town itself. The town has some satellite tertiary educational facilities, quite a sizeable civic centre and a satellite academic hospital, but the main population that the area supports does not work in the town. Escom's head office moved to Sandton thirty years ago. The town itself does not function at a very urban level and has not demanded activated civic spaces. At the moment one of the significant hubs of activity is the downtown taxi rank opposite the church grounds. This is a major transfer node serving large numbers of commuters who support small-scale retail in the area. There are also blocks of flats and some institutional buildings such as the Receiver of Revenue next to the church. The middle-income population has generally moved out to the expanding suburbs. The town has acquired a casino and recently a shopping mall, all close to the highways and suburbs. (personal research)

(See figures 3.1 & 3.2)

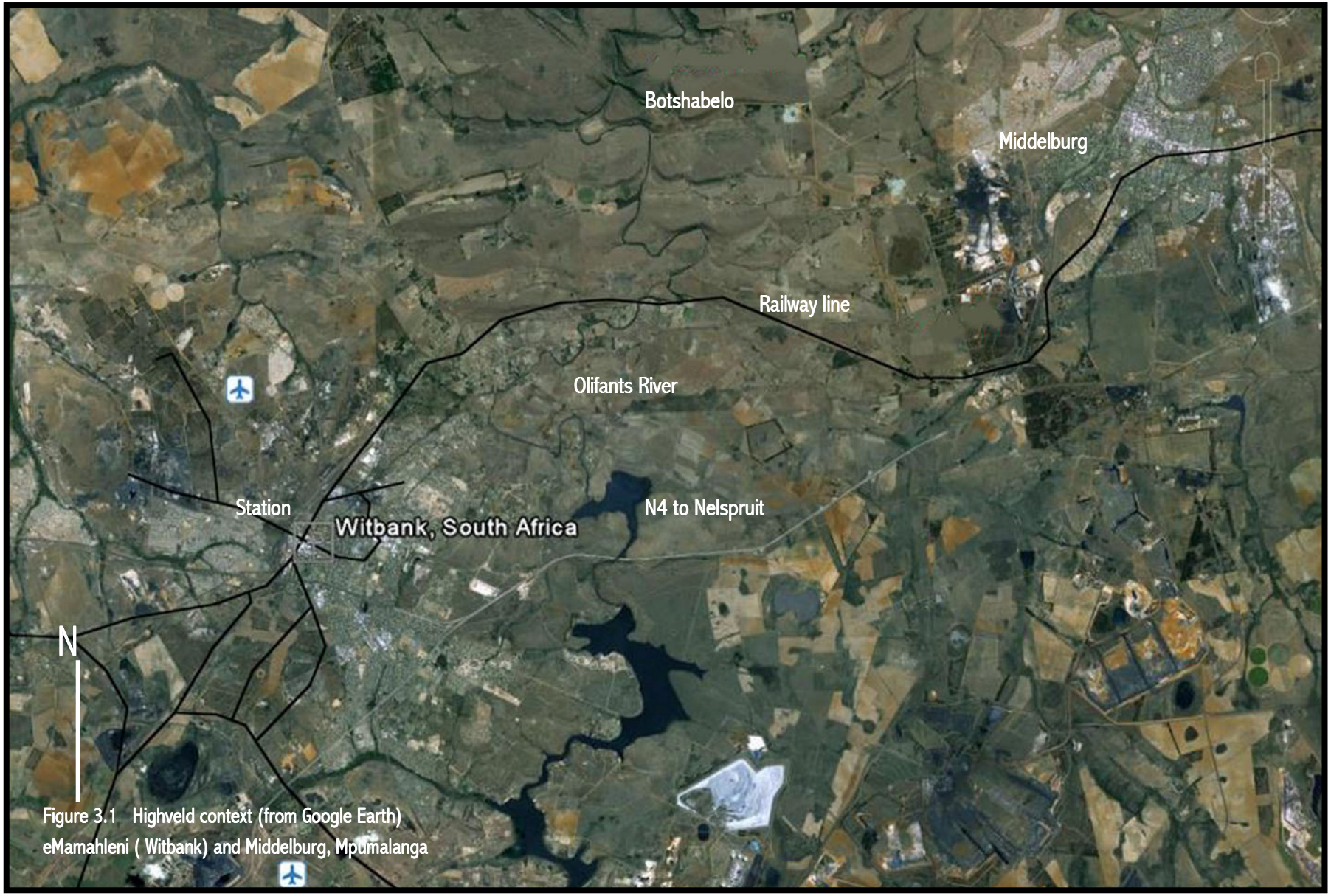


Figure 3.1 Highveld context (from Google Earth)
eMamahleni (Witbank) and Middelburg, Mpumalanga



Figure 3.2 eMamahleni map (from Google Earth) Site of the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, c/o Kruger and Haig Streets, eMamahleni

3.1 1920-1923 Early History

This town is situated in an area virtually destroyed by the British during the Great South African War (1899-1902). (See figure 3.3) Witbank had been used as a British military base. It was the time of the "Afrikaner Armblanke Vraagstuk" and the depression: (See figure 3.4). It was only by 1917 that the Afrikaans community there had recovered sufficiently to think of starting a church. The congregation officially branched off from the Middelburg congregation on 10 September 1919, after which discussions were commenced with W.B. Anderson, an architect from Benoni, to design the new church building. The cornerstone was laid by the Rev. Paul Nel, "assessor sinodi" with the induction of the first minister, the rev. J.C.Lamprecht, on 20 November 1920. (See figure 3.5) The design was for a sandstone building in a generally Victorian gothic style. This particular church building and community became known as "die Klipkerk" or stone church.

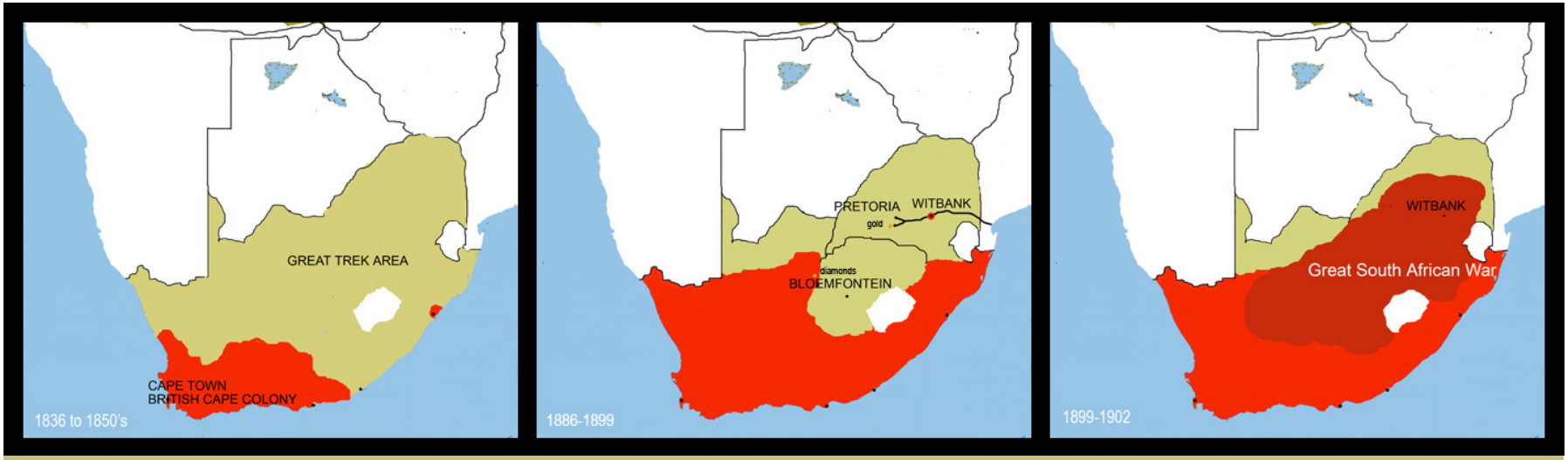


Figure 3.3 Above: Maps of Afrikaner History showing events around Witbank



Figure 3.4 **Depression-years: Driefontein School, Witbank area, 1921** (personal possession)



Figure 3.5 The Rev. Paul Nel laying the foundation stone for the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1920 (Witbank DRC archives)

In the drawings, the church is dominated by a spire and the buttresses around the nave terminate in gothic spire elements. When the church was built by Mr. Vos in 1920-23, the windows were treated rather differently from the drawings, while the buttresses were given simple pyramidical copings. Only the base of the church tower was built at the time and left to form an open skeleton which could be continued later. (See figure 5.2) It took all the community's resources to build this building without any of the luxuries designed by Mr Anderson. The leaded lancet windows, as shown on the drawings, were simply glazed in frosted glass. (Van As 14 October 2008) The congregation moved into the unfinished church building on 19 January 1923. In 1925 the synod reprimanded the church for their deteriorating financial situation as they were struggling with their building debts. By 1931 there was talk of having to sell off the church building, but eventually by 1945 they had succeeded in paying off their debt and the congregation had a special thanksgiving service. After this their priorities were pastoral, and they used their money to appoint a second minister. By this time the membership had grown sufficiently that two daughter-congregations had been founded in other parts of Witbank. The tower was eventually built when the community was in better economic standing and inaugurated on 6 November 1954. (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007:1)

3.2 1961-1963 Alterations

The community continued to grow, especially with the expansion of Escom. By 1960, after the economic recovery of the Afrikaners in general, the community was doing relatively well. The congregation wanted to refurbish the church, add an organ and modernize its amenities somewhat so they approached the well-known Afrikaans architects Daan Kesting, Brand and Partners to do the alterations and additions. Kesting removed the rickety gallery and its columns, added the organ loft and new church furniture and significantly introduced painted windows symbolizing the traditional Christian church calendar (Hoevers 2005)(Kesting 1963). The windows were in modern style and used Glassparence paints. The windows in the presbytery behind the pulpit area were also painted, mainly for privacy and consistency. In subsequent years a church hall and office as well as a youth centre were added to the complex. During the decades following the alterations the church community grew, appointed a full-time missionary, welcomed new staff who started to specialize in different ministries, funded the founding of other new churches, and organized various outreaches to other areas. (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007:1)This expansion eventually tailed off after 1994 (a general Dutch Reformed Church trend)(Hofmeyr 2002:245) and by the end of the twentieth century the congregation had shrunk somewhat, had sold off the youth complex and had lessened their staff component.

3.3 2004 Onwards: Restoration

It is relevant to note that the area in which the church is situated, once the heart of the town and the old CBD, has now become a downtown area. The taxi rank is over the road from the church and the church grounds are heavily fenced with full-time security guards. More vandalism, also to the stained glass windows, occurs in the area than formerly. Church membership has shrunk since the 1980s, both because of the population shift to the suburb, the ageing demographic profile of that particular congregation's membership and because of dwindling church attendance in the Afrikaans Protestant churches. Its traditional congregation of families, although they continue to attend, has moved to suburbs further afield. The church diversified its activities in 2004 to include services in Zulu and increasingly engaged with its immediate urban community, who were not traditionally church members. (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007:1,5)

By 2003 it had become necessary to do general repairs to the building and the church council approved an extensive restoration programme, (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007:1) including waterproofing, repainting and replacement of carpets and furnishings. Over time the window paint had faded and on various occasions towards the end of the twentieth century the church had requested quotations for the refurbishment of the windows. These had been from stained glass studios which only worked in leaded glass techniques, and could not provide a satisfactory solution to the problem. Finally in July 2004 the building committee approached me to advise them on restoration options for the windows (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006:0409-1). No alterations to the church building were required. For the windows, however, although they wanted the Kesting designs durably restored to their original colour intensity, they made the request that symbolism that could be associated with Freemasonry should be changed as that had become contentious. The windows presented the following challenges: (See figure 3.6)

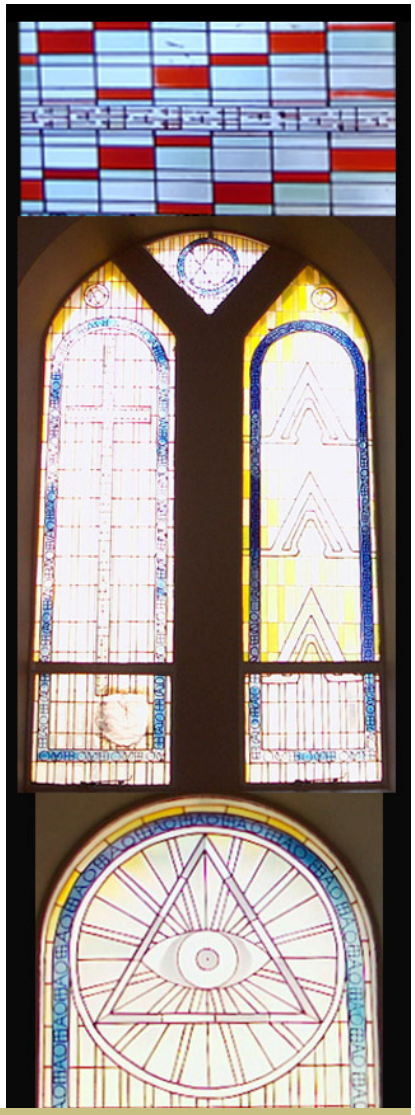


Figure 3.6 The restoration problems in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows
From top to bottom: (1) the 'spotty' effect when some paint shades have faded (2) complete fading on the East façade and a broken pane (3) Symbolism that had become unacceptable by 2004: The All-Seeing Eye in the Eternity window

- Three of the existing windows had been physically damaged and the glass had cracked. Since the design had been painted on a single large pane of 6mm float glass in a standard steel window frame, the whole pane and painting would have to be replaced.
- The Glassparence paints in all the windows had faded. Where windows were exposed to full sunlight, all colour had faded and only the black outlines were still visible, although in most cases the layer of paint was still physically intact. In shaded positions some colours had faded completely (e.g. yellow) while vermillion and turquoise blue were still visible. The windows looked "spotty". One small lower window pane had been replaced with a rather crudely painted section in a different type of synthetic paint which stood out very noticeably from the rest.
- The original type of paint is no longer manufactured as it was not durable and therefore not suitable for such an application in the first place. Technically the windows could not be "restored" or even reconstructed, according to the Burra Charter definitions (Kyle, Walker 2004). Different techniques had to be considered, necessitating adaptation in any case, and it only made sense to go to the trouble of remaking the windows if permanent (traditional stained glass) materials were used.
- Both the colour and texture of these synthetic paints differ from those of coloured glass and even if the existing windows were to be copied meticulously in stained glass, the visual effect would be markedly different.
- The cost of using real stained glass techniques is considerably higher than that of the original technique. It would make it very costly to replace all the windows, and this could certainly not be done all at once.
- Daan Kesting's original concept had been to make the windows progressively lighter towards the lectern, to "illuminate the proclaiming of scripture" (Kesting 20 June 2007). This means that the minister experiences intense glare and the light intensity interferes with the electronic image projection currently used during church services.
- Symbols such as the All-Seeing Eye had become a problem. Certain authors such as Campbell were starting to draw a distinction between "the Great Architect of the Universe" of Freemasonry and the God of the Bible (Campbell 1999:134) and some believers felt it to be offensive to use a symbol for God which also had pagan occult associations, although it had historically often been used as a symbol "for God" in European churches over the centuries.

The design brief was therefore formulated as follows:

- The church's building committee wanted the broken panes to be mended and the colour to be restored in the faded windows.
- They requested that the front windows be made darker than they originally were.

- They specifically wanted to retain the original Kesting designs which depicted the theme of the church calendar, but expressed concern about Masonically associated symbolism and asked me to modify this where necessary.
- They did not have the budget to do all the windows at once: the windows would be done one at a time, and maybe not all of them in the end. At any given time the space, visual effect and symbolic theme would have to have integrity.
- They wanted to start with the most faded and cracked window which contained the All-Seeing Eye symbol. (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006)

Once the building committee realized that the windows could not simply be restored, they agreed that the cost involved in remaking a whole window could only be justified if permanent techniques were used. The Kesting designs should be remade using a suitable tectonic alternative, without compromising the present needs. I did submit a proposal for a completely new design on the same theme at the same cost as copying the old designs, but this was rejected in favour of the historic design (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006:0409-2).

Technically, the Kesting windows, produced in 1963, are just over forty years old and are not part of the original fabric which is more than 60 years old and subject to SAHRA conservation legislation. They do, however, illustrate an important phase in the history of Afrikaans churches. As Kyle and Walker explain (2004:11) "the cultural significance of a place may change as a result of the continuing history of a place. Understanding of the cultural significance of a place may change as a result of new information. A place may have different meanings to different groups". They also define "cultural significance" to mean aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value. It was therefore an important responsibility in the adaptation of these windows to accommodate and express the changes in spiritual value that may have occurred in this church over time as part of the historic narrative. It is also appropriate that the less damaged and less contentious windows will probably be retained, conserving that era in its history.

The brief was to use a permanent technique to remake the windows. This opened the choice to any of the stained glass techniques described in chapter 2.4. Daan Kesting's Glassparence windows at Witbank were not designed in a way that could be directly translated into leaded glass techniques. Although their geometric subdivisions suggested lead lines, there are gradations of colour within a single block and there are free-floating black lines which require painting. The tectonic alternatives were presented to the building committee, with examples, cost breakdowns and a discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of each. This was a fully informed process. (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006:meeting Aug 05)

The final choice was between

- the traditional gothic technique where every shape outlined in black is individually cut from coloured glass, painted, fired and then leaded, or
- a technique using black vitreous paint to simulate lead lines so that kiln-sized glass pieces could be used. Certain colour variations could be achieved on a single pane with enamels so that the glass needed only to be cut when unavoidable. The building committee chose this less expensive alternative.

The building committee's decision limited the colour choices to transparent enamels on (a) clear glass or (b) cathedral glass, which was an affordable alternative only 20% more expensive than float glass, as opposed to >400% for coloured water glass. Some enamel colours are weak or muddy and some (e.g. red, pink, amethyst or orange) are not readily available in transparent enamels. On clear glass, some enamel colours are nearly as light as the faded paint. When used alongside stronger colours such as blue, they would give the same "spotty" effect. The building committee commissioned me to make up sample panels using clear glass and all the cathedral glass alternatives (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006:0409-4)and eventually chose an alternative using cathedral glass. The window replacement process was to begin with the "Eternity" window. The design sketch was submitted to the representative of the building committee, Mr. van As, and approved in 2005. (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006) Work commenced late in 2005 and the window was installed in April 2006.

Cathedral glass is available from building glass merchants in amber, light blue, light green and amethyst. Since the blue enamels are the strongest and the yellows are very weak, the only way to achieve a reasonable palette of warm and cool colours on one piece of glass was to use a light amber base. This could be darkened into deep amber with silver stain, into different shades of green using a single coat of blue enamel and even into greenish blues using dark blue and aubergine enamel. It had the added advantage of being visually compatible with the stoneware glazes used for the 1963 baptismal font and Eucharist platters. Clear glass was used in certain sections, silver-stained to tone in and slumped to focus light. Although red enamels are not available, red glass "confetti" (small, thin flakes of coloured glass) was melted onto the amber cathedral base when a small red highlight was needed, giving a true red colour. The texture is however very uneven on a large expanse, so in the end I cut the red band running across the window from red Bullseye glass. (See figure 5.25)

The technical limitation of cathedral glass is that it is only available in a 3 - 3,5 mm thickness, which is not strong in tension. It also has a low sodium content which makes it more brittle to cut and more prone to cracking during firing than glass designed for stained glass. The tendency to crack only became apparent by the second firing and was a major problem, since I had used the largest possible pieces of glass, which are more prone to uneven heating and expansion.

The glass pieces had to be joined with lead, as foiling cannot accommodate expansion of the glass in the hot sun over large areas. The bottom pane of the first window had an area of 1,17m x 0,54m and the top pane of 1,17m x 2,3m. This was still too large for a leaded light, which should ideally not exceed a 1m² pane. Lead is very soft and the weight of the glass causes the lead to bend when the window is being handled. This puts individual pieces of glass under tension and results in their cracking. I decided to subdivide the steel frame with an additional transom and to reinforce the lead with brass brazing rods soldered to the outside. It was also necessary to fit the individual windows into supporting sub-frames.

I found that it was necessary to give the enamels two firings of blue to achieve the colour-intensity of the test-strips as the melted paint spread more thinly over the larger area. When glass cracked, the damaged portion could be cut off along one of the black lines and replaced, using a real lead line in place of the black line. This resulted in much smaller glass pieces and much more lead, which all had to be reinforced, adding a lot of extra weight to the windows and making them difficult to handle. These technical problems arising from the use of cathedral glass resulted in a window that was eventually more expensive than foreseen, making it preferable to use water glass, with less leading and labour. This was recommended to the church for the following windows. (Grasfontein Ontwerp CC 2004-2006:0409-5)

In the end the windows were successfully installed by a church building team under my supervision. (See figure 3.7) The sub-frame proved too wide for the non-standard lower window profile and had to be removed. This, combined with the team's inexperience with stained glass, resulted in some small cracks that could be foiled and soldered before installation. The church community was sufficiently happy with the end result to immediately commission the next two windows, at the increased cost, using imported glass. Outside the period under review in this dissertation, one of these was installed in September 2009 in time for the church's 90th anniversary celebrations, and a fourth window was commissioned after another one had become damaged.



Figure 3.7 Construction and installation of replacement 'Eternity' window
From top to bottom: (1) The window under construction, March 2006 (2) Installation, April 2006 (3) Installation, April 2006

4 THE WINDOW DESIGNERS

4.1 Original Design 1920-1923: W.B. Anderson

4.1.1 W.B. Anderson, background

The titles on the drawings tell us that W.B. Anderson was registered with the Cape Institute of Architects and had an office in Benoni in 1921. Several archival searches in Cape Town and Gauteng have not yielded any more information about him. Being a registered architect by 1920, he was probably born before 1900. It is most likely that he studied in Britain as his drawings are all done in English, there was no faculty of architecture in South Africa yet and the Cape, where he was registered, was part of the British Empire even before the Great South African War.

4.1.2 Approach to techniques

The windows shown on his original elevational drawings show diamond-paned leaded windows with a cross in the lancet. These could be easily made with leaded glass techniques using plain and coloured glass which were commonly used in domestic architecture at the time, without requiring painting. The fact that the first house built for Mr. Abrahams in the neighbouring small town of Hendrina in 1916 used imported coloured glass in the front door, meant that this was available in the area (own research).

4.1.3 Approach to symbolism

Anderson uses the simple non-figurative symbol of a cross in the windows, as is found in other Protestant churches in the area at the time (cf. the windows of the Botshabelo church (1873) of the Berlin Missionary Society near Middelburg). In the Dutch-Reformed Church itself, however, even this type of symbolism was seldom used until after 1960. (Hofmeyr 2002:197) One can deduce that Anderson's approach was not quite the norm for a Dutch Reformed client, and certainly not affordable at that time, so it would have been far lower on the list of priorities than the spire.

4.1.4 Approach to language and style

No information is available on Anderson's personal approach, but the style is typically Victorian gothic, as was commonly used for Anglican churches throughout the British realm at the time. The Dutch Reformed Churches built in the Boer republics before the war tended to either use a whitewashed neo-Gothic imported from the Cape (cf. the Middelburg Dutch Reformed Church, C.O.Hager, 1890, or the early churches in Potchefstroom) or follow the neo-Renaissance styles imported from the Netherlands, cf. churches built in Pretoria early in the 1900's by Kraan and Wyers (Hoevers 2005).

4.1.5 Approach to the Witbank design project

Nothing is documented about W.B. Anderson's approach to this project. On the face of it, he uses a typical Anglican church language, but in the plan one can see a more pulpit-centred broad seating plan suitable for an Afrikaans Calvinist church as opposed to a "high church" processional plan. The spire and window proposals shown on the elevations do not take the economic circumstances of the congregation into consideration, although it could be that it was drawn to be built in phases, while the client and architect agreed that only the necessary shell would be built at first.

4.2 Alterations and Additions 1961-1963: D.P. Kesting

4.2.1 D.P. Kesting, background

Daniel Pieter Kesting was born on 13 February 1933 in Bloemfontein, where he attended school. He studied architecture at the University of Pretoria where he graduated in 1957 and started the first of his various practices. Apart from many churches and church complexes, his notable projects included the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg, Civitas building in Pretoria, the government buildings and law courts for the independent homeland of Venda during the Apartheids regime and many residential complexes for Sanlam and Old Mutual throughout the country. In 1973 he joined the academic staff of the University of Port Elizabeth as professor of Architecture and Head of School. In 1978 he attained his D.Arch. at UPE on the subject of Afrikaans Protestant church building after which he became a research professor until 1987. In the period 1966-1980 he was the architectural advisor to various synodal commissions of Afrikaans Protestant churches with the task of setting criteria for church architecture. He was a member of various Afrikaans, Flemish and Dutch

Figure 4.1 (See following pages) Images of civic buildings designed by Kesting including the SABC, Aucklandpark, and Civitas, Pretoria. (Kesting 2004)
Figure 4.2 Various churches, both urban and rural, designed by Kesting. (Kesting 2004)

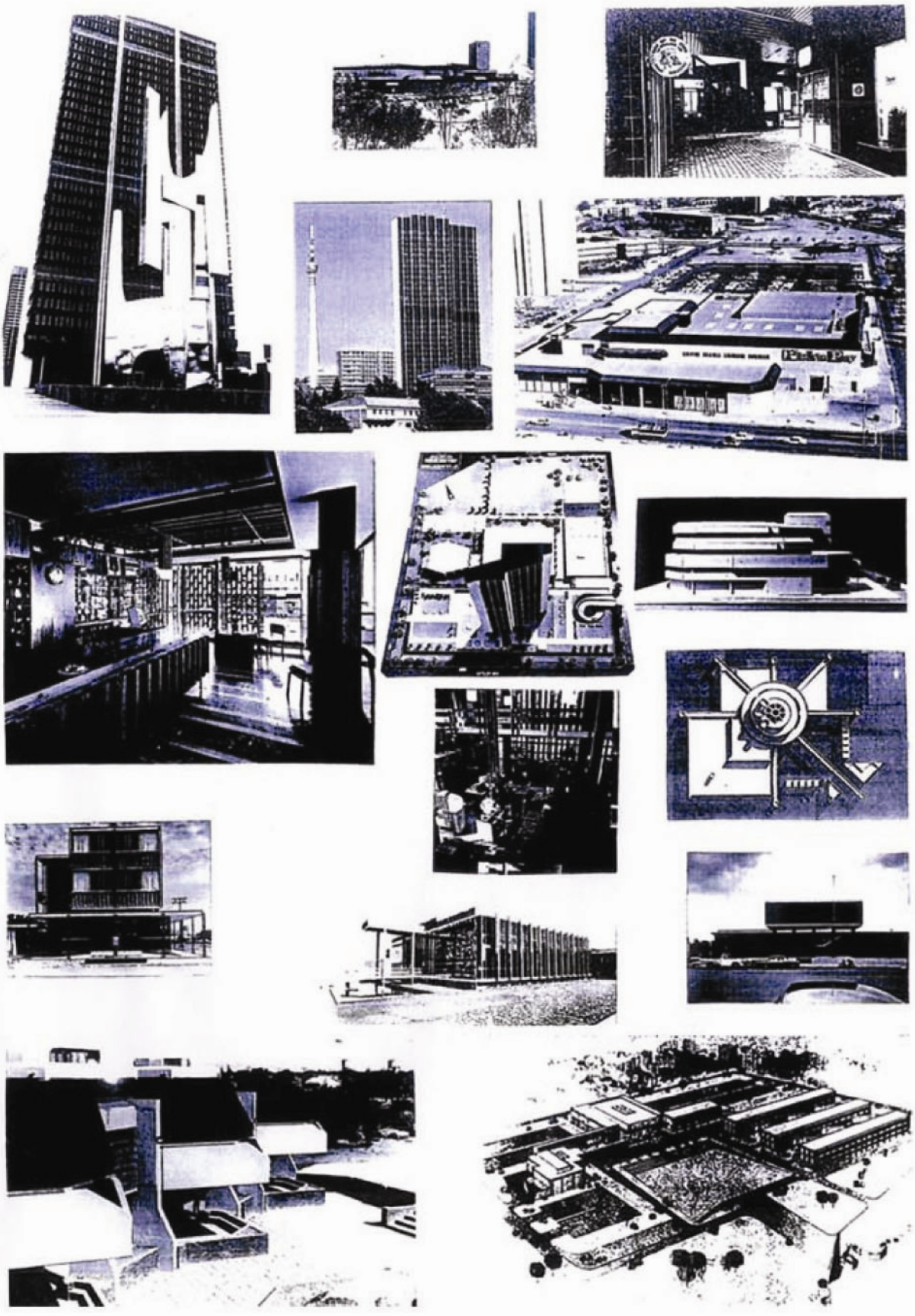
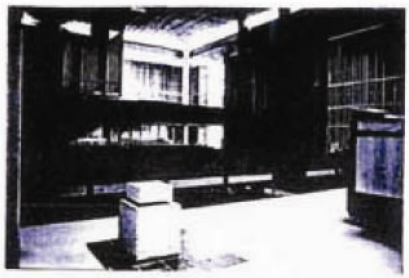


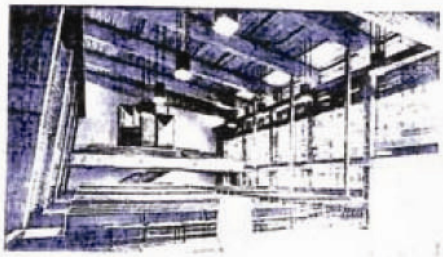
Figure 4.1

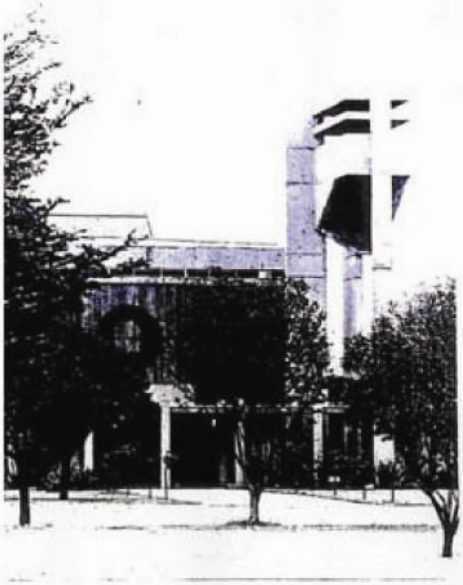




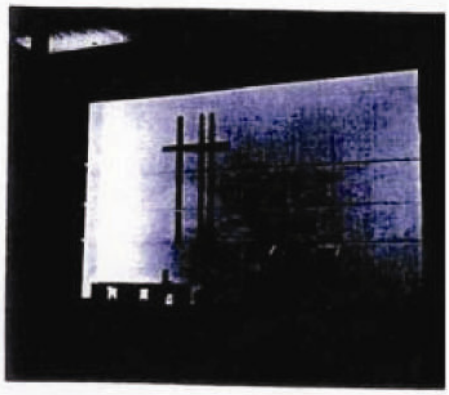




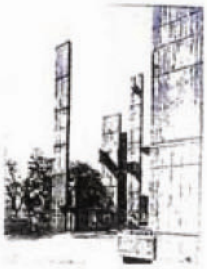














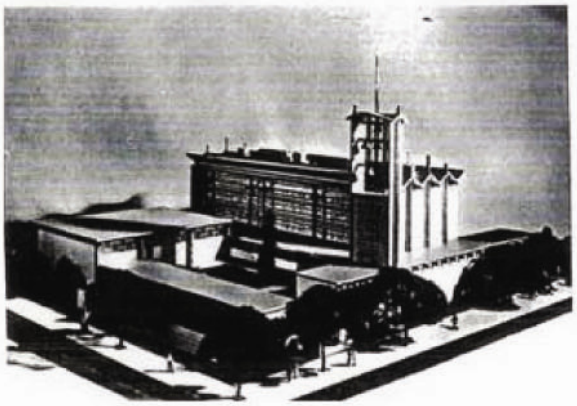


Figure 4.2

cultural organizations, including the Belgian "Orde van den Prince" and the "Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns", the most prestigious Afrikaans cultural organization, who gave him their award of honour in 2004 for the visual arts (Architecture) for, especially, his role in the promotion of the search for identity in the Afrikaans Protestant churches (See figures 4.1-4.2) (Kesting 2004).

4.2.2 Approach to techniques

Although Kesting sometimes commissioned established glass artists using authentic techniques to design and make windows according to his brief (cf. Leo Theron's dalle de verre windows, Burgerspark Dutch Reformed Church, 1969) (See figure 4.3) he more often designed windows himself for painting onto 6mm plate glass with Glassparence paints , e.g. Eikenhof & Waverley-East (early 1960's) and Witbank Dutch Reformed Churches (1963). The visual effect of these resin paints as discussed in 2.3.2 is obviously inferior when compared to real coloured glass, let alone stained glass. When interviewed, he confirmed that he had used this technique with a much lower cost than vitreous paints, to persuade these churches to "buy in" to the concept of putting symbols in their windows, avoiding an outright rejection due to cost implications. (Kesting 16 April 2009) This was a specific personal decision to sacrifice quality of materials in order to introduce the new direction he was promoting. The facility of this technique is continued in the fairly random sourcing of symbols in Kesting's designs in contrast to the careful layering of symbolism in the work of an international contemporary such as Chagall. His designs for the Hadassah synagogue widows (En Kerem, 1962)(See 4.4) is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.2.

4.2.3 Approach to symbolism

Kesting was the key figure in the promotion of the introduction of symbolism in Afrikaans Protestant churches. He was involved in the theological movement exploring this in the Netherlands in the early 1960's and did his own research for his doctorate there from 1964 onwards. His thesis (University of Port Elizabeth, 1978) was entitled "Afrikaans-Protestantse Kerkbou – Erfenis en Uitdaging" (Kesting 1978)(Afrikaans Protestant Church Building – Heritage and Challenge) and his supervisors included Dutch theologians.

His whole approach to church design hinged on the Calvinist tenet that the proclamation of scripture should be the focus of the church service. ("The centrality of God's Word") The church seating was always designed with clear sight lines to the pulpit, acoustics were important so that both the preacher and the congregation would be able to hear one another clearly and the lighting from the windows was graded from the darkest colours (reds and purples) at the back of the church through blues and greens to yellows and whites near the lectern. This was more important to him than the actual symbols used in the windows and is clearly illustrated in the Burgerspark Dutch Reformed Church (Pretoria, 1969). (Kesting 20 June 2007).

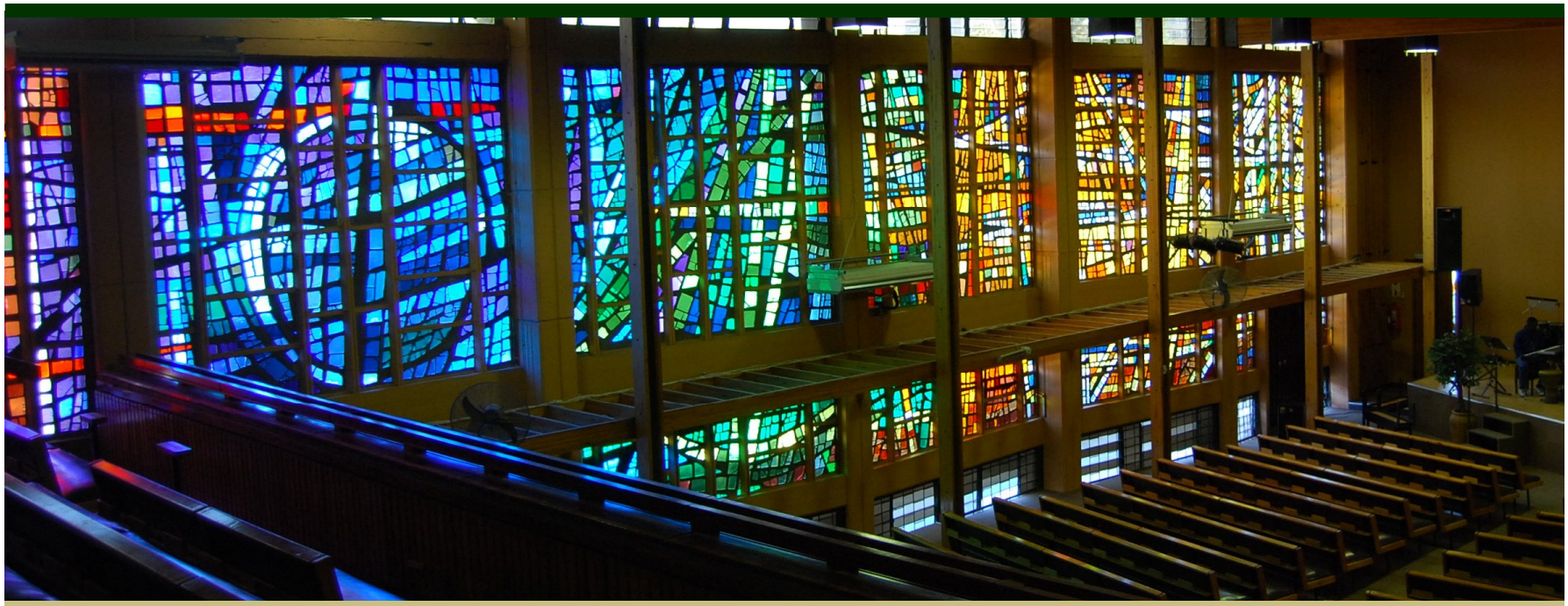


Figure 4.3 Dalle de verre windows by Leo Theron in Daan Kesting's Burgerspark Dutch Reformed Church, Pretoria, 1969
This sequence also depicts the church calendar. Note the lighter colours towards the front of the church

He was the first architect to introduce stained glass imagery into modern Afrikaans Protestant church design and promoted this in all his church buildings. Previous examples of painted stained glass windows (e.g. those in the Dutch Reformed Church at Three Anchor Bay) were memorial windows with biblical scenes in traditional European style. He designed his own symbols for use in windows, from various origins. They were usually abstract rather than figurative or, if figurative, referred to parables with universal, metaphoric figures e.g. "the Sower" or "the Shepherd" (See Appendix C: Inventory of Symbols from Chapter 12 of Kesting's thesis on Afrikaans church building). Appendix C shows Kesting's selection of his own symbols designs from different church contexts, which he presented as examples of the new use of symbolism in Afrikaans Protestant churches in this doctoral thesis. (Kesting 1978)One can see that his windows in Witbank are typical of his approach. They all have a strongly geometricized style.

Kesting claims to have used traditional symbols which he simplified into a more modern style (Kesting 20 June 2007). He claimed that the origin and meaning of the symbols used in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church had a long explanation, so he did not regard them as arbitrary. (Kesting 1963:17) His use of symbols is eclectic. Some come from the church tradition, others from popular associations; some are scriptural; some are not. Even when symbols have scriptural associations, he does not take their extra-scriptural communication such as the origin of the symbols into consideration. Some of them have associations with Freemasonry. He was aware of this to the extent that he conducted a survey about the use of the All-Seeing Eye and his finding at the time of his thesis was that the majority of church members found this acceptable, although there were queries and complaints from certain of the clergy (Kesting 20 June 2007). It seems that the survey was done to justify the re-introduction of symbolism per se and prove that it was acceptable to include such symbols as they had been used in Europe in the past, e.g. in the Church of Sainte Germaine des Prés in Paris (558AD, window later). This survey was part of his thesis research and as such he presented it to the church as an architect with a specialist knowledge of symbolism.

The derived meaning of some symbols is quite indirect and not necessarily easily read by the average viewer. For example, he describes the anchor as a symbol for the church, which is neither scripturally nor secularly associated in this way any longer, although it was a secret symbol for the cross used in the early church.(O'Connell, Airey 2007:83) The anchor could be associated with the fact that the church was spread over the world by means of sea voyages, or the chain of associations may be that the church is characterized by faith and that the anchor is popularly associated with faith, but for that matter the church could equally be characterized by joy or generosity, for which icons do not exist. His choice of symbols seems to be dictated rather by graphic facility than by a search for the symbol which will best communicate the core meaning of a concept, or otherwise by subjective associations.

4.2.4 Approach to language and style

Kesting's own architectural style is clearly Brutalist Modernist, with a strong use of textures. He says that in the case of alterations and additions to an older building such as the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church one should guard against modernizing during alterations and that the existing building in its own genre should be the inspiration for the redesign (Kesting 1963). Although he did the structural alterations in the existing language, he introduced his personal more modern style in the new elements. Whether this combination is successful, is open to debate.

4.2.5 Approach to the Witbank design project

(a) Techniques - Kesting used the inexpensive Glassparence paint technique for the windows so that it was only necessary to replace the glass panes in the windows and all the windows could be painted in the short time taken by the alterations. He confirmed that he had made this decision for economic considerations: the client would not have agreed to incorporate symbolic windows if he had suggested a more expensive technique. I do not think he informed the client of other options. At that stage however, the paints were advertised as "permanent", and potential fading was not a consideration.

(b) Symbolism - I explored the symbolism of this project in my interview with Daan Kesting (Kesting 20 June 2007) but after forty years he had few specific recollections and spoke more about his generic design intentions in church symbolism. According to the article he wrote at the time (Kesting 1963), the theme of the annual church calendar, which is linked to events in the life of Christ and his church, had been suggested by Rev. C.I. van Heerden. This is taken through in the communion table cloths and especially in the windows, which describe this calendar in a clockwise sequence starting south of the pulpit and follow it around the church to end in the window north of the pulpit. The text on the pulpit cloth is "In his light", based on the key scripture of Ps. 36:9: "In thy light we shall see light". The association extends to the fact that the sequence of windows communicates the light of scripture, in light, and also links to the concept of eyes and seeing, hence the All-Seeing Eye.

4.3 Restoration 2004-2006: A. Janse van Rensburg

4.3.1 A. Janse van Rensburg, background

I was born in Pretoria in 1958 and studied Architecture at the University of Cape Town, doing my design thesis under supervision of Roelof Uytenbogaart in 1983. For the first few years after that I worked for Peter Hattingh and was involved in several church design projects. I started my own practice in 1990 and first developed a personal interest in architectural stained glass after attending a talk by Leo Theron on his work at the Pretoria Art Museum. In 1993 I won the EPIA's design competition for stained glass windows for the Feathermarket Hall in Port Elizabeth and was given the opportunity to study glass painting techniques under Debora Coombs at the Pilchuck Glass School in Seattle in 1994. After my return I started to receive commissions as a glass artist, including windows in both Catholic and Protestant churches in Southern Africa, while continuing my architectural career. I have taught glass painting from studios in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Mpumalanga. Since 2004 I have also been involved in teaching and research in Architecture at the Universities of Johannesburg and of the Witwatersrand.

4.3.2 Approach to techniques

There is such a wide range of stained glass techniques that most visual effects can be produced in more than one way, with different cost, time and installation implications. My approach is to inform clients on the range of options, showing them samples of the techniques and then to design within the budgetary constraints that they have chosen. I see no options for short cuts."The medium is the message". I use authentic techniques with integrity which will last, at a justified cost. The time-intensive processes that are entailed call for great care in every step and most especially in the design, which cannot be modified half-way through the process. It would be absurd to spend hundreds of hours on the technical execution of a hastily conceived design. I have not yet worked in dalle de verre: I use and combine the full spectrum of techniques that can be done using a flat-bed kiln which includes shallow three-dimensional fusing and slumping. I find the subtle variations that can be achieved with paint techniques infinitely preferable to working in unpainted leaded glass and have never willingly reverted to this technique since having learned painting techniques, excluding restoration. With a well-considered use of painting techniques, it is often possible to produce work in colour at the same or an even lower cost than that of conventional leaded glass. Tectonically, I far prefer leading to foiling techniques, as there is an inherently satisfying relationship between the natural shapes into which glass can be cut and the natural curves of lead calms.

4.3.3 Approach to symbolism

My personal approach to glass painting is that it takes so much time, patience and cost that it demands an equivalent investment in meaning. As a multilayered graphic medium it has the potential to incorporate multiple layers of meaning, making a rich visual text possible. The original role of stained glass windows in churches during the Middle Ages was to communicate reminders of scripture to the largely illiterate lay congregation. All churches, both Catholic and Protestant, agree on the centrality and sacrality of scripture. It therefore makes sense to me that in the design of church windows, scripture should still be the central focus, and other themes should be presented in their relationship to scripture, otherwise they could become irrelevant to the church very quickly. Stained glass windows have a track record of lasting longer than church ideas. One can see from the contextual background in chapter 2 that scripture is the one fixed point to which the church realigns itself whenever it has gone off course, so it seems to be a relevant source for meaning for the church. At this time in history most church goers are literate and have access to scripture. A simple visual reminder of a narrative is not going to engage a viewer for his/her hour of church attendance, especially when other hours are spent in engagement with multimedia entertainment. I see the current role of stained glass windows in churches as a visual prompt for the viewer to engage creatively with the scriptural text. This could happen because the window is juxtaposing or even superimposing some of the layers of meaning found in the literary text in a different format to the sequential textual narrative. This can be done using both graphic symbols and words. At the least it is a graphic expression of textual relationships found in the literary analysis of scripture which excite me by their richness. At best, I would hope that the symbolism in church windows could engage the viewer in an enriching dialogue with scripture.

As a church is a spiritual space, its structure and decoration should be expressing some form of spiritual truth. Spiritual concepts can only be expressed by symbols. A stained glass window is a single canvas, (not an unfolding narrative,) that may be viewed for a long time, from a distance, so the design needs to be both simple and rich. This also necessitates the use of symbols. In a context where viewers are familiar with scripture, the use of visual symbols that refer to scripture, and have therefore already been imbued with layers of meaning accessible to this particular group of viewers, makes for rich symbolism. I would be hesitant to use symbols that are not clearly understood within a particular community. In a church in Botswana (Our Lady of the Desert, Francistown, 1997) I used the landscape of the Kalahari and the Okavango Swamps as visual codes for the scriptural concepts of desert and the flowering of the desert when there is water. I would not use those same visual images in the church in Witbank. I also try to avoid using symbols, even if they have scriptural associations, which have other conflicting meaning outside scripture and thus give mixed messages.

I have always enjoyed poetry and as a literary text, scripture fascinates me with its exceptionally rich layering of meaning, which reveals itself upon qualitative analysis. The interpretive approach that McKnight (McKnight 1988) identifies as a post-modern literary approach in which scripture is seen as having a radically reader-orientated role, describes my approach to biblical hermeneutics exactly. In the design of spiritual spaces and stained-glass windows in spiritual spaces, I use scripture as a primary inspiration for juxtaposing different visual symbols which all refer back to (some of) the literary meaning associated with a concept in scripture. (See 4.4 -4.5). Graphic images invariably trigger different associations in different people, so this is an attempt to engage viewers to find and focus on the common theme in the juxtaposition of images. Sometimes I also incorporate words of scripture as symbols which help to focus the meaning.

4.3.4 Approach to language and style

My approach is that, in the cases where window designs are commissioned in completed buildings, the window remains a component of the architectural design, is subservient to and needs to enhance the architectural concept. At the same time a stained glass window is a painting and as such its style must be complementary to the architecture, but not necessarily the same. In cases where I have the opportunity to design both the building and paint the windows, there is far more opportunity for a mutually reinforcing dialogue. As a painting is in the first place a communication, I find it most important of all to use a language that can be understood by the viewers.

4.3.5 Approach to the Witbank design project

(a) Techniques - The aim was to find a technique with integrity that would last as long as the building, but to keep this cost-efficient by using paint techniques to recreate Kesting's design rather than using leading every block of imported glass, which is extremely labour-intensive. The use of paint and not plain coloured glass makes it possible for the new windows to blend better with the old ones, as the colour of plain glass (not hand-made) is very flat and intense compared with the faded paint. I prefer more variation in colour and texture, which adds liveliness in general and gives a more natural effect. This combines better with the other natural materials used such as sandstone and timber. By using larger pieces of glass where possible, bending stress due to soft lead is minimized so that the opening sections of the window can still be opened.

It was important to choose techniques which could accommodate the full range of colours that had been used in the original window and at the same time block out glare as requested for the projection. Finally, it was necessary to find techniques that could tectonically reinforce the symbolic meaning of the "Eternity" window: lasting without deteriorating, glowing with light, the shining gold of the New Jerusalem, etc.

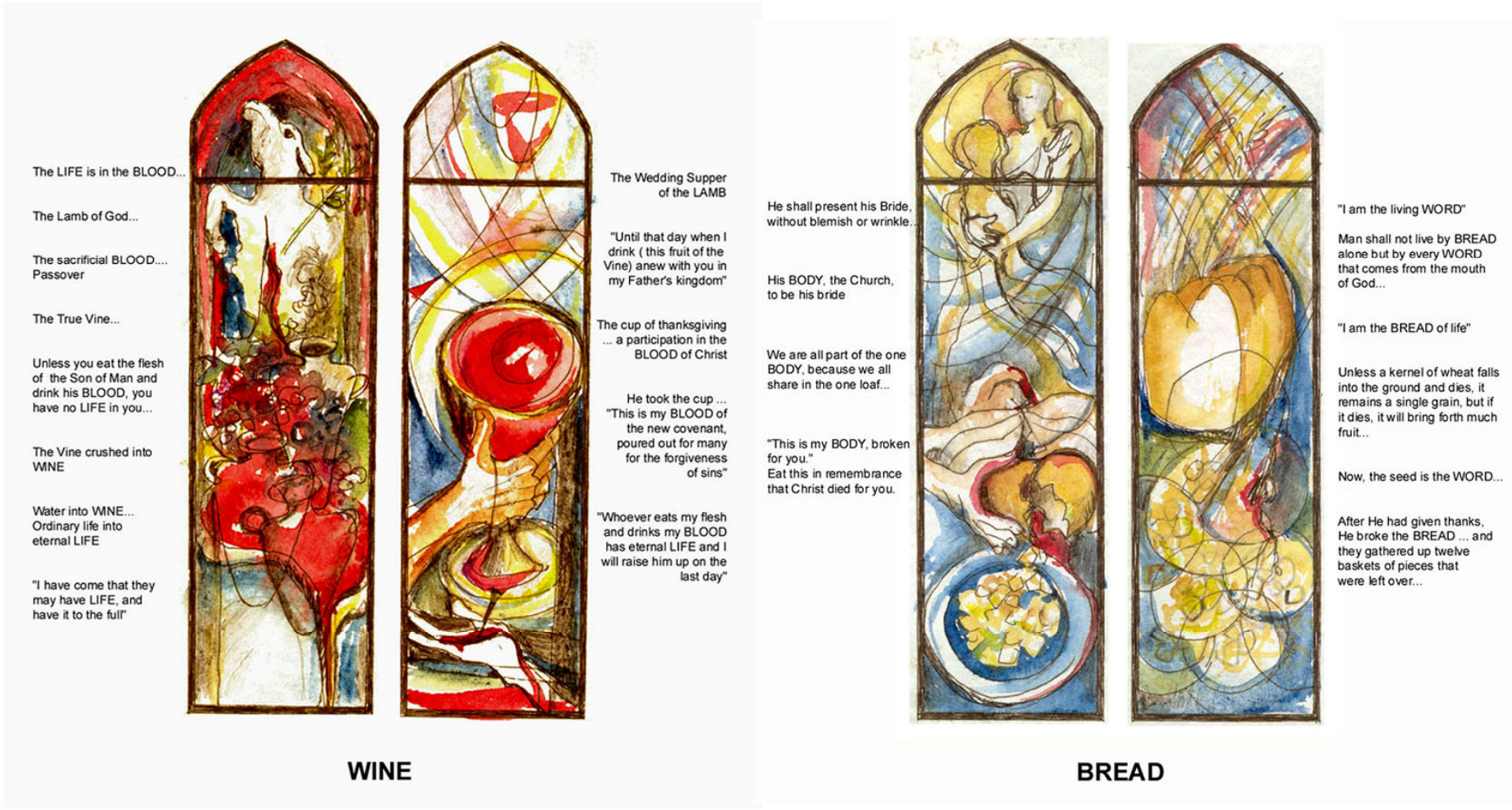


Figure 4.4 Scriptural basis for designs of Eucharist windows, St. Margaret's Anglican Church, Witbank, 1997 – 1999, by Ariane Janse van Rensburg
Left to right: Wine (background and Last Supper symbolism) and bread (Last Supper and background symbolism)



Figure 4.5 Windows made for St. Margaret's Anglican Church, Witbank (Trevor Evans, 1996) by Ariane Janse van Rensburg, 1997 – 1999
Left to right: (1) Two wine windows (2) Details showing the incorporation of Scripture (3) Two bread windows

(b) Symbolism - In this case the client, as an Afrikaans Protestant church, proclaims the reality of a spiritual realm and the scriptural authority of the Bible. There are scriptural precedents for architectural designs which imply that the God described in these scriptures recognizes, uses and is concerned about the symbolic meaning of architecture and decoration. I therefore saw it as my responsibility towards this client to convey spiritual meaning in a way that correlates with scripture.

The brief for the Witbank windows was to retain Kesting's basic designs but change the symbolism with Masonic associations. To express meaning working inside his very constraining two-dimensional outlines was challenging. The first window to be remade was the "Eternity" window. The existing window already combined some strong symbols: The cross, the alpha and omega and the All-Seeing Eye. The combined symbols of the cross and the alpha and omega communicated their message well, but the eye had strong Masonic associations. This meant finding a single new symbol to replace the All-Seeing Eye which would need to richly communicate the scriptural meaning of the "Eternity" time slot in the church calendar, be integrated with the pulpit-cloth idea of "In thy light we shall see light" as the eye symbol was, and would fit the formal requirements and limitations of a similar circular shape in the arch of the window.

While I used the original design outline, there were small modifications that could be made (i.e. taking an existing line through or interrupting it) which could reinforce the meaning of the composition, which I did. The original arched border around each window contained a repetition of small geometric symbols usually consisting of a circle, a quartered square and one of the symbols from that particular window, e.g. in this case the alpha. The intended meaning of the symbols in this border was not always clear. I felt that a richer layering of meaning could be achieved in the composition by replacing the small symbols in the frames with writing, quoting the scriptures to which the main symbols in the windows refer. This has much the same graphic density as the original design, but adds an additional layer of meaning. The same applies to the central cross, which was originally filled with a texture of smaller crosses.

Since the church wanted this originally light window dark, they agreed that I could use my discretion in the choice of colours for the refurbishment. The choice was dictated as much by the meaning associated with these colours as by the aesthetic effect. For this reason I chose to use the original yellow and blue combination, but to swop the colours to convey the meaning more strongly.

5 DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH BUILDING AND ITS WINDOWS

5.1 Original Construction 1920-1923: W.B. Anderson

Few graphic records exist of what the church looked like in this phase. The council plan file is empty, but a blueprint of the elevations is in the church's possession (See figure 5.1). There are photos of the building under construction and one old photograph of the building as it was in the period before the spire was built. (See figure 5.2)

5.1.1 Church building

Much of the original structure can still be observed, as the exterior has remained largely unchanged. Internally the church used to have a gallery supported on columns, which Kesting removed in 1962. (Kesting 1963).

5.1.2 Church windows

Anderson designed gothic lancet windows. His elevations show leaded lights with a cross motif in the upper circle. (See figure 5.3) As can be seen from the photograph, the window arches were built not as pointed, but rounded, with a Y-shaped subdivision. The windows have standard steel frames and were fitted with plain frosted glass panes, which church members remember as a dull greyish shade. It may be that they were of clear glass, but collected dirt on their textured exterior and did not let through so much light. They contained no symbolic elements and did not allow visual connection. There was therefore no view in or out, only light transmission. They still have pivoting opening lights at the bottom. (Van As 14 October 2008)

Their placing is normal for load-bearing masonry construction, giving a darkish interior. The plan and window placing is traditionally symmetrical, without taking the differing light conditions on north and south facades into consideration. The windows are treated functionally as evenly distributed lighting and ventilation elements, without using them to manipulate light in any specific way. In their original form they would have let in a little more light than now.

Figure 5.1 Following page: W.B. Anderson, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church elevation drawing, 1920
(Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection)



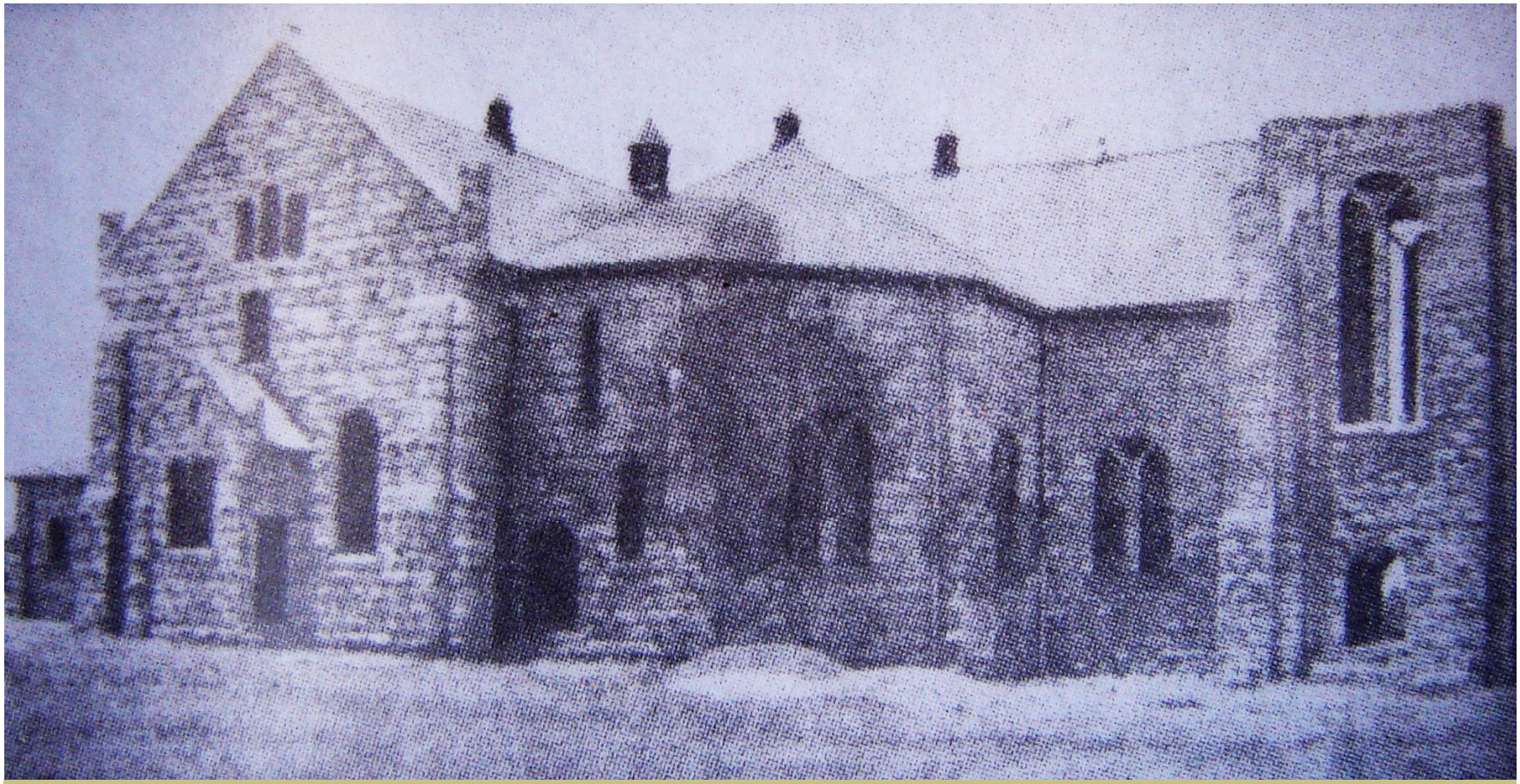


Figure 5.2 W.B. Anderson, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1920 - 1923
The church building from 1923 – 1953. Note the open base awaiting the spire and the side entrance door (Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection)



Figure 5.3 W.B. Anderson, Windows, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1920 - 1923
Left to right: (1) Window as shown on Anderson's elevation, 1920 (Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection) (2) Window detail, old photograph, 1923 – 54 (ibid.) (3) Recent photo of windows as built: stonework unchanged from original construction

5.2 Alterations and Additions 1961-1963

Only the youth centre drawings are on record in the files of the city council. There are some prints of Kesting's alteration drawings for the church in the church's own archives (See figure 5.4), which include a full set of window design drawings for the painting of the church windows, as sent to Messrs. Glassparence (See figures 5.5). These give no indications of colour. The photos were taken in 2004, showing the windows' damaged condition after more than four decades.

5.2.1 Church building

The gallery with its columns was removed to provide an open, semi-circular arrangement of church pews with clear sight lines to the pulpit. The door on the north-east wall, which had seemingly served as the entrance, was replaced by a window to match the existing windows, and the vestibule under the tower became the main entrance to the body of the church. An organ loft was created and an organ was installed, accessed by the former gallery stairs. A cry-room was added under the gallery in the vestibule opposite the stairs. A new, modern communion table was commissioned in front of the pulpit, which is centralized on the east wall. Kesting commissioned Esias Bosch to make the new baptismal font and Eucharist vessels including 300 individual communion-cups. These are of simple, chunky stoneware with earthy glazes. The baptismal font (also by Bosch) was a fixture in front of the pulpit (Kesting 20 June 2007). The photos of the church (See figures 5.6 - 5.7) and the windows (See figures 5.8 - 5.10) were taken in 2004.

5.2.2 Church windows

The existing window frames were not changed, but the panes were replaced with plate glass windows painted in Glassparence paints to Kesting's designs. The windows depict "the church calendar", a clockwise sequence around the main body and vestibule of the church, starting and ending at the pulpit. (See figure 5.11) The windows designs are based on a repetitive geometric framework containing a sequence of simplified symbols to express the theme. The sequence consists of 10 main windows, with non-sequential windows in the porches and a non-specific cross and circle interrupting the sequence on each side. The windows in the presbytery and service spaces are also painted in variations of this cross-window, but are not considered here, as they do not affect the meaning of the central theme, and were painted mainly to ensure privacy and consistency.

The colours were graded from dark to light towards the pulpit. The middle of the calendar sequence is at the back of the church, where the darkest colours are used, and it lightens on either side towards the front. There is a bright palette of ten simple colours without gradations of tone. Since the colours have faded, it is difficult to reconstruct the effect in 1963. The light quality in the church at that time would then have been darker and richer. St Andrew's Presbyterian church up the road uses the same Glassparence paints for its window.

One could get a more accurate impression of how much darker and brighter the windows were in 1963 by comparing the paint effect in the St Andrew's window with the least faded corners of the Klipkerk's windows. The colour but not the tone of the faded windows on the north façade can be inferred from their less faded counterparts on the south side.

In the original Eternity window, the frame was blue and the background blocks yellow. It is no longer clear what colour the cross and the alpha and omega may have been.

The symbols used by Kesting are described in Table 5.1 while Table 5.2 gives the design sequence and combinations of symbols. The designs for the windows are illustrated in figures 5.12 to 5.20.

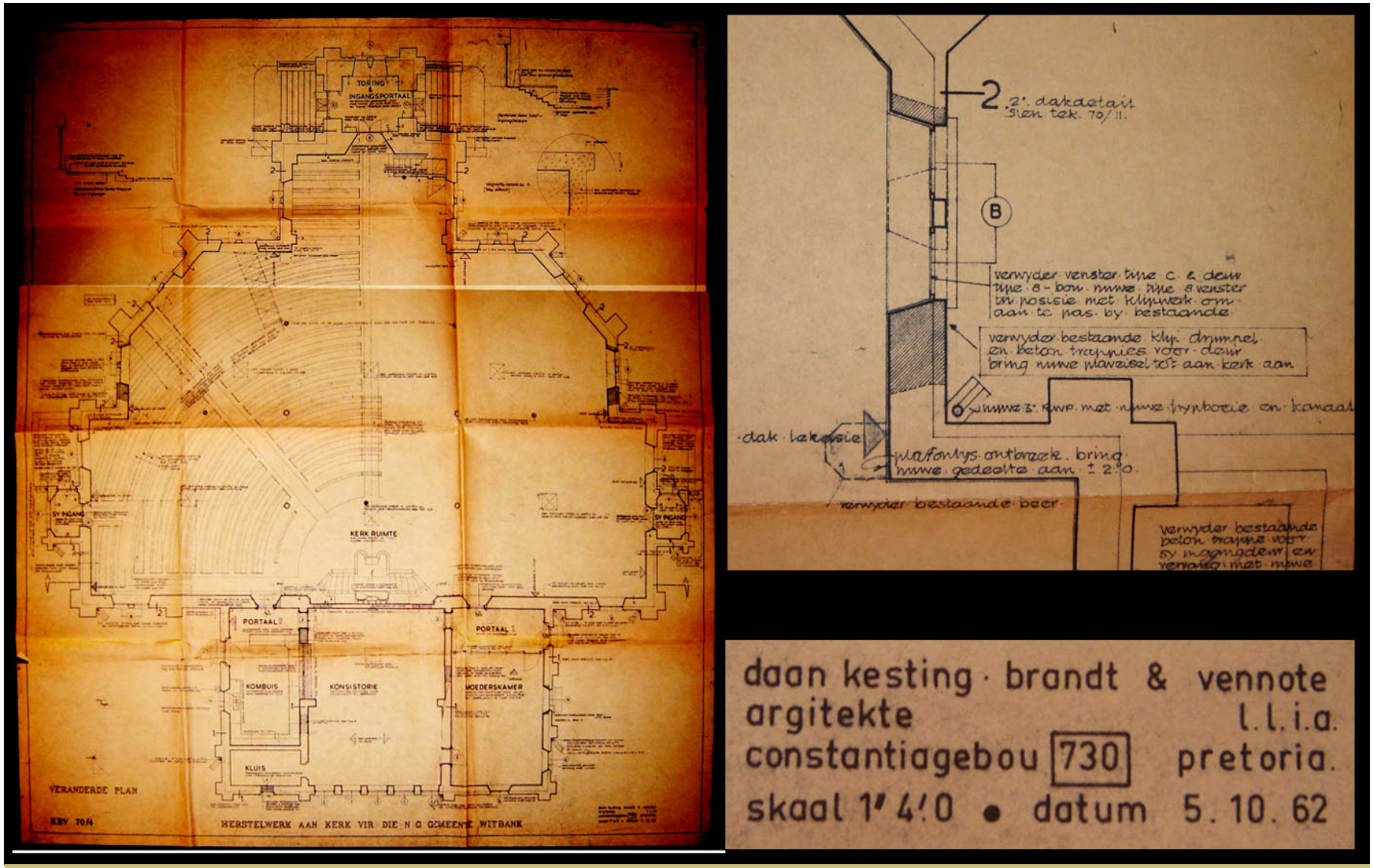


Figure 5.4 Kesting & Brand Architects, Drawings for alterations and additions to Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1961-1963
(1) Left: altered ground floor plan (2) Right top: detail of window replacing door (3) Right bottom: Daan Kesting's title block (all from Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection)

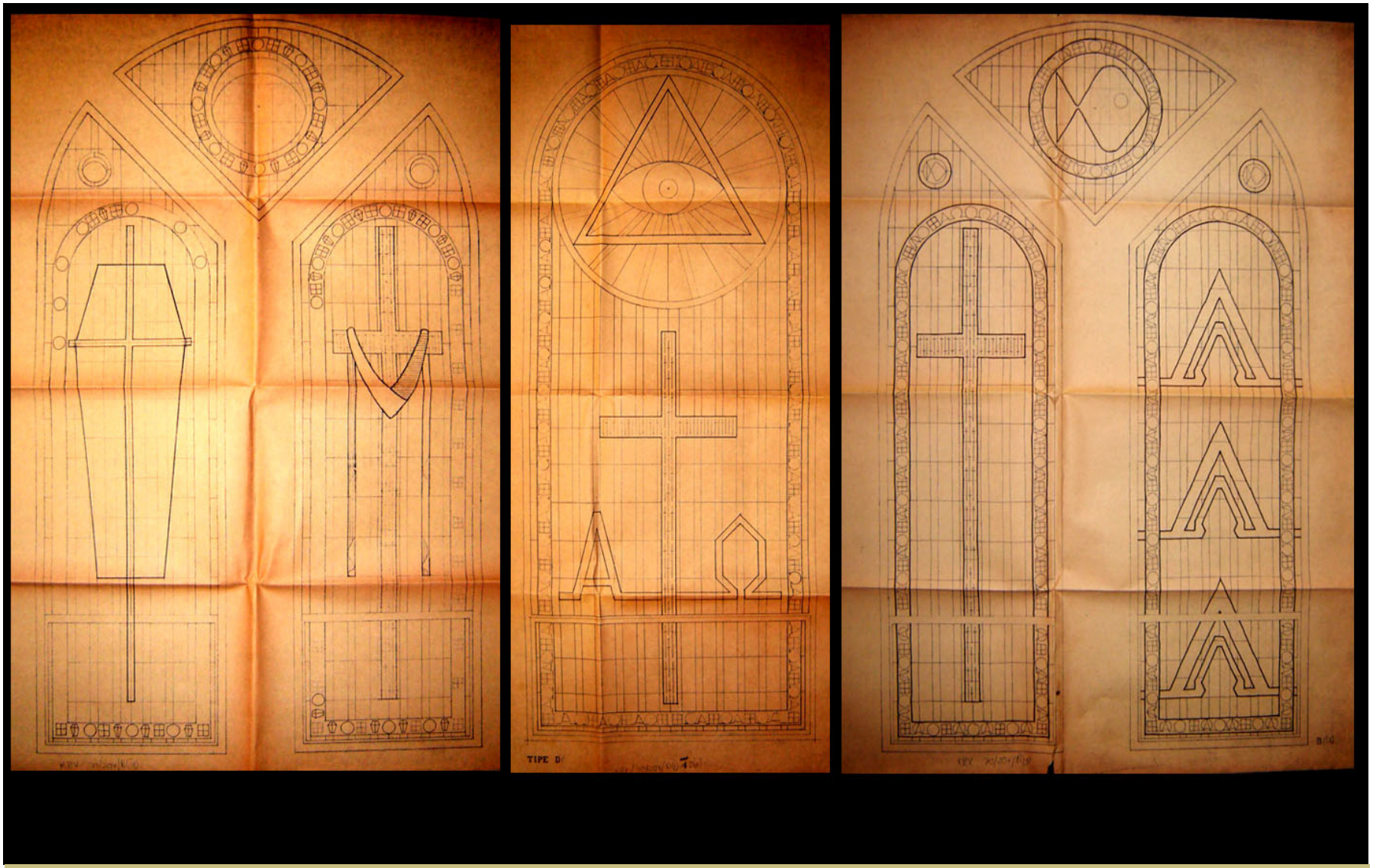


Figure 5.5 Kesting & Brand Architects, Drawings for painted windows for Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1961-1963
Left to right: (1) 'Crucifixion' window 11 (2) 'Eternity' window 17 (3) 'Preparation' window 1 (all from Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection)



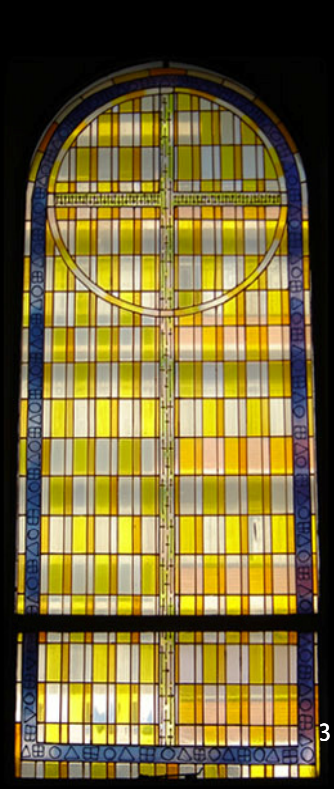
Figure 5.6 Kesting & Brand Architects, Exterior of Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, altered 1961-1963
(1)Top left: North-East corner (2) Bottom left: 1963 cornerstone (3) Bottom middle: Porch where window replaced door (4) Right: street elevation



Figure 5.7 Kesting & Brand Architects, Interior of Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, altered 1961-1963
(1)Top left: Interior view to the south (2) Left bottom: View west from pulpit, showing organ loft, closed-off cry room and vestibule with crucifixion windows (3) Middle: general interior view showing concentric seating around pulpit (4) Top right: windows in vestibule (5) Bosch ceramic vessel, 1963 refurbishment

Following 3 pages: Glassparence windows by Daan Kesting in clockwise sequence, depicting the church calendar











Not visible from inside church

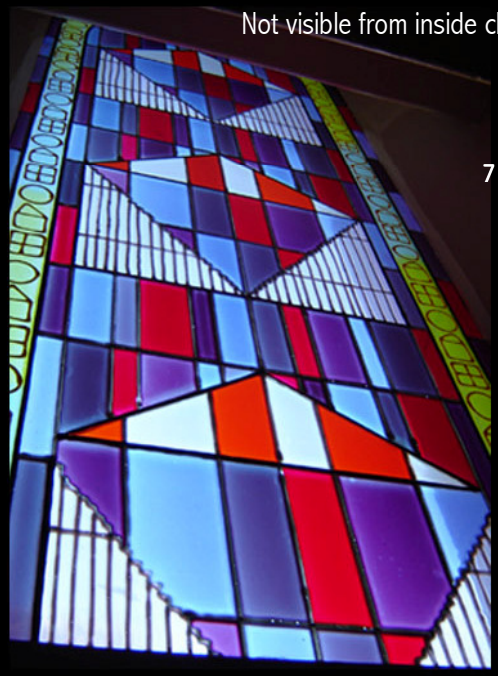




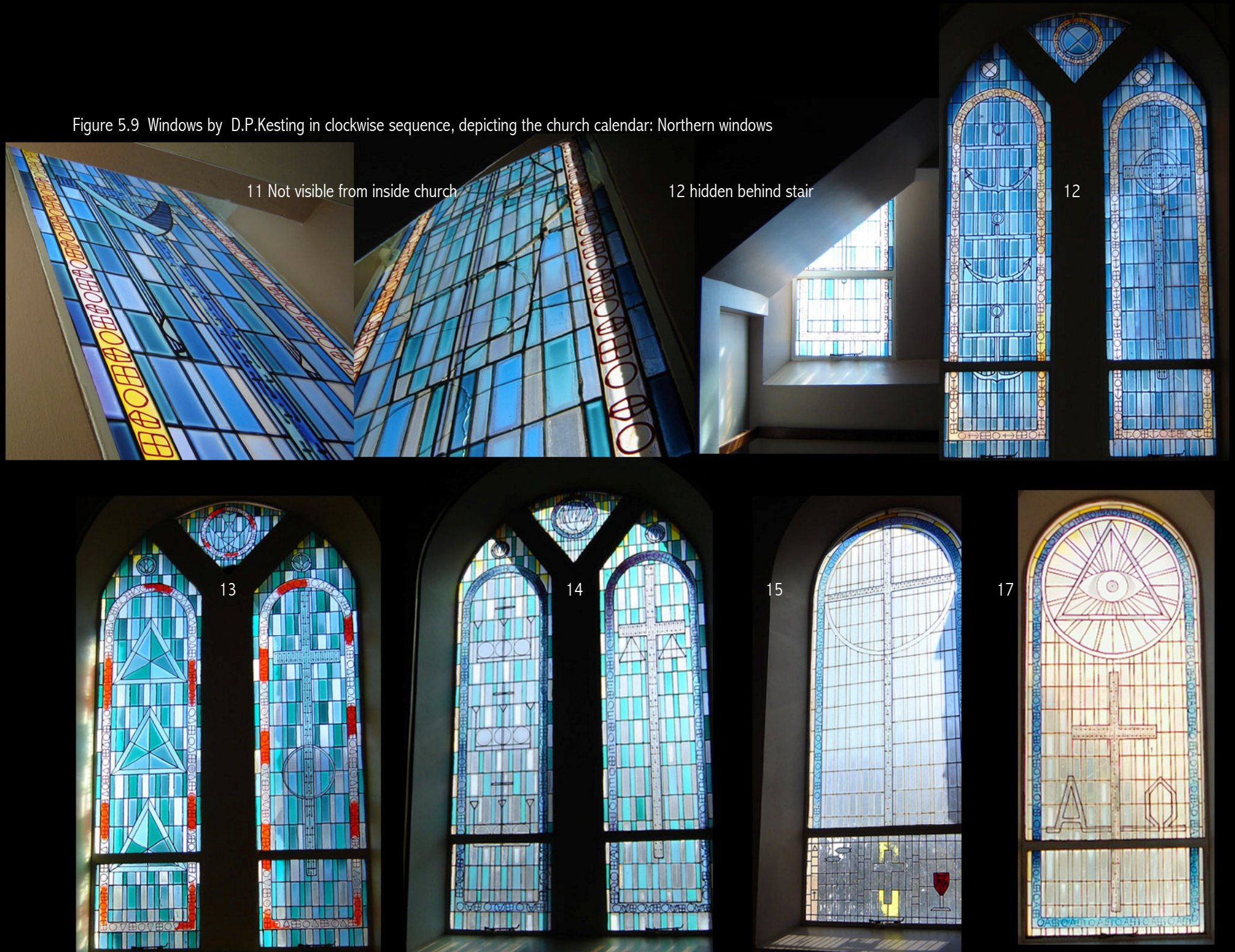
Figure 5.8

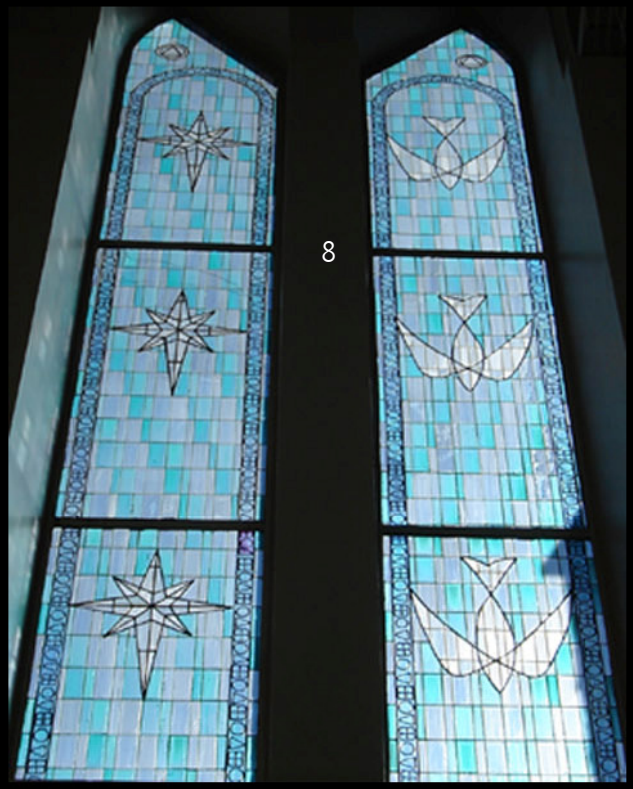
Windows by D.P.Kesting in

Clockwise sequence,

depicting ‘the church calendar

Figure 5.9 Windows by D.P.Kesting in clockwise sequence, depicting the church calendar: Northern windows





8

9





10

Figure 5.10

Window by D.P.Kesting in clockwise sequence,

Vestibule & porch windows outside main sequence

9A

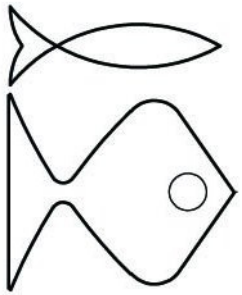


2 & 16



Table 5.1 The symbols named and used / designed by Kesting in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows (continued on next page)

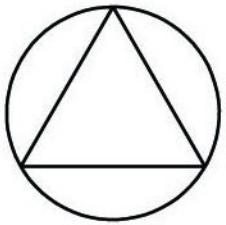
FISH



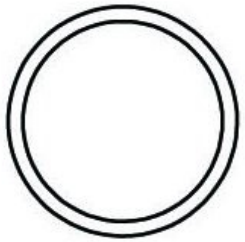
CROSS



CIRCLE WITH TRIANGLE



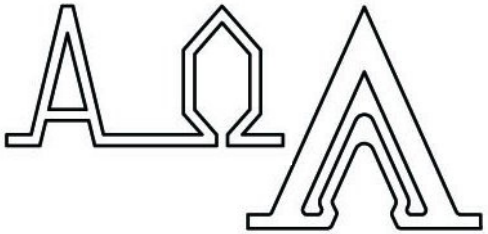
CIRCLE – DOUBLE



ETERNITY CIRCLE



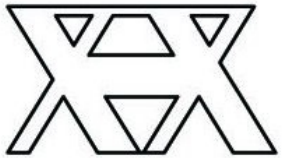
ALPHA & OMEGA



STAR



MANGER



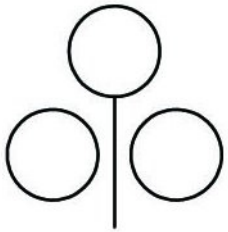
SNAKE



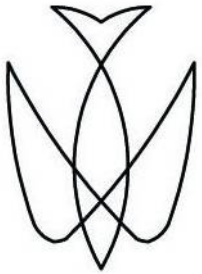
HEART



EAR OF WHEAT



DOVE



INRI

INRI

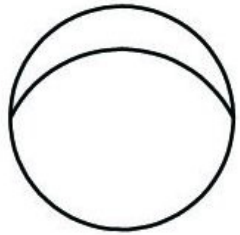
CROWN OF THORNS



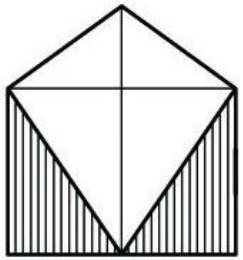
CHALICE



SOLAR ECLIPSE



TEMPLE VEIL



CHRISTOGRAM



DRAPED GARMENT OVER CROSS



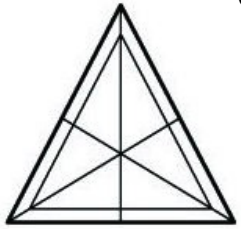
GRAVE



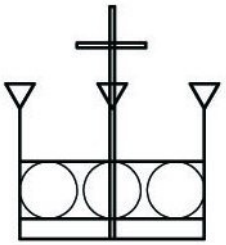
ANCHOR



EQUILATERAL TRIPARTITE TRIANGLES



CROWN



SCALES



FLAMES



ALL-SEEING EYE

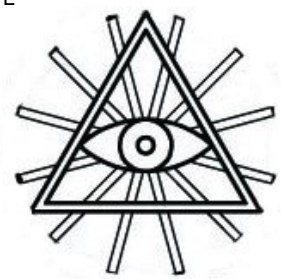
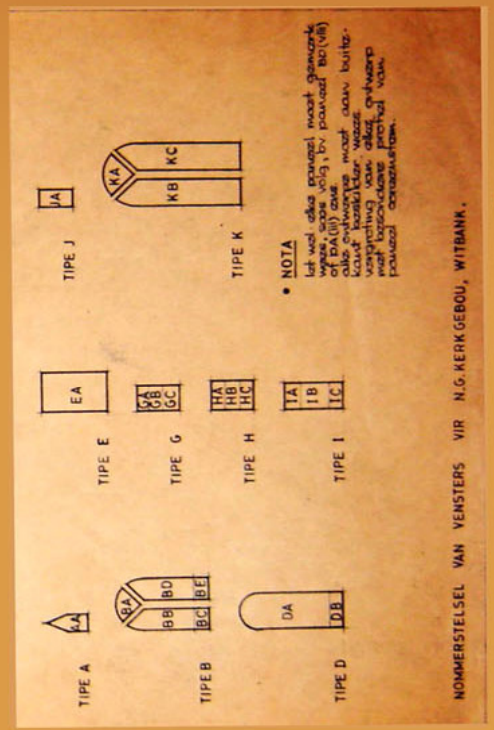


Figure 5.11
Kesting & Brand Architects, Plan positions of windows
in calendar sequence in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 1960-1963
(Witbank Dutch Reformed Church collection)



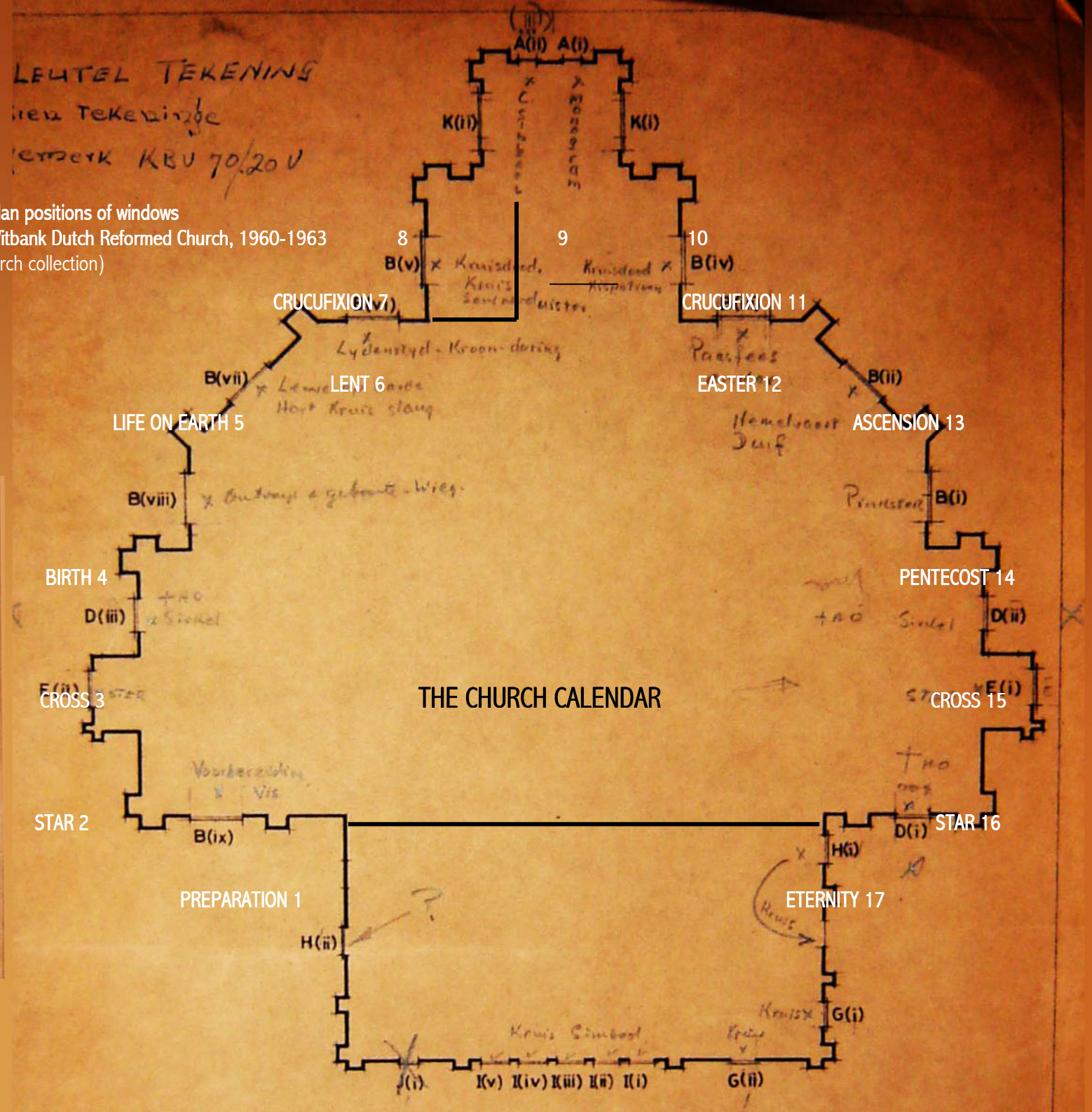


Table 5.2 Sequence of Kesting's calendar windows with themes

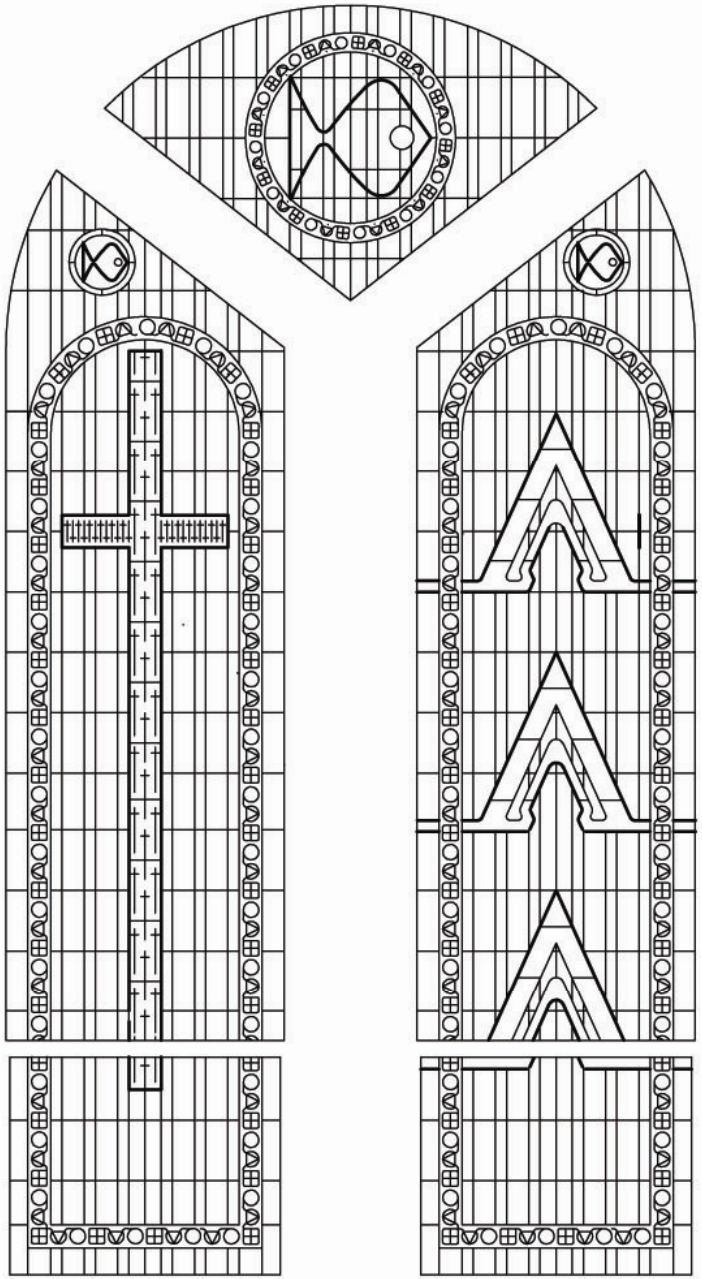
The theme of the window sequence is "The Church Calendar". From the architect's notes, (drawing from Witbank church archives, 1963) the sequence reads as follows:

No.	Name/theme	Symbols contained	Illustration	Colours (not noted by architect: deduced from remnants)
1	Preparation:	Cross, circle, Alpha & Omega, fish	Figure 5.12	yellow and green, frame blue
2	(In porch: Star)		Figure 5.17	white and blue, frame white
3	(Not specified	Cross, with circle)	Figure 5.17	yellow and white, frame blue
4	Birth:	Cross with star, manger	Figure 5.12	orange & yellow, frame blue
5	Life on Earth:	Cross with snake, heart, dove, ear of wheat	Figure 5.13	red and orange, frame blue
6	Lent:	Cross with INRI, crown of thorns, chalice	Figure 5.13	reds, frame green
7	Crucifixion:	Cross with INRI, solar eclipse, the temple veil	Figure 5.14	red and purple, frame yellow
8	(In vestibule:	Fish and Christogram)	Figure 5.18	yellow, red, orange and brown, frame blue
9	(In vestibule:	Stars and doves)	Figure 5.19	white and blue, frame dark blue
10	(In vestibule:	Crosses)	Figure 5.20	dark blue and purple, frame white
11	Crucifixion:	Cross draped with cloth, grave, eternity circle	Figure 5.14	dark blues, frame yellow
12	Easter:	Cross with circle over it, eternity circle, anchor,	Figure 5.15	light and dark blue, frame yellow
13	Ascension:	Cross with circle, descending dove, tripartite triangles	Figure 5.15	blue and green, frame red
14	Pentecost:	Cross with crown, cross with balanced weights, flames	Figure 5.16	light blue and yellow, frame dark blue
15	(Not specified	Cross with circle)	Figure 5.17	yellow and white, frame blue
16	(In porch: Star)		Figure 5.17	white and blue, frame white
17	Eternity	Cross, All-Seeing Eye, Alpha & Omega	Figure 5.16	yellow and white? frame blue

Those outside the main calendar sequence are bracketed.

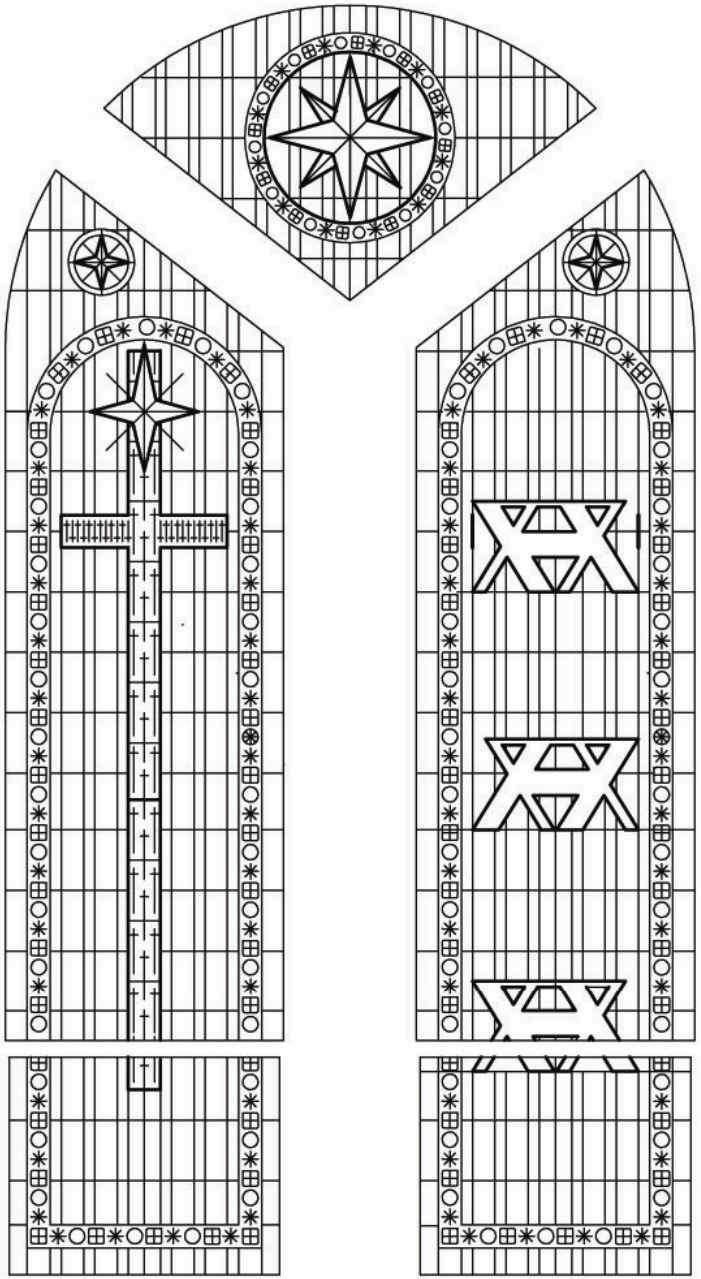
Following pages: Figures 5.12-5.20 The windows designed by Kesting in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows (continued on next page)

MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE



1 - PREPARATION

SCALE 1:20

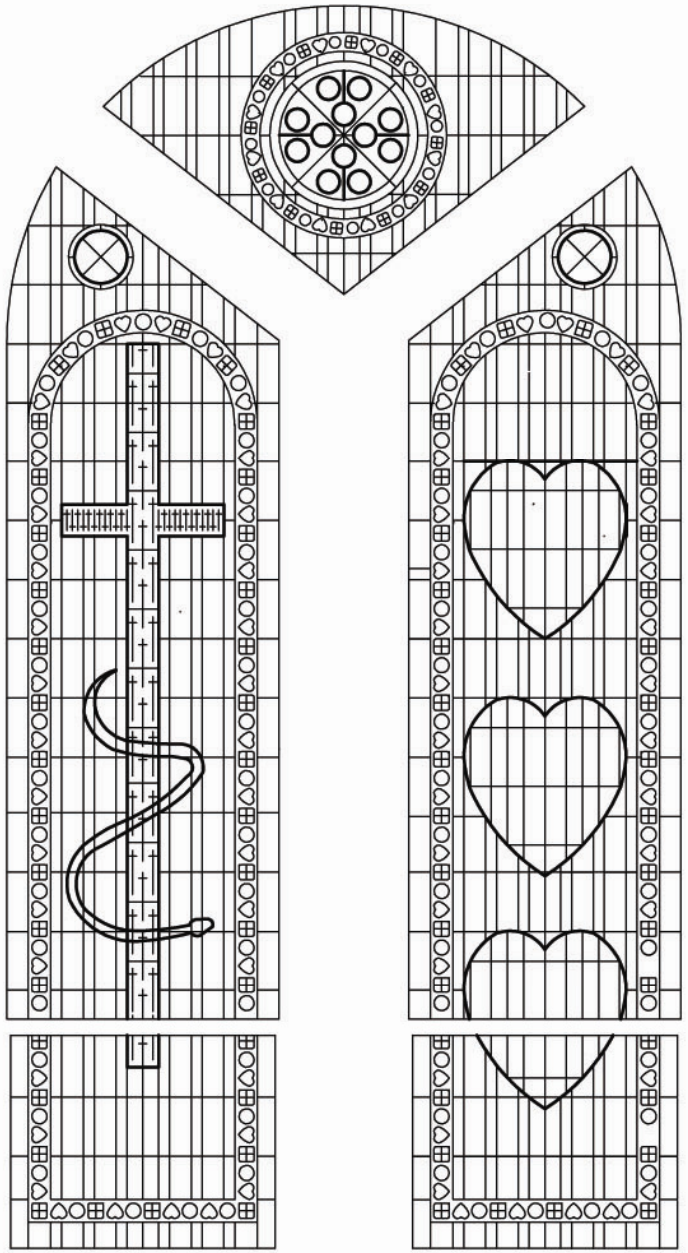


4 - BIRTH

SCALE 1:20

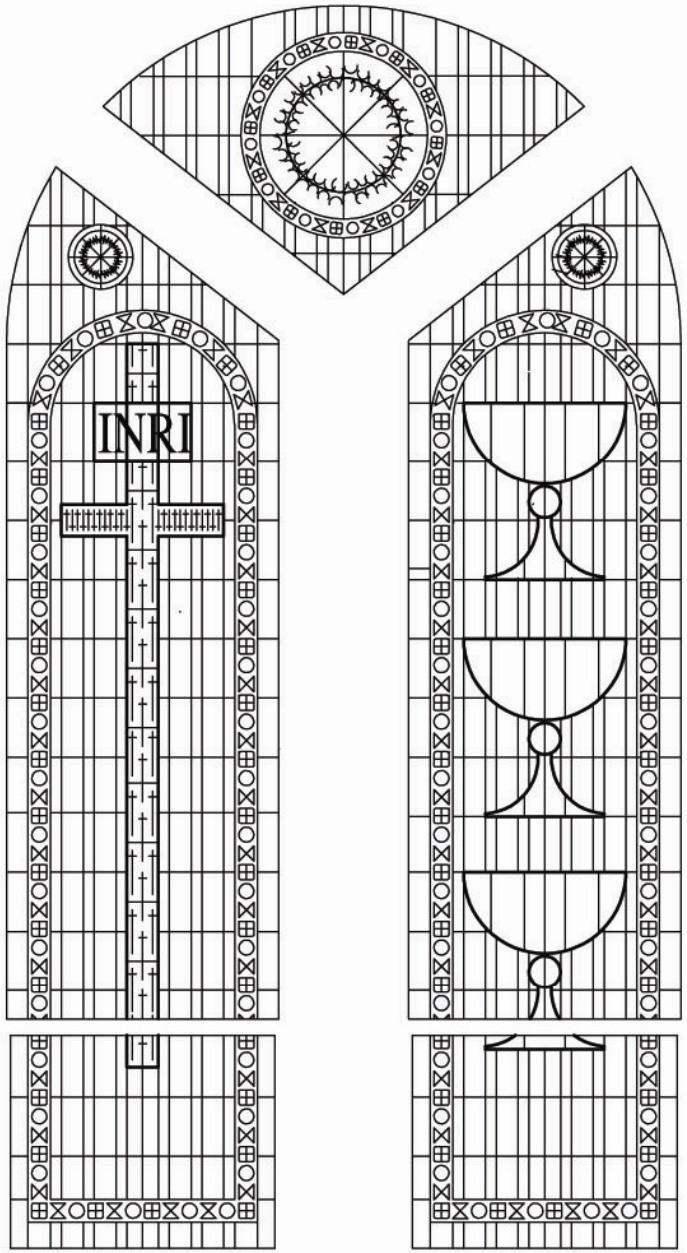
Figure 5.12

MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE



5 - LIFE ON EARTH

SCALE 1:20

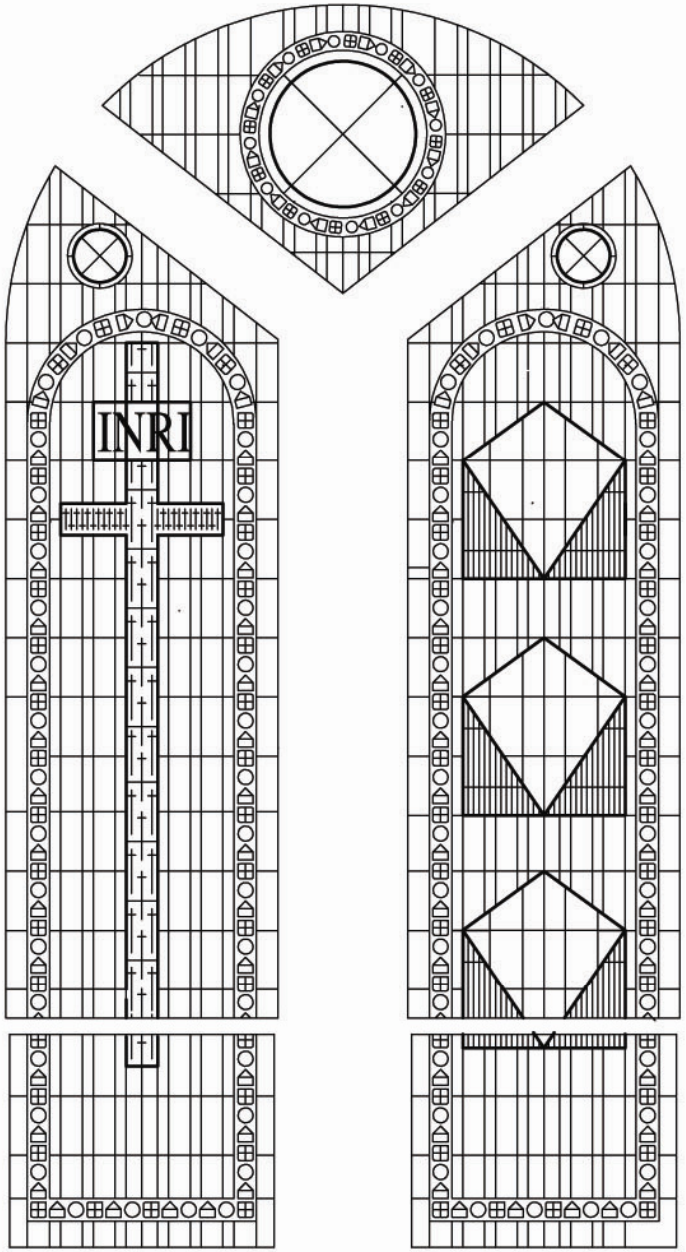


6 - LENT

SCALE 1:20

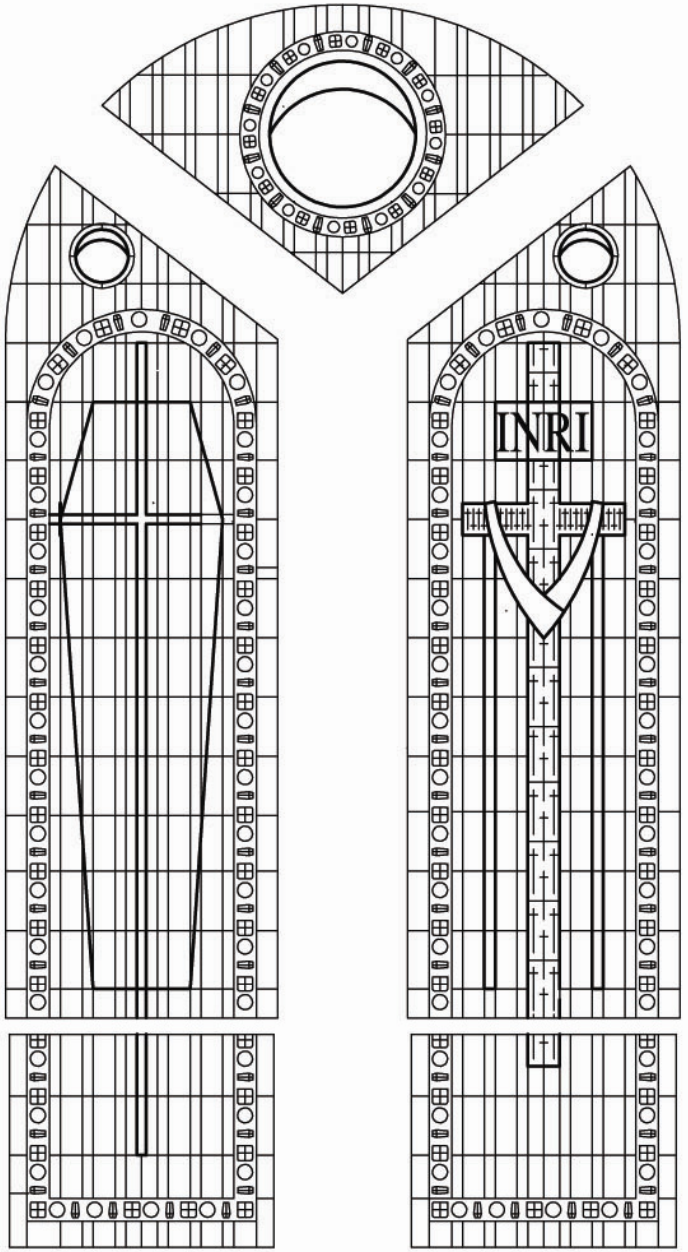
Figure 5.13

MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE



7 - CRUCIFIXION

SCALE 1:20



11 - CRUCIFIXION

SCALE 1:20

Figure 5.14

MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE

12 - EASTER

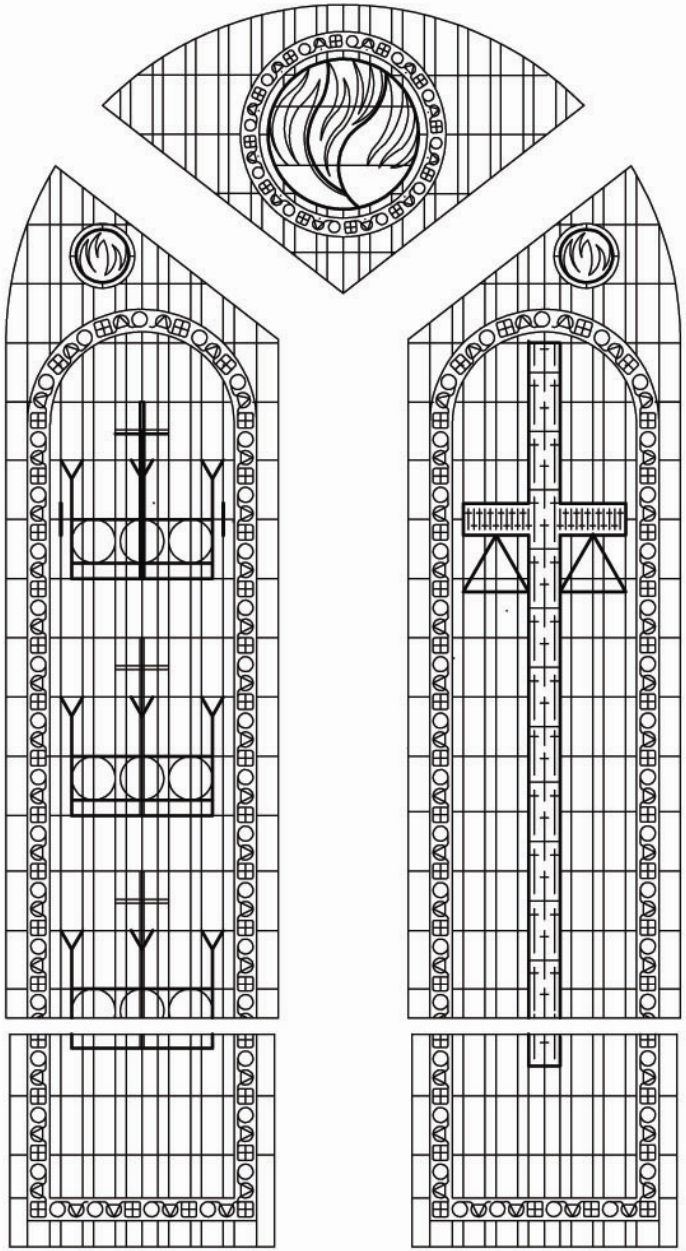
SCALE 1:20

13 - ASCENSION

SCALE 1:20

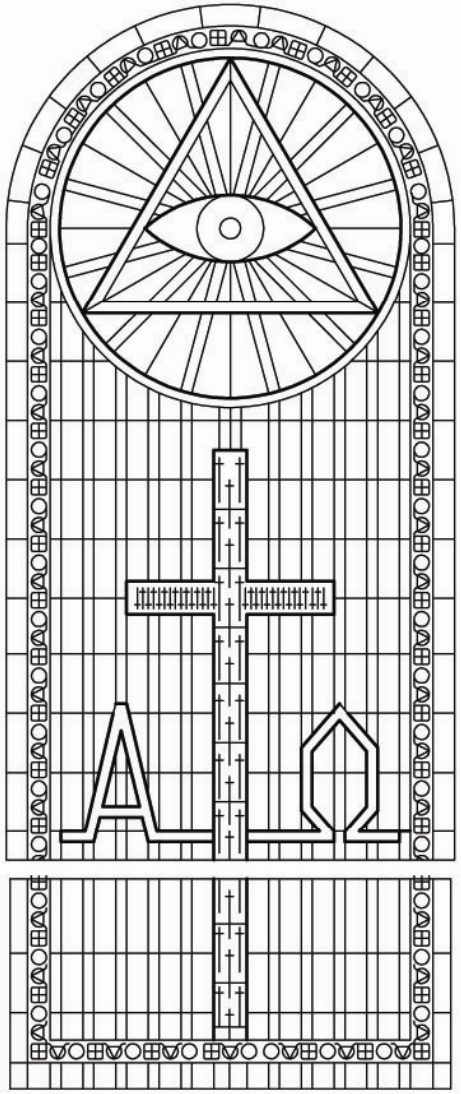
Figure 5.15

MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE



14 - PENTECOST

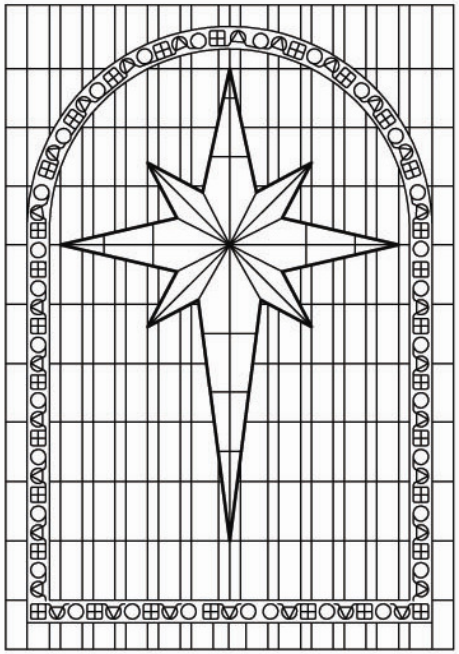
SCALE 1:20



17 - ETERNITY

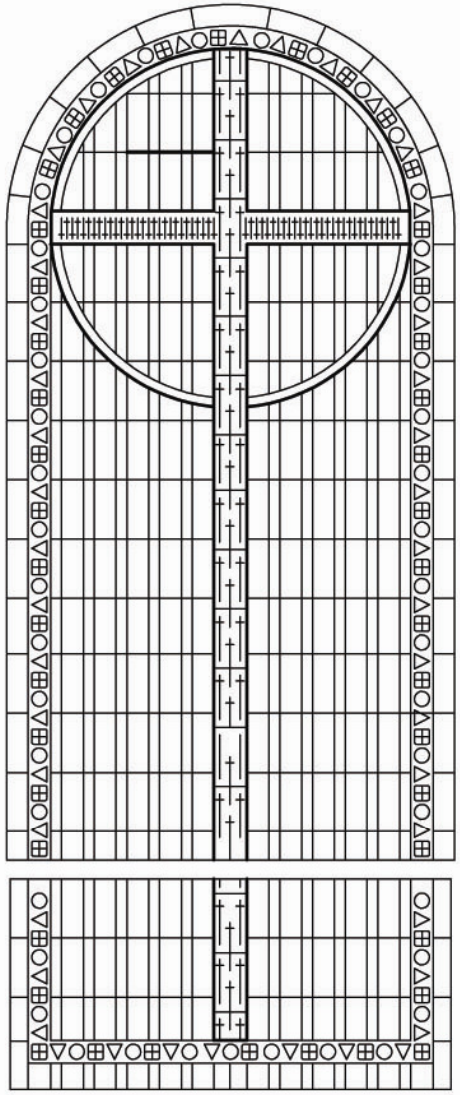
SCALE 1:20

Figure 5.16



2 & 16 - STAR

SCALE 1:20



3 & 15 - UNSPECIFIED CROSS

SCALE 1:20

Figure 5.17

OUTSIDE MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE

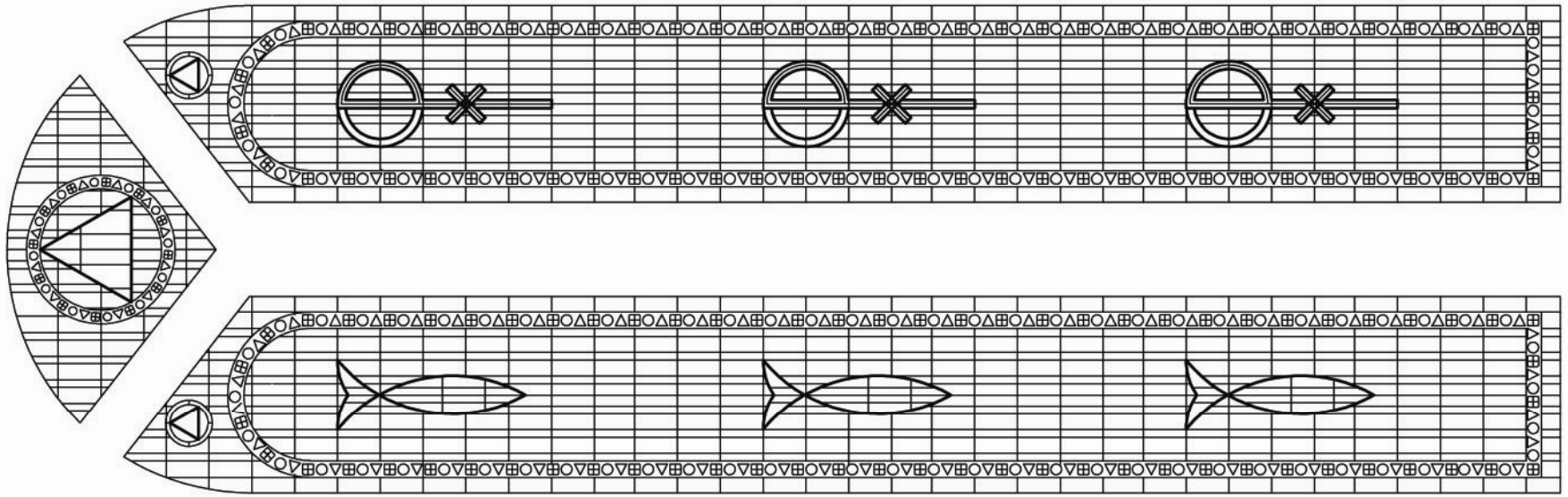
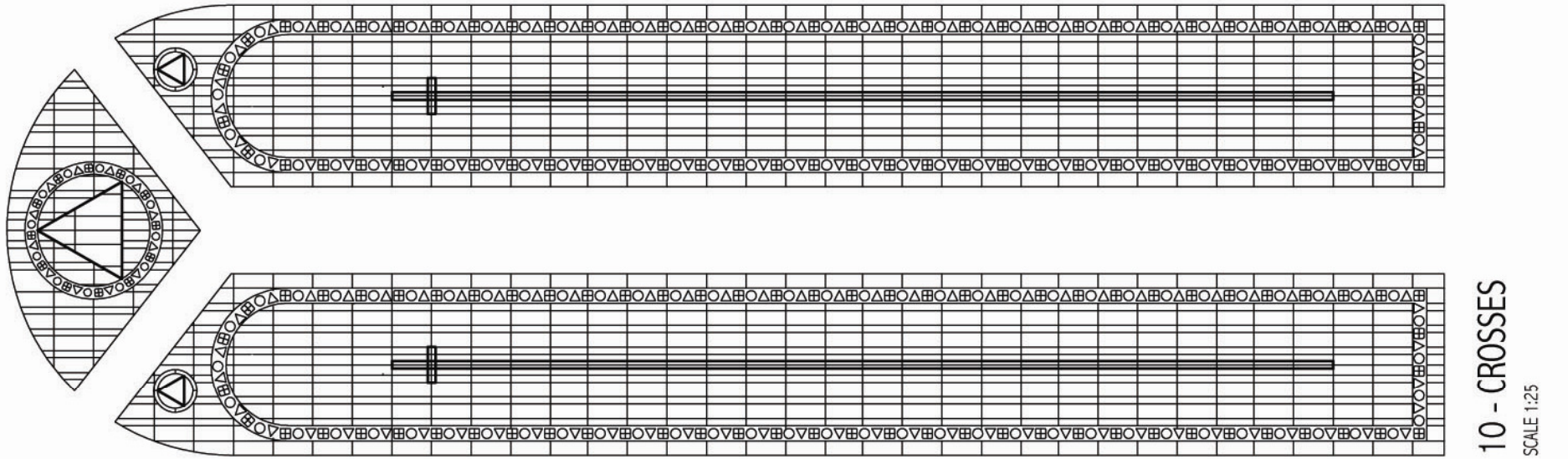


Figure 5.18

OUTSIDE MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE:
IN VESTIBULE

Figure 5.19

OUTSIDE MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE:
IN VESTIBULE



OUTSIDE MAIN CALENDAR SEQUENCE:
IN VESTIBULE

Figure 5.20

5.3 Restoration 2004-2006

There were no "architectural drawings" for the restoration work as nothing was altered during restoration, but a drawing for the proposed window painting. (See figure 5.21) The refurbished interior can be seen in the photos in figures 2.22 & 2.23.

5.3.1 Church building

Changes to the interior decoration were decided by the ladies of the building committee. These included repainting which emphasized the mouldings and recesses, new carpets in blue as opposed to red, the replacement of the modern-style baptismal font and other furnishings with new ones in the current romantic Italian villa style using wrought iron. These were no longer fixtures, allowing for more flexibility of use. The damaged windows were addressed and as a first step, the "Eternity" window was replaced. Windows 1 and 16 were to follow, having broken panes.

5.3.2 Church windows

The existing window sequence is just as before, but the old windows have faded considerably.

At that stage, only the "Eternity" window was replaced. (See figure 5.24)
Graphically, the outline of Kesting's original design was traced exactly, with only the following changes:

- The All-Seeing Eye was replaced by an illuminated seven-branched candlestick creating a circle of light
- The "trunk" of the candlestick grew directly out of the top of the existing cross
- The foot of the cross was continued to the edge of the window, beyond the border
- The alpha and omega symbols were continued to the edges of the window, cutting through the border
- The texture of small symbols in the border and in the cross was replaced with scriptural text



Figure 5.21 Ariane Janse van Rensburg, adapted window designs, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 2004 – 2008
(1) Left: Amended design for the Eternity window, 2005 (2) Right: Amended designs for the Preparation window and window 15 in relation to the Eternity window, 2008



Figure 5.22 Interior of Witbank Dutch Reformed Church after restoration in 2006
(1) Left top: East wall to north of pulpit showing replaced Eternity window (2) Right top: Replaced window giving much less glare and more modulated light inside (3) Left bottom: Plan position of Eternity window (4) Centre bottom: East wall with new paintwork emphasizing mouldings (5) Right bottom: Movable communion table and platform used in preference to pulpit



Figure 5.23 The seven-branched candlestick in the 'Eternity' window, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 2004 – 2006, Ariane Janse van Rensburg



Figure 5.24 Techniques used in the remade Eternity window for the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 2004 – 2006, Ariane Janse van Rensburg
(1) Left: red confetti fused to amber cathedral glass (2) Centre: Silver stain and fused flecks of glass onto amber cathedral glass (3) Top right: slumped clear glass and transparent clear glass (4) Bottom right: blue enamels on amber glass.

The scriptures quoted in the window are the following, using the new Afrikaans Bible translation of 1983. The scriptures (The Bible) are not all quoted in full, (omitted portions in italics), but the references are given in the window.

- Luke18:41 *Saying,* What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight

- Luke11:34-35 The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; *but when thine eye is evil, thy body also is full of darkness.*
  Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness.

- Rev4:5 *And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices: and* there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God.

- Eph1:18-23 (making mention of you in my prayers, that)The eyes of your understanding being enlightened; that ye may know *what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints, And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power, Which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, Far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come: And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, Which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.*

- Rev3:18 *I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see.*

- Mat25:1-13 *Then shall the kingdom of heaven be likened unto ten virgins, which took their lamps, and went forth to meet the bridegroom....*
  (This is the whole parable of the wise and the foolish virgins with their lamps)

- 2Cor4:5-6 *For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.*

- Heb9:1-28 v11 *But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; 12 Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but* by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us.

(The whole passage describes that the old testamentic tabernacle with its furniture, including the candlestick which was ritually sprinkled with blood, was a physical symbol for the spiritual reality of Christ's redemption)

This design was executed in black vitreous outliner, blue enamel, silver stain and red confetti on (mainly) light amber cathedral glass. Clear glass was used at the top and slumped to catch the light between the candle flames. Red Bullseye art glass was used for the red ribbon of the Alpha and Omega only. The panes are leaded and the large window was subdivided with an extra transom. The leading was reinforced with tinned brass bar on the outside where necessary.

The new colour choices in the window are as follows:

- Red for the Alpha and Omega, the flames and the heart of the cross, with smalls specks of red on the gold.
- Gold for the cross and the candlestick and a lighter gold for the window border.
- Blues and greens for the background blocks.

The church's instruction was that Kesting's style had to be maintained. The use of real stained glass techniques did, however, give it a visually different quality, which was more real and earthy and actually related to Kesting's choice of Bosch stoneware for the church furniture in the 1960's. The church at this stage ironically replaced that baptismal font and communion vessels with other artefacts. (See figure 5.25)

The window is now darker than the original, as requested. The remade window has a much stronger visual impact than any of the existing windows as its colours are darker; it traps refracted light in the top panel and has greater tonal contrasts. It modifies the colour and quality of light that is admitted considerably, projecting coloured reflections into the space. Positioned to the left of the pulpit, in the main line of sight, it attracts attention. The next window to be modified is its counterpart on the other side of the pulpit, which will restore the balance.

6 ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF MEANING AT THESE KEY DATES

6.1 Original Construction 1920-1923

W.B. Anderson was an English speaking architect who had presumably trained in England. His stylistic frame of reference for a church building was it seems a typical (English) Victorian gothic stone church, but with an atypical spreading plan form. This was a Dutch Reformed preference at the time (le Roux 2008:30)which may be seen as a statement of the fact that the preaching of the Word was seen as the most important element in the Afrikaans church service and this church design has a specifically Afrikaans Protestant identity. It shows that Anderson was not simply imposing an Anglican church design on his client.

The change in style that happened between the drawing board and the final built result with arched windows and pyramidical copings on the buttresses seems to be significant, but cannot be clearly interpreted in retrospect. Possible reasons for the subtle departure of Vos's built version from the original Gothic style of the drawings could have been that in the economic depression, the cheapest alternatives had to be considered. This could have included local artisans with less experience in Gothic style masonry and locally manufactured elements such as window frames. The other possibility is that this may have been a deliberate attempt on the part of the church and/or Mr Vos to move away from an "English" or Gothic style of architecture to the neo-Renaissance arches used in Pretoria churches in the emotional climate that existed after the Great South African War.

By the time the designs were built, Gerard Moerdijk was starting to get commissions for Afrikaans church building designs as a result of his "Kerkgeboue vir Suidafrika" publication (Moerdijk, Africana E-book Collection 1919) in which he promoted the idea of an appropriate new architectural style for Afrikaans Protestant churches. In this he returned to Byzantine rather than Gothic inspiration. In his much later writing he explicitly stated that the development of the Gothic style was historically associated with the growth and expansion of the Roman (*Catholic*) church in western Europe and therefore also with the persecution of the Protestants, which was in part the origin of immigrations (*of Europeans*) to South Africa. He concluded that it would thus be an anachronism to design Protestant churches (*buildings*) in South Africa according to the Gothic style (Moerdijk 1935:101-103). One does not know how far this thinking had spread by 1920, but it could be significant that the church had selected Anderson with his more English style and not Moerdijk as their

architect, given the general political sensitivities of the time and fact that Moerdijk was already active in the field of "Afrikaans" style church building design. It could also be that this was a deliberate choice since the Witbank community did not strongly identify with his approach and the more "Afrikaans" elements in the final building were the result of economic constraints. It could have been that they started their process of appointment just before his marketing campaign caught their attention and they adapted Anderson's design because they liked Moerdijk's ideas. They could also have been perfectly happy with Anderson's design and the builder had his own agenda for the changes. In this particular, the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church case study seems to deviate from the general pattern in the Afrikaans church buildings of the time as outlined in 2.4. For whatever reason, this church building did not, at this point in its history, become part of the interrelated network of Moerdijk churches leading up to the building of the Voortrekker Monument.

In the economic depression after the Great South African War there was great poverty amongst the Afrikaners in the Middelburg-Witbank area. It would have taken a considerable effort to build a sandstone building of this size in the then town centre and it was for budgetary reasons that the spire and leaded windows were not built at the time. This is evidenced by the church's subsequent financial difficulties and the fact that the tower was built later and more elaborate windows were introduced when it became possible. The fact that this Afrikaans community built a church of this stature at this point in the post-war depression, seems to have been a very strong statement of a determination to stand up again, and to proclaim their identity. The identity that they chose to express was "church". It was the one factor that united Afrikaners of different political persuasions. In the context after the Great South African War it could also be an expression of the conviction that God had helped them to survive, implying a godly sanction of their right to existence in South Africa as Christian Afrikaners. The choice of sandstone as a material with its suggestions of permanence and stability was a key part of this statement. It was obviously important to make it, even at high cost in difficult economic circumstances.

There are no clear indications of what the spiritual climate in this church was at the time.



Figure 6.1 The relationship between Afrikaner church and state in 1961
The caption of this photograph from the Dutch Reformed Church's 350th Anniversary publication (Hofmeyr, 2002:195, from Burger-collection, SA Library) reads 'Dr A.J. van der Merwe hands an an official Bible to Dr. HF Verwoerd, 1961 – symbolic of the then close bonds between church (Dutch Reformed Church) and state (Nationalist Party)

6.2 Alterations and Additions 1960-1963

While Kesting adhered to the historic style for the alterations, he turned to his personal preference for a more simplified, modern style in the windows and furnishings. This may have been a personal signature or it may have been to show the Afrikaner's progress into a new economic era since the depression-years. This promoted the message that the Afrikaner nationalist socio-political package was good, because it had enabled good things (economic growth and an own government) for the Afrikaner. The fact that this was proclaimed in a church context, where "good" should have been morally assessed, illustrates Villa-Vicencio's statement that the function of the Afrikaner churches was to support the government.

This was the time of the establishment of the Republic of South Africa under Verwoerd when the Dutch Reformed Church was strongly supportive of the Apartheid government and was in effect the "state church". (See figure 6.1) At this time a large number of Dutch Reformed ministers were members of the Broederbond (Bunting 1964) (67% in 1972-3(Smith 2009:181)) and most Afrikaner politicians were also members. It has been clearly illustrated that even scriptural objections to church policy were not upheld at that time if they went against the interests of the Broederbond. In the twentieth century church architects were generally appointed from the church membership (le Roux 2008:20). Kesting, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church, was appointed to do many church designs, but also several politically significant projects such as the SABC headquarters and the Civitas building. He was a prominent Afrikaner who was actively involved in the formulation of church policy on buildings as an advisor to the synods of different Afrikaans churches. In this role, he was eventually recognized for his contribution to Afrikaans culture by the "Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns". In this context, his choices of symbols and building elements which have symbolic allusions should be regarded as significant.

In Kesting's Witbank project, he also used some symbols that can be regarded to have specific links to Freemasonry, such as the pyramid, (Harwood 2006:39, 54-55) the coffin (Harwood 2006:70-71) and the "All-Seeing Eye" (Harwood 2006:58-59). In addition to Broederbond influences, Freemasonry was also present in church circles at the time. The Dutch Reformed Church had long held the official view that Freemasonry could not be reconciled with the church. This was formalized in various general synod rulings over time, including that of 1990, which precluded active Freemasons from serving on church councils, although church membership was not closed to them, in an effort to lessen their influence (Momsen 10 November 2008). Although the Dutch Reformed Church officially opposed Freemasonry, it did not object to the historical symbols associated with Freemasonry in its older church buildings. In the interview with Kesting, he stated that there were some protests at the time from clergy about his reintroduction of the "All-Seeing Eye" into churches as part of his promotion of symbolism. He specifically defended the acceptability of the "All-Seeing Eye" as an ancient symbol used by the church in his thesis, effectively negotiating a space for it in the Afrikaans churches. His argument was that the general church membership did not object (Kesting 20 June 2007). There was seemingly little spiritual awareness

about this issue amongst lay church members at the time. The general feeling in the Witbank church community was rather that he had, with his window symbolism, created a meaningful focus for the church (Momsen 20 August 2004).

Church members were generally content to follow synod decisions rather than conduct first-hand enquiries into scripture in order to voice own opinions on contentious matters at the time. This is understandable if the church experience was that even the scriptural objections from individual theologians were either ignored or overruled by Synod (Hofmeyr, Pillay 1994:255)(Smith 2009) One must remember that Synod consisted of theologians, the majority of whom were Broederbond members. Afrikaners who grew up in the generation preceding the 60's generally had great respect for "people with learning", as there had been generations of Afrikaners since 1834 who had not had many opportunities for formal schooling. Added to this was the approach of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, promoted over centuries, that only theologians were qualified to interpret scripture. This created a climate in which lay members either ceased to evaluate church decisions in the light of their own interpretation of scripture, or could easily be convinced to feel that they must be wrong if their interpretation differed from church doctrine.

The inclusion of Masonic symbols in the windows must be seen in the context of the general visual identity of the church building. In the original building of the church, pyramidical copings were used on the buttresses instead of Gothic spires. When Kesting did his alterations, he specifically accentuated this element in a way that reminds one strongly of the language of the Cape Town Groote Kerk, where the pyramid/obelisk element was introduced by Schutte, the Mason-designer-builder and builder of the Lodge. Kesting's new inaugural plaque for the Witbank church was designed as part of a separate monumental stone structure in which the pyramidical elements were picked up very specifically. (See Figure 6.2, also Figure 5.6) The Groote Kerk itself had become an icon of triumphant Protestant Christianity in South Africa. The 300 year history of this congregation was published around this time under the title "The mother of us all" (Hopkins 1965) referring to the fact that all the Afrikaans Protestant churches in South Africa could trace their lineage back to this church.



Figure 6.2 Afrikaner stone monuments that refer to one another
Top to bottom: (1) Kesting's dedication wall, designed and built in 1963, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church. Compare stonework and obelisk-copings with (2) Sytze Wierda: Paardekraal Monument, Krugersdorp, 1890 (3) Pediment of the Groote Kerk, Cape Town, 1841

This was in a political context in which the Apartheid government was describing itself as "Christian" and the education they were promoting was called "Christian-National". It also reinforced the "sanctification" of current politics, as it associated them with the church. One can identify the exploitation of Afrikaners' emotional ties to structures such as the Groote Kerk, the Voortrekker Monument, and Paardekraal monument, by using their visual language (which had incorporated Masonic elements), in the Witbank church building. The strongest Masonic reminders sit in the visually prominent windows flanking the pulpit. They serve as "book ends" which contain the meaning of the whole sequence, emphasizing the importance of this symbolic linkage.

Following Kesting's alterations, with the added visual references to the Groote Kerk and the many Moerdijk churches, the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church building, at this point in time, became effectively incorporated into the collective meaning of the network of Afrikaner churches culminating in the Voortrekker Monument. It now also became a reminder of the following myths promoted by Afrikaner-Nationalism:

- van Riebeeck brought Protestant Christianity to the Cape and that it was the mission of the Afrikaner to guard and spread that faith in Africa
- that this family of Afrikaans Protestant churches had a lineage going back to 1652, giving them authority here
- that the white government of South Africa therefore had its roots in Christianity (Smith 2009:98)
- that the Afrikaner's suffering along the way is a sacrifice to God and bought a right to this land
- that Afrikaner identity as symbolized by the church could not be crushed and had stood up again after the Great South African War

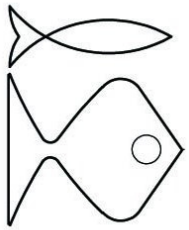
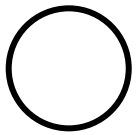
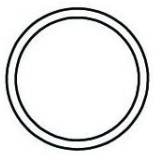
All these ideas are linked to the whole linkage of meaning in Afrikaner monuments that Bunn calls "lig van bo": that the vertical element of monuments (and church towers) is "a sign of the descent of the Word to earth" (Bunn 2007:102-103), implying that the Afrikaner has been vested with divine authority to be here and even to rule because he is instrumental in spreading the light of God. Through the promotion of this idea, also through buildings, it became a political mythology that was believed by the majority of Afrikaners.

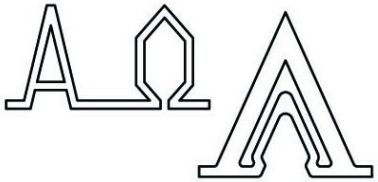
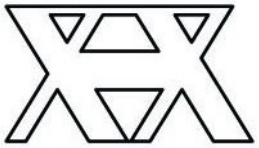
Kesting's very important contribution to Afrikaans Protestant church architecture was his recognition of the value of symbolism, of the architectural richness that had been lost when the Protestant church discarded usages that reminded them of Roman Catholicism, and his campaign to reintroduce this into Afrikaans church architecture. One must remember that as the pioneer in this field, he was exploring these applications in relative isolation here, and no church guidelines on issues such as a scriptural basis had yet been debated.

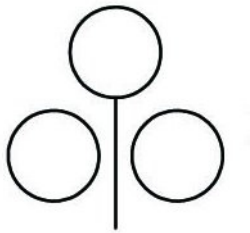
In this particular example, although the "church calendar" theme that was chosen was applied most obviously in the windows, it did apply to the whole redesign. One can see this introduction of the time dimension into three-dimensional space as a very specific step in the re-introduction of symbolism into Protestant churches. The next step would be to move from visual time-reminders to actual enacted reminders in real time (ritual) to again set up the strong dialectic of gestural, visual and aural memory. Where in Judaism these were all linked directly to scripture, in this context the reinforcing of memory is linked not to the actual scriptural events, but to the church's early codification of events into the Gregorian church calendar. In the symbolism he used in the windows, Kesting did not re-establish a dialectic link to scripture, although Kesting's stated key design guideline is his interpretation of "the centrality of the Word". This is the context of the semicircular placing of the pews around the pulpit, the removal of columns that could block the view, the placing of the furniture for the sacraments in front of the pulpit and the gradation of colours in the windows towards the pulpit.

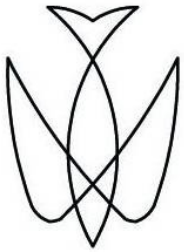
The detailed analysis of Kesting's symbols follows in Table 6.1. The way in which he combined them into window designs, in a sequence communicating the church calendar, is then analyzed in Table 6.2.

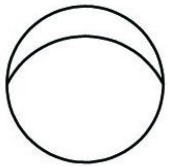
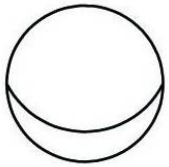
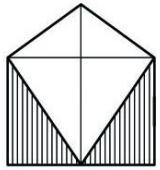
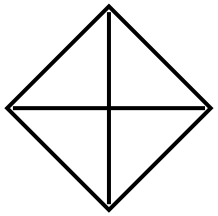
Table 6.1 Analysis of meaning of symbols used by Kesting (continued on following pages)

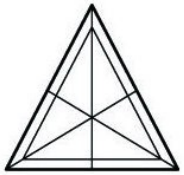
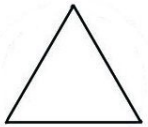
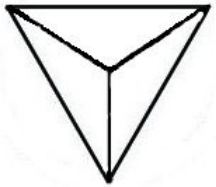
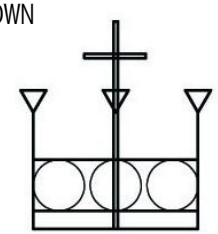
Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associated Symbols	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
FISH 	Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour: Greek anagram "IXΘUS" spells fish. Used by early Christian church as a secret symbol. Hebrew tradition: fish = the true and faithful (O'Connell, Airey 2007:99)		Eze.47:9 – A sign of life Matt.4:19- Fishers of men Joh.21:6- Fishers of men Jon.1:17, Mt.7:10, Mt.17:27, Mt.14:17-21, Jn.21:13 - God's provision	Scripturally well-founded, recognizable and unambiguous
CROSS 	Cross: Christ's sacrificial atonement which saved man from sin. Empty cross symbol of Protestant Christianity Circle in Cross: Celtic cross (var.) Usage: Map symbol for a church		Mt.27:35 Christ's crucifixion Eph.2:13, Eph.2:16, Col.1:19-20 His Atonement through the cross Mr.8:34 dying to self as Christ's follower	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and unambiguous for sacrifice. Kesting seems to use it for Christ himself, in relation to the circle
CIRCLE - EMPTY 	Ancient ideogram for sun or moon in many cultures (O'Connell, Airey 2007:90) Wholeness or completeness ongoing: uninterrupted		Only used in the context of the earth, cf. Is.40:22. God's throne and the holiest space are always symbolically depicted as square or cubic (The Bible: Exodus, Ezekiel, Rev.)	Kesting seems to use this as a symbol for the earth, as in the Ascension window the cross is raised above the circle. The normal secular symbol for earth would be a circle with a cross in it, which is how it is often placed
CIRCLE – DOUBLE 	Early ideogram for the divine and powerful. Early Christian art: halo Buddhist art: charisma (O'Connell, Airey 2007:90)			This would be scripturally based but not so clearly legible

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associated Symbols	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
ETERNITY CIRCLE 	Described as a type of wheel: cosmic momentum, ceaseless change, cyclic repetition. Later power and dominion. Reincarnation Western: fortune & fate (O'Connell, Airey 2007:124)		None	This is Kesting's own name for the symbol. The concept of cyclical repetition could be 'eternal', but its origins and associations suggest eternity outside the scriptural context
ALPHA & OMEGA 	First and last letters of Greek alphabet, denotes the First and the Last, beginning and end		Rev.1:8-11, Rev.21:6, Rev.22:13 Christ as Beginning and End	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and unambiguous in ΛΩ form in last window, viewers have commented that version in the Preparation window reminds one of the Masonic compass symbol
STAR 	Four-pointed star = sun star denotes solemn warning (O'Connell, Airey 2007:120) Associated with Christmas		Nu.24:17, Christ Rev.22:16 Christ as the morning star Mt.2:2-10 A sign of Christ's birth	Strong association with Christ's birth, especially with longer point 'pointing' down.
MANGER 	Kesting, a symbol for Christ's birth		Lk.2:12 Christ, newborn, laid in a manger	Strong associations with Christ's birth, graphically readable

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associations	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
SNAKE 	Symbol of primeval life force and divine self-sufficiency (O'Connell, Airey 2007:117) Judeo-Christian: symbol of devil especially in context of Eve's fall in the garden of Eden	African myth: rainbow snake links earth and heavens (O'Connell, Airey 2007:120) Caduceus: snakes around rod medicine and commerce (Hermes)	Gen.3:13, Rev.12:9, Rev.20:2 The devil Jn.3:14, snake lifted on a staff as a symbol of Christ	The snake as a symbol for evil is recognizable, however this context is ambiguous: Is the snake succeeding in climbing up the cross to attack or corrupt? In the context of Christ's life on earth, where He was tempted but did not sin and He "shall bruise his (the snake's) head" (Gen.3:15) This gives a mixed message
HEART 	Ancient symbol, original meaning not known = Love religious meaning for Aztecs, Hindus Buddhists, Celts, Jews, Taoists (O'Connell, Airey 2007:103) Valentine 's Day cards: romantic love	Cupid	Mr.12:30 Capacity for love Mt.15:19 Source of emotions	Scripture talks much of the heart, but this symbol for love, popularized in valentines, has acquired specific romantic associations
EAR OF WHEAT 	Wheat (graphically different) = according to Kesting This symbol graphically most closely resembles "bowl hollows" first found in Nordic rock-carvings. (O'Connell, Airey 2007:90) Modern: meteorological rain Mathematical "therefore"	European: summer, harvest, fertility	Jn.12:24 wheat seed dies to produce a harvest- resurrection Jn.6:35-48 Christ, bread of life 1Cor.10:16: Eucharist, his body	Kesting calls this wheat (Kesting 1963:17) but it rather resembles his symbols for grapes = Eucharist wine used elsewhere (Appendix C) Does not graphically communicate wheat in any way, also only recognizable as grapes if in a Eucharist context with bread

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associations	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
DOVE 	Christian iconography: Holy Spirit dove with olive branch: peace/ grace		Jn.1:32 Spirit descending like a dove	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and unambiguous
INRI 	Acronym for Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, written by Pilate at the crucifixion.		Jn.19:19 Notice at crucifixion	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and unambiguous
CROWN OF THORNS 	Mockery of Christ's kingship during crucifixion		Jn.19:2-3 Crucifixion	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and unambiguous
CHALICE 	Eucharist cup: wine	Holy Grail	Lk.22:20 Last Supper	Scripturally well-founded recognizable and clear in a church context

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associations	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
SOLAR ECLIPSE 	Kesting. This is not the traditional symbol for an eclipse, but it is logical Upside-down symbol for Nannan: very ancient sign for moon-god, Babylonian: sun or Venus (O'Connell, Airey 2007:110)		Lk.23:44-45	Recognizable if one knows what he wants to say, it will not speak for itself
TEMPLE VEIL According to Kesting 	Kesting.	Graphically, closest: Eye of Fire. Association is an envelope. 	Mt.27:51 temple veil tore at crucifixion	Very strange symbol: no visual logic or association excepting with "eye of Fire": Germanic symbol for 4 elements
CHRISTOGRAM 	Mirrored adaptation of Christ monogram, Chi-Roh, Greek. (O'Connell, Airey 2007:94) the first letters of "Christ", which is Greek for Messiah			Mirroring for symmetry somewhat confusing, but distinguishable when close Meaning well-known in churches
DRAPED GARMENT OVER CROSS 	Traditional symbol of crucifixion (O'Connell, Airey 2007:94)			Meaning known in churches

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associations	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
GRAVE 	Coffin: Death	Freemasonry	1 Th.4:14	"Death" with the occult overtones of initiation rituals, etc. (Harwood 2006:70-71) Placement as in Masonic storyboard. Not associated with Christ's type of tomb
ANCHOR 	Early Christian secret sign for cross, hope and salvation (O'Connell, Airey 2007:83) Sea, safety and of the self (O'Connell, Airey 2007:83)		Heb.6:19 Hope = anchor	Symbol of church, according to Kesting (Kesting 20 June 2007) From early church origins? Now it would be read as a symbol of hope
EQUILATERAL TRIPARTITE TRIANGLES 	Open triangle: Hittite - well, good and healthy. Subdivided: Ancient Germanic Eye of the Dragon= danger, threat )'Connell, Airey 2007:123)	Eye of the Dragon 	Mt.28:19 baptized in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit	= the Trinity (Kesting drawing) All traditional symbols for Trinity are variations of 3 linked circles = complete entities
CROWN 	Royalty: power, glory and consecration. Circle: perfection and continuity.		Christ's Kingship and rule Rev.19:12	Symbol doesn't read easily but not confused with other meaning. Belaboured!

Kesting's Symbol	Origin	Associations	Scriptural basis (The Bible)	Analysis
SCALES 	Ancient Egypt: weighing souls Judgment of the Dead. Judgement / merit / justice / truth		Day of judgement Dan.5:27	Unusual but understandable
FLAMES 	Pentecost: God appearing to Moses in burning bush ; God's outpouring of his Holy Spirit at Pentecost feast in visible form "like tongues of fire" masculine symbol of creation, de-struction, purification, revelation, transformation, regeneration and spiritual/sexual ardour (O'Connell, Airey 2007:99)		Ex.3:2 – burning bush Deut.4:24 – God as fire Acts 2:3-4 – Pentecost	scripturally well-founded Recognizable, should be clear in church context
ALL-SEEING EYE Eye in triangle 	Eye of Horus, Ancient Egypt. symbol of the eye of spiritual perception in Hinduism (O'Connell, Airey 2007:98)	Adopted by the Freema-sons as one of their society's signs	Ps.33:18 The eye of the Lord	More strongly associated with Freemasonry than with God. "The Great Architect of the Universe"

Table 6.2 Analysis of meaning of windows designed by Kesting (continued on following page)

1	PREPARATION:	Cross, circle, Alpha & Omega, fish	Kesting speaks of a circle: the only circle is the small one around the fish, future concept of believers on earth who will be brought into the salvation plan by Christ (IXΘUS) through the cross. Preparation: Concept of God's Salvation plan conceived "before the foundation of the earth" (The Bible: 1Pe1:19-20) The ΛΩ symbols are thus most appropriate, but the sequence of windows can also read: first Freemasonry compass, last Freemasonry eye, the church calendar is contained by this.
4	BIRTH:	Cross with star, manger	Clear symbolism for the birth of Christ
5	LIFE ON EARTH:	Cross with snake, heart, dove, ear of wheat	Kesting talks about a dove, but substituted the "eternity circle". None of the symbols in this window communicate their stated intent clearly; certainly the combination does not summarize the life of Christ on earth in a readable way
6	LENT:	Cross with INRI, crown of thorns, chalice	this combination of symbols clearly communicates key concepts of the Last Supper, Christ's suffering and takes one into the crucifixion, out of Lent
7	CRUCIFIXION:	Cross with INRI, solar eclipse, the temple veil	Not visible from inside of church: Cross with INRI clear meaning, eclipse, only readable if the context of the crucifixion is well understood; there are more graphic associations with lunar worship. The temple veil is quite unreadable. On Kesting's drawing it looks like an open envelope, which could have some metaphoric relevance. The way in which it is coloured in the window destroys this graphic association as well. These ideas are thus scriptural but as symbols they do not communicate.
11	CRUCIFIXION:	Cross draped with cloth, grave, eternity circle	not visible from inside of church: Clear traditional crucifixion symbolism of cross; problematic Masonic associations with coffin. Cross overlaid on coffin seems to imply Christ in the coffin, but this is only obvious on close examination. solar eclipse – same comments apply.

12	EASTER:	Cross with small circle in it, eternity circle, anchor,	Is this supposed to communicate Resurrection? If Cross = Christ, O= earth, it could symbolize Christ becoming greater than the earth, but is reads simply as a Celtic cross. Kesting claims anchor = the church. It reads as hope. The most important concept in the church calendar is not readably communicated. The church only originated at Pentecost.
13	ASCENSION:	Cross with circle, descending dove, tripartite triangles	Circle half-way down cross: Christ rising above the earth? "Trinity" triangles, if taken as a new design, communicate division into 3 rather than the overlap of three whole entities as the traditional symbols do. Descending dove? Anachronistic. The Holy Spirit was only given 10 days later at Pentecost.
14	PENTECOST:	Cross with crown, cross with balanced weights, flames	This is where dove should have been: communicates the essence of Pentecost. This is where the church was born: symbols for the church should come here. Crown: That Christ is ascended in glory? That He shall come to reign is future. That He shall come to judge is future. This actually calls for 2 separate windows. This reflects the problem in the church calendar that it has also excluded certain scriptural annual feasts which look forward to future events.
17	(ETERNITY?)	Cross, All-Seeing Eye, Alpha & Omega	Cross = the fact that Christ's coming and all the commemorated events happened to make it possible for believers to spend eternity with God; ΛΩ in first and last window relate the sequence clearly, Question is how to symbolize God's presence without making 2 Masonic bookmarks
8	EARLY CHURCH	Fish and Christogram	According to Kesting, these 3 windows communicate "the Early Church", as a prototype of how a church should be? Using early Christian symbols, it could say that the church should be spirit-filled (dove), Christ-centred (Fish and Christogram), remain vigilant until the morning star rises in their hearts and be willing to take up their cross daily, which is clear scriptural symbolic language. (The Bible: 1Pe1:19, Lu9:23) New symbol: triangle in circle? Trinity contained in the earth?
9	EARLY CHURCH	Stars and doves	
10	EARLY CHURCH	Crosses	
15	NOT SPECIFIED	Cross with circle	"Christ come to Earth" in Kesting's language
16	IN PORCH:	Star	Entrances and exits: symbol of Christ's entrance?

The church calendar windows are arranged clockwise from the one side of the pulpit, around the church to the other side of the pulpit. In the process they also wrap around the entrance behind the stairs to the organ loft. As a narrative, it follows through from beginning to end, although some of the highlights of the narrative cannot be clearly seen or read so it seems that the idea of the symbolism was more important than the reading of it. The unseen windows represent the crucifixion, which is normally seen as a very significant point in the church calendar. It is also significant that although there are two windows symbolizing crucifixion and death, there is no window specifically communicating the resurrection. The anchors in the window that Kesting called "Easter" could be interpreted as symbolizing the hope of resurrection, excepting that he clearly stated that he had used the anchor as a symbol of the church, possibly in relation to its use in the early church (Kesting 20 June 2007). This is quite an idiosyncratic rendition of the key truths of scriptural doctrine. The question arises whether this was a hasty misinterpretation of the scriptural message and not picked up by the church, or whether this was in fact the church's emphasis at the time.

In the context of this whole symbolic narrative, the following observations can be made:

The combinations of symbols chosen for specific calendar events are not always appropriate for that particular event, or out of sequence. Although the ideas which Kesting describes (Kesting 1963:16-17) are all scriptural, the graphic symbolism is not always recognizable enough to convey that meaning. Kesting has in places either invented new symbols or linked existing symbols with other meanings to this narrative. By combining these symbols in this sequence he has alluded to the calendar, but the graphic communication does not integrate or strengthen one's understanding of the meaning of the calendar. It is fragmented and disorientating if one actually tries to read it.

There is however one integrating thread that runs through, although it jumps from the major to the minor symbols and back: Kesting tells the calendar story sequentially using the circle and the cross as the main protagonists in his narrative. The circle, as a symbol, can be quite easily associated with the earth: an orb. One must then put aside other symbolic associations with sun, glory, etc. He seems to have chosen the cross to represent Christ. With this explanation, the dialogue between the cross and the circle graphically explains the sequence of calendar events more clearly than the main symbols he chose. (See figures 6.3 - 6.4). I do however think the symbolic dialogue between the cross and the orb only reveals itself upon close analysis, which is seldom done. I found that on several occasions, when church members were questioned about the symbolism of their windows, they felt that they had meaning, but they could not elaborate what it was.

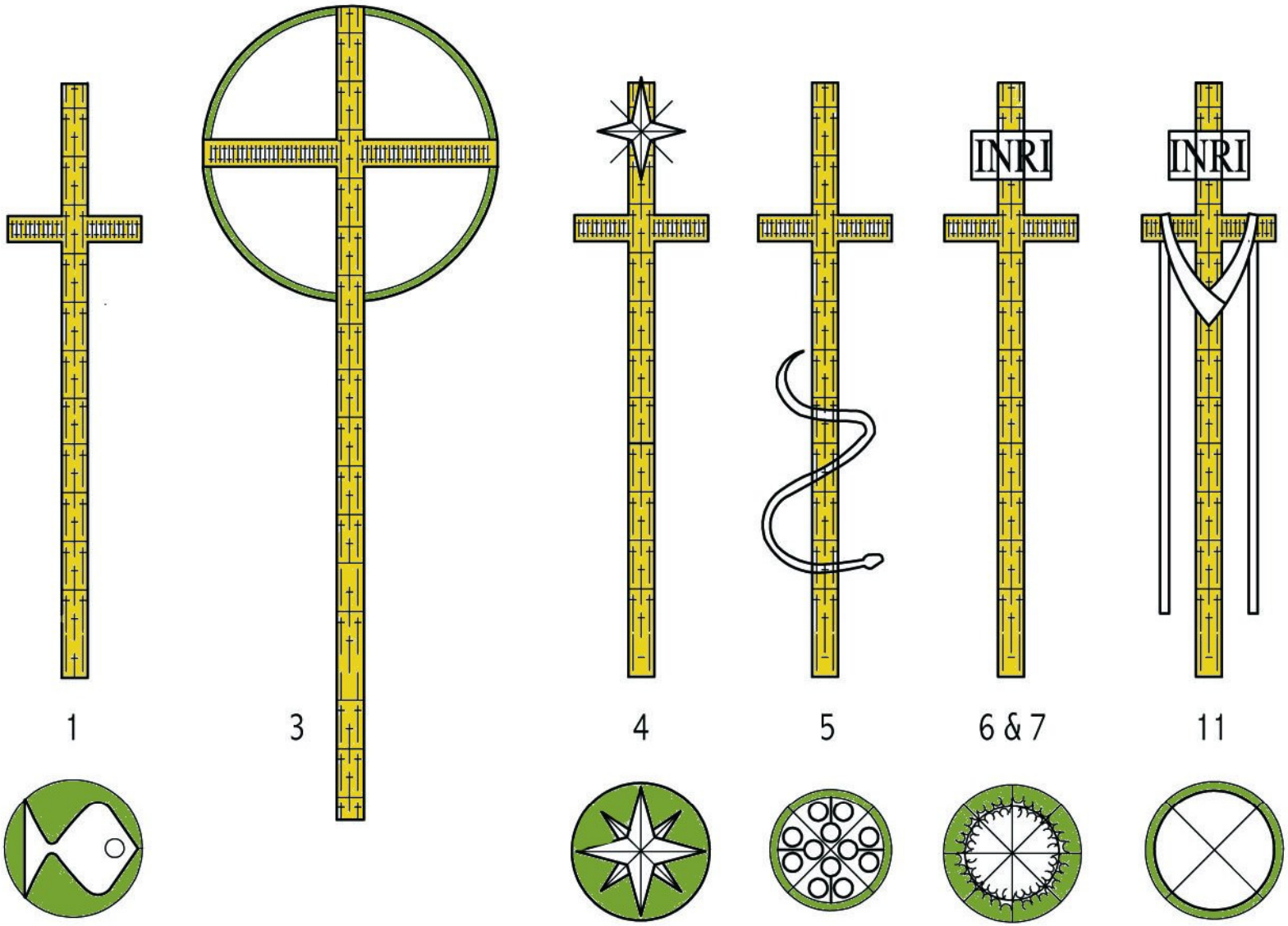


Figure 6.3 The narrative of the cross and the orb – 1

Window 3, similar to window 15, can be taken to imply the generic concept of the Incarnation: Christ + earth. All the others before the crucifixion treat the cross separately from the circle with the concept of what was happening on earth: The concept of believers from the beginning (1), the nativity: earth + star (4), the grain of wheat to fall into the earth (5), the crown of thorns: suffering on earth (6 & 7) and the 'eternity circle', which may or may not be linked to earth. The narrative of the cross is that He is born (4), tempted (5), crucified and died (6-11). The two concepts are not brought into a specific relationship with one another

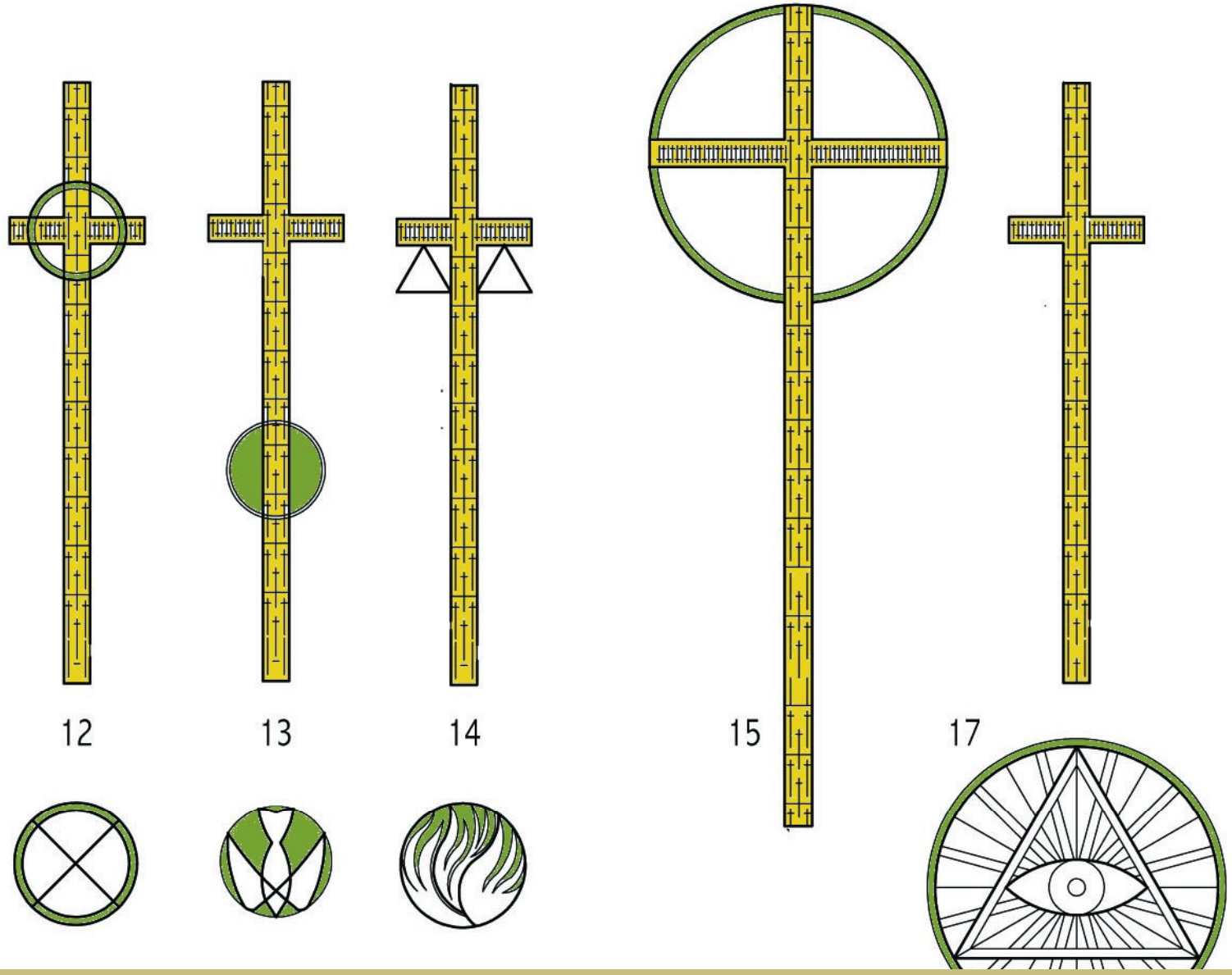


Figure 6.4 The narrative of the cross and the orb – 2

In the Easter window, the cross and the orb are related to each other (12), possibly indication Christ's identification with man. The in 13, the cross is relatively higher than the earth: the ascension, although visually this looks more like the earth dropping down. Then in Pentecost, the flames come to earth while the cross remains separate and eventually in Eternity, the Authority of the Eye is above the cross, and integrated with the circle, which would traditionally rather symbolize the sun in the solar radiance.

The symbol of the cross has been taken by the church to symbolize the church because it is "the body of believers who have been saved by this sacrifice on the cross". Without the cross, there could be no church. There is also the idea that in order to join this "body", each believer has to "die to self" and daily "take up his own cross". Taking the cross as a symbol for Christ is however, by association. Historically, the Roman Catholic church has used Christ ON the cross as an icon, and the Protestant church has used the cross without Christ as an icon. The stated difference is that Protestants say Christ is no longer ON the cross: The EMPTY cross is therefore a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, the fact that it has been completed and that He has risen from the dead. In both cases there is a very specific semiotic distinction made between Christ and the cross.

Certain fundamentalist individuals within churches take this distinction to its limits. They point out that scripturally, being hanged upon the cross is described as a curse (The Bible: Gal.3:13) and are loath to associate themselves with the symbol of a curse. Generally people see the cross as a very general association with Christianity and church. Scripture is full of other specific symbols for Christ (not taken literally in a literary approach) which clearly convey the complexity of his role, such as the Lamb of God; the Lion of Judah, the Way, the truth and the Life, the living bread, the true vine, the door for the sheep, the light of the world, the temple that will be broken down and rebuilt in three days, the King who will reign for ever…. These types of symbols were used by Theron in the Stellenbosch "Moederkerk" with great effect, but then expound on his identity at a deeper level. I would conclude that Kesting's symbols allude generally to scriptural associations rather than expressing the analysis of scriptural meaning that is evidenced in Leo Theron's work.

When the decision was taken to paint the church windows, it was a decision to prescribe to viewers inside the church what they should see in the windows and once again made it impossible to really see from the inside what is happening outside, or to look in. This is often the case with stained glass windows, but need not necessarily be so. When symbolic transparency of the church and connection with the outside world becomes an important issue to express, this window symbolism can be changed. Practically it also implies that in the dark, if there is light inside the church, painted windows are transmitting a specific message to the outside world.

One of the most significant decisions taken by Kesting in 1961 was the choice of Glassparence paints. It was a deliberate decision to advance symbolism, which was not yet a generally accepted idea in church circles, making it acceptable by making it cheaper. It was seemingly also a conscious decision to follow a short-cut in terms of the manufacturing, avoiding the slow, laborious, more expensive processes of authentic stained glass techniques which would have been impossible in the contract time allowed for the building alterations. There may have been an illusion about the durability and authenticity of the end product .The early 1960's saw a general Afrikaner economic boom after political and economic systems ensuring Afrikaner prosperity had been well established. There were enough resources for the church to buy a luxury like a good organ and upgrade their facilities.

Although rendering the designs in authentic methods was accessible at the time, Kesting, as the expert advisor, may not have presented the church decision-makers with more costly alternatives, This reminds one of Bunn's comments on projects like the Lost City, which create the illusion of a long historical tradition which would give mythical authority using fake materials (Bunn 2007:116). In the Witbank church community some church members were under the impression that Kesting had used real stained glass. It is however sobering to consider that this may also be read as an allegory of the quality of spirituality at the time. The meaning of the choice of "Glassparence" paints comes across as a strong metaphor for the socio-political, religious and spiritual dimensions of the time, where a less costly, superficial, inferior and unsustainable solution instead of the multi-layered, integrated but more costly solution was chosen at the time.

It can be assumed that when an artist designs a window, there is a correlation between the care invested in the design and the effort and the cost needed to make the window. If one considers Chagall's multilayered, integrated symbolism from the same period, the grounds for this statement become obvious. It took years to make the Hadassah synagogue windows, which used the very best painters, materials and techniques. The "Judah" window in figure 6.5 for example, includes the layers of a crown to show that Judah is the royal tribe; the hands of priestly blessing raised to symbolize God's promise of blessing to David for Judah; the city of Jerusalem where David built his capital; the colour red of a garnet, which was Judah's stone on the priestly breast plate and the lion, to which Jacob compared his son Judah. These different elements, from different passages of scripture, are integrated into a single whole of great artistic value. It does give a message about the value that the role players who produced those windows put on an expression of their faith.



Figure 6.5 Comparing techniques and symbolism
Top to bottom: (1) Marc Chagall: Window symbolizing the tribe of Judah, Hadassah University synagogue, En Kerem, 1962
(2) Daan Kesting: Window symbolizing life on earth, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, Witbank, 1963

6.3 Restoration 2004-2006

These refurbishments happened after a time of great changes in South Africa. The policy changes that happened within the Dutch Reformed Church after 1994 when it opened its doors to everyone were probably at first more socio-political than spiritual, and it took time for real changes in the attitudes of membership to seep down to a more fundamental level. In 1994, the Witbank church immediately adopted a theme of "Jesus, everything to everyone in Witbank", (Nederduitse Gereformeerde Gemeente Witbank 2007:1) but the church membership was still mainly white in 2008. Although the Dutch Reformed Church had opened its doors to everyone, in most communities church membership did not change overnight, because the demand for inclusion was an objection against a wrong principle and not because black members were longing to join communities that had excluded them in the past. This change will probably only really happen if young people without experiences of exclusion walk in through open doors because they are attracted to what happens inside.

The function of the church is to worship God and to proclaim Him, but for Afrikaans churches it became to support the government. After 1994, an awareness of how their real function had been compromised emerged more strongly. The laity no longer easily accepted the church's opinion as absolute, resulting in an increased willingness to re-examine meaning for themselves in the light of scripture and to change entrenched attitudes in general. In this climate there was also a heightened awareness amongst church members of the meaning of their windows.

Formerly members of this Afrikaans Protestant church had not expressed any concerns about the symbolism later perceived to be Masonic. By 2004 this had become contentious enough that the church building committee officially requested that these symbols be replaced during restoration. This was a first indication that there had been a change in perceptions of meaning - as far as the All-Seeing Eye in particular was concerned - amongst lay church members. Some members felt that this was offensive, while others merely felt that the church should not be displaying symbols which could be misconstrued. (Momsen 20 August 2004) Although there had been no change in church policy or in the windows, a change in the spiritual climate appears to have resulted in a heightened awareness of meaning and a personal evaluation of what individuals considered to be acceptable associations. The reason could be due to a closer engagement with scripture amongst certain members, a heightened spiritual awareness, or a wish to dissociate themselves from symbols which had associations with a previous socio-political position, even if at a subliminal level. It is interesting that this awareness came principally from the laity. Rev. J. Momsen indicated that his research into the spiritual implications of Freemasonry had been sparked by church members coming to ask him about or express concern about the spiritual

meaning of the symbol in the window (Momsen 20 August 2004). This seems to indicate a more critical and questioning attitude amongst church members and that the fact that the windows were previously designed by a revered Afrikaner architect did not leave them so sacrosanct that their meaning was ignored.

In the context of a critical re-examination of former church attitudes, there has generally been more contact and co-operation between different Christian churches in South Africa in the last decade as evidenced by national days of prayer which have been initiated and supported by, amongst others, clergy from the Dutch Reformed Church. In this increasingly ecumenical climate, there has been more cross-pollination between churches, a growing tolerance for one another's traditions.

With the recent general decline in church membership, impacting on tithes from its local membership, the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church was not economically as strong as in the 1960's. Their budget could support the maintenance and overdue renovations that were necessary by 2004, but not investment in costly artwork. The changed perception of the church about the importance of meaning was strong enough for them to engage in this process of replacing some windows with stained glass. There were alternatives without symbolism that would have met all the practical requirements at 10% of the cost, if meaning was not important. The building committee had to find donors to fund the replacement windows. The reaction to the first replacement window, installed in 2006, was however sufficiently positive to motivate funding for the next two. This also implies that there was tectonic appreciation for this first window's authentic stained glass, and possibly some sentiment about the restoration of their historical asset. How much of their positive reaction was to the modified meaning, would have to be ascertained before drawing any conclusions. It is evident however, that the level of involvement from lay members of the church at this stage clearly represented a different attitude to that of the 1960's.

What spiritual meaning does the new window convey?

My changes to the replacement window had to be done strictly within the very lines of Kesting's design. This severely limited the ways in which additional meaning could be expressed. Within these constraints, my understanding and interpretation of the changed meaning in this context, at the time, can be unpacked as follows:

This window remains one of a series which depicts the church calendar. The Gregorian church calendar concentrates on the memorialisation of events that have already occurred, i.e. Advent, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, while the scriptural calendar in Lev.23 (The Bible) speaks equally of events outside experienced time, be they past or future. It is coincidental but interesting that the windows that the church has earmarked for replacement are those relating to these time-less concepts: the window before Advent, (no 1, Figure

5.12) the window after Pentecost (no 15, Figure 5.17) and the "Eternity" window (no 17, Figure 5.16), under consideration here. This has created the opportunity – albeit within the set stylistic restrictions - to explore and eventually express the meaning of the part of the calendar for which we have only scriptural (and no historical) references. Here symbols cannot allude directly to physical reminders, such as Kesting's manger in the nativity window.

The fact that for practical reasons the replacement window - closest to the pulpit - is now the darkest in the church, contradicts the symbolic significance that Kesting attached to the concept of more light closer to the pulpit. This was done to enable the current practice of projecting presentations (including scripture) onto the east wall for the congregation to read during services. This is a somewhat ironic re-interpretation of the idea of emphasizing "the Word". Kesting himself felt so strongly about the practical clarity of "the Word" that he split up his partnership with Jan van Wijk because he regarded acoustics as more important than sculptural form in the design of the Universiteitsoord Dutch Reformed Church (Kesting 20 June 2007).

The very fact that the church requested a redesign in which they could read the words more clearly, and their rejection of symbolism with Masonic associations because of scriptural precedents, indicates that scripture ("the Word") had, in a real way, become more central to the practice of their religion.

In my approach, the meaning of this concept, which still remains central, has been symbolically communicated in other ways. The design of the window to now include actual words of scripture and invite inquiry into allusions to scripture, places a central focus on scripture. The choice of passages of scripture which relate to the same subject, but are not simply illustrated in the window, invites an actualization by the viewer. Apart from the fact that words are symbols for thoughts and concepts, the words from scripture are a symbolic reference to the whole of scripture, as a concept.

The "Eternity" window is the last in the calendar sequence. At the moment - as it is the only executed in stained glass - its tectonic metaphor seems co-incidentally quite appropriate: "that which is temporary and subject to decay will, in eternity, be replaced by a better, lasting but recognizable version", cf. Paul's whole discussion on "the transformation of the corruptible into the immortal" (The Bible: 1Cor.15). This impact of the contrast between the new window with the old deteriorated windows, will change again when others are also replaced. But the communication of integrity - the idea that "that which has real value demands counting and paying the cost" – should remain as part of the window's inherent tectonic meaning.

Within the restrictions of the Kesting style, an unexpected and more covert layer of meaning presented itself during the manufacture of the new window. In this process one paints and fires every block individually in order to fit into its pre-planned position, making every block unique. This parallels the belief constructs that "believers are the building blocks of the temple that God inhabits", and that "He individually prepares and disciplines each one to reach his full potential, often using 'heat' and pressure". This would hardly constitute symbolic meaning on its own, but it served to reinforce and elaborate the graphic symbolic concepts.

The church agreed that scripture should be used as the departure-point for the meaning of the window. The window could thus convey multiple literary scriptural associations with the concept of "Eternity". Eternity's everlastingness, and Christ's sacrifice to give believers access to eternity in his presence, are already addressed in Kesting's existing symbols of the alpha and omega, combined with the cross, in the window. There are several symbolic descriptions of eternity in Revelation, which use the symbol of a city (the "new Jerusalem") which is the church (the community of believers) who are in the presence of God. (The Bible: Rev21:3) The city is also described as the bride who has made herself ready for the bridegroom, where the wedding feast is the start of the marriage, which again symbolizes eternity: the bride and the bridegroom together. (The Bible: Rev21:2) Paul talks about seeing darkly at present but that one day (in eternity) we shall see clearly, face to face. (The Bible:1Cor13:12)

In a literary analysis of scripture the following texts all refer to these concepts that are scripturally associated with eternity, and also all refer in some way to the visual image of light, lamp and even more specifically to the seven-branched candlestick. (Note that in different translations of the Bible the concepts of candlestick and lamp stand are used interchangeably: When the Bible was written, the original lights on the "candlestick" in the tabernacle were small oil lamps on a lamp stand. At the time of the authorized translation, English-speaking people used tallow candles, and the word "candlestick" better communicated the concept of light coming from individual flames, from wicks burning some type of fat or oil.)

- Rev. 1:20 (The Bible) refers to the seven Asian churches as being seven candlesticks and Rev. 2:4-5 (The Bible) warns the Ephesian church that if it does not heed God and return to a love relationship with Him, He will remove their candlestick from its lamp stand. The implication is that the New Jerusalem in Eternity, the church, consists of those groups of believers whose candlesticks remained alight. This also reminds one of the parable of the wise virgins who had enough oil to be ready for the wedding feast when the bridegroom arrived.



Figure 6.6 the seven-branched candlestick in the 'Eternity' window, Witbank Dutch Reformed Church, 2004 – 2006, Ariane Janse van Rensburg

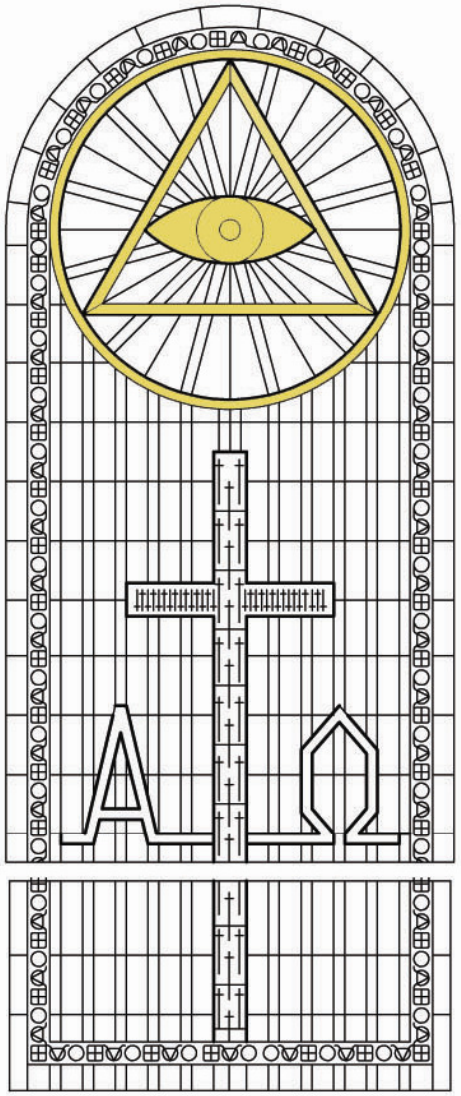
- From Rev.1:20 (The Bible), the symbol of the seven-branched candlestick has come to specifically stand for the greater church consisting of various communities of believers.
- Rev. 22:5 (The Bible) refers to believers as a city inhabited by God where "they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light".
- Matt. 5:14-16 (The Bible) says that believers (the church, who will be in God's presence in Eternity) are "the light of the world" displayed on a candlestick. "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father which is in heaven."
- In Exodus, God instructed Moses to make a golden seven-branched lamp stand or candlestick which should always burn inside the tabernacle. (The Bible: Ex.40:24-25, 34) Zechariah specifically alluded to this symbol as the symbol of the presence, power and authority of God through the Holy Spirit. (The Bible: Zech. 4:2-6) God's presence is also symbolized by fire in the image of the "cloud of fire" in which He accompanied the Israelites on their journey, or the flames of the burning bush.
- Luke 11:34-35 (The Bible) "The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy body is full of light; but when thine eye is evil, thy body is also full of darkness. Take heed therefore that the light in thee be not darkness." This scripture directly associates the previous symbol (eye) with light or lamp.
- It is also interesting to note that scripture frequently specifically symbolically refers to the *seven*-branched candlestick while Zechariah refers to the *seven* eyes on the stone that stand for the *seven* spirits of God. (The Bible: Zech. 4:2-6, Rev. 4:5)
- Heb. 9:21 (The Bible) states that all the vessels of the ministry in the tabernacle, including the candlestick, were ritually sprinkled with sacrificial blood, symbolizing that Christ's sacrifice brought remission of sins which has made it possible for God's light to shine in believers again.

The seven-branched candlestick (See figure 6.6) has literary symbolic links to all these concepts which describe Eternity. The association between light, seeing clearly and the scripture on the altar-cloth is self explanatory. The link to "eye" and to the intended meaning of the previous symbol, is also strong.

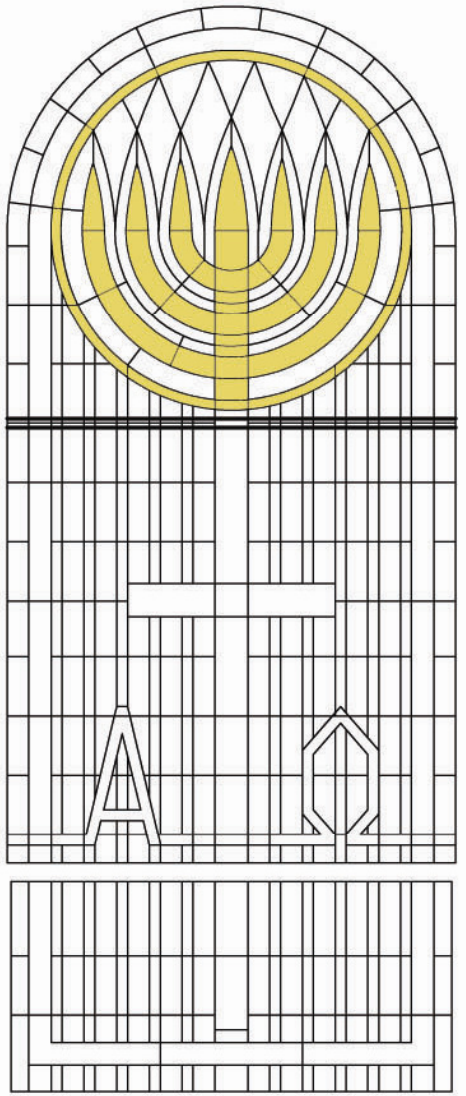
In addition to replacing the All-Seeing Eye symbol, (See figure 6.7) the symbolism in the remainder of the window was reinforced or extended by choices of colour or continuations of lines suggested by these scriptural references (The Bible), for example

- Ex. 25:31-40; Deut. 21:22-23. Both the cross and the candlestick are scripturally described as trees: the candlestick was modelled on the branches of a blossoming almond tree. The blossoming almond branch was also the symbol of priestly authority that was put in the ark of the covenant. (The Bible: Num.17:8,10) The existing cross

Figure 6.7 Scriptural symbolism focused in the 'Eternity' window: God's presence.



KESTING 1963



VAN RENSBURG 2006

ENHANCED SYMBOLISM IN REDESIGNED ETERNITY WINDOW: GOD'S PRESENCE

Figure 6.8 Scriptural symbolism focused in the 'Eternity' window, the Cross-Tree

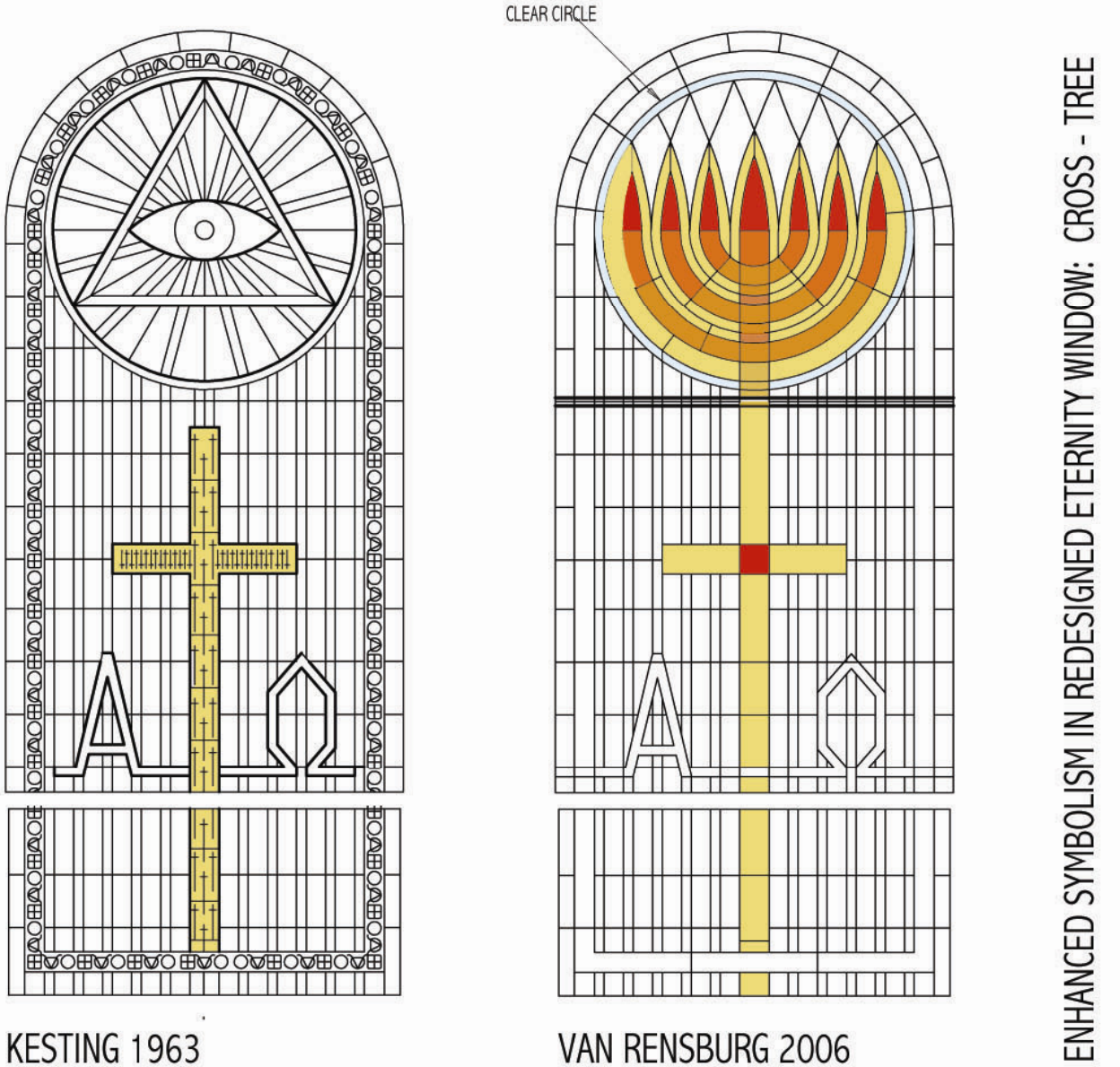
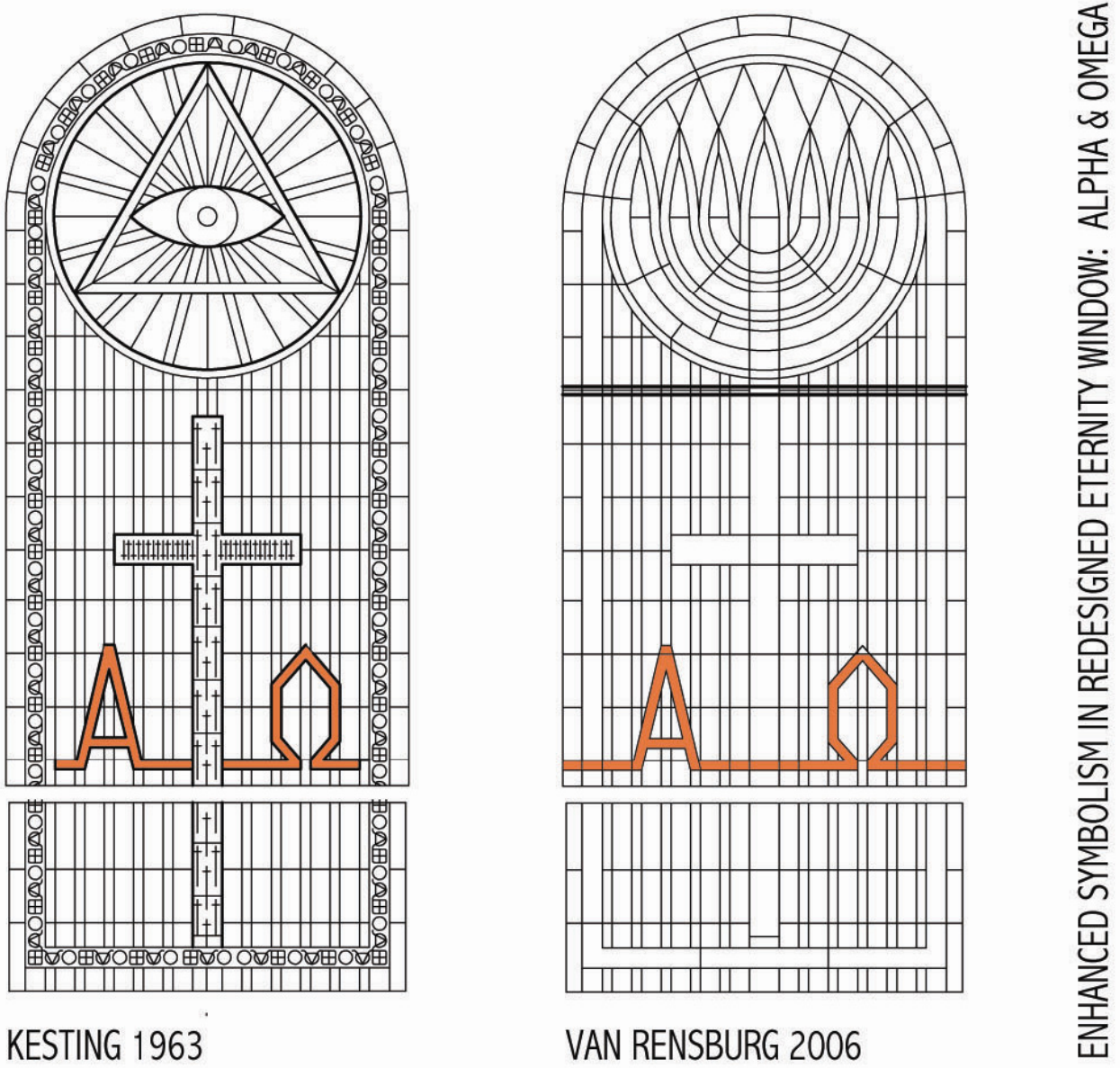


Figure 6.9 Scriptural symbolism focused in the 'Eternity' window, Alpha and Omega



at the bottom of the window was linked to the lamp stand as one "tree", symbolizing the fact that believers' ability to experience the light of God's presence was made possible through the cross, and that Christ did this made this on behalf of mankind through his priestly authority. (See figure 6.8)

- Rev. 22:13; John 1:2; Rev. 13:8; Rev. 5:6; Heb. 9:12-15, Heb. 9:21. Alpha & Omega: In all these scriptures, Christ is referred to as the Alpha and the Omega; the beginning and the end. This implies that He is from everlasting to everlasting. Scripture also states that in the spiritual realm, Christ's sacrifice was already recognized "before the foundation of the earth", outside time. Symbolically this line of the Alpha and Omega line was continued beyond the frame of the window, making it stretch from beginning to end, cutting through the border. (See figure 6.9)
- 1Cor. 13:12. Where the previous windows were not visually transparent in any way, the new window has a thin ring of clear glass around the candlestick through which one can look to the outside 2007) This was associated with Paul's reference to this future time, relative to the present, of which he says: "Now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known." It can however also be seen as a small chink in the protection against seeing the realities outside.
- If the candlestick represents the presence of God in eternity, the rest of the picture, the background of blocks, represent the believers: the city, the temple built of living stones.

The colours that are used in the remade window have certain symbolic associations.

- Red for sacrificial blood, implying the love implicit in "This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (The Bible: Joh.15:12-13)
- Green to blue, the colours of the earth when seen from afar, as the substance of humankind which has been reconciled, for the "building blocks".
- Gold, as the colour of spiritual refinement and a royal crown, associated with God's presence, his words of scripture and the cross through which this was achieved

The meaning that I associated with the window can be summarized as follows: scripturally, the purpose and conclusion of God's creation and redemption of humankind is that they may spend eternity in God's presence, in an intimate relationship with Him, and that this was made possible through Christ's sacrificial death on the cross and subsequent resurrection. The seven-branched candlestick as the eye of the body therefore symbolizes the light of the presence of God's Spirit shining in the collective company of believers. This presence enables people to truly see.

Whether the window conveys this meaning to other viewers is an open question. This will depend firstly on the extent to which the window can actualize viewers into an engagement with the scriptures to which the window refers and secondly on whether the realities they create are in any way similar to mine. I would see the window's meaning as "restored" if it can actualize such an engagement, whether or not the outcome of this engagement resembles mine in any way. By definition, a real engagement by a different viewer will produce a different reality and interpretation. If there were to be a real engagement of a viewer with scripture, this engagement would be the connecting factor with the subject of the Eternity window, which suggests a relationship of engagement.

The question would be what conflicting cultural associations of meaning people may have with the new candlestick symbol.
It is interesting to note that the two cultural groups who identify with the candlestick as a key symbol, are the Jews and Afrikaans Protestants. In each of these groups, their primary association with this symbol is their own identity, although they may be aware of the other group's relationship to the candlestick. This is therefore a very familiar symbol in this client's culture-group, and to the majority of visitors to this church. It has for more than a hundred years been the logo of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Theological School of the "Gereformeerde Kerk" at Potchefstroom, which became adopted as the logo of the whole University in due course.

In an Afrikaner context, the Voortrekkers had an identification with the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt even before Afrikaner Nationalism encouraged the sense of predestination which led to the Afrikaners seeing themselves as "a chosen people" (Bunn 2007:104). After 1994 there was an increased awareness amongst Afrikaners who took their relationship with God more seriously, of the need to re-examine their personal and collective calling in life. It led to different degrees of repentance about the acts and attitudes of Apartheid. In some cases re-examining scripture led to a rekindling of interest in the historic Jewish roots of the Christian faith. Both before and after 1994 the Afrikaner associations with this symbol were with the candlestick in the tabernacle, representing the presence of God, who protected them during their wanderings. Even if they recognized it as a symbol of Judaism, it was experienced as communicating the very roots of Christian Afrikaner faith.



Figure 6.10 The seven-branched candlestick in Afrikaans Protestant culture Top to bottom: (1) & (2) Coats of arms of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (Van der Walt 1971)(3 & 4) Old and new logos of the Dutch Reformed Church, (Hofmeyr 2002:198)INTERNET: www.cabsa.co.za/pics/nglogo.jpg)

In the case of the Dutch Reformed Church logo, (See figure 6.10) the reference is to Revelation where the candlestick is specifically explained as the church, with each flame representing a different congregation, i.e. the collective church. The Potchefstroom Theological School had been founded by the Rev. F.L.Cachet, a Dutch Christian theologian of Jewish extraction whose progressive thinking (Hofmeyr 2002:151) and personal integration of Jewish and Christian symbolism was unusual for that time. This logo has associations with the church symbolism explained above, Old Testament associations with the candlestick in the tabernacle dear to Jews and Afrikaners, and refers to the symbolic light of education. It needs to be noted that there were fundamental political differences between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Gereformeerde Kerk. To each of them it was natural to choose this logo from the source, and not because they were associated with one another. The Dutch Reformed Church became the "state church" of the Nationalist government, defending its policies, while the "Gereformeerde Kerk" had much stronger associations with the Reformed Church in the Netherlands and taught a different theology (Smith 2009:97). They were, however, keen to promote Christian education, which is why the university that grew from the Theological school was named the "Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education". This was not intended as Christian-Nationalist education at the time, and the "Gereformeerde Kerk" was not the church arm of the government. However, the Broederbond's total fusion of the concepts of "Christian" and "national" was so successful (Smith 2009:91)that a generation after the founding of these institutions, both had, for different reasons, been drawn into Afrikaner Christian-Nationalism. From this general association of the candlestick with Afrikaans churches, grew its commercial use by enterprises with some Christian association. An example is Lux Verbi publishers of Christian books. Their name is a scriptural association is with the text "The Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path" (The Bible: Ps.119:105), which adds a layer of marketing meaning to the importance of buying books about scripture.

The fact that both the church and the university chose to promote the cause of Afrikaner nationalism created a growing batch of negative political associations and there are those who would not want to be associated with these institutions. However, the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church remains a Dutch Reformed Church. It continues to be associated with its own name and its own history. If this symbol acquired a new layer of historical meaning in the 1948-1994 era, it is also currently in the process of acquiring a next layer of associated meaning now.

The group with the longest and strongest association with the 7-branced candle stick or "menorah" as a spiritual symbol is obviously the Jewish community across the world, as well as in the state of Israel. The design for the original physical symbol to which all the other graphic versions allude was, after all, given to them as a nation as a symbol of God's presence during their wanderings and it has acquired new layers of meaning with each diaspora. It has, however, acquired a new overlay of political meaning since 1948, which is interestingly and co-incidentally both the date of the founding of Israel and the establishment of an Afrikaner nationalist government. That the state of Israel chose the menorah as their national emblem and symbol of their political identity is by no means arbitrary. Not only does it proclaim their long relationship with God during their wanderings, but politically it

has very strong associations with the image of their exile and therefore to the concept of restoration by God. The most graphic image of exile in Jewish cultural history is the bas-relief from the Arch of Titus showing the Romans carrying away the seven-branched candlestick after the sack of Jerusalem. The new sculpture of the seven-branched candlestick in front of the Israeli parliament is the political counter-statement. (See figure 6.11)

Both the Afrikaners and the Jews, at the times when they chose their logos and symbols, saw themselves as being in a national relationship with God. Both groups chose to express this symbolically and used the concept of "godly sanction" to their political advantage and used scripture to justify political positions. Internationally, the "menorah" is first and foremost recognized as a Jewish symbol. It is therefore not surprising that outside observers may be unaware of the Afrikaans Protestant parallel identification with this symbol and may find the context and the extent of this identification unusual. Dating from the nineteenth century, the seven-branched candlestick became the chosen logo of the Dutch Reformed Church (and the Potchefstroom University for CHE), long before the formation of the modern state of Israel, and indeed without an apparent direct association with Israel as a political entity. It is however conceivable, in the context of current or future political developments, that the seven-branched candlestick could also acquire negative associations and the appropriateness of this choice would be questioned.

If a group which associates itself with scripture and its belief constructs starts to act in a way that no longer accords with scripture, this can change the perception of the meaning of the symbol that was specifically chosen because of its scriptural association. It becomes a counter-symbol of the failure to live up to its intended meaning. The original meaning is not negated, but ironically incorporated. The Dutch Reformed Church originally chose the strongest symbol for "church" used in scripture. The fact that in certain respects they did not act in the way scripture prescribed, did not change scripture. It highlighted the fact that scripture had warned (in the same passage in Revelation) that "to act without love would cause the light of the candle to be extinguished". This is at the same time a reminder of the history of Israel earlier in the text when the lights of the candlestick were literally extinguished and it was carried off into exile



Figure 6.11 The seven-branched candlestick in Jewish culture
Top to bottom: (1) Frieze from Arch of Titus, Rome, c.81AD (2) Coat of arms of state of Israel (3) Menorah sculpture before Knesset, Jerusalem, Benno Elkan, 1956 Wikipedia contributors, *b & c*)

because of people's disobedience to scriptural injunctions. The one redeeming association of this symbol is that this same text tells that, by the grace of God, it was possible for them to return in repentance and "the lamps were rekindled". The principle of repentance and forgiveness is a scriptural basis for the church. New Testament scripture explains this relationship between the spiritual principle and the symbolism of the candlestick in detail in Hebrews 9. The candlestick is therefore portrayed in this window with "a sprinkling of redeeming blood" (red glass confetti overlay) as a reminder of this key association.

If one starts to overlay all these different layers of scriptural, historical and cultural meaning, without denying any part of the picture, the candlestick becomes a symbol of scripturally intended meaning, human failure and hope all at once. It includes the different overlays of historic failure repeating itself, for Israel and in the Afrikaans Protestant church, as well as the potential spiritual remedy. These meanings' dialogue with one another and the relative weight of these meanings will continue to change in relation to people's actions and perceptions. At the moment, as a symbol in a Dutch Reformed Church which seems to be putting itself under the scrutiny of "the light of the Word", this church community currently regards it as an appropriate symbol to have in their window. It may also well be that some members are viewing it with old associations and some with new associations. This replacement window may contain enough layers of meaning to accommodate this dichotomy.

At a poetic level I am tempted to see an allegory in the restoration of the actual window, an eye in the church building, symbolically filled with light, to become a "seeing eye" through which one can look in and out in a new way, seeing spiritual meaning perhaps more critically and clearly,

7 DISCUSSION

The thesis question "What meaning can be interpreted from the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church windows?" can be answered as follows:

In the first version of the church, (1921) there was a specific decision not to put symbolic meaning into the church windows.

In the 1963 renovations, symbolic meaning was specifically introduced into the church windows by D.P. Kesting. This was not yet accepted usage in the Dutch Reformed Church and as pioneering work in this field, Kesting's work was quite idiosyncratic with a language of symbols drawn from many unrelated sources. The symbolic theme for the refurbishment of the church was the church calendar and the idea was generally scriptural, if not always carefully integrated. This language included some symbols (most notably the All-Seeing Eye) with specific Masonic associations, which Kesting successfully defended at the time despite some objections from Dutch Reformed clergy.

By 2004 the plastic window paints used in 1963 had faded, some windows had broken and the replacement of certain windows became necessary. There was sufficient awareness of spiritual meaning amongst the laity in the Dutch Reformed Church by this time that objections were raised to the Masonic associations with certain symbols. The church considered the spiritual meaning expressed by their windows to be sufficiently important to warrant their remaking in stained glass with symbolic alterations. The "Eternity" window was the only one to have been redesigned and remade at the time of this study. In this the symbol of the All-Seeing Eye was replaced by the seven-branched candlestick. Used in conjunction with the existing symbols in the window, this symbol elaborates the concept of eternity through various scriptural associations. It can also be associated with other layers of meaning which also address historic associations of the candlestick with failure and restoration, while addressing changes in identity within this Dutch Reformed Church since 1994.

From the discussion on meaning that can be interpreted from the windows in chapter 6, certain changes in the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church's expression of its identity are evident.

Economically one can deduce that the church took on a proportionally greater economic burden with the building of a stone church in 1920, at the lowest ebb in the Afrikaner economy, than with any of the subsequent renovations. It would seem that their first priority was church building and the small congregation must have put a high proportion of their

disposable income into this project. It was obviously important to them to express their identity in something as durable as stone, even at the higher cost. They did not however follow the route of employing an "Afrikaans" architect to give a specifically "Afrikaans" identity to their architecture. Their important identity statement seems to be "we are believers", rather than "we are Afrikaners", but it is just as much a statement of "we shall rise again!"

By 1963 the economic situation had eased, since they could afford a luxury such as a good organ without being overwhelmed by building debt. The organ was a priority while Kesting said that they would not have "bought" the idea of symbolic windows if they had been executed in a more expensive medium. The window painting was obviously rather their architect's priority than their own. This time they had chosen an Afrikaans architect from their own church affiliation who could presumably express their identity well. He specifically strengthened the visual references to Afrikaner (nationalist) churches and monuments, expressing the mainstream identity of "Christian-Nationalist Afrikaners" and bringing the Witbank church into this network. In the same magazine in which Kesting wrote about his window designs, there was an article in which the church expressed its satisfaction with the alterations that embodied their practical and spiritual priorities. (Kesting 1963:17). It would seem that these alterations did reflect an investment in that which was important to the church at the time, but demanded proportionately less from the membership than forty years earlier.

By 2004, although money for restoration had to be raised separately and specifically, there was a greater awareness of real value and a willingness to invest in durable materials and meaning at a greater cost, even if it would take time. It is evident that investing in the church building was generally inversely proportional to the congregation's income over this time, i.e. the membership were willing to invest proportionally more when times were harder.

Examining the changing religio-political context, one can see that Afrikaners in the 1920's identified strongly with the Dutch Reformed Church, but that both these identities were separate from the government of the time, as also reflected in the architecture, which reflected a Protestant church more than any other identity. One can conclude that the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church in the 1920's, through their choice of architect, stayed somewhat outside the main quest to express Afrikaner identity after the Great South African War (1899-1902).

By the 1960's the identities of the Afrikaner nationalist government and the Dutch Reformed Church had become so fused that the church building expressed both uncritically. The windows also expressed an uncritical stance towards symbols associated with Freemasonry. This church, like many others, was expressing Christian-sounding Afrikaner sentiments rather than spiritual integrity both in its visual language and its window symbolism.

By the end of the Afrikaner Nationalist political era, it looks as if the Witbank church was trying to try to reformulate an expression of its spiritual identity and separate this from other agendas, whether they were political (e.g. former racism, cf. their inclusive theme for 1994) or organizational (Masonically associated symbolism), as expressed by their window alterations. It took some time for Afrikaners in general to disentangle identity, nationalism and spirituality after 1994. But, in 2004 - 2006 one can see a more questioning attitude emerging which prompted people to engage with symbolic meaning in a real way, which was facilitated by a return, to a greater extent, to scriptural principles. In this church community, expressing a spiritual position in line with scripture became more of a priority which led to the decision to remake some of the windows.

One can see from this history that one of the strongest driving forces behind change expressed in the church building and its windows was the tension between Afrikaner identity and the spiritual identity of the church.

Although one cannot make many direct deductions from the windows about the religio-political climate in the Witbank Dutch reformed Church, strong evidence emerged that there was an increasing direct engagement of the church membership with symbolic expression of meaning in their windows over this time span. In the 1920's it was both economically and traditionally not an option.

When Kesting introduced the concept of symbolism in the 1960's, it was not something that really involved (or interested) the laity. From Kesting's comments on the cost, it would seem that it was accepted as part of the architect's idea on condition that it wouldn't really affect the price of the alterations, and they appreciated the visual effect without really engaging with the idea or the symbolism. In the larger church context, protests about the symbolic content came from the clergy while the members were uncritically accepting.

However, by 2004, something more fundamental had changed. There was a real engagement with the meaning and the quality of the windows, to the extent that lay church members protested enough to persuade committees to act to change it. It was church members who put forward the funding to do this, at a not inconsiderable cost, and it has been a prolonged engagement, which is escalating rather than dying down. Where the first meeting in 2004 had concluded that it might only be possible to replace one window, at the time of writing (2009) a second window has been replaced and another two have already been commissioned.

8 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this comparative research inquiry has enabled me, personally, to stand at a greater distance from my own work as an artist, and to assess its problems and potential more critically. It has also enabled me to classify an intuitive derivation of meaning as a specific hermeneutic approach and to test it against a theory base. There were three levels at which meaning could be identified.

The first was the conscious, conceptual search for an appropriate symbol within a fairly defined context, as defined by the client, without standing back to look at it critically, The next was at a tectonic level where, during the manufacture of the window, various covert parallels emerged between that which the window was supposed to say and what was physically happening during the practical process of making it. e.g. having consciously decided that the background blocks stood for the members of the church, which determined their colour, I became aware that purely technical aspects such as the tendency of this cheaper glass to crack under the stress of heating, could be compared with the innate flaws in people ("the church") which come to the fore when they are subjected to stress. The last level was that in this retrospective study it was necessary to examine the meaning much more critically "from the outside". In the process of presenting the work to colleagues, questions and critical feedback revealed new aspects.

To use symbols to express a spiritual position, it was essential to explore all the different layers of meaning and associated meaning attached to symbols, to ascertain whether the composite meaning of a symbol was indeed that claimed by the artist/designer. Additional layers of meaning were problematic to the church if they were in conflict with the desired purpose of the symbol, e.g. the All-Seeing Eye with its Masonic associations in a communication about the presence of God. The additional layers of meaning in the candlestick viz. an association with Afrikaans church history, Judaism and even the state of Israel have not until now been experienced as conflicting as even their negative associations are addressed in the scriptural context.

This was an individual case study and its conclusions cannot be applied to the church at large. There are however certain observations that can be correlated with larger-scale phenomena in the socio-political or spiritual context, which merit further research and could lead to the construction of theoretical models. The following conclusions can be drawn for the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church:

During the century under review, people's perceptions of the meaning that should be conveyed in their church windows, changed. The tension between the expressed meaning and the church's actual position led to the church commissioning physical changes to the windows to express their position at the time. One can see direct relationships between these changes in perception and the changing context in which the church was situated: the economic, religious, socio-political and spiritual context. Because contexts are dynamic, it is reasonable to conclude that perceptions will continue to change. The changes that are made to buildings which express this dynamic are an interesting visual record of changes in the context. As an example, the "Eternity" window incorporates the original window frames with their rounded (as opposed to Gothic) shape from 1923; it incorporates Kesting's basic 1963 design outline for a symbolic window and more or less the original choice of colours, used in different ways; and then it incorporates the symbol of the candlestick to replace the All-Seeing Eye and the use of new materials and techniques to render the old design in 2006. Buildings and components of buildings can then, in themselves, become a visual narrative of history which often provides evidence of actual attitudes as opposed to those proclaimed. An example is the fact that the design of the windows in 1963 was said to symbolize "the centrality of the Word" (Kesting 20 June 2007), but when "the Word" did, in fact, become more central to this congregation's practice of their faith, it resulted in a request to change the symbolism.

Scripture has proved to be a perennial point of return throughout the history of Protestantism, which makes it a source of symbolism that is more likely to remain understood and relevant than associations with changing external contexts. This case study seems to corroborate this. This is because, in a church context, it is reasonable to assume that images from scripture will be familiar to the viewer, who has an accessible source or key for further inquiry. Using scripture as a departure point gives the largest common ground of perceived meaning in a church context.

The experience that the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church was willing to incur significant costs to express a changed spiritual position in their windows in 2004, implies that expressing their spiritual position with integrity had, to them, become an important function of their building as a spiritual space. The resolution of the mismatch between symbolic and spiritual messages was important enough to the church that it requested design amendments even in a restoration situation, where historical accuracy is an important consideration. Patricia O' Donnell, in her keynote address on conservation responsibilities (O'Donnell 3 November 2008)(CSAAR conference, University of Petra, Amman, 3 November 2008) said that

restoration is only successful if the physically restored space could again sustain meaningful life and use. To keep functioning as a spiritual space in an Afrikaans Protestant context, this church's symbolic meaning had to be re-aligned with scripture. In a conservation context, the Witbank Dutch Reformed Church building with its conservation, restoration and amendments now representatively communicates the evolution of its position over the last century, which also gives it cultural value.

There is much evidence in this study that Kesting, as an influential Afrikaner, was deeply steeped in the culture of Afrikaner Nationalism and served it well. This does not provide any conclusive evidence that he was a member of the Broederbond. It did, however, give him the entrée to actively defend and promote the resurgence of symbolism, which also included symbols associated with Freemasonry in the Afrikaans churches, while it was officially discouraged. This again does not provide any evidence that he was involved in Freemasonry. It does however highlight the fact that evidence of the activity of both these organizations is visible throughout Afrikaner cultural history. It would be an interesting field of inquiry to research whether and how these are interwoven and to what extent the Afrikaner visual language has merely absorbed these influences, or expressed specific agendas.

The evolution of this church's level of engagement in symbolic expression from avoidance, to acceptance without really engaging with the symbolism, to real involvement at a congregational level, seems from my background research to be a noticeable trend in Afrikaans Protestant churches over this time period. It would be worth researching this further and to document an overview of the development of symbolism in Afrikaans Protestant churches.

For a long time the only permissible role for stained glass in Protestant churches, when used, was decorative. The laity's increased engagement with symbolism that drove this particular example seems to indicate that there is a growing place, also in other Afrikaans Protestant churches, for stained glass artists to explore the multiple literary layering of meaning in scripture, and invite viewer actualization. The wider church is at a place where post-modern hermeneutic interpretation recognizes that the construction of meaning is an individual reality and recognizes the relevance of different individuals' perspectives, be they the preacher, the artist or the member of the congregation. This gives church windows a real opportunity to actualize a dialogue with viewers. The potential correlation between the multiple layering of meaning in scripture and the multiple visual layers available in stained glass opens up exciting artistic possibilities which have hardly been explored. As an artist, I would like to pursue this theme, possibly in the form of a practice-based research project, especially as this would be an ideal presentation medium for a qualitative research model.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

When you did this project, did the client approach you to do painted windows or did you suggest it to them?

Did you design and paint them yourself?

What type of paint was used and what did the manufacturers claim was the life expectancy of the paint?

What is your attitude towards glass as a material?

How do you approach language and style when it comes to alterations and additions?

Who did you work for in your earlier career who influenced your style and in what way?

Was the theme for the windows suggested to you or did you suggest it?

Why does it interest you particularly?

Please explain the origins and meaning of the symbols that you use.

How do you see the role of colour in your windows?

APPENDIX B :
SCRIPTURE REFERENCES: THE BIBLE, AUTHORIZED VERSION

Chapter 1

1.6.3

Heb 4:12 For the word of God *is* quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and *is* a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.

1.6.4

Eph.5:26 That he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word

Chapter 2

Par 2.1.3

Gen 1:2,3 And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

Eze1:27 …as the appearance of fire round about within it, from the appearance of his loins even upward, and from the appearance of his loins even downward, I saw as it were the appearance of fire, and it had brightness round about.

Rev1:16 ...and his countenance *was* as the sun shineth in his strength.

Ps 119:130 The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding unto the simple.

Jn.8:12 Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.

Jn.1:4-5 In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not.

1 Ch 28:12 And the pattern of all that he had by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the LORD, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things:

1 Ki.6:4 And for the house he made windows of narrow lights.

Par 2.2.1

Jer.1:11-12 Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, saying, Jeremiah, what seest thou? And I said, I see a rod of an almond tree. Then said the LORD unto me, Thou hast well seen: for I will hasten my word to perform it.

Mat.7:24-25 Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock: And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.

Pro.8:1-2 Doth not wisdom cry? and understanding put forth her voice? She standeth in the top of high places, by the way in the places of the paths.

Pro.9:1 "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars:"

Exo 12:3 Speak ye unto all the congregation of Israel, saying, In the tenth *day* of this month they shall take to them every man a lamb, according to the house of *their* fathers, a lamb for a house:

Lev 4:32 And if he bring a lamb for a sin offering, he shall bring it a female without blemish.

Isa 53:7 He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth.

Joh 1:29 The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.
Luk3:22 And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.

Mt 10:16 Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

Par 2.2.4

2 Pet.1:20-21 Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake *as they were* moved by the Holy Ghost.

Deu 30:14 But the word *is* very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.

Par 2.2.5

1Ch.17:4-5, 12, 14 Go and tell David my servant, Thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not build me an house to dwell in: For I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up Israel unto this day; but have gone from tent to tent, and from *one* tabernacle *to another*. ... v12 He shall build me an house, and I will stablish his throne for ever. v14 But I will settle him in mine house and in my kingdom for ever: and his throne shall be established for evermore.

Par 2.2.6

Gen 3:8 And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden.

Exo 25:8-9 And let them make me a sanctuary; that I may dwell among them. 9 According to all that I show thee, *after* the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make *it*.

Heb 9:9 Which *was* a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience;

Joh 2:19-22 Jesus answered and said unto them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. 20 Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days? 21 But he spake of the temple of his body. 22 When therefore he was risen from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this unto them; and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said.

Luk 18:31-33 Then he took *unto him* the twelve, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, and all things that are written by the prophets concerning the Son of man shall be accomplished. 32 For he shall be delivered unto the Gentiles, and shall be mocked, and spitefully entreated, and spitted on: 33 And they shall scourge*him,* and put him to death: and the third day he shall rise again.

Joh 11:50 Nor consider that it is expedient for us, that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.

Joh 3:16 For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Eph 2:8-9 For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: *it is* the gift of God: 9 Not of works, lest any man should boast.

Gal 3:28-29 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. 29 And if ye *be C*hrist's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.

Mat 24:1-2 And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple: and his disciples came to *him* for to show him the buildings of the temple. 2 And Jesus said unto them, See ye not all these things? verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

Mat 18:20 For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

1Pe 2:5 Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.

Eph 5:30 For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.

1Co 6:19 What? Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost *which is* in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?

Par 2.2.8

Exo 20:4-5 Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness *of any thing* that *is* in heaven above, that *is* in the earth beneath, or that *is* in the water under the earth: 5 Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the LORD thy God *am* a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth *generation* of them that hate me;

1Ki12:27,28,30 If this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, *even* unto Rehoboam king of Judah, and they shall kill me, and go again to Rehoboam king of Judah.
Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves *of* gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem: behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.
And this thing became a sin: for the people went *to worship* before the one, *even* unto Dan.

Chapter 4

Par 4.2

Ps. 36:9 In thy light we shall see light.

Chapter 6

Tab 6.1 Analysis of meaning of symbols used by Kesting

FISH

Eze 47:9 And it shall come to pass, *that* every thing that liveth, which moveth, whithersoever the rivers shall come, shall live: and there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither: for they shall be healed; and every thing shall live whither the river cometh.

Mat 4:19 And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.

Joh 21:6 And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.

Jon 1:17 Now the LORD had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah. And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.

Mat 7:10 Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?

Mat 17:27 Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea, and cast a hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and thee.

Mat 14:17-21 And they say unto him, We have here but five loaves, and two fishes. 18 He said, Bring them hither to me. 19 And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass, and took the five loaves, and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed, and broke, and gave the loaves to *his* disciples, and the disciples to the multitude. 20 And they did all eat, and were filled: and they took up of the fragments that remained twelve baskets full. 21 And they that had eaten were about five thousand men, beside women and children.

Joh 21:13 Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise.

CROSS

Mat 27:35 And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.

Eph 2:13 But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.

Eph 2:16 And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby:

Col 1:19-20 For it pleased *the Father* that in him should all fullness dwell; 20 And, having made peace through the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, *I say,* whether *they be* things in earth, or things in heaven.

Mar 8:34 And when he had called the people *unto him* with his disciples also, he said unto them, Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

CIRCLE – EMPTY

Isa 40:22 *It is* he that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof *are* as grasshoppers; that stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:

ALPHA & OMEGA

Rev 1:8-11 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty. 9 John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in he kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. 10 I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, 11 Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

Rev 21:6 And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end. I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely.

Rev 22:13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

STAR

Num 24:17 I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth.

Rev 22:16 I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning star.

Mat 2:2-10 Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. 3 When Herod the king had heard *these things,* he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. 4 And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born. 5 And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judea: for thus it is written by the prophet, 6 And thou Bethlehem, *in* the land of Judah, art not the least among the princes of

Judah: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel. 7 Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, inquired of them diligently what time the star appeared. 8 And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child; and when ye have found *him,* bring me word again, that may come and worship him also. 9 When they had heard the king, they departed; and, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. 10 When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

MANGER

Luk 2:12 And this *shall be* a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger.

SNAKE

Gen 3:13 And the LORD God said unto the woman, What *is* this *that* thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

Rev 12:9 And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

Rev 20:2 And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years,

Joh 3:14 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up:

HEART

Mar 12:30 And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength: this *is* the first commandment.

Mat 15:19 For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies:

EAR OF WHEAT

Joh 12:24 Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.

Joh 6:35-48 And Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me shall never thirst. 36 But I said unto you, That ye also have seen me, and believe not. 37 All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out. 38 For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. 39 And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day. 40 And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life: and I will raise him up at the last day. 41 The Jews then murmured at him, because he said, I am the bread which came down from heaven. 42 And they said, Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose

father and mother we know? how is it then that he saith, I came down from heaven? 43 Jesus therefore answered and said unto them, Murmur not among yourselves. 44 No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day. 45 It is written in the prophets, And they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me. 46 Not that any man hath seen the Father, save he which is of God, he hath seen the Father. 47 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life. 48 I am that bread of life.

1Co 10:16 The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

DOVE

Joh 1:32 And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.

INRI

Joh 19:19 And Pilate wrote a title, and put *it* on the cross. And the writing was, JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.

CROWN OF THORNS

Joh 19:2-3 And the soldiers plaited a crown of thorns, and put *it* on his head, and they put on him a purple robe, 3 And said, Hail, King of the Jews! And they smote him with their hands.

CHALICE

Luk 22:20 Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup *is* the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

SOLAR ECLIPSE

Luk 23:44-45 And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. 45 And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

TEMPLE VEIL

Mat 27:51 And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;

GRAVE

1Th 4:14 For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

ANCHOR

Heb 6:19 Which *hope* we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and steadfast, and which entereth into that within the veil;

EQUILATERAL TRIPARTITE TRIANGLES

Mat 28:19 Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

CROWN

Rev 19:12 His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head *were* many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself.

SCALES

Dan 5:27 TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting.

FLAMES

Ex 3:2 And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush *was* not consumed.

De 4:24 For the LORD thy God *is* a consuming fire, *even* a jealous God.

Act 2:3-4 And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. 4 And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

All-Seeing Eye

Ps 33:18 Behold, the eye of the LORD *is* upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy;

Table 2

1Pe 1:19-20 But with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot: 20 Who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you,

Gal 3:13 Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed *is* every one that hangeth on a tree:

2Pe1:19 We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts:

Lu9:23 And he said to *them* all, If any *man* will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me.

Par 6.3

1 Cor 15:52-54
In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.
For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal *must* put on immortality.
So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.

Rev21:3 And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, *and be* their God.

Rev21:2 And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

1Co 13:12 For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

The seven-branched candlestick:

Rev. 1:20 The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches.

Rev. 2:4-5 Nevertheless I have *somewhat* against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. 5 Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

Rev. 22:5 Believers: a city inhabited by God where 'they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light'

Matt. 5:14-16 'Ye are the light of the world…(it may not be hidden) Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick…Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father which is in heaven.'

Ex.40:24-25 And he put the candlestick in the tent of the congregation, over against the table, on the side of the tabernacle southward. 25 And he lighted the lamps before the Lord as the Lord commanded Moses.

Zech. 4:2-6, behold a candlestick all of gold, … and his seven lamps thereon…What are these, my lord?..… the word of the Lord unto Zerrubabel , saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, says the Lord of hosts

Luke 11:34-35 'The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy body is full of light; but when thine eye is evil, thy body is also full of darkness. Take heed therefore that the light in thee be not darkness.'

Rev. 4:5 and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God

Exo 25:31-40 And thou shalt make a candlestick *of* pure gold: *of* beaten work shall the candlestick be made: his shaft, and his branches, his bowls, his knops, and his flowers, shall be of the same. 32 And six branches shall come out of the sides of it; three branches of the candlestick out of the one side, and three branches of the candlestick out of the other side: 33 Three bowls made like unto almonds, *with* a knop and a flower in one branch; and three bowls made like almonds in the other branch, *with* a knop and a flower: so in the six branches that come out of the candlestick. 34 And in the candlestick *shall be* four bowls made like unto almonds, *with* their knops and their flowers. 35 And *there shall be* a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same, according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick. 36 Their knops and their branches shall be of the same: all it *shall be* one beaten work *of* pure gold. 37 And thou shalt make the seven lamps thereof: and they shall light the lamps thereof, that they may give light over against it. 38 And the tongs thereof, and the censers thereof, *shall be of* pure gold. 39 *Of* a talent of pure gold shall he make it, with all these vessels. 40 And look that thou make *them* after their pattern, which was showed thee in the mount.

Deu 21:22-23 And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree: 23 His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged *is* accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the LORD thy God giveth thee *for* an inheritance

Num 17:8,10 And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witness; and, behold, the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi was budded, and brought forth buds, and bloomed blossoms, and yielded almonds.
And the LORD said unto Moses, Bring Aaron's rod again before the testimony, to be kept for a token against the rebels; and thou shalt quite take away their murmurings from me, that they die not.

Rev 22:13 I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

Joh 1:2 The same was in the beginning with God.

Rev 13:8 And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

Rev 5:6 And I beheld, and, lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

Heb 9:12-15 Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption *for us.* 13 For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh: 14 How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God? 15 And for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions *that were* under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance.

Heb 9:21 Moreover he sprinkled with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry.

1Co 13:12 For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

Joh 15:12-13 This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you. 13 Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

Ps119:105 Thy word *is* a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.

APPENDIX C : INVENTORY OF SYMBOLS FROM CHAPTER 12 OF KESTING'S THESIS ON AFRIKAANS CHURCH BUILDING (Kesting, 1978)

Note: All these symbols were designed by Kesting himself and used in his various church designs.

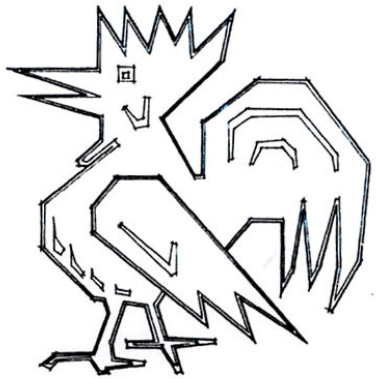


Fig 206a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Haan as simboolteken.

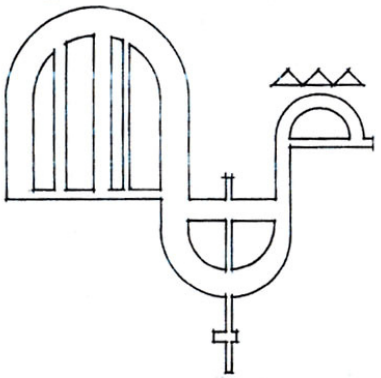


Fig 206b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Haan as simboolteken.

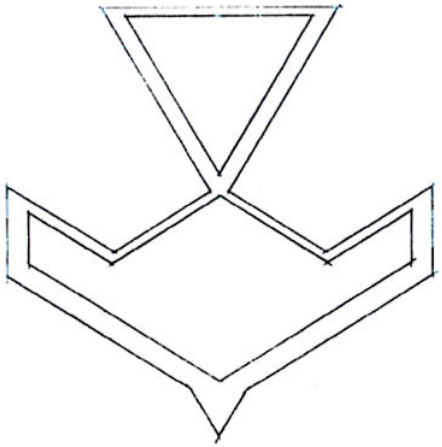


Fig 191a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die neerdalende Duif as simboolteken.

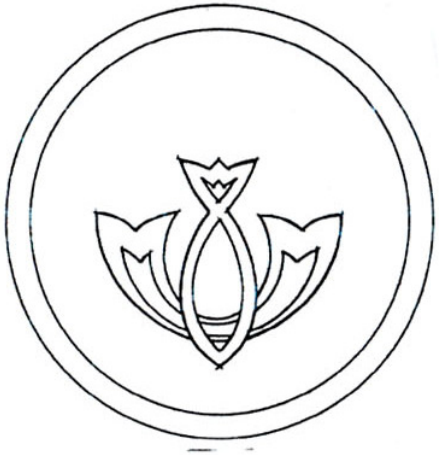


Fig 191b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die neerdalende Duif (in sirkel) as simboolteken.

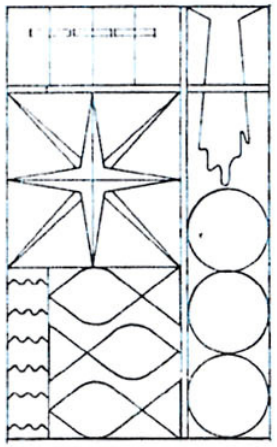


Fig 192a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Ster as simboolteken in 'n staalhekontwerp.

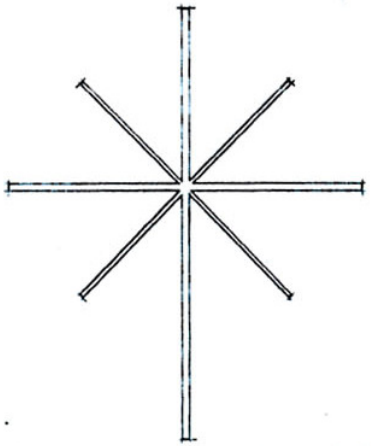


Fig 192b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Ster as simboolteken.

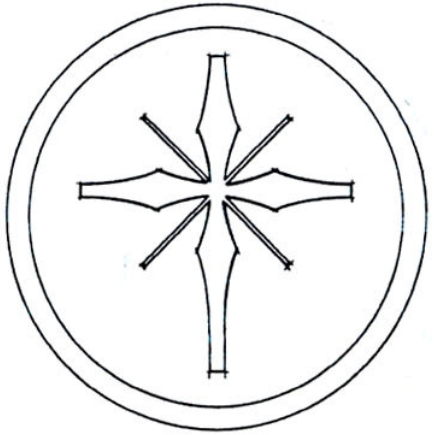


Fig 192c 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Ster as simboolteken (in 'n sirkel).



Fig 193a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Weegskaal as simboolteken (aan kruis).

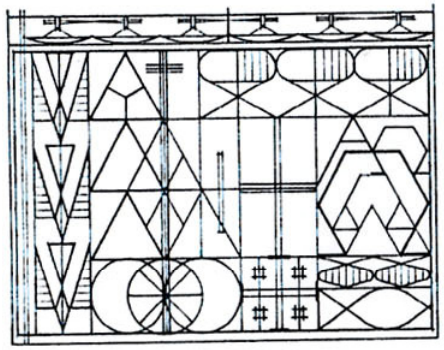


Fig 193b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Weegskale, bokant 'n staalingangshek, dus by die Poort, as simboolteken.

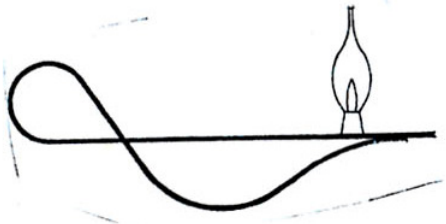


Fig 194 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Lamp as simboolteken.

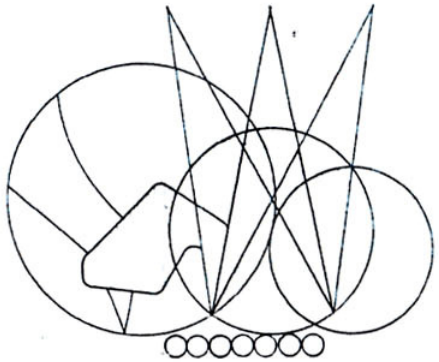


Fig 195a 'n Hedendaagse Afrkaans-Protestantse simboliese voorstelling van 'n faset van die die Saaier-gelykenis – die Saad wat die voëls oppik.

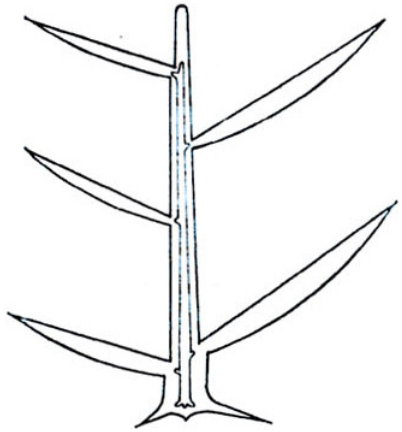


Fig 195b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse simboliese voorstelling van 'n faset van die Saaier-gelykenis – die dorings waarin die Saad gesaai is.

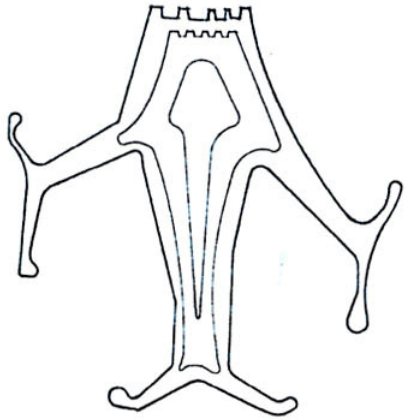


Fig 195c 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Prote tantse simboliese voorstelling van 'n fas van die Saaier-gelykenis – die wortels w verdroog het.

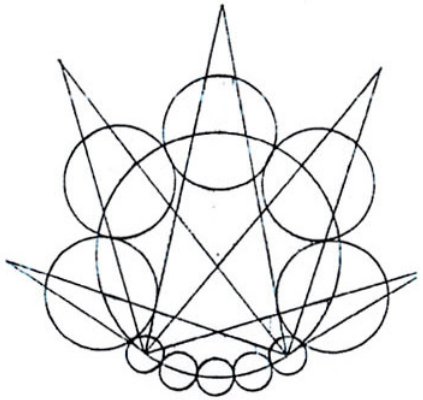


Fig 195d 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Prote tantse simboliese voorstelling van 'n fas van die Saaier-gelykenis – die Saad w goed gesaai was en vrug gedra het.

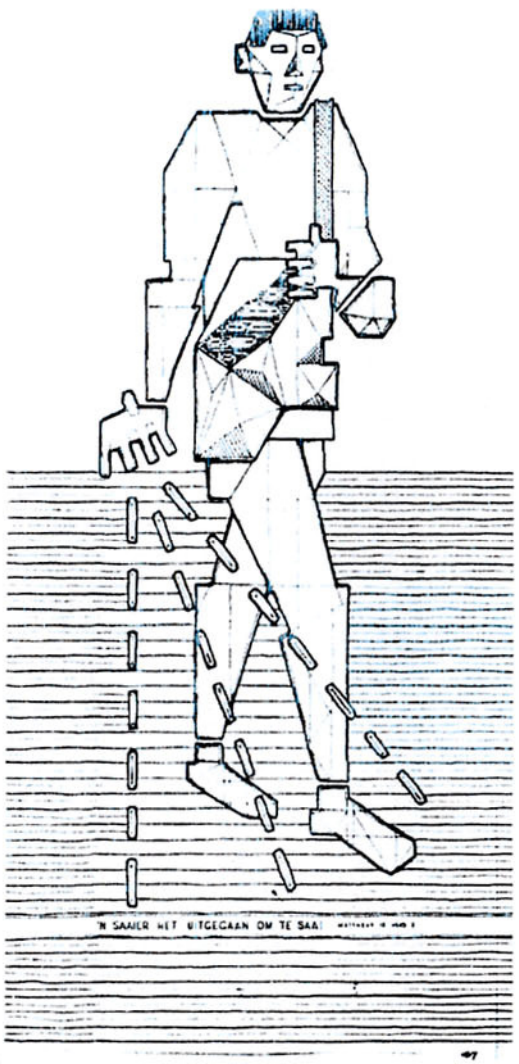


Fig 195e 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Saaier, as simbool.

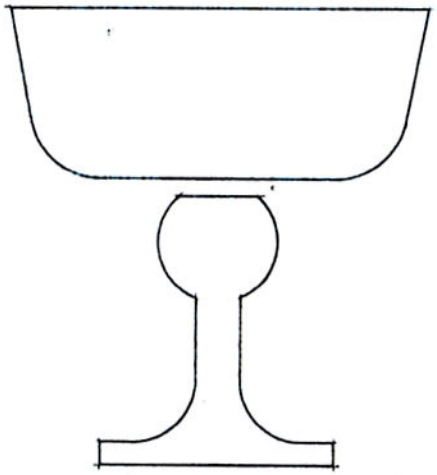


Fig 196a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Beker as simboolteken.

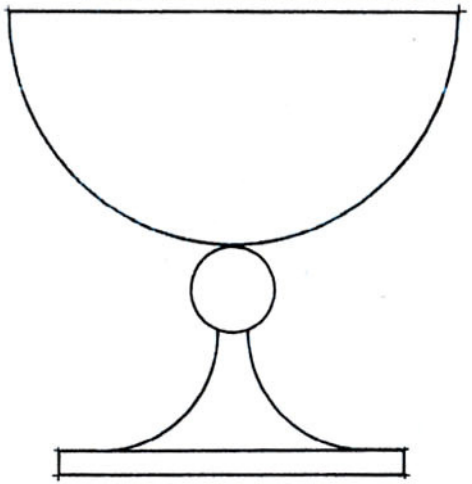


Fig 196b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Beker as simboolteken.

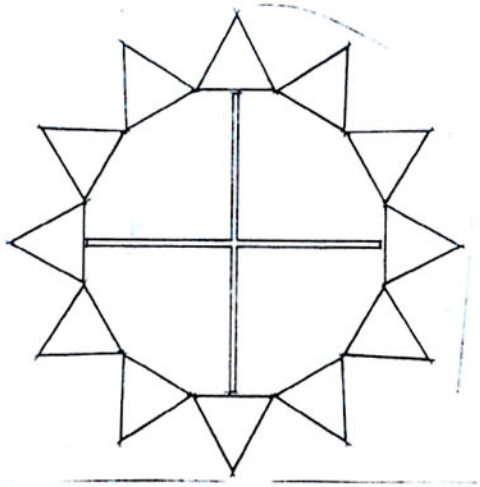


Fig 197a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Doringkroon as simboolteken.

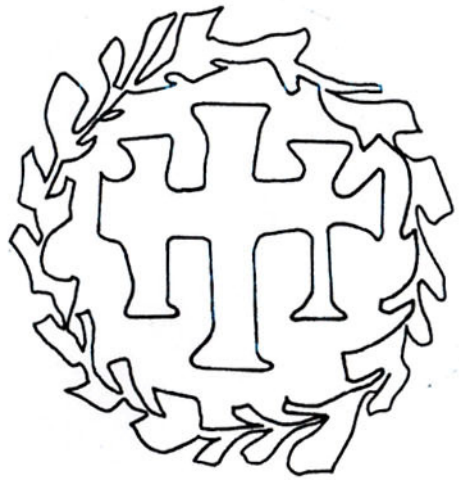


Fig 197b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Doringkroon as simboolteken.

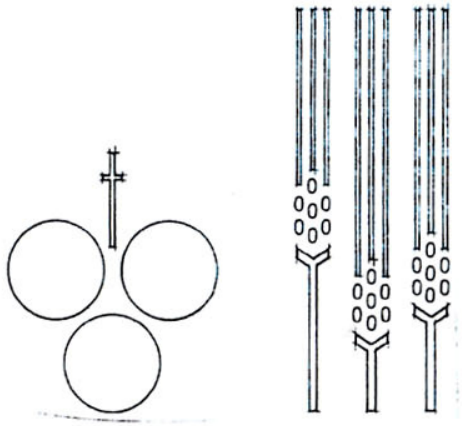


Fig 198a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Druif en Koringare as simboolteken van die Nagmaal.

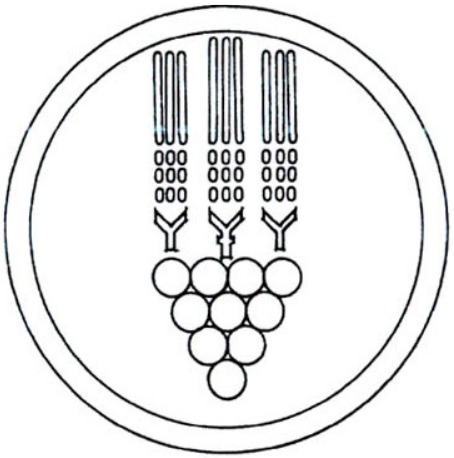


Fig 198b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Druif en Koringáre as simboolteken van die Nagmaal (in sirkel).



Fig 199a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van Water (met Vis) as simboolteken.

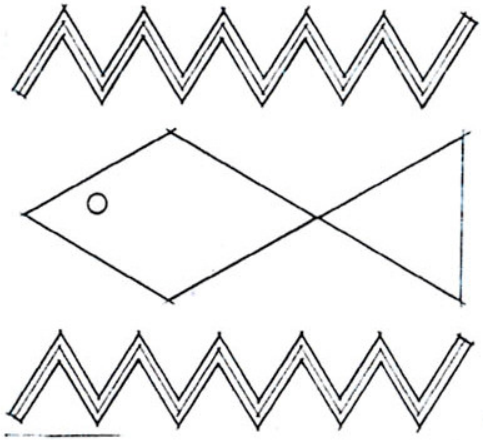


Fig 199b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van Water (met Vis) as simboolteken (in Sirkel)



Fig 200 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Slang (of as simboolteken.

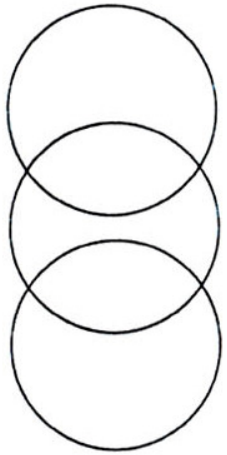


Fig 201a 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Sirkels (of sirkels) as simboolteken.

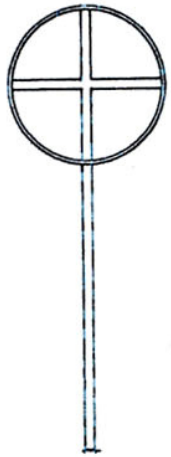


Fig 201b 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Sirkel (en Kruis) as simboolteken.

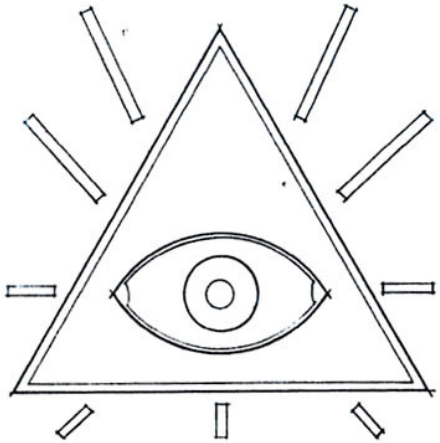


Fig 202 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Alsiende Oog (in driehoek) as simboolteken.

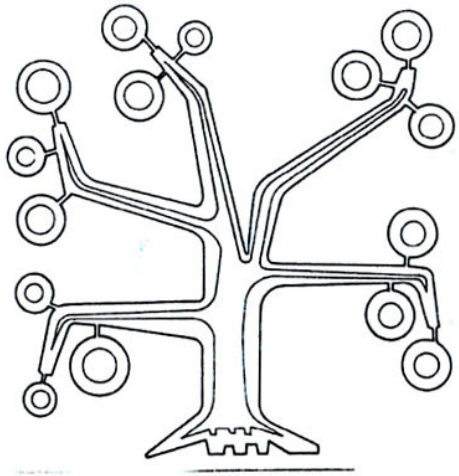


Fig 204 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Boom van die Lewe, as simboolteken.

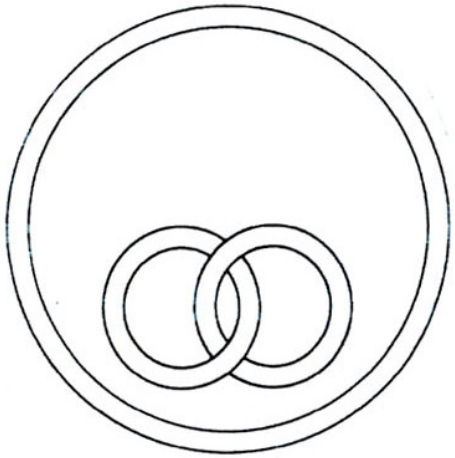


Fig 201c 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Sirkel (drie sirkels) as simboolteken.



Fig 203 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Brandende Braambos as simboolteken (in sirkel).



Fig 205 'n Hedendaagse Afrikaans-Protestantse voorstelling van die Tien Gebooie, as simboolteken (saam met drie sterre in 'n staalwerkontwerp).