SONG, DANCE AND WORSHIP IN THE ZIONIST CHRISTIAN CHURCHES: AN ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL STUDY OF AFRICAN MUSIC AND RELIGION

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation for the Degree of Master of Music at the University of Zululand hereby submitted, has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university. It is my own work and all material cited therein has been duly acknowledged.

S.E. PEWA

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DEDICATED TO MY BROTHER, MY TUTOR

AND MY MENTOR

ELLIOT SAGILA PEWA

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Statement of the problem to be investigated

The aim of this study is to investigate the relationship between music and worship in contemporary African society. Since there are various forms of activities that constitute the African society, the study will focus on the Zionists' Church music and worship from an ethnomusicological point of view.

According to Merriam (1982), there are misconceptions regarding African music in general. One of them is that African music is old and that it represents what Western music must have been like, ten thousand years ago.

Zionist Church music and dance are vulnerable to such misconceptions simply because the Zionists practice syncretic religion which is a fusion of Christianity and traditional African beliefs. Oosthuizen

(1968) says that the Zionist movement is neither Christian nor traditional, but a syncretism of both, and thus a new religion. Furthermore, Zionists churches have their unique tradition which is rooted in African traditional religion. In trying to search for African identity and culture, the Zionists as well as other African Christian churches, have begun to explore the resources of indigenous music and dance. The Africanisation of the western hymn by the Zionist Churches is one of the ways in which indigenization is practised. For example, the rhythm of the western hymn does not evoke dancing feelings. However, clapping and drumming in the African ways change the hymn into something worth dancing to.

Dancing and singing together is a symbol of unity and solidarity and that is how the Zionists use dancing to fight the evil. Larlham (1985) supports this view when he looks at the functions of dance in the African society of which the Zionists are part. He says that dance and song play a major role when group solidarity and harmony are most necessary. From the Zionists point of view, if a song is not danced to, it creates a feeling of emptiness which does not lead to the envisaged

climax. The climax is the point where some worshippers begin to speak in tongues which is the attainment of the Holy Spirit called <u>umoya</u>.

The arrival of the spirits means that the one who is possessed can start with the healing ritual. It is at this point where an outsider, that is, the westerner, can view Zionist worship as chaos, (interview, 21 December 1996). Therefore misconceptions about African music and related African religious practices are inevitable if the researcher is not part of the culture under scrutiny.

Therefore in order to avoid misconceptions, an investigator must not think of music in terms of sound only. The are underlying ideas which determine sound behavioural patterns. For this reason, Merriam's model of music as sound, behaviour and concepts would be ideal in studying Zionists music, dance and worship.

Music is a product of man and has structure, but its structure cannot have an existence of its own divorced from the behaviour which produces it. ...we must also understand how and why a music structure exists as it does ... how and why the concepts which underlie that

behaviour are ordered in such a way as to produce the particularly desired form of organised sound. [Merriam: 1964]

It is worthwhile to understand the social as well as the cultural backgrounds of those people who produce sound in the form of music. Chernoff [1979:36] describes African music culture as a dynamic style with which people organise and orient themselves to act through various mediators-institutions such as language, production, marriage, folklore, religion and art. This is how the Zionists Churches organise themselves.

Besides the distorted ideas about African Music and religion in particular, the teachings of the first missionaries were also influential towards the evangelization of the Africans. These teachings were coupled with propaganda. Etherington (1989) asserts that missionaries came from many lands and many faiths. Thus their strategies of conversion were almost as numerous as their denominations. He further says that the first Anglican Bishop tried to convince people by telling them that many of their cherished customs and beliefs already

African people so that they could be converted and become amakholwa. Therefore, the African converts were separated from the non-Christian communities, [Coplan,1985]. The missionaries could not appreciate African Music and dance because their mission was to eradicate music which they thought was associated with pagandancing, beer-drinking and ritual.

Drumming was strictly prohibited in church services because it was associated with ancestor worship. For this reason the drum was not the heard in most churches, only the harmonium accompanying carefully translated European hymns sung to the tunes of the west [Hastings, 1976:48]. The missionaries could not understand that drumming cannot be divorced from music and dancing in traditional African communities. Hastings maintains that many missionaries were extremely ignorant of the society they had come to evangelise and thus they were not prepared to understand them.

The missionary influences did not only affect African music but also

other aspects of human behaviour. A person who accepted Christianity as a religion was also expected to accept certain patterns of behaviour, both in speech and in action, [Vilakazi, 1965]. Such behavioural patterns included the manner of walking, the manner of dressing and the freedom of association, just to mention a few. It was for this reason that intermarriage between Christian and non-Christians was not allowed, let alone polygamy.

It was the duty of the church too to prescribe the behaviour patterns of the spouses who married by Christian rites. They were expected to bring their children to the church so as to baptised. The parents were also expected to teach their children to pray and practice the Christian hymns.

It should also be noted that the arrival of the missionaries was not only the religious venture but it also focused on commercial, social as well as political issues of the African continent. According to Chidester (1992:35), a Christian presence in southern Africa can be dated back to the explorations of the Portuguese navigator, Bartholomew Dias,

who in 1488 erected a limestone pillar in the Eastern Cape. However, we shall look at a new era of Christian missions which started with the arrival of missionaries representing the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) in 1799. The truth of the matter is that the first (L.M.S.) missionary, J.T. van der Kemp wrote back to London head offices to report that the Xhosa-speaking people he had met and stayed with, had no idea about the existence of God as perceived by Europeans. (Chidester, 1992). Van der Kemp's attitude towards the Xhosaspeaking people of that time is challengeable in view of the fact that the Xhosas had an idea of God whom they referred to as uTixo. In the Xhosa version of the Bible the name uTixo is taken as the equivalent of God. The word "uTixo" is probably the modification of the Khoikhoi word "Tuiqoa", (Smith, 1950). Van der Kemp met both the Xhosas and the Khoikhoi in the mission station he established at Bethelsdorp which was later known as Port Elizabeth.

As it has been mentioned earlier on, misconceptions about people's faith are inevitable because European Christians perceive God in a different way from their contemporary African Christians, especially

the eastern tribes known collectively as <u>Nguni</u>. This is why it is important to take care of bias when investigating music and worship of the Zionists Churches. Its syncretic nature can be misinterpreted if prejudices and general assumptions are not taken care of.

Something interesting about the evangelization of South African converts is that on one hand there are some converts who abstained completely from African traditional beliefs, religion and practices in favour of Christian faith. On the other hand there are some converts who accepted Christian faith but retained and adhered to their African traditional beliefs and customs. The Zionists Churches fall under the latter category.

The Reverend Tiyo Soga was the first black South African to be ordained as a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland under the Glasgow Missionary Society (G.M.S.). As a product of the (G.M.S.) he composed hymns using Scottish church melodies, (Coplan, 1985). However, as an African who had good understanding of African identity and African self-image, he collected Xhosa legends,

praise songs and customs. These were recorded for future generations. Zionists music, dance and worship are no exception to this phenomenon because they are trying to restore African traditional beliefs and practices. Some of these practices are on the verge of extinct because they have been replaced by foreign practices. The manner in which the ancestors are addressed and invited in a formal traditional way is gradually disappearing in some of the African societies.

Zionists form of worship is not practised for the sake of practising it.

The underlying ideas behind Zionism in relation to African religion enjoy the support of the Christian Bible. Kiernan, in Prozesky (1990) is of the idea that, African religion is not isolated, but rests not only on African precedent but also enjoy biblical legitimation. He confirms this thus:

The invocation of the Holy Spirit, the causing of affliction by malicious (demonic) spirits, dependence on prophetic interpretation and speaking in tongues, the performance of sacrifice and the therapeutic use of water are all grounded in Christian scripture. Zionists churches appeal to the masses who are not the products of the mission stations. These people rely on divine help and support to develop themselves physically, socially, economically and spiritually. Healing procedures are based on the biblical text.

1.1.2 Definition of the topic

* Song

According to the then Grove (1980), Dictionary of Music and Musicians, a song is defined as "a piece of music for voice or voices, whether accompanied or unaccompanied, or the act or art of singing".

Songs may be either religious or secular and this study focuses mainly on the religious types of songs.

* Dance

A dance is an expression of one's feelings through body movements if music is played or sung. Dance can also be performed in religious and

secular contexts.

According to Kurath as cited by Shelemay (1990) dance ethnology, which is science of dance, deals with a variety of Kinetic activities, many of them expressive, rhythmical and aesthetically pleasing.

In support of the religious context, Apel (1970) has this comment: "In prehistoric times as well as in many primitive cultures (Africa), dance was primarily ritualistic, often containing erotic symbolism and serving to invoke magic, propitiate gods, induce hypnosis and fear, or heal illness.

Apel's opinion concurs with the manner in which dancing is performed for invocation of spirits and for healing in the Zionists church services.

Worship

In the Westminster Dictionary of Christian Education, Cully (1946) has this to comment on about this word: The word "worship" is from

the Middle English worschipe, which in turn derives from the Anglo-Saxon weorthscipe (worthship). Thus when one worships God, he is declaring God's worth, our Lord's worthiness to be praised ..."

Although Cully's explanation is based on Western concept of God, it should be noted that The Zionists approach is syncretic in that they practice both Western and traditional forms of worship. The Zionists type of worship is usually characterised by more singing, drumming and dancing than preaching and praying.

Christian

In the Concise Dictionary of Christian Tradition, Douglas (1989) traces the origin of the word "christian" when saying that: "According to Acts 11:26, christian was a name given to the disciples of Jesus to distinguish them from Jews and other religious people ..."

Even today the word is still used although it emphasises a distinction between the followers of Christ and atheists. Believers in both Christ and the existence of God are collectively referred to as Christians.

Church

Deist (1984) briefly defines the church as "The totality of Christian believers, a local congregation, a building used for worship, a public worship."

Bourdillon's definition of the word "church" slightly differs from Deist's definition. According to Bourdillon (1991), church is defined as an established institution with formal organisation, with a hierarchy of formal leaders. Therefore the emphasis is not put on the building per se, but on the organisation of people who worship together irrespective of the nature of the place in which they meet for this purpose.

[‡] Zionist

Chidester (1992:138) has this comment on Zionists: "Although many commentators have tried to explain Zionist religious practice as a syncretism of Christian and pagan religion, these churches actually provided a religious option that was distinct from the practices of either the mission church or ancestral religion."

In actual fact, the Zionists are members of a religious movement that practices both christian and traditional African religions. African religion involves traditional ancestral beliefs, customs and ritualism.

Contrary to their contemporary christian mission churches, the Zionists' fundamental faith is exercised through water immersion, spiritual trance, attainment of the Holy Spirit (UMoya), prophecy, divine healing and speaking in tongues.

Township

In Grolier Academic Encyclopedia (1987) this word is defined from a geographical point of view like this:

"A township in the United States was distinguished from a town, which is mainly a population centre - is a geographical and political division of a county ..." Townships can choose their own officers and committees - frequently ... There is often a local police force, fire protection ... and mayor"

In relation to the townships of the United States of America, a

area which is occupied by low-income groups and who are civically administered separately from the adjacent town or city. These people usually rely on the city or town for work and general household and personal needs. Esikhawini township falls under this category.

Music

Slonimsky (1989) defines music as "A meaningful succession of perceptible sounds in temporal motion. The sounds may be single sonorous units (as in melody) or simultaneous combinations of several such units (as in harmony and counterpoint)."

Slonimsky's definition is rather incomplete because he defines music as mere sound only. The process of music cannot be fully understood if the culture of the people who produce music is not understood. Culture involves language, concepts, underlying theoretical issues and to a certain extent, behaviour. In his comment based on music and culture, Nettl (1983:9) maintains that music must be understood as a part of culture and as a product of human society.

If music is a product of human society, then human music must be understood in the context of human culture. Therefore, in order to understand music of the Zionists, its worthwhile to have a good understanding of the background from which the Zionists come.

<u>Ethnomusicology</u>

Owing to its complexity and structure, it is not easy to define the term "ethnomusicology" without reviewing various definitions of the term by various scholars of the past.

Apel (1970) defines it as "A term coined by J. Kunst to replace 'comparative musicology' " (G. Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft) ..."

Comparative musicology was proposed by Guido Adler in 1885.

Kunst simply put a prefix "ethno" to the word "musicology" to indicate that this study is not comparative in nature but embraces all musics of the world, in relation to respective cultures. Kunst focused on all races of the world.

Merriam (1964:7) defined ethnomusicology as the study of music in culture.

Merriam's definition implies that there is music in every culture and it has a major role to play. It means that the basic ideas that constitute a particular culture can be revealed in the process of music making. In the context of this thesis, the cultural background of the Zionists can be found in their music.

List (1969) defined ethnomusicology "as the study of traditional music, i.e. music that is transmitted orally, not by writing, and which is always in flux".

List's approach is acceptable in view of the fact that Western notation system is not the only medium of music transmission at the expense of traditional oral traditions.

African

This term refers to the inhabitants of Africa. The information from the World Book Encyclopedia (1992), confirms that most of them (African inhabitants) live south of the Sahara Desert and that most of the Northern African people are Arabs. Blacks are probably the original inhabitants of the African continent.

Hence this thesis is confined to black Zionists found on the southern parts of the Sahara desert.

Religion

Bourdillon (1991:6) summarises his own views on religion as follows:

Firstly, religion involves beliefs. In some religions, developed in a literate tradition, these beliefs are systematically worked out ... Normally these beliefs involve gods, or High God, and spirits. These are the powers which are believed to be influential in the material world ... People try to communicate with these powers, although they lie outside the realm of living human society ...

From Bourdillon's point of view it is evident that religion is a concept which involves an individual or a group of people who are believing

in something or someone, especially the one who is greater than themselves.

The study of religion is not comparative in character because no religion is superior than the other. Further than that it should be noted that religion does not exist in theory only, it is coupled with both ideology and symbolism.

Whilst the Zionists believe in both the High God and the ancestors, they symbolise their faith by making use of material things like water, incense, trees and to a certain extent animals. Oosthuizen (1989) pointed out that covering bodies in water, whether in a pool or sea, strengthens bonds between families and friends, brings power and good fortune in various endeavours, for example, keeping a job or being promoted in a job.

So, these material things form a strong tie between the living and supernatural powers.

1.2 Literature Review

The role of African music and traditional Zulu dance has been explored from the ethnomusicological point of view. However, the present literature on African independent churches in general, focuses more on the role of traditional religion rather than the actual music-making and dance in church services and related gatherings.

Although African independent churches have been studied from within the disciplines of religion and anthropology, it is worthwhile to mention the pioneers who made it more easier to understand their formation in South Africa.

Sundkler (1961) distinguishes between two categories, that is, Ethiopian and the Zionist churches. From Sundkler's contribution it becomes easier to distinguish between the messianic or millenial group and those who practice water immersion and divine healing. This thesis concentrates on the latter group which is heavily influenced by western models of Christianity and traditional Zulu religion. This fusion has resulted into syncretic religion which is neither Christian nor

traditional, Oosthuizen (1968)

When comparing the Zionist and Isonto lamaNazaretha (Shembe), Vilakazi (1986) noticed that, for christianity to be meaningful to the people concerned, it must be preached in the African idiom and it must be indigenized. In other words christianity can be foreign if it is divorced from African forms of worship and expression.

The formation of independent churches in South Africa is also explained explicitly by Chidester (1991). According to him, tribal, ethnic and racial factors contributed more on secession than religious ones. These factors caused black Christians to form their own independent churches. Chidester divides independent churches into the following categories. These are Ethiopians, Millenarians, Nazarites, Zionists and urban Zionists. The Nazarites and the Zionists, that is, Shembe or Isonto lamaNazaretha and ZCC respectively, have something in common. They have annual pilgrimage programmes during which they visit their respective holy places for prayer, worship and other related activities.

Apart from political reasons, it would seem as if the churches which Sundkler calls Zionists, were actually inspired by Zion Church in Illinois, which practised healing and water immersion, Parrinder (1969). Chidester has also remarked on the same sources of inspiration.

Since Zionists music show elements of African traits, it is also subject to Merriam's views on African music in general. The sacred nature of Zionist music does not make it different from African secular music systems. Merriam (1982) lists some misconceptions attributed to African music, some of which have a closer link with Zionist music. One of them is that African music is expressed in terms of drums and drumming. Drumming has a social and religious function. That cannot be easily appreciated by a foreigner to the culture, especially Western cultural groups.

According to Oosthuizen, Zionist drumming is supported by a biblical text as it is written in Psalm 149:3 and Ephesians 5:19. It should be remembered that drumming in music making was discouraged by early

missionaries, Hastings (1976).

The formation of Zionist churches in South Africa also coincides with the early developments of fieldwork in Ethnomusicology as an academic discipline in Germany and America. As it is also linked with extensive fieldwork, Zionist music should be studied under ethnomusicological principles. One of the principles is that music is a product of man, thus it should focus on man's behaviour, Merriam (1964). Merriam also says that conceptual behaviour and cultural behaviour must be translated into physical behaviour in order to produce sound. That is actually happening in Zionist church services.

Merriam's views on the effects of cultural behaviour are in line with Hasting's related comments on the same issue. Nothing that belongs to the regular pattern of life of an individual or a group is excludable, Hastings (1976). This means that man carries his cultural behavioural patterns and exercise them wherever he or she finds himself or herself.

The importance of culture is portrayed by the manner in which Zionists

worship the ancestors. The idea of worshipping the deceased emanates from the belief in traditional religion. The ancestral spirits known as amadlozi, amakhosi or amathongo are of fundamental significance for the Zulu, Lawson (1985). The ancestors form a link between the living and uMvelinqangi. According to Lawson, there are two places that are associated with ritual procedures in the Zulu homestead, that is, the cattle kraal and umsamo. Krige (1950) acknowledges the importance of the kraal when saying that the temple of the Zulu people is isibaya and that the meat is placed on the umsamo after slaughtering an animal for sacrifice. Umsamo is therefore treated with great care in Zionist churches because it is the place where at times ritual objects are kept.

In traditional religion, dreaming is one of several ways in which the spirits reveal themselves or their needs to men, (Krige:ibid). It may happen that a person who is troubled by dreams, consults with a Zionist healer. Many dreams are interpreted in opposites, Parrinder (1954). It may happen that a dream of death may signify joy, whereas a dream of a wedding may signify a bad lück or taboo.

Symbolism plays a major role in African religion in general and in Zionist churches. A man carries an <u>isikhali</u> whenever he leaves his homestead. An isikhali can be <u>isagila</u> or <u>induku</u>. The staves that are carried by Zionists are not meant for fighting but they protect them against evil, Kiernan (1979). Some staves are cut from <u>umhlanga</u> reed and the reed symbolises the idea that man emerged from the bed of reed. According to Callaway (1970) umhlanga is more correctly rendered as "a bed of reeds", i.e. a bundle or collectively rather than a single reed. The bundle of reeds symbolises unity.

The bundle is tied together using a piece of cloth with symbolic colours. These colours can be either green, blue or yellow.

Shoes are taken off at the Zionist places of worship on the basis of Exodus 3:5, Oosthuizen (1979).

In Zionists church music making gets a lion's share compared to preaching and praying. Music is regarded as a very strong communicative medium. It is not surprising because music plays a

very important role in the daily life of an African, Weman (1960). This degree of importance is also supported by Nketia (1982) when he asserts that in traditional African societies, music making is generally organised as a social event. In other words, music has that binding force which unites people. This is one of the factors that makes Zionists singing to be unique compared to other contemporary denominations. They rely more on singing, clapping and dancing. Fast dancing is so important because it facilitates the state of trance and the act of speaking in tongues, Oosthuizen (1979).

The hymn is not rendered in baroque musical style but it is indigenised so that it conforms to African form of worship. In Southern Africa, the baroque hymn per se, is perpetuated by the notion that it represents proper Christian singing, Mthethwa (1986). In baroque style the top voice, that is soprano, carries the melody or tune. This is not always the case with Zionist Church music. A hymn can be transformed into an <u>ihubo</u> song in terms of tempo, rhythm, texture and harmony. This transformation portrays a Zionist sound structure.

1.3 <u>Methodology used in this study</u>

1.3.1 The Research Method

Since this thesis is approached from the ethnomusicological point of view, the present researcher has concentrated mainly on fieldwork as a research method. Fieldwork has been divided into four phases, that is observation, active participation, interviewing and recording.

The current literature on ethnomusicology emphasises the importance of fieldwork in order to avoid prejudices and bias in ethnomusicological research. Merriam as cited by Nettl (1964) puts it that in order to work effectively, the ethnomusicologist must collect raw material and observe it in its "live" state. Merriam further puts it that time for the so-called "armchair" researchers of the past has elapsed. These researchers used to analyse the data that has been collected by other people. Understanding music of the people depends much on the understanding of their culture.

The present researcher enjoyed the advantage of being the language speaker in the field of investigation. This is what Nettl (1964) refer to

as first-hand experience. The first-hand experience enables the researcher to relate his findings to his experiences without difficulty. The foreign language speaker needs frequent contact with another musical culture to become bi-musical (Hood, as cited by Nettl (1964). Understanding the syntax of the language of the people whose culture one investigates is not the end in itself. One should add that a great advantage lies in the understanding of speech mannerisms, figurative and literal meanings, codifications, as well as the dynamics of the language, Xulu (1992)

In Zionists church services in particular the service as a whole is characterised by stylised speech, dancing and singing which is not peculiar to the first language speaker. The syncretic character of the service show some elements of a traditional African ritual.

In response to issues of symbols, song and dance in religion, Bloch [1974:56] has this to say:

Ritual is an occasion where syntactic and other linguistic freedoms are reduced because ritual makes special uses of language: characteristically stylised speech and singing ...

Being an insider of the culture under study means that the researcher must be able to understand both material and non-material culture aspects of the informants. For example, the symbolic function of isikhali (stick or staff) may not be fully understood if perceived from the church point of view, divorcing it from the traditional Zulu religious point of view.

Therefore the idea of adopting fieldwork as a research method facilitates a holistic approach to music. A holistic approach refers to the study of music as part of culture, (Nettl, 1983)

1.3.2 The Research Technique

The research technique used in this thesis included church visits, audio-visual recordings, questioning informants, informal conversations with church leaders and in-depth-interviews with some members of the church.

Church visits were done in three churches in order to get an overall view of Zionists church services from neighbouring churches.

The first thing to be done was to locate the residences of the church leaders so that the present researcher could present himself and his task to them. Agar (1980) says that a researcher must first present himself or herself in order to understand the history of the community, to locate the residences of the community and to gain the trust of the community by openness and frankness.

It was the present writer's decision together with respective church leaders to visit their churches once per appointment. The subsequent visits could be done without prior notification. Scholars of ethnography like Agar assert that when one is doing ethnography, the informants start wondering who you are and watch your behaviour although you have presented yourself.

Studying music and dance of the Zionists can be problematic at first encounter if certain social and psychological constraints are not taken care of.

It was observed by the present writer that some members of the church were not willing to participate freely. They regarded the researcher as a covert one, whose goal was probably to mock the Zionists by way of recording their music and replay it for gain or other unknown purposes. Some could not imagine themselves speaking to the foreigner whose academic experience was of relatively higher standard compared to that of the entire congregation. The general ideology that the Zionists form of worship is equated with primitive practices is prevalent even in the Zionists themselves.

There are some of the writer's assumptions but which are grounded on scholarly views with regard to ethnomusicological research assessments. In the article, "Towards a re-assessment of the ethnomusicologist's role in research." by K.A. Gourlay, the issue of social constraints is mentioned, although the focus is on researchers per se. The present writer's assumption is that the phenomenon of constraints should not be seen as a barrier against researchers only, but

must embrace both the researchers and their informants. The informants are human beings too, hence they are also susceptible to universal constraints such as ideology and mode of behaviour.

The in-depth-interviews can only be successful if the researcher knows how to probe the information without raising suspicions in his or her informants. Xulu (1992) remarks that the success of a research project depends very much on the researcher's adaptability, alertness, as well as ability to extract necessary information without disturbing the course of events. The course of events can be disturbed if normal conversation is coupled with the so-called academic seriousness. The present researcher has discovered that speaking or communicating in the informants' language and in its simplest form, is the best tool in research.

It was noted that the worshippers were excited when the present researcher joined in dancing as part of active participation. This phenomena created a lively atmosphere in the church and it made them feel that their traditional Zulu values were recognised by the people

whom they (Zionists) call <u>izifundiswa</u> (the learned ones). This is the way of gaining the confidence of the informants, especially in the project of this nature. As a result it becomes fairly quicker to be accepted by the worshippers and enjoy the inside status.

Understanding human behaviour is one of the ways that can facilitate mutual understanding between the researcher and the informants.

Commenting on this, James Spradley [1980:54] says:

The participant observer comes to a social situation with two purposes: 1. to engage in activities appropriate to the situation; and 2. to observe the activities, people and physical aspects of the situation.

Participant observation is advantageous in that it calls for social interaction between the observer and those whose activities are being studied in their social environment. The researcher can therefore conclude and construct his findings of social situations he has encountered from various versions of events. For example, the present researcher discovered that the drum is not frequently used for dancing in one of the churches he visited. This will be discussed in more details in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

1.3.3 The Phenomenological Method

The phenomenologist's approach is to understand how people behave in the world in which they find themselves. It is objective in nature because it is the people themselves who have a task of defining their own world. The significance of this approach is summed up in (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984) when they say:

The phenomenologist views human behaviour what people say and do, as a product of how people define their world. The task of the phenomenologist ... is to capture this process of interpretation ... the phenomenologist attempts to see things from other people's point of view.

This method was used in this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, it was used to enable the people to voice out their views pertaining to life and traditional Zulu practices before the missionaries arrived in South Africa. Secondly, it enabled them to discuss certain major elements they deem compatible between African traditional religion and the syncretic religion they practice.

It was amazing to learn that people do not want to involve themselves in full christianity at the expense of their African heritage. African heritage includes the concept of God as perceived by the Zulu people and the allegiance they pay to their ancestors. It also came out of our discussion that culture cannot be divorced from the process of music-making.

Therefore the phenomenological method can only be successful if the interviewees relate their experiences, speak out their ideas and motives in a relaxed milieu.

1.4 Scope and delimitations of this study

In order to get a comprehensive picture of Zionist's religious activities, the present writer decided to do fieldwork in three Zionist churches in Esikhawini Township. These are, The First Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa, Ukuphumula KweKorinte in Zion Church of South Africa and the Bethlehem Canaan Church in Holy Spirit.

These three churches were chosen because they represent a section of African Independent Churches.

According to Chidester (1992), independent African churches emerged at the turn of the twentieth century. These churches provided scope for black leadership. This provision marked the initial succession from the white controlled mission churches.

It is worthwhile to state that all these churches mentioned above, have many things in common and these similarities make it possible to classify them under the same category. Their ritual practices for instance, include ancestor worship, divine healing, water purification, act of speaking in tongues and prophecy. Further than that the coalescence of the traditional African and Christian religions facilitates their relevance to this study.

The present writer had the privilege of having personal contact with the leader of Ukuphumula kwe Korinte in Zion Church of South Africa, Mr Thokozani Shwala. Mr Shwala is a next-door neighbour of the writer. In one of the normal daily conversations, Thokozani said its explicitly that he had formed his own Zionist Church after having been a bonafide member of the Lutheran Church since childhood. This was an interesting experience on the part of the writer because such news coincided with his (writer's) project in progress.

Over and above that, most of the respective church members are residents of Esikhawini Township and neighbouring rural area called uMkhobosa. This close proximity of residential areas made it possible for the researcher to contact the informants in their natural environment whenever necessary.

This study will also focus on some aspects of Zulu culture which have been retained by the Zionists whilst following the Christian faith. These aspects include traditional beliefs and customs. For example, the traditional Zulu males carry sticks for fighting and protection against sudden attacks by strangers and perhaps wild animals. On the other hand Zionists carry sticks within the church context to combat evil. However, since this study is approached from the ethnomusicological perspective, many issues will be discussed in relation to music and culture.

We will also look at the mission stations' religious impact that has affected traditional Zulu life and value systems tremendously. This impact has caused the people to struggle for re-adaptation in changing situation after having re-discovered their authentic identity. The Baroque hymn that was introduced by early missionaries as the relevant song repertoire is one of the issues to be discussed in Chapter 3.

Although the study focuses on Zionist churches as such, the elements

of comparison between Zionist churches and their contemporary mission station churches are inevitable. Issues pertaining to these parallel religious systems can portray the image of the Supreme Being as perceived by different people from different denominations.

Finally, the study will also speculate the future of independent African churches in general especially in the province of Kwa Zulu Natal. This is where the majority of Zulu-speaking Zionists reside.

1.5 Emergence and historical developments of Zionist Christian

Churches

The history of the independent Christian churches can be traced back from the early twentieth century. This is the time during which black ministers sought to create churches that would be run and controlled by black ministry. The main objective was to move away from the white controlled mission churches because of religious, economic, political and social problems.

In discussing independent churches in general, there is sometimes a problem of terminology. According to Norman Etherington (1979), a good deal of work on Independent Churches was done by Bengt Sundkler when he made a distinction between "Ethiopian" and "Zionist" churches. Although they seceded for religious reasons, the first group of independent churches retained the doctrines and religious system of the missions.

One of the reasons for secession was that the mission churches were

reluctant to ordain black ministers although they qualified according to required standards. This was one of the signs of racial segregation, and it marked the beginning of African nationalism. Having been introduced to the Christian faith, the newly organised churches related their experiences to the biblical text which reads thus: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God". This is why they were called Ethiopian churches.

As Chidester (1992) puts it, Ethiopianism threatened white political domination in South Africa because they (Ethiopians) had some connections with American religious movements. The religious beliefs and practices of these American movements had a great influence on black leadership to the extent that they emerged to form independent Zionist and Apostolic churches.

Americans brought their representatives to South Africa in order to carry their mission. The representatives were faith healers who attracted quite a considerable number of African people. This marked the beginning of the American Independent Movement known as the

Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. This was founded by the American faith healer, John Alexander Dowie in 1896 (Chidester: Ibid)

Dowie's work developed rapidly after he had acquired a piece of land on Lake Michigan in Canada. This is where he established a Zion City. This city was declared a sacred place of religious healing. Some of the daily activities included regular prayers and healing services. Members of the movement were prohibited from smoking, drinking and pork eating. These are some of the activities and practices that are common with most faith healing movements.

The present writer has a feeling that the American church movements that are found in black townships nowadays, are probably a product of Dowie's teachings. In fact they are mushrooming in towns and adjacent townships. The leading movement that has emerged during the 1990's is the Universal Church in the Kingdom of God. Its membership is increasing tremendously.

These movements do not have permanent venues but they are

accommodated in old town buildings. In townships in particular, they erect tents with loud speakers on top of the roof. These temporary structures are placed at strategic points where it could be easy to attract the public. Membership is drawn from local mission churches. Services are conducted mainly at night so as to cater for the working community.

When the present writer approached one informant on the issue of her sudden membership to this church, she simply answered with a big smile saying: "Ngingene, ngingene, uJesu uyedwa." (I have joined them, there is only one Jesus) That answer said it all.

What attracts people to these movements more than anything else, is the promise of salvation to whatever problems they have. Poverty, unemployment and sorcery are major problems. They live under conditions of uncertainty. They trust nobody in the neighbourhood and they feel as if prayers and sermons of their churches are taking too long.

The significance of uncertainty is recognised by Lawson when he assumes that:

Any Zulu can be a sorcerer. In other words, the role of the sorcerer is general; no one person or set of persons is always and consistently a sorcerer. The reason is that sorcery depends upon the situation; a special grievance has to rise for one Zulu to feel that the occasion is ripe for the expression of the grievance. [1984:23]

From Lawson's point of view, sorcery can emanate from mere jealousy. As a result, the victims of jealousy cannot predict it until it is inflicted on them. That is why people decide to go to diviners or faith healers, depending on the nature of religion they rely on.

1.5.1 The Ethiopians

According to Sundkler (1961), the Ethiopians is the group of people who were the pioneers in secession from mission churches but continued with church organisational structures such as schools and other related organisations. They were totally against the administration.

Nehemia Tile, the black Wesleyan Methodist minister of the Eastern

Cape, broke away with his people to form an independent church. Initially this was called the Thembu Church. Something remarkable about Tile's secession is that his actions were grounded on political reasons more than religious ones. The fact that it was associated with a specific ethnic group, made it distinct from later churches.

One of the first Ethiopian churches to be formed in Natal was <u>Umzondelelo</u>. This was founded by Edendale Methodists, (Chidester, 1992). They were also following their own policies rather than those of the missionaries. According to Etherington (1970) one of <u>Umzondelelo</u>'s policy was to fight against witchcraft and superstition.

In the case of the present writer, it has been observed that the Pan-Africanist elements of the early Ethiopian churches played a major role in shaping the lives of the present so-called Ethiopians. They are multi-ethnic compared to most Zionist Churches in South Africa. In fact Zionist churches that emerged among the Nguni people remained firmly attached to the traditional religious system, (Etherington, ibid).

Authentic Ethiopian churches are more inclined to pure Christian

religion than traditional Africa religion.

1.5.2 The Church of the Nazarites and the Zion Christian Church

One of the prominent heterogenous Christian church to be founded in Natal is <u>Isonto lamaNazaretha</u> (the Church of the Nazarites). It was founded by Zulu prophet Isaiah Shembe in 1911. As Chidester (1992) puts it, the major objectives of this movement was to restore the culture of the Zulus after the destruction of the Zulu Kingdom. In spite of the Native Land Act of 1913, Shembe managed to acquire a piece of land for his followers.

Shembe's idea of adhering to Zulu socio-cultural thought patterns in his approach, attracted many Zulus. Since Shembe was regarded as a "black messiah" his church is committed to religious and secular matters of the people.

Like Dowie, Shembe built a sacred place for his followers at Ekuphakameni (High Place), which is not far from Durban.

type of church that depends more on <u>uMoya</u> (Holy Spirit) for healing and prophecy. In general, Zionist healing is practised in three different contexts, the worship service, special rituals of purification and private consultations with a prophet, (West, 1975)

From the Zionist's thought pattern, illness of any kind is attributed to evil agents like sorcery and demons. As a result uMoya is used as a weapon to fight such attacks. The invitation of uMoya to descend upon the people is done through vigorous dancing and drumming.

From the informants and observations of Zionist religious activities, the writer has discovered that <u>umoya</u> manifests its arrival to the prophet or the leader then to the older members of the church like the deacons and <u>abashumayeli</u> (preachers)

"Isonto lamaZayoni" is described as syncretic because apart from christian faith, their actions are coupled with traditional African religion. Their traditional beliefs are grounded mainly on the existence of the ancestors. Ancestors stand as mediators between the living and

the Supreme God. The tendency is to rely on, and communicate with the ancestors that are known to the members of that particular family.

One of the informants said that he finds it ridiculous that people tend to believe biblical stories but fail to believe people with whom they have once lived on earth. He went to the extent of saying: "Even you Pewa, you are proud of your surname because you are associated with the people of your clan whose history is known to you". (Interview January 5, 1997). In fact this informant was arguing the reasoning ability of the people who are non-believers in ancestral life.

The three churches that have been visited by the present writer have shown almost all these qualities that are typical of "Isonto lamaZayoni" in general.

Although they show many qualities in common, their many titles, which to outsiders appear fanciful, are important to the members who claim to have received them in revelations and <u>amaphupho</u> (dreams). (Parrinder, 1969)

Dreaming is one of the important aspects of African traditional religion, especially the Zulu people. Dreams are treated with great care because they are believed to be direct medium of communication between the living and the ancestors. A prophet is consulted in case where the dream cannot be interpreted by the person concerned. These are some of socio-religious ideas that distinguish "Isonto lamaZayoni" from Ethiopian and messianic churches. The prophet in this case, does not replace Christ to become the so-called "black Christ or black Messiah" but he leads his church through powers of uMoya which are bestowed upon him.

CHAPTER TWO

2. The meaning of Zulu Traditional Religion in the Zionist Church

Since this study is based on Zulu Zionist Churches in particular, we shall look at some Zulu traditional beliefs, customs and practices that form the basis of Zionists syncretic religion.

Before describing the aspects of traditional religion, it is of value to put some light on changes that can modify a tradition. This will make it easier to understand the essence of religion in general as it changes from time to time.

The meaning of the term "traditional" as often used in this study, can be misinterpreted if it refers to those traits that were handed down from the past, pure as they were having undergone no changes through the passage of time. Tradition, whether pure or diluted, forms the source from which an individual can assess the present state of affairs compared to those of the immediate and remote past. The changes that

are effected to continuity are usually caused by socio-cultural forces which are inevitable in human world.

In trying to explain these changes from the ethnomusicological perspective, David Coplan [1991:35] says:

As the material and social conditions under which traditional music genres or styles arose and crystallised change, so of course must this music and its meaning change for its creators.

Coplan's assertion concerning changes in music genres is true. For example, when church visits were done between 1995 and 1996, the present writer observed with great interest that certain genres of traditional Zulu dances were highly appreciated during church services. These were performed by experienced dancers as an extension of traditional religion within the church context. The underlying ideas showed that they danced for and with the ancestors in the same manner as they would do in a traditional social setting.

Something very interesting was that young boys and maidens with no practical experience in traditional Zulu dance, were improvising. Their

dancing would at times be replaced by <u>toyitoyi</u> rhythmic complexities. Nobody queried those modern innovations. As a result, it came to the writer's mind that those young worshippers were born during the <u>toyitoyi</u> era in South African political world. This is how those young people have experienced rhythmic patterns in the human world in which they grew up.

The church has now become a "social institution" where religious, secular and political practices can blend to allow for freedom of musical expression for young people. Such phenomenon results into responses such as modernization and westernization. However, such changes in tradition do not mean complete extinction of fundamental traits.

One of the prominent ethnomusicologists, Bruno Nettl, also acknowledges the forces of change in different societies. He says:.

In a world in which it is difficult to find any society not affected by others, change totally devoid of outside factors can hardly be imagined. [1985:24]

Sometimes societies themselves can hardly live in isolation, but they need others, without considering change as a threat to their established traditions. According to Mbiti (1969) one of the sources of change is the increasing process through education, urbanisation and industrialization by which individuals become detached from their traditional environment.

2.1 Elements of Zulu traditional life

Religion plays a major role in all the aspects of Zulu life, starting from birth until death. Religious beliefs are anchored on ancestors and the Supreme God. Material objects such as animals, vegetation and water are used extensively in traditional and Christian religious rituals because they are also products of creation like human beings. End-products from vegetation are also treated with great care in matters of ritual. These include ashes and smoke from the incense.

Therefore the description of religious beliefs of the Zionist Churches is totally incomplete if the interaction between ancestor worship and Christian worship is not mentioned.

According to Krige (1950) and Vilakazi (1965), a Zulu speaks of <u>Unkulunkulu</u> or <u>uMvelinqangi</u> as the maker and creator of all things, whether living or non-living. From the logical point of view, it stands to reason that somebody or something must have created Him too. This, however, is not the way in which a Zulu queries <u>uNkulunkulu</u>'s

origin. Instead of viewing issues of origin from the logical perspective, a Zulu would tell whoever is curious about Zulu traditional religion that uNkulunkulu or uMvelinqangi emerged from the bed of reed. It is believed that uMvelinqangi was the first one to emerge, followed by men, women, children and then animals. Hence He is often referred to as uHlanga (Zulu meaning for reed). Over and above that certain Zionists cut their izikhali from reed because of that traditional belief. The reed usually grow on river banks or right inside the river bed. Waters of the river are interpreted as a symbol of purity in Zionists Churches.

Oosthuizen (1979), has this comment on the importance of water as perceived by the Zionists. He says that water is the seed of things and universal mother. There is a strong belief that spiritual powers found in water are demonstrated by the movement of sea-waves and waterfalls.

The names <u>uNkulunkulu</u> and <u>uMvelinqangi</u> are closely linked to traditional religion whereas names such as <u>uMdali</u>, <u>uJehova</u> and

uMninimandla are linked to Christian religion. They all refer to one Supreme God but they slightly differ in the literal contexts in which they are used.

The Zulu's believe that there is life after death. The same belief is shared with certain Christians, the Zionists being one of those. They therefore believe that if a man dies, <u>umphefumulo</u> (soul) never dies but remain active. Vilakazi (1965), has another view point on this when saying that when the spirit leaves the body, it passes into the air until it is brought back home through <u>ukubuyisa</u> ritual.

<u>Ukubuyisa</u> ritual was done when a person, especially the head, had died far away from the homestead. His next-of-kin would carry his spirit by using a small branch of the tree called <u>umlahlankosi</u>. They would first introduce themselves to him in that spot where he died, using stylized speeches. The aim of bringing him home is that he must look after his lonely family, (Interview, October 1996).

Names such as amadlozi, amathongo, izinyanya and izithunzi are often

used interchangeably, meaning the ancestors. Names such as <u>abaphansi</u>, <u>abalele</u> and <u>abangasekho</u> mean the same thing as ancestors too. However, the latter is used euphemistically especially during ritual ceremonies and religious services.

Exorcism plays a major role in Zulu traditional beliefs and Zionists beliefs. There are some strange and undesirable sights that can urge people, especially males, to spit and shout "Hamba moya omubi" (Go you bad spirit). Vilakazi (1965) has mentioned the following things which he considers as taboo. These are, sight of a dead body, a menstruating woman, the sight of a naked woman, the exposed buttocks of an old woman, the sight of a woman who had just delivered and a sight of a person who has just had sexual intercourse. There is a belief that if these sights are not spat and shouted at there and then, they can cause <u>isinyama</u> or <u>isigewagewa</u>

In case of the Zionist churches, the vigorous cry of "Hamba moya omubi or hamba dimoni" can be shouted when the sick person is hit all

over the body during a healing ritual. It is the way of driving away the bad spirits and demons.

In some traditional Zulu homesteads, people still believe that sometimes an ancestral spirit can visit the family in the form of a snake. This special snake is called <u>invandezulu</u> or simply <u>invoka</u> <u>vamadlozi</u>, (Vilakazi 1965, ibid). The snake enters the hut and coils itself at the <u>umsamo</u>. The significance of <u>umsamo</u> will be discussed later in this chapter. Normally this snake is not interfered with because it is regarded as sacred and it rests in a sacred place.

When the present writer inquired about this phenomenon from an informant who happened to be an <u>isiyoni</u>, he also said that the snake is not killed when it enters the church peacefully and leaves on its own.

As it has been mentioned earlier on, such beliefs are gradually disappearing because of certain changes in tradition.

During the first visits to the Zionist Churches, the present writer used to be ushered when entering the church. Sitting arrangements are not determined by seniority, degree of importance, nature of the occasion and age. It is determined by sex. The males occupy the right hand side whereas the females occupy the left hand side of the room. You cannot just sit anywhere or next to your friend who happened to have come earlier then you. It is only the leaders who sit in front by virtue of the spiritual powers bestowed upon them.

When the writer showed interest in knowing about this sitting arrangement, the answer was clear. They said that even in a traditional Zulu hut, males sit on the right hand side whereas the females sit on the left hand side of the room. These places are called <u>isilili sabesilisa</u> and <u>isilili sabesifazane</u> respectively.

In addition to those sitting arrangements, in traditional Zulu household, the males usually sit on <u>izigqiki</u> whereas females sit on <u>amacansi</u>. The Zionists have adopted the same thing with an exception of <u>izigqiki</u> which have been replaced by <u>amabhentshi</u>. The prophet or the leader

is usually the only person who sits on a special chair.

From the kind of the material that is used by the Zionists, one can get the picture of the social background from which the majority of them come.

One of the interesting feature in the Zulu social settings, is the dominance of males upon the females. In traditional Zulu society the father is the head of the family. He is the one who perform the ritual and he is the one who possesses the powers of communicating with ancestors on behalf of his family. For example, when his daughter gets married, he is the one who informs the ancestors of the departure of the daughter. This is the sign of virility.

In the Zionist church, the prophet or leader possesses the spiritual powers that help him to lead his people. You cannot be a successful leader if you are not prominent in the community. At least you must have a reasonable number of cattle, you must own a shop or you must have an orchard, plantations and <u>isibava</u>. These will not necessarily

benefit your followers only, but even other people from the neighbouring denominations.

The Bethlehem Canaan Church in Zion Holy Spirit, for example, is built right inside the kraal of the president or <u>uMongameli</u>, the Reverend Zephania Ndaba. His wife, <u>uMama</u> uMaNtshangase, is a well known and successful <u>umthandazi</u> in the area. Therefore the members of the church have all the trust in that couple.

Oosthuizen has some comments on the use of symbolism as one of the factors that contribute towards prominence of church leaders. He puts it thus:

The prophet symbolises supernatural contact, revelation and vision and thus divine authority. Names of powerful people such as Moses, Joshua, Isaiah and John ... are important symbols and many leaders of the Afro-Christian religions have such names. [1979:5]

Oosthuizen's assumption is not completely true because some of the leaders get these names by mere coincidence whilst they are still young. Some of them get these names because they are born from

religious families. Nevertheless, it is true that these church leaders prefer to be called by these biblical names although they do have traditional names. Reverend Zephania Ndaba has been mentioned. The late Reverend Phillip Sibiya and the late Bishop John Ngubeni were members of The First Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa who were called by these biblical names.

Zionists ideas on matters of sacredness have also proved to be in line with traditional Zulu beliefs on the same matters. Places of sacrifice and places of keeping ritual objects must be holy. According to Krige (1950), the Zulu temple is <u>isibaya</u> and it is this holy place where cattle are killed for ritual sacrifices. Those parts of the animal which are reserved for the ancestors are placed on the <u>umsamo</u> of the hut. These parts include <u>umhlwehlwe</u> (adipose tissue) and certain parts of the offal.

At times small pieces of these parts are burnt together with <u>impepho</u>.

The smoke from <u>impepho</u> invokes the spirits who must take part in the occasion.

A small ukhamba with Zulu beer is usually placed next to the burning impepho so that the ancestors can also drink as they wish. This small and special ukhamba is ritually called umsamo because of symbolism attached to it.

The <u>umsamo</u> of the traditional Zulu hut is always out of limits and it is a special space not to be violated. (Lawson, 1984). This is the place where the ancestors are believed to be dwelling in.

Likewise, there are some Zionist Churches that have put aside such special spaces in their places of worship. This is the place where ritual objects such as candles, <u>izikhali</u> and <u>amacansi</u>, are kept.

In traditional Zulu societies and even in modern townships, the ritual of <u>ukuphalaza</u> seem to be the order of the day. People who want to cleanse their stomachs, usually drink lot of water to the amount of two to three litres, and vomit. Under normal circumstances drinkers vomit in order to overcome the effects of <u>ibhabhalazi</u> which is caused by hangovers. In cases where <u>idliso</u> is suspected to be the cause of

sickness, the herbalist prescribes special <u>umuthi</u> to be used as an enema for vomiting. Vomiting is usually done daily until the prescription is exhausted. If the diagnosis happens to be known by the public, people can become suspicious of <u>ubuthakathi</u> in the neighbourhood or in places of work.

Zionists do not prescribe <u>umuthi</u> for medication. People simply bring litres of water and this water is prayed for and blessed by the prophet during the healing service. Blessed waters are used for various functions. Water can be used for drinking, bathing, vomiting and <u>ukuchatha</u>. Water can also be sprinkled in and around the house. Vomiting water is ritually called <u>isiwasho</u>. The <u>isiwasho</u> is an expellant, operating, not only the physical content of the stomach but also driving out the evil spirits (Kiernan, 1979).

At times a herbalist can be called to perform <u>ukubethela</u> ritual in a homestead which is troubled by evil agents. In performing this ritual, herbalists usually dig holes in and around the homestead. Sharp objects like pegs and razor blades are pierced and covered in the holes.

These objects are smeared with umuthi and fresh blood from either the goat or chicken. These objects can also be put at doorways and gateways. It is for this reason that people are not allowed to stand or sit on doorways because such places too, are regarded as sacred.

Zionists perform this <u>ukubethela</u> ritual in a slight different way but the purpose is the same. Usually, if the church member's home is in trouble, night service is held at that home until dawn. Members of the family are prayed for and holy water is sprinkled in and around the house. A long wooden pole is fixed at a strategic point. One or more multi-coloured flags are hoisted. The colours are usually prescribed by the prophet or whoever performs that ritual. Common colours are white, green, blue, yellow and sometimes red.

Colours are used as symbols that are associated with certain acts, sounds, objects and heavenly bodies. Berglund (1976), says that the role of the symbol in relation to the particular context requires attention. Sometimes similar things are symbols with different meanings in different settings. Different Zionist Churches attribute

different meanings to different colours.

However, Oosthuizen (1979), points out that there are common attributes shared by Afro-Christian religions in general. The following are some of them.

- * White: Since white is the basic colour for both men and women, it symbolises purity, light, power and good health.
- * Green: Green is considered to be the power of the spirit.
- * Blue: Blue is the colour of faithfulness.
- * Red: Red is associated with taboo.

One of the informants told the present writer that the blue is associated with blue oceans and skies. The good faith that Zionists have on blue oceans and skies is symbolised by plaited pieces of wool that some of

them wear around their waists. In the First Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa, young boys are conspicuous by blue coats and white trousers they wear. Church leaders wear white garments.

A black colour is completely avoided since it implies darkness, impurity and death. However, (Oosthuizen, ibid) says that according to traditional Zulu society, medicines are classified into black, red and white colours. Black and red medicines are used to expel illness from the alimentary system whereas white medicines are used to maintain good health. Traditional herbalists refer to white and red vomiting medicines as <u>ubulawu obumhlophe</u> and <u>ubulawu obubomvu</u> respectively.

Traditional ideas of sacredness can also be noticed when looking at the traditional Zulu hut's doorway. The doorway is traditionally called ikhothamo. Ukukhothama literally means to bow. When a person enters the house, he or she has to bow because of the size of the door. The sacredness of the ikhothamo is symbolised by placing old horns

and skulls of cows and goats on the thatched roof above it. These are the horns of the animals that were slaughtered as sacrifice for various rituals. They serve as <u>isikhumbuzo</u> to the living and the ancestors that <u>umsebenzi</u> had been done for a particular occasion.

It is the present writer's observation that the Zionists are very particular on small religious issues which an outsider can overlook. To them the entrance to the holy idokodo is treated with great care. Even the shoes are taken off just before one enters the door. When the writer inquired about the importance of the entrance, the Rev Caiphas Vuma responded, "Amasango ezulu masiwahloniphe sisesemhlabeni." (Let us respect the Heavenly gates whilst on earth). (Interview, 21 December 1996). This respect was shown by plaited robes of different colours that were tied around the rafters just above the entrance.

It is also interesting to take a closer look at the manner in which <u>umlotha</u> (ash) is used by Zionists. Ash is obtained after a specific wood or leaf has been burnt for ritual purposes. With the Zionists in particular, ash may be blessed then sprinkled over a sick person or the

entire congregation.

In his article on "Saltwater and Ashes", Kiernan says that, like water, ashes constitute a cooling agent which can neutralise hot and dangerous states, being themselves the result of the cooling of fire. If the baptismal service is organised specifically for children who cannot be taken to rivers and seas, water and ash play a major role. Crosses of fresh ash are smeared on the foreheads of babies and water is sprinkled all over the body.

According to traditional Zulu thought patterns, there are certain parts of the human being which are regarded as sacred. The most sensitive part of a traditional Zulu man and woman is his or her shoulders. That is where a person feel the presence of <u>amathongo</u>. This is also the case with Zionists. If by chance, somebody is touched on the shoulders by another person, he or she screams and cries with pain. He or she feels as if something has stabbed him with an assegai. Callaway's comment is that he feels at once as though there was a sore place on the shoulders, Callaway, 1970).

During church visits that were undertaken by the present writer, it was observed with interest that sick people are usually hit on the shoulders.

<u>Umama</u> MaNtshangase, a faith healer from the Bethlehem Canaan Church in Zion once said, "<u>Amahlombe akhathaliswa imimoya emibi"</u>. (shoulders become tired because of evil spirits), (Interview, 22 December 1996). From MaNtshangase's comment, it becomes evident that sick people are hit hard and twisted violently to remove the demon that has occupied the place of <u>ithongo</u>.

As it has been mentioned earlier on, the act of carrying isikhali (literally meaning a "weapon") is an equipment of Zionist worship (Chidester, 1992)

In traditional Zulu societies, a male who has to undertake a short or long journey from his homestead, feels physically half naked if a stick is not carried. It is like a policeman who travels without carrying a gun in his holster.

If a father or the head of the homestead dies, his sticks are neither

thrown away nor used by his sons, but they are kept at <u>umsamo</u> of his <u>indlunkulu</u>. This is a symbol of the father's presence and a symbol of virility. Therefore, it confirms the idea that household powers are bestowed to man in traditional Zulu societies.

With reference to the Zionists in particular, the manner of using izikhali differ from church to church. Some churches keep their weapons in the church and some take them home after the service.

Rev Zephania Ndaba, said that each member is encouraged to take his weapon home. He puts it, "Indoda mayihlomele noma isiphi isitha endleleni." (A man must arm for the enemy of any kind on the way to and from the church). (Interview, December 22, 1996). His argument is that a person must fight an enemy wherever he is. From the Zionist's point of view the word "enemy" is used figuratively to refer to any agents of evil, as perceived by traditional people.

2.2 Zionist Concept of Worship

In discussing the manner of worship, it should be noted that people who call themselves <u>AmaZayoni</u> do not worry so much about the size of the room when they congregate. An open place like a small backroom, a garage or even an open veld can be used successfully for this purpose.

The present writer enjoys the privilege of being the product of township life. Having been born and bred in Durban, the writer is reminded of the domestic workers of the 1960's, who used to worship in the open veld. They had no special place for worship. The small number of worshippers, the male - female ratio and the venues are not the priorities in matters of worship. During those days, services were dominated by females.

According to Zulu traditional life, <u>ukukhonza</u> refers to the situation where male members of the community come together as countrymen and congregate in front of the local <u>induna</u> or <u>inkosi</u>. This is the

official gathering where serious matters of the tribe are discussed. The meeting is convened by whoever has been delegated to perform that official duty.

When people leave their homesteads they usually report to their families by saying, "Siyokhonza koNkosi". (We are paying an official visit to the king or chief). <u>Ukukhonza</u> can also mean paying allegiance to one's leader. According to Zionists, the verb <u>ukukhonza</u> refers to Christian worship where <u>ibandla</u> (congregation) comes together for singing, dancing, praying, preaching and healing.

It is a common practice for a Zulu <u>ibandla</u> to join together in <u>ukusina</u> and <u>ukugiya</u> after having consumed sorghum beer which is always brewed in abundance in the king's kraal. As a sign of gratitude, <u>ibandla</u> begin to sing <u>amahubo</u> songs. These clan songs are performed for and with the ancestor who are believed to be part of the proceedings. By virtue of being ancestral in character, <u>amahubo</u> songs maintain the lively bond between the living and the departed, (Xulu, 1990). The living depend on the ancestors for power and this spiritual

power is invited through singing and dancing.

The Zionist engagement in the singing of <u>amahubo</u> in a sacred context represents traditional song ideas which are embodied in <u>amahubo</u> themselves. Singing and dancing is perceived as the tool used to drive away any form of social evil, especially witchcraft and sorcery.

Zionists believe that any form of illness is caused by witchcraft and sorcery. As a church authority and theologian, G.C. Oosthuizen, remarks about this phenomenon:

According to African dogma, sickness and health are ultimately of supernatural origin. Even food is related to patient's spiritual reactions and not in the first place to his physiological reactions. Organic illness is almost always attributed to either witchcraft, ... and not anxiety, worry and stress which are so often the major problem. [1979: 9]

Oosthuizen's assumption include sickness such as constant headaches, fatigue, hypertension, biological infertility and various forms of phobia.

However, his findings cannot be overlooked as something superstitious

or something immaterial. Some people become amaZayoni because it is a family affair to be one. Most of them are drawn from the society which is socially vulnerable to various forms of evil because of insecurity. They put more trust on faith healing than on western medication procedures. It is only physical illness that can force them to consult with medical practitioners. People go to Zionist Churches because they believe that the church is able to give them spiritual power and confidence to face the ups and downs of daily life.

One informant, Vusumuzi Magwaza, said that he joined the First Apostolic Church in Zion because he was troubled by headache that could not be cured by pills. Somebody introduced him to Bishop Gumede. After having been prayed for and healed, he automatically became the member of the church. (Interview: 8 October 1995)

In traditional Zulu religion and Christian religion, shouting on top of one's voice is not seen as a sign of stupidity. A person who shouts when yawning is not looked at with suspicion. When a divine healer shouts as he yawns, others will shout "Makhosi" and the degree of loudness is determined by the degree of yawning. In fact shouting is regarded as a vital requisite of good preaching. (Sundkler, 1961).

Slogans such as "Umkhulu wena lukhozi olushaya amaphiko phezu komhlaba" are common in both African social settings and African religious settings. In English this slogan can be translated thus "Thou art great, thou Eagle that spreads its wings over the earth." This slogan can be shouted in two contexts depending on who shouts it, why, and to whom it is shouted. In traditional Zulu social life it can be shouted in praise of the reigning king. Physical powers of the eagle over other bird species is equated with the spiritual powers that the Supreme God has over his people. In Zionist religious context therefore, the eagle portrays the Supreme powers bestowed upon the Great God, uMvelingangi, uSomandla, UHlanga and uNkulunkulu.

Like contemporary mission station churches, Zionist Churches have special church calendars. The calendars denote specific church orders to be followed on specific Sundays. These church orders include baptismal services, ordinary service (day to day services), Easter

services, Christmas services and Christmas services. However, something peculiar and unique about Zionist Churches is that every church order accommodates healing. Healing is not set aside for a specific day because people experience hardships almost every day. Even if a sick person is shy to expose himself or herself to the congregation, the Holy Spirit can urge one member to do prophecy. Once a sick person is identified, he or she is called to the arena to be prayed for and given prescriptions.

The present writer once experienced the situation where a shy girl was prophesied publicly. Not knowing the name of the girl, Bishop H. Gumede simply pointed at her and said "Kunento eyangena esinyeni sakho vaze vafinyelela ekhanda." (You are troubled by something that entered your womb, causing persistent headache). The girl simply said "Yebo" (Yes). In fact the truth of this diagnosis was confirmed by the mother of the girl who was also excited on hearing something that she had also personally premeditated. (Interview, 19 November 1995). Such issues cause the prophets and faith healers to perform healing rituals for almost every religious meeting.

Compared to mission station churches, the Zionist Church has taken a different trend in as far as preaching is concerned. The sermon does not take too much time because the individuals are always eager to confess through ukufakaza (testimony). Ukufakaza is the manifestation of the freedom of expression. It is the chance during which an individual can announce to the congregation some things that he or she has achieved through that particular church. Common achievements include getting married after a long struggle, being employed, being promoted at work, buying a car or house, being pregnant for the first time and being spiritually saved.

<u>Ukufakaza</u> can also focus on issues of abstention. A person can stand up and put it categorically that he or she has abstained from gossiping, alcoholism, stealing and sometimes adultery. Most of abstention issues are usually based on God's Ten Commandments as they appear in Exodus 20.

Sundkler (1961), says that confessions and testimonies of the Zionists have become definite liturgical formulae. This is caused by the manner

of utterance, that is, half-singing and half-speaking tones. Musical utterances have shaped them to be similar to strophic verses. These are caused by intonations such as the following:

Confessor

Congregation

Ukuthula Ebandleni

Amen!

(Peace be in church)

Amen!

Ukuthula eZayoni

Haleluya!

(Peace be in Zion):

Halelujah!

Confession

Silence/Amen!

Confession

Silence/Halelujah!

Peace be in Church

Halelujah!

Halelujah!

Amen!

Halelujah!

Amen! ...

It should be noted that the degree of loudness in repeated utterances is determined by the response from the congregation. If the response is lively the volume increases gradually.

Zionists are also very particular when coming to issues of prayer. Their prayer is free in the sense that they all pray at the same time but each person is praying for himself or herself. They are not confined to prayers that are printed on a book as it is the case with mainline churches. Joining in free prayer means that person can contemplate on immediate issues pertaining to his or her life. There is a tendency of shouting as if they are competing, trying to outclass others. However, there is a measure of control so that everybody stops. Sometimes the leader is given a chance to sum up as a way of stopping a prayer. At times a drummer simply sounds a steady rhythmic coda followed by a song.

The philosophical foundations of the life of Zulu people is based on their own proverbs and old adages. Although their origin may not be known, the wisdom on which they are grounded has stood the test of time.

It is customary to extend one's gratitude by saying, "Umuntu umuntu ngabantu" if a person has achieved something through the support of

others. This proverb means that a person achieves what he or she wants to achieve because of other people.

If for example, a traditional party or <u>umsebenzi</u> is held in a particular homestead, uninvited guests come in their numbers. They are attended to without any anger and suspicion. Even if they come late long after the feasting, it is their traditional rite to say things like, "bahlalaphi abangakadli?" (where is place for people who have not yet eaten?) It is a stylised speech of a ritual to refer to the third person when you plead, yet you are referring to yourself.

The idea behind this ritual practice is that the head of the homestead or <u>ubaba wekhaya</u> feels very much honoured to be supported by many people. The males are even encouraged to pass water anywhere right round the <u>uthango</u> in order to strengthen the homestead. <u>Ubaba wekhaya</u> attains the social status in the community, and the success of this, depends on the presence of the people.

The funeral can lose its dignity if it is attended by members of the

family and relatives only. Ancestors cannot attend to the matters of the homestead if they are forgotten and ostracised. Ploughing and harvesting can take too much time if people are not requested to come and help.

In case of the Zionist Churches, if a member is reported to be seriously ill, he or she is not just visited by a group of worshippers after church service. The Sunday church service is not held in the usual venue but at the home of the sick. The sick person who is visited in this manner feels honoured and automatically encouraged to take up his or her "izikhali" and be cured. This is a cohesive force which binds the members together to a social unit and brings about solidarity to fight the evil.

When a young boy or girl gets married, a whole night communion is held in that particular home. If it happens that the marriage officer is a minister from another denomination, say Lutheran Church, the Zionists wait for their turn in the evening. The present writer had a privilege of witnessing a scene where the bridegroom was given gifts

by his <u>ibandla</u>. The gifts included ordinary household goods and personal belongings, They included bath and washing soap, face towel, a comb, a small mirror, a beach towel, sheets and pillows, a multi-coloured blanket and a simple set of cutlery. Therefore the idea of supporting one another emanates from the fact that a person's success is meaningless if it is divorced from other people's contributions.

When the present writer visited Reverend Ndaba's church he said, "

I did not expect that people of your calibre can find something interesting from people like us, whose religious behaviour is equated with that of pagans." (Interview, 24 November 1996). It was only then that he confirmed the concept of <u>ubuntu</u>. He realised that <u>AmaZayoni</u> do not operate in isolation. They are part of another <u>abantu</u> who may not necessarily be members of the Zionist Church.

The writer was also amazed to witness another scene where an old Zulu traditional practice of <u>isivivane</u> (cairn of stones) proved to have re-emerged from within the church context.

Besides the ordinary offering service, Reverend Ndaba's church has a special service called <u>inkonzo yamathonsi</u>. This can literally be translated into English as "service of rain drops" or "drops of tears". A drop in this context, implies that a person can bring forward the least he or she has in form of money. One cent, two cents, five cents and ten cents are good examples of rain drops. To confirm supplication, a person holds a coin up and literally speak out all what he or she wishes to achieve in life.

With reference to Zulu customs, it was customary for a passer-by to pick up a stone, spit on it and throw it upon the cairns of stones called <u>isivivane</u>. Those piles were found scattered especially along pathways and river crossing. A person could stop and add stones on the heap for good luck wherever he passes, (Chidester, 1992). Love suitors usually tried their luck on the <u>isivivane</u> in anticipation that they would be successful in their courting.

Unlike in Zionist speech-orientated <u>amathonsi</u> ritual, the Zulu custom is that every passer-by pick up a stone with his bare foot, then take it

in his hand, spit on it, and throw it on the heap without any words, [Bryant 1967:732]. They simply meditate then throw the stone. When asked about this, Reverend Ndaba said <u>amathonsi</u> is another religious way of <u>ukuphosa esivivaneni</u>, (to throw on to the cairn on stones). The objective is to obtain <u>inhlanhla</u> (good luck).

CHAPTER THREE

3. Zionist Church Music and Dance at Esikhawini: A socio-cultural context

One of the outstanding features of Zionist worship is music-making. The basic idea is that music is used as a tool for communication between the living and the ancestors as well as Supreme Powers. Music and vigorous dances are used as a medium for acquisition of umoya in order to be transformed into trance state and perform healing rituals. This is what makes music to be integral part of Zionist workship. Singing unites people and it soothes the innermost feelings of the people.

The idea of soothing can be attributed to the <u>amakhorasi</u> style of singing. The following chorus has proved to be popular in three Zionist Churches that have been visited by the present writer. This chorus plays around a single idea that has a biblical connotation. The repeated text enhances the soothing idea. The text is as follows:

Ukuhlabelela, kuyamthokozisa Odabukileyo, Hlabelela

Ukuhlabelela!

Ukuhlabelela, kuyamthokozisa Odabukileyo, Hlabelela

Bonga, bonga, bonga, bonga Bonga, bonga, bonga

Njengenyoni enhle, hlabelela.

English translation

Singing soothes the one who is in sorrow, Sing! Give praise, Give praise! Give praise! Sing like a bird

Amakhorasi are related to hymns but they tend to move away in terms of performance practice. They are indigenized in terms of melody, texture and rhythm.

Amakhorasi are also sung in mainline churches. They are usually sung just before the beginning of the service. They are mostly regarded as song styles that belong to young boys and girls. The idea of bringing

amakhorasi to the church service does not happen accidentally. Children learn these songs during the Sunday School services. Compared to hymns that are sung in a more formal way, amakhorasi put the Zionist congregation in power by moving the emotions and feelings through dancing and drumming.

The present writer has observed that <u>amakhorasi</u> seem to be appreciated by the youth of the churches that have been visited. The rhythm relate to their cosio-cultural experiences. Compared to the other song styles like <u>amahubo</u>, the ideas are far-fetched with regard to their philosophy of life. <u>Amahubo</u> songs form musical and social material for older and experienced people who want to maintain their African identity. This makes Zionist singing to be syncretic.

Certain Independent Zulu Churches still perform <u>amahubo</u> songs in their authentic form but within the church context. This is typical of Isonto lamaNazaretha, otherwise known as Shembe.

Amahubo carry traditional Zulu ideas. These are adapted in order to

conform with modern demands of the Zulu society.

Traditional Zulu experiences about religion are interpreted in relation to Christian religious ideas. Therefore traditional ideas are not valued in isolation. This proves the point that a human being carry his religion wherever he is and he exercises his religion wherever he finds himself. Commenting on religion as part and parcel of a human being, the Reverend J.S. Mbiti writes:

Wherever the African is there is his religion; he carries it to the fields where he is sowing seeds or harvesting a new crop; he takes it with him to the beer party or to attend a funeral ceremony ... [1969:2]

Amahubo by virtue of being ceremonial and ancestral music maintain the bond between the living and amathongo. In traditional Zulu societies the ritual stages of the rite of passage like birth, puberty, marriage and death, are marked by performance of amahubo songs. It is these religious ideas that are adapted to form a link with Christian beliefs.

In any traditional function the leading melody of an ihubo song is

carried out by the leader. The leader is usually the elderly person of the family or the clan. The idea is that an elderly person has the power to communicate with the ancestors and even the Supreme God. The purity of the voice and other aspects of musicality are not a priority in leading ihubo. What is important is religious ideas that shape up the lives and actions of the people. Unlike an ikhorasi, ihubo cannot be started by any person. If that can happen by mistake, people will not respond as expected. It is an elderly person who knows the song repertoire that is relevant to that particular occasion.

The present writer has also observed that in three churches that have been visited for this project, it is only the leaders who carry hymn books. In fact they do not have their own church hymn books but they use hymn books of their contemporary mainline churches. These are published by the American Board, the Methodist, the Anglican and the Lutheran Churches, (Sundkler, 1961). Common hymn books are "Icilongo Levangeli" and "Amagama Okuhlabelela". The shortage of hymn books does not in any way affect the rendition of the hymn because the leader always lead the verse by intoning the first two or

three syllables of each line. It is also not easy to forget the text because each priest, or <u>umshumayeli</u> or <u>umvangeli</u> has a set of two or three hymns he likes most. Once he starts it the congregation is sure of what to say.

The presence of the youth makes it easier to master the tunes because the very same hymns are sung in school morning and sometimes afternoon assemblies.

3.1 The Missionary Influences on African Musical Culture

In order to understand the music of the Zionist Churches it is better to investigate the effects of musical syncretism between Western and African music in general. These two musical traditions have the same musical elements like melody, harmony, rhythm and tonality. However, the manner in which these elements are executed differs between the two traditions. For example, African Music puts more emphasis on rhythm whereas Western Music stresses more on harmony.

The Baroque hymn that has been adopted by the Zionist Churches does not reflect the true religious ideas as perceived by the worshippers. Religious ideas in this context include both ancestor worship and Christian worship. The hymns were designed for a specific religion which is Christian worship.

To show powers of resistance against complete musical change, the Baroque hymn was taken away from the church and secularised. The

process of secularisation affected the basic musical elements of the hymn, like melody, harmony, rhythm and texture. The manner of rendering amakhorasi is a good example of secularisation process among Zionist churches. According to missionary ideals, body movements and dancing in the church would have been prohibited. The folk music elements that are found in amakhorasi have fused with the hymn structure to produce new musical style that is equated with music syncretism.

When the missionaries first arrived in South Africa, their mission was to Christianize the African whom they thought had no religion, (Chidester, 1992). The most important tools they carried for this mission was the Bible and the hymns. People were encouraged to read and idealise the Bible as the source of salvation from sin. With the aid of the Bible, missionaries attached ancestor ritual, initiation, polygamy and ilobolo (bride's wealth). According to them the most powerful word was contained in the Bible. Their overall ambition was to transform African societies into new societies whose lives would be modelled on Western ideals.

Such ideals had a tremendous impact on the community life in general. According to Setiloane (1986), the gospel that was preached by the missionaries, was shaped and moulded by the missionaries' own view and attitude to life which they called Western civilisation. However, the missionaries were not aware that African thinking could not be replaced by Western understandings simply because the converts claimed to be Christians. The question of African customs and practice in daily living is a perennial one, (Setiloane:ibid).

The idea of Divinity had long been perceived by Africans, prior to the arrival of the missionaries. People had an idea that uMvelinqangi was the source of life of human beings, animals and all things. So, this idea of Divinity in the lives of people made easy for the missionaries to work within the people. Therefore, the Biblical text was imposed on people who had their own religious practices.

3.2 Zionist Singing and Dancing

As the present writer has watched the Zionists on their ways to various churches on Sundays, he has come to conclusion that singing is a prominent feature in Zionism. Those who foot it to church do not walk leisurely, but they usually keep to a steady and strict rhythm. In case where they carry a drum or two, drumming is subdued until they arrive at the church. If they are ferried in a kombi or a bakkie then they feel much more free to sing louder.

That freedom of singing and drumming whilst they are still on the way to church is attributed to various factors. One of the informant said that singing and dancing puts them in the congregation mood before they even arrive at the church. It is during this time that they somehow invite uMoya to be with them. UMoya may even discourage a person not to go to church if it does not avail itself to him. It is a very common thing in Zionist Churches for people to voice out and say "uMoya awuvumi". (the spirit does not allow me to do this and that).

This view probably best describes the purpose and effect of <u>uMoya</u> not only in music-making and worship, but in life in general.

Like in traditional Zulu life, a Zionist drum can also be used to assemble people at the beginning of the service. After having heard the sound of the drum, worshippers take off their shoes and enter the church. This marks the beginning. Like in mainstream churches, the service usually starts with a hymn.

The present writer noticed that in three churches that were visited, the melodies are often led by the leader or whoever is presiding on that day. The conventional Western harmony is not so much considered here. The Western hymn immediately takes the form of an <u>ihubo</u> song. The homophonal structure is affected since the leader simply gives a call and the congregation respond in a dragging tempo. This is typical of an <u>ihubo</u> song. As it has been mentioned earlier, only two or three people bring hymn books but this does not cause any problems. They sing all the verses because the priest chooses the same hymn whenever he presides.

The period of two years was enough for the writer to make an inventory of the hymns that are popular in the churches visited. For instance, the writer was able to register the opening lines of some of the hymns. The favourite hymn for the late Bishop Ngubeni of the First Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa was, "Ngiyamazi uMalusi wami", (I know my Shepherd).

The striking feature in the first hymn is that it is sung a capella. There is no clapping, drumming and dancing. The reason is that the theme of Constitution of the people emerges in the first hymn. Hymns like "Nkosi sihlangene endlini yakho", (Lord we are gathered in your house) and "Kumnandi ukubona abantu ..." (Its nice to see people ...) are usually sung as starters. The idea that the first hymn enjoins the divine presence among those at the church meeting is true. It constitute it a Christian gathering, (Kiernan, 1979).

Kiernan's assertion goes in line with the fact that a formal and sacred meeting of this nature cannot be constituted by vigorous clapping,

dancing and drumming.

The manner in which the first hymn is treated does not bar the singers to traditionalise the hymn by giving it a Zionists sound structure. These structures include melodic anticipations an shouting.

At the end of the last verse, the leader intones a closing coda by shouting "Amen". This is usually effected with a little bit of drumming which normally fades to mark a cadence.

After the rendition of the first hymn, the door is closed. They all kneel and join in a free prayer. It is free in the sense that they pray at the same time as individuals and they always shout. Sundkler, (1961) says that they are praying at the same time as it in an effort to reach God's throne in heaven by the very power of the human voice.

In actual fact this is the time during which they confess for whatever they might have done over the previous week. Some even cry and shout-"Woza Moya, woza" (Come spirit, come). When the leader feels that they are satisfied he intones "Baba Wethu" (Our Father) then they join in reciting the Lord's Prayer. As they take their respective "seats" the leader sings a tune which plays around a single idea of "Amen".

If they decide to sing the Lord's Prayer, dancing and drumming are strictly prohibited. They try to give the prayer the dignity it deserves. However, Zionist sound structures are quite inevitable. The hymnal texture ceases to be homophonic but it is replaced by a melodic interaction between the leader and improvised chorus. Some of the syllables are accented and repeated in order to allow for non-simultaneous entries. The leader can also improvise the melodic structures as long as he keeps to the ihubo-like structure of the song. The metronomic counting is not a priority in such song renditions.

Something remarkable about Zionist music making is a tune, no matter how short it may be, it is used as a link between one phase and the other. When one member feels that preaching becomes too long, he or she simply intones a tune. Since the leader starts the hymns, at some stage he may exercise his controlling powers over the congregation by deliberately accelerating the tempo.

At times if there are speakers or people who testify in turns, a hymn or chorus is there to ease the transition. Like in many churches, irrespective of the nature of the denomination, a speaker will always stand up and intones his or her favourite hymn or chorus. Even if there is a group of singers, before they take the floor they sing an introductory tune to notify the congregation that they are ascending the platform.

At the beginning of the next phase the leader may shout "Ukuthula ebandleni" (Peace be in church) then <u>amacansi</u> are removed from the floor. This is the preparation of the healing service.

Members of the church who qualify to carry <u>izikhali</u> receive them and join the ritual circle. This "merry-go-round" as termed by Sundkler, is meant to be the healing arena for the sick people. They sing and dance

as they run in this circle. The more the rhythm is internalised the more they accelerate the speed. At times the drummer may announce a sudden stop sothat the dancers can stop and suddenly retreat and vice versa. The healing rites are movements and its symbols are full of energy.

Compared to others, the song of the healing rite has a definite healing theme and this is repeated until healing is completed. The following song is popular in many Zionist churches:

Woz' onqamlezweni; Woz' uzosindiswa; Woz' onqamlezweni!

English translation

Come to the cross; Come for healing; Come to the cross!

As they trot in the circle, some are transformed into trance and fall down. Sick people are attended to by the prophet and his assistants. The prophet must be possessed by the Spirit and give him insight so that he can identify the cause of illness and provide remedy to it.

In some churches, like the Bethlehem Canaan Holy Spirit, a plaited wool of varying Zionist colours, hangs just above the healing arena.

The sick people are rolled and tied by this string and prayed for.

The present writer cannot forget the healing scene when a baby was actually tied with this string, put on his back and shaken violently. When asked about this the informants said that the degree of "violence" is determined by the resistance powers of the demon, (Interview: November 24, 1996)

Something fascinating about the healing service is that people sing and dance endlessly. Those who are transformed into trance state end up developing hoarse voices. Those who are hit in their stomachs and heads cry with pain. However, not even a single one complain of physical disturbances after the church service. They usually say: "Yaze yamnandi inkonzo" (What a wonderful service) whilst they shake hands and bid one another good bye.

It is for this reason that they regard participation in dancing and

running in a merry-go-round as an emotional, mental and physical experience. According to Zionists, the act of worship must not only focus on the soul but also on the body. Even the trance state and speaking in tongues cannot be attained without singing and dancing. Although speaking in tongues is a gift of God (Cor 14:1-5) it must be encouraged through dancing.

According to Weman (1960), the dance is an expression of the fact that both body and soul form an integral part of one's personality. Action, movement, thinking and prayer can all be expressed through dance performance.

Music and related movements are connected with African customs and practices. As a universal human activity, music and dance accompany many activities such as working, playing and worshipping.

What the writer discovered from some of the church visits was that drumming is not a universal activity in all the Zionist Churches.

Some do not use a drum at all. In Bethlehem Canaan Church Holy

Spirit the rhythm of the drum is kept subdued throughout the service. When asked about this, the Reverend Z. Ndaba revealed that some worshippers become ill and leave the service when drumming dynamics are relatively high. They even cry hysterically when they experience thunderstorms in their homesteads, (Interview 17 December 1996).

Another point of interest is that women are not afforded administrative positions in the church. The least duty that could be given to a woman is drumming. They play small side drums that are made of wood or of tin. Resonation is caused by the cow hide that is stretched on both sides of the drum.

Weman (1960) is of the idea that in Southern Africa, the woman drummer is often seen, but this is not the case in West Africa.

In view of traditional Zulu religion and culture, Weman's comment supports the Zulu Zionist practices with regard to drumming. Zionists go to church on Sunday mornings under the leadership of men who carry their weapons. Men are usually followed by women who carry small side drums. Therefore, giving drums to women does not happen accidentally, but it is a continuation of a tradition they are used to. A big <u>indlamu</u> drum which is used in secular festivals is not even used in the church.

Zionist Churches are no longer relying specifically on clapping and drumming for the enhancement of the rhythm as they used to in the near past. Of late they have adopted a long man-made <u>icilongo</u> (trumpet) which is used extensively in Shembe's ritual dances. It is made of metal. It takes the shape of the actual trumpet in that it has a special mouthpiece and its bell looks exactly the same as that of a real trumpet. Unlike the real trumpet, it has no holes.

This instrument is not used to play melodies, but for the maintenance of rhythm. Therefore the basic knowledge of rising and descending scales is not so much essential. Different pitches are produced by shaping the mouth in different ways. The tip of the tongue plays a vital role in the production of sound.

Like other church denominations, the Zionist Churches do have youth choirs which they normally refer to as "ikwaya yentsha" (Youth Choir). The membership is drawn from the school going boys and girls especially those in secondary schools. The strength of the choirs usually varies between ten and fifteen members, depending on the general church membership.

Their choral repertoire is very simple because they take at least two or three lines of their favourite hymn and improvise on it. At times they take an extract from a biblical text and compose a tune to suit those lyrics. The following biblical lines are popular with most Zionist Churches:

Woza ku Jesu Uzothola ukusindiswa

English translation

Come to Jesus You'll be saved.

For the sake of variety and improvisation the text can be changed to:

Woza kuBaba = Come to the Father Woza kuMsindisi = Come to the Saviour Woza emthonjeni = Come to the fountain Woza kuSomandla = Come to the Almighty etc.

Choral singing is usually not accompanied by drumming. Because of its sacredness, the drum or <u>isigubhu</u> is reserved for formal worship. In fact people who qualify to play <u>isigubhu</u> during the service are known by the congregation.

Like in traditional folk music and dance, there is no specified key for a song. The leader simply hums the tune and they easily catch the harmony. It is very rare to pitch up because they start from very low registers. In fact the singers are not even aware of it because they do it unconsciously.

To express their happiness and gratitude for being entertained by the choir, the congregation does not clap hands as it is normally done in choir festivals. Whoever is excited, feels free to shout slogans such as "Udumo udumo" (Glory, glory), "Uyingcwele" (Blessed are you), "Amen, Amen", or any slogan as long as it has a biblical connotation.

Like in all African Music events they need not wait for the end of the song. You shout, as you please.

The rhythmic patterns of Zionist music is not different from that of African folk dances. They too, play around the even numbered rhythmic cycles of 4, 8, 16 or 32 counts. It is surprising to note that the males in particular, are urged to join in the traditional Zulu ukusina as soon as the drummer internalises and puts more traditional "ingredients" to the rhythm. This phenomenon describes the idea of taking one's religion and practises to wherever he or she finds himself or herself.

Mthethwa's view on the issue of one's musicianship with regard to religious dances is undisputable. He says:

The question of musicality of an individual plays little role because in this part of Africa the common belief is that if you can talk, you can sing; and if you can walk, you can also dance. [Mthethwa: 1986]

Nobody forces people to dance, but it happens spontaneously. The prophet himself cannot ask you to participate if it does not come from

within.

The effect is syncopations is one of the ingredients that hypnotises those involved. Such ingredients cause people to forget every forms of hardships they have and anticipate the descent of "uMoya Oyingcwele" (Holy Spirit).

Like the question of major and minor harmonic progressions in traditional Zulu folk music, triple time seem to be rare in Zionist music. If the hymn happens to be in triple time according to Baroque hymn standards, that effect is unconsciously ignored. It is ignored because as soon as the Zionist effect Zionist rhythmic and textural structures, the hymn ceases to be in triple meter. The call and response alone changes the rhythmic pattern. In fact, counting in units of say 2, 4, 8 and 16 is a natural hymn phenomenon because even walking steps follow these rhythmic patterns.

In Zulu folk music in general, rhythm is not determined by metric beat,

but it is determined by the free speech in dictating the words. Therefore the rhythm will conform to the free speech patterns. The call-and-response adds to this fusion of speech patterns and regular pulse to produce polyrhythms. According to Mthethwa (1986), in African music generally speaking, the actual rhythm begins to exist at poly-rhythmic level of the song rendition. This is how Africans, especially Zulus, perceive rhythm.

As a product of African folk music idiom, Zionist music and dance rhythms operate within the same musical practices.

Finally, the writer of this thesis is convinced that every aspect of Zionist worship is accompanied by music and dance. Dance is used as a symbol of relief and happiness especially during ritual practices. The general behaviour of the participants can be depicted by the type of music and dance they produce. Unlike the music of some of their contemporary socio-religious groups like Isicathamiya and mbaqanga, Zionist singing is closely related social problems they experienced almost day by day. The musical themes based on

political issues and urbanisation are not considered to be a priority.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. An Analysis of selected Zionist Songs

Since this thesis is approached from the ethnomusicological perspective, it is important to look at the role and status of individual song of the Zionist Churches. Each song item usually serve a specific need, especially between the leader and his followers.

As a product of man, a song and its manner of rendition will show how and why Zionist music-makers treat different songs in specific ways. Alan Merriam's model in defining music as sound, behaviour and concept proves that different societies have specific concepts of music. This is one of the reasons why some Zionist churches prefer more drumming to clapping and vice-versa. Their responses is

determined by the concepts and behavioural patterns they have about

Musical examples:

sound.

Example 1: Baba Sihlangene



English translation

Father, we are gathered here We are gathered in your house

Analysis of Music and text

It is customary for Zionists to invite <u>uSomandla</u> (Almighty) and the ancestors to bestow the spiritual power on the congregation before they actually proceed. The spiritual power will assist them in fighting any form of evil they might have experienced as individuals or as a group. Therefore the sound structure of this hymn is transformed into that of <u>ihubo</u> song so that the rendition will serve both social and religious purposes. According to traditional Zulu religion, <u>amahubo</u> are usually performed in order to attain power which enables them to survive as a community. The significance of <u>ukuhlangana</u> (to gather together) before the Almighty and the ancestors is a symbol of unity and solidarity.

This hymn is an adaptation of a common hymn tune of the Methodist Church. In order to effect more dignity to this transformed hymn, it is sung a capella, that is, it is performed without drumming and other forms of instrumentation. The ancestors must be approached in a dignified manner.

According to Western standards, the hymn is usually led by the top voice, that is soprano. The other three parts, alto, tenor and bass usually support in harmony to the tune. In this tune the melody is led by a male voice. It is the leader of the church who usually starts the opening songs in Zionist church services. Most of the time the leader is respected for <u>ubugagu</u> (confident and good singer) by his followers. The quality of the tone is not an issue but what matters is <u>ubugagu</u>. A fine voice does not count, since the criteria for choosing a singer are social, not musical. He may be the priest, or he may be the oldest man in the age group, Roberts [1972:8].

The concept of <u>ubugagu</u> go hand in hand with the powers of leadership that are bestowed upon the leader. In other words to be a successful leader, the one who leads the melodies must be able to exercise his leadership through song.

The antiphonal textures that are created by the leader, facilitates this

bar of example 1, the leader makes a call with the text "Baba". In order to create the idea of anticipation for response, the first beat of the bar is overemphasized with the aid of a preceding anacrusis. Such anticipations continue in bars 4, 7 and 8.

Apart from anticipations, the leader does not complete the phrases as the song progresses. He just breaks as he pleases then the phrases are completed by the responding voices. He simply punctuates with a short text which is incomplete in terms of Zulu syntactic rules. This is typical of a leader who delegate duties by singing very little and expect his followers to complete through harmonization. It is quite normal for the followers to be submissive if they have developed complete trust on their leader.

This idea of singing in short and incomplete phrases is also highlighted by John Roberts when he says:

> By far the most common form of group singing in most parts of Africa is the call-and-response style ... For one thing, the European verse is complete in itself, while the

African call by itself is only half of the equation; it needs the response before it is complete, [Roberts, Ibid]

Therefore, Zionist music is no exception to this general trend which typical of African music.

Example II: Woza Onqamlezweni

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English translation

Come to the Cross, Come to be healed (saved)

Analysis of Music and Text

The above song is not an adaptation from any mainline churches, but it is a pure Zionist composition. This song seem to be popular in Zionist churches that have been visited by the present writer.

This song is usually performed when they join together in a merry-goround Sundkler (1961) in preparation for the healing ritual.

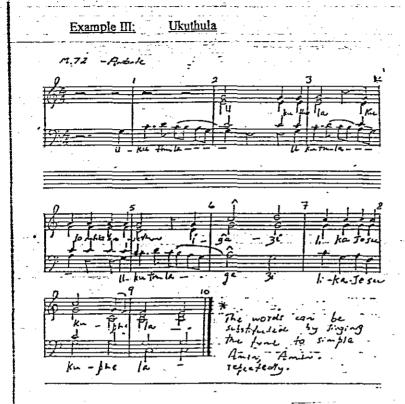
The theme of this song moves around one idea, that is, the idea of coming to Christ for survival. <u>Unqamlezo</u> is a symbol of faith as it relates to Christ on the cross. The imaginary icon of Christ on the cross is symbolically portrayed by the white wooden crosses (izikhali) that are carried by some of the worshippers.

The theme together with accompanying music and dance show that unqamlezo in this context, is not regarded as a symbol of death. It is

through song, is the leader. This idea of leading is also facilitated by the call and response textures. The leader is always believed to be courageous especially in cases where the followers seem to be doubtful.

When this song is performed, the occurrence of rhythmic cycles of 4, 8 and 16 counts are enhanced by polyrhythmic patterns and variation in drumming. The constant shift of starting points occur when the merry-go-rounders decide to stop the cycle and retreat. Otherwise the underlying constant beat of 4 pulses per measure is maintained. In other words the occurrence of the metronome sense is easily perceived by the singers. With Africans, rhythms is relatively easier to internalise whether the beat is sounded or not.

Example III: Ukuthula



English translation

Peace in our world
The blood of Christ is the answer

Analysis of text and music

This hymn is the adaptation of the famous mission composed tune entitled "Peace perfect peace". It has been translated into various South African languages. The Zionists use the Zulu text because they are of course dominated by Zulu speakers.

The present writer has selected this hymn is particular to illustrate

some elements of resistance found in it. It is a common phenomenon for a baroque hymn to be transformed into something new with regard to texture, melody and rhythm. This hymn seems to have resisted against such influences.

It would seem as if it is the text and the linguistic stress of this hymn which determines the textural and rhythmic structures of this tune. The emphasis falls on the word "ukuthula" (peace) which cannot be portrayed in a fast and multirhythmic nature. "Igazi likaJesu" (blood of Christ) is the biblical text that is perceived as a symbol of peace.

The first beat of bar 6 is more accented than it would normally be since the underlying syllable is -ga- for "igazi".

Another striking feature associated with this hymn is that it is usually sung immediately after a vigorous healing service. The present writer got an impression that the steady and dragging, ihubo-like rendition of this hymn calms down high ecstasies that have been created by trance state and speaking in tongues.

The "patients" that have been healed normally end up singing in hoarse voices as a result of weariness coupled with joy. The signs of weariness and singing in hoarse voices show that worshippers have been cured both spiritually and physically.

Something interesting about the Zionist hymn or song is that it is not ended with a plagal or amen cadence of the Western conventional harmony. Every song is brought to an end by a few minutes hearty singing of either 'Halleluya' or 'Amen'. This is accompanied by a gradually slowering and fading drumming.

Example IV IZulu Indawo Yokuphumula

LIVELY AND RHYTHMIC		
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<u>83</u> .64 -67	78 T. J.; F.	

English Translation

The Heaven is a resting place, There is no fear

Analysis of Music and Text

The above songs falls under the song genres called <u>amakhorasi</u>. The text that is used is biblical.

It is one of <u>amakhorasi</u> that are also popular with the Zionists Churches that have been visited when preparing this thesis.

Like in mainline churches, <u>amakhorasi</u> seem to appeal to the young members of the church, that is, the youth. Their manner of performance, especially the antiphonal textures encourage the use of

bodily movements like clapping, swinging and to a certain extent toytoying.

Toytoying has been gradually integrated into religious dances as long as it is performed within the church context. This is one of the major dances that is common in <u>imvuselelo</u> services. It is one of the factors that have attracted the youth to church activities.

Like most of Zionist music, this song moves around one idea. A worshipper should look forward to the promised land although he or she may suffer on earth.

The call is usually done by the male voice as it is the case in bars 1, 2 and 3. Something remarkable about the response is that the soprano line does not harmonize as it normally does in other songs. Instead of doing that, it continues monophonically as if it is the extension of the male voice. In other words they keep the same pitch as the leading voice.

Had it not been for the socially accepted behaviour among the Zulus especially, that is, the concept of virility, this song could have been easily started by the female voices. It is a common practice for the males to take a lead in many social and religious activities.

African musical items and types are usually characterised by some degree of social control.

If we look at this <u>ikhorasi</u> more critically, it needs drumming in order to effect rhythm. However, drumming cannot be included because the song is performed by youth whose social status does not allow them to play <u>isigubhu</u> in accompanying musical items. In the First Apostolic Church in Zion South Africa (FACZSA) for instance, <u>isigubhu</u> is played by an elderly woman who was appointed because of special religious reasons. The rules of the church do not allow her to accompany youth choirs. In fact they do not even allow her to part with her instrument even if it is for a shorter period of time. The idea of keeping one's tool emanates from African traditional religion. In other words religion plays a major role in controlling musical activities.

In the absence of <u>isigubhu</u>, the rhythmic patterns of this song can be effected by the substitution of the song text by meaningless sounds like "dzi" and "thi". In order to break monotony as the text repeats the same words without variations and extension, the singers find pleasure in exploiting onomatopoeia. Onomatopoeia is a strong feature of African folk music as it is used to determine and reinforce the rhythm rather than the melody.

Unlike the western hymn and Zionist hymn adaptations, <u>ikhorasi</u> does not end with a plagal cadence or Zionist conventional coda respectively. It is usually ended by a perfect cadence which is effected by a long pause.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Zionist type of worship has been and is still developing quite tremendously. The co-existence of African traditional religion side by side with Christianity is a major contributing factor towards the development of Zionist syncretic religion. African traditional religion will continue to be practised by the people whose lives and beliefs are attached to traditional culture. Being attached to traditional life does not mean that a person has to live in rural areas or black townships. Such a concept has been prevalent during the apartheid era because a majority of black people have been living under such conditions. It is important therefore to get away from the idea that African traditional religion is confined to certain geographic and political constraints. People are flocking to white suburbs and it is natural to take one's religion to wherever he or she goes.

One of the factors that have obscured the Zionist existence and image is

that they have been associated with paganism and compared with Christianity. This has an indirect influence on ethnomusicological researches. The ethnomusicological studies of the past had a tendency of concentrating on musical activities that prove to be more Euro-centric than those which are completely Afro-centric. As Merriam puts it, the musical sound is a product of human behaviour and conceptualization. For this reason, it is evident that Zionist music is also worth investigating for the benefit of generations to come.

In the first Chapter of this thesis some of the misconceptions about African music are mentioned. It is therefore the duty of the present investigators to put more light on such issues since they are the people who propagate the relationship between music and culture.

Zionists have contributed a great deal in the process of revitalization of the traditional song ideas and practices. They have resisted against the profound influences of the missionaries, one of which was the imposition of the baroque hymn. The hymn was used as a tool to instill the Christian doctrine and western cultural domination. The emergence of independent churches in South of which the Zionist church is one, was a blessing to both the African traditional musical heritage and African traditional religion. Some of these traditional practices were at the verge of extinction had it not been for the Zionist power of resistance and transformation. The contributions that have been made other contemporary black controlled churches cannot be overemphasized. Such attributes go to churches such as Isonto lamaNazaretha (Shembe) and Zionist Christian Church (ZCC).

Since the Zionists combine traditional African ritual, belief and organisation together with Christianity, they succeed in addressing the daily needs of the people concerned. That is why they attract thousands of people at the so-called grassroots level and a reasonable percentage of the elite community. It is quite interesting to realise that the elite community is now beginning to consult with the faith healers publicly rather than privately. This is one of the factors that will promote and support the positive image of Zionism.

The future of Zionist music, worship and dance lies with the youth. Zulu people's old proverb which says "Inkunzi isematholeni" (translation: for the

bull to be what it is, it must grow as a calf first), is a good lesson for the youth.

It is the duty of the adults and musical pioneers in general, to tell the youth that no music genre or type is more superior than the other as long as the owners of the music understand the language and culture. To be a member of the Zionist group means that a person has a social function to perform in life.

The youth must be made aware that music and dance forms a social cohesion between people who live together and call themselves a community. Therefore the inclusion of dance and drumming in religious services makes the service vibrant and interesting.

One of the reasons why the youth seem to be reluctant to attend church services is that almost everything is bestowed upon the adults as the only people who have a potential.

The present writer was impressed by the activities of the First Apostolic

Church in Zion South Africa. They give a chance to read scriptures, testify and sing their own songs before the sermon is given by whoever is presiding on that day. This encourages them to bring their respective schools' song repertoire to the church so that the church becomes a meaningful institution.

Therefore, Africanisation and indigenization of Zionist Church music and worship can attract the ethnomusicologists if the insiders of the culture concerned find it meaningful for themselves and the generations to come.

If the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the new South African dispensation can also address the long pre-conceived ideas and practical needs of various independent church denominations, the Zionist churches can expand more than they are at the present moment. Zionist church music, dance and worship represents the realization of the totality of the human being and should result in more positive self-esteem and human quality to those involved.

GLOSSARY OF ZULU WORDS

abalele

ancestors

abangasekho

ancestors

abaphansi

ancestors

amadlozi

ancestors

amathongo

ancestors

amathonsi

drops

amakholwa

Christian converts

amakhorasi

choruses

ibandla

ibhabhalazi

effects of hangovers

idliso

5

101120

poisoning associated with witchcraft

congregation of a group of men or worshippers

idokodo

tabernacle

icilongo-

indigenous Zulu trumpet

ilobolo

bride's wealth

ihubo

sacred Zulu song for the clan or for the tribe

indlamu

traditional Zulu dance

induna

chief

inkosi

king

ikhothamo

the entrance in a traditional Zulu hut

inyandezulu:

special name for a sacred snake

inyoka

snake

isibaya

kraal or cattle enclosure

isigcwagcwa

social and ritual impurity and being disliked

isigubhu

traditional drum

isikhali

weapon

isikhumbuzo

memorial symbol or sign

isinini sabesilisa

right hand side (Zulu hut)

isinini sabesifazane

left hand side (Zulu hut)

isiwasho

purges and enemas used for ritual vomiting

isiyoni

member of the Zionist church

isivivane

cairn of stones

impepho

incense

izifundiswa

the learned elites

indlunkulu

the main hut in traditional homestead

izigqiki

wooden traditional Zulu seats

izinyanya

ancestors

izithunzi

ancestors

ubulawu

mixture of herbs for ritual vomiting

ubuthakathi

witchcraft or witchery

ukhamba

calabash

ukubethela

to reinforce the homestead through ritual means

ukuchatha

insertion of enemas through the anus

ukubuyisa

to invite the spirits of the deceased through ritual

ubuntu

humanity

ukuphalaza

ritual vomiting practice

ukusina

to dance in traditional way

ukugiya

to dance wildly, performing pantomine of actual

warfare

umoya

holy spirit

umlotha

ash

umhlwehlwe

adipose tissue

umuthi

traditional medicines

umsebenzi

ritual party

umshumayeli

preacher

uthango : fencing by shrubs

umphefumulo : soul

umsamo : sacred back of a traditional hut

umvangeli : evangelist

uTixo : God

ukukhonza : to worship

uJehova : Jehovah (God)

uHlanga : God

uMdali : Creator (God)

uMninimandla : Omnipotent (God)

uMvelinqangi : God

uNkulunkulu : God

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APPENDIX

HAND TRANSCRIPTIONS



