

CHAPTER 6

The emphasis on the Spirit

1 THE SPIRIT IN AFRICA

1.1 A pertinent African pneumatology

My publication *MOYA: the Holy Spirit in an African context* (Anderson 1991) was devoted to a study of pneumatology in Africa, particularly as manifested in indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. What follows in this chapter will be a repetition and amplification of some of the thoughts expressed there. There are several major areas in which the understanding of pneumatology, particularly as found in African Pentecostalism, is evaluated. One important area is connected with the holistic African world view. Because all things in existence past and present are seen in Africa as a present material-spiritual unity, it follows that in this world view the 'spirit' (or in a Christian context, the 'Spirit') pervades all things. In the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches the all-embracing Spirit is involved in every aspect of individual and community life, and this is particularly evident in the person of the prophetic or charismatic leader, who is pre-eminently a person of the Spirit. Pneumatology, therefore, becomes probably the most important part of enacted theology in these churches. Armitage (1976:336) observed that in the Swazi Zionist Churches the Holy Spirit was seen in all activities as 'the ambiguous, numinous force that pervades everything'. The pervading Spirit is, in the earlier view of Oosthuizen (1968:129), simply an extension of the traditional religion - I will take issue with this below. The

dualistic, rationalistic theology of the Western mission churches simply did not meet the need of religious Africans for 'divine involvement' (Oosthuizen 1968:119). Bosch (1987:42) pointed out that the first European missionaries in Africa were 'children of the Enlightenment' who 'tended to deny the existence of supernatural forces located in human beings as well as the reality of spirits in general and the "living-dead" in particular'. The results at first were either that the traditional spiritualism went underground, or that a syncretism emerged in the encounter between African and Western world views. As Oosthuizen (1987:74) observes:

In the historic churches a schizophrenic attitude prevails - members pretend to uphold the stance of these churches, but many believe in such forces and seek help where help is given outside these churches. In this regard the problems of Africa have also been ignored.

But in the early twentieth century in the African Pentecostal churches it was discovered that the biblical doctrine of the Holy Spirit was not as detached and uninvolved as Western theology had often made it out to be! The African need for 'divine involvement' was met here. This new African pneumatology becomes both contextualised and a manifestation of biblical reality. In the African world view, action and expression are at least as important as reflection; religion is fundamentally something you believe or confess, and especially something that you *do*. The Western tendency to oppose or discount the emotional in religion made Western forms of Christianity unattractive to a great many Africans. The pervading Spirit in the Pentecostal and indigenous Pentecostal-type churches gave Christianity a new vibrancy and relevance.

The biblical concept of the Holy Spirit as outlined in my study (Anderson 1991:113-120) in fact makes 'divine involvement' possible for Christians in real, concrete terms. This involvement, when entered into, absorbs the whole being of Christians - and not just the 'soul' part of human experience. This will often result in a release of emotion also, a catharsis that has purifying effect. Criticisms of indigenous Pentecostal-type churches and their 'pervading Spirit' with its emotionalism are often therefore irrelevant, not only in an African context but also in a biblical one. African Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches, like many mission churches, are naturally limited by their humanness, and for this reason they need biblical correction. But many Westerners have probably not only misunderstood the African world view with what seems to them its strange and somewhat unnerving spirit manifestations, but many of them have also missed the essential, dynamic nature of 'spiritual' Christianity as portrayed in the Bible, and have crowded it out with their theologising. The Pentecostal churches have demonstrated that it is at least as important to

practise pneumatology as to theorise about it. I am convinced that in Africa there are a myriad of needs that will seldom be met with our traditional, rational and, in some respects, rather impotent Western philosophical Christianity. What is needed is the sort of innovative African Christianity that is found in many of the African Pentecostal churches, that takes seriously the African world view with its existential needs. In this respect a relevant pneumatology in Africa is absolutely essential, and is neglected at our peril. It may be that we will discover that the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches have taken the lead here, and provide us with many of the answers to the perplexing problems of Africa.

This unique contribution to African theology in general, and pneumatology in particular, should be studied seriously by anyone wanting to be relevant in Africa today. It is important that anyone seeking to research Christian theology in Africa should look at the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches closely to see this authentically African expression of pneumatology. In the process the shortcomings of Western theology in Africa might also be discovered. It is specifically in the various manifestations of the Holy Spirit in African Pentecostal churches that a valuable contribution to Christian theology is seen, rather than in any theologising. It is in the practice of the gifts of the Spirit that the underlying theory is exhibited.

1.2 The 'life-force' of the Spirit

The *sine qua non* of African Pentecostal churches is the power of the Holy Spirit. He is the one to whom credit is given for everything that takes place. He causes people to 'receive' the Spirit, to prophesy, speak in tongues, heal, exorcise demons, have visions and dreams, and live 'holy' lives, and generally he directs the life and worship of the church. Nussbaum (1985:69) found that one of the prominent features of all five of the Lesotho indigenous churches in his research was a 'direct encounter with the power of the Spirit'. This was 'tangible proof that God remains in a dynamic relationship with His people through His Spirit' (1985:83). Sundkler (1961:242) says that the Holy Spirit is 'the fundamental concept in Zionist ideology'. The African Independent Churches, in *Speaking for Ourselves*, stated that 'if our theology has one central focal point then it is the **Holy Spirit**' (ICT 1985:26, emphasis in original). All that has been described thus far in the previous two chapters has its nucleus in pneumatology and the person of the Holy Spirit.

The teaching concerning the Holy Spirit, although not clearly enunciated to the satisfaction of Western theological observers, is central to the beliefs and practices of African Pentecostal churches. Indigenous Pentecostal-type churches do not depart from orthodox trinitarian teaching concerning the Holy Spirit, at

least not consciously. Pneumatological beliefs and practices are justified by referring to the Bible, which for most Pentecostal-type churches is the ultimate source of authority. The Holy Spirit speaks to their church leaders and members through the Bible. This pneumatology is given expression in the realm of the practices and manifestations of the Spirit in these churches, rather than in any theologising.

A major area of criticism concerning African pneumatology as perceived by the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches concerns their concept of the 'power' of the Holy Spirit. Although Placide Tempels' *Bantu Philosophy* with its fundamentally Western philosophical approach has been seriously questioned and is no longer generally accepted, much of what he has to say about concepts of power is still pertinent to an understanding of the power of the Spirit in Africa. According to Tempels (1959:44-45) all African behaviour is centred in the single value of acquiring **life, strength or vital force** (emphasis in original). This force or 'power' is tangibly perceived and manipulable, and some may have more of it than others.

Earlier Western observers have often regarded African indigenous churches - and by implication also Pentecostal churches worldwide - as conceiving of the Holy Spirit as an 'impersonal force' which can be 'possessed' and 'given' at random by the will of humankind. The Holy Spirit thus becomes a manipulable force not unlike this concept of 'life-force' or 'vital force' as conceived by African traditional religion (e.g. Sundkler 1961:244,260; Martin 1964:113,161; Oosthuizen 1968:122; Beyerhaus 1969:74-76). In fact, indications are that the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches do not see the Holy Spirit as an impersonal and manipulable force at all. For example, when the Holy Spirit comes upon the prophets, instead of people 'manipulating' the Spirit, it often appears that the reverse is true. Prophets seized by the Spirit have little control of their actions or utterances, and it is usually believed that the Spirit has 'possessed' (or 'manipulated') them. Whatever they do is the work of the Holy Spirit, and he cannot be controlled by a person, not even the leader of the church group. Furthermore, the presence of the Holy Spirit in a person's life can hardly be conceived of as being 'morally neutral'; for the Spirit's possession of a person in these churches results not only in evidences of power, but also in holiness of life. The Bible itself also furnishes abundant testimony of tangible manifestations of the Holy Spirit's power, not unlike those experienced in African Pentecostalism (Anderson 1992:113-120). Distinctions between 'personal' and 'impersonal' power in Africa may be splitting hairs. Power, if coming from God and bestowed on people must be personal, and not some vague idea of 'vital force' or 'ambiguous, numinous force'.

Sundkler, Martin and Oosthuizen have all softened their approaches and attitudes to African independent churches as they have had closer contact with the people they have criticised, and thus have become more 'African' in their orientation. They were pioneers in this field, with the limited evidence in the fifties and sixties. Granting my evangelical background, I would probably have come to the same conclusions under the same circumstances. Nevertheless, the shortcomings in their approach must be considered in the light of the most recent research. The evaluations of pneumatology in Pentecostal-type churches which were first suggested by Sundkler, supported by Martin and Oosthuizen, and which came to have a somewhat general and uncritical acceptance right into the seventies, cannot today be countenanced by evidence from the churches themselves. All these negative evaluations seem to stem from an overemphasis on theological theory (as Westerners see it), and a disparaging of the real-life situation as Africans experience it in the world of the Spirit.

Daneel (1988:118) states bluntly that the idea that the Holy Spirit is an impersonal, manipulable force 'is inapplicable to the prophetic Shona churches'. His research demonstrates that in these churches 'inspiration or revelation by the Holy Spirit is ascribed to God's initiative and not to man' (:119). As for the allegedly amoral (or even immoral) character of the 'Spirit' in these churches, Daneel (:119-120) says that, to the contrary, the 'decisive criteria' of the churches are the fruit of the Holy Spirit. The prophets, in exercising their ministry under the inspiration of the Spirit, are very concerned to maintain Christian morality, particularly as is evidenced by the public confessions of sin and the use of disciplinary measures for transgressors. Martin (1975:131) in her later work on Kimbanguism quotes from the church's constitution, which emphasises 'moral purity' through 'the power of the Holy Spirit'. She had earlier written that Kimbanguism had deliberately 'shelved' the Bible and 'slackened' its moral code (Martin 1964:140). Her research clearly reveals that her earlier assumptions no longer apply, at least not to Kimbanguism. Cazziol (1987:107) found that among the Zionist churches of Swaziland the power of the Spirit was also associated with morality. All this indicates that 'the allegation that there is no moral involvement with the Spirit is a theological fiction' (Daneel 1988:120).

The Western approach to the African world view has categorised 'life-force' as an impersonal manipulable force. The African, on the other hand, objects to such a dualistic categorisation that labels 'impersonal' something which is often, and at the same time, 'personal'. Perhaps the 'power' made available to Christian believers through the Holy Spirit is closer to the African concept of 'life-force' than we dare to admit! In a brief study of biblical words for 'Spirit', I observed the following:

the African concept of power, like the biblical one, is that of forcefulness, strength and ability. It carries with it the idea of dignity, authority and power over oppression. It also refers to power in action, and has its ultimate source in God. It cannot therefore be said to be at variance with the biblical concept of power; it is, in fact, almost identical with it. This is the power which is sought for and claimed through the Holy Spirit.

(Anderson 1991:115)

2 PENTECOSTAL MANIFESTATIONS

2.1 The 'initial evidence'

All Pentecostal churches throughout the world attach great importance to the 'baptism in the Holy Spirit'. Even many indigenous Pentecostal-type churches follow the general Pentecostal preference for the Authorised (King James) Version of the Bible, and in the English constitutions of their churches often state words like those quoted by Sundkler (1961:243), from the constitution of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion, that 'the Baptism of the believers in the Holy Ghost is indicated by the initial physical signs of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of the God (sic) gives them utterance'. This is a definitive statement of belief common to many Western Pentecostal churches with which I am familiar. It would seem that at least the official teaching of some Pentecostal-type churches in South Africa regarding the Holy Spirit has a close affinity to that of Western Pentecostalism - in some cases it is word-for-word. In practice, however, the differences that emerge have to do with the indigenous churches' fundamental orientation to the African spirit world.

The initial and subsequent receiving of the Spirit is a fundamental practice in Pentecostal churches. The first Pentecostal missionaries to South Africa brought the doctrine of the 'baptism with the Spirit' with the 'initial evidence' of speaking with tongues, a practice which had its original driving force in a black American church (Anderson 1992:24). Pentecostal teaching regarding the 'baptism in the Spirit' (also called the 'fullness of the Spirit') concentrates on the book of Acts and the Day of Pentecost experience of Acts 2:4. It is believed that this experience is subsequent to conversion, and biblical confirmation of this view is found by referring to several 'proof texts'. Speaking in tongues as the 'initial evidence' is believed to be confirmed by Acts 2:4; 10:45-46; 19:6; and 1 Corinthians 12 and 14. This teaching was enthusiastically propagated by the Apostolic Faith Mission and other Pentecostal churches, and later by the independent Zionist churches. Today most Pentecostal churches still insist on

speaking in tongues as the evidence of Holy Spirit baptism, which distinguishes them from other churches.

Many of our Pentecostal respondents who said that they had received the Holy Spirit also said that they had spoken in tongues at the time. This was the reason that they knew they had received the Holy Spirit. Others, however, expressed their belief that they had received the Holy Spirit in less perceptible terms. Like several Pentecostal-type church members, they thought that the Holy Spirit could be seen from a person's actions rather than from any specific manifestation. Such a person was one who walked by faith, who witnessed often about God, who loved other people, who felt God's presence, who could pray or cry in a certain way, and so on. It was clear during our interviews that many Pentecostal people do not speak in tongues, and do not connect tongues with the baptism in the Spirit at all.

Pentecostal-type churches too, like the Pentecostal churches of Western origin, practise a receiving of the power of the Spirit subsequent to, but sometimes simultaneously with, baptism in water, and to a lesser degree they practise speaking in tongues. Several Pentecostal-type church members said that they knew that they had received the Spirit because they had spoken in tongues. An elder in the Apostolic Church in Zion related his experience as follows:

One day in our service as we were worshipping the Lord, somebody came to me and said that God wanted to give me the Holy Spirit so that I would become a prophet. I was told in a word of prophecy to use this gift to help people. The bishop laid his hands on me, and what felt like electricity went through my body and I felt cold. I fell onto my back and was 'sleeping' for over an hour, not understanding what was happening as the service continued. Afterwards I woke up and tried to speak to the bishop. I could not understand myself as I was speaking to him; and he could not understand me. He told me I was speaking in tongues. This went on for two days. During that time I was unable to speak my mother tongue, but could only speak in a strange language.

Members of other indigenous Apostolic churches also said that they knew that people had received the Spirit because they spoke in tongues. This was true of the St Matthew, St Paul and the Jerusalem Apostolic Church members. Some members equated the coming of the Holy Spirit chiefly with the supernatural ability to prophesy. In some of these churches (this appears to be the case with the St Paul Apostolic Church) the Holy Spirit falls **only** on the prophets. They

will begin to cry and shout, speak in tongues and raise their hands during the church service, and then a little later they will begin to prophesy, saying that the Holy Spirit has descended on them.

There was clearly some confusion in the minds of several Pentecostal-type respondents when it came to the subject of the Holy Spirit, and it seemed that whatever Pentecostal influence there had been on this facet of their faith was no longer evident. Some members of these churches said that the receiving of the Spirit occurs at baptism. Others felt that the spirit who helps people to be diviners is changed at baptism to the Holy Spirit. Some said that a person's faith would determine how much of the Spirit that person had, and that there was no way to determine who had received the Spirit. One man, a ZCC member, was not sure what the Holy Spirit was at all. He felt that the Holy Spirit was his conscience which guided him into choosing what was good and avoiding what was evil. Another ZCC member said that she was not sure whether she had received the Spirit, but that she sometimes felt her heart being touched when there was singing in the church, so that she began to weep uncontrollably. She said that this was a despairing weeping which she could not explain, and that she was uncertain whether it was the Holy Spirit or an evil spirit. Another respondent said that she had received the Holy Spirit, 'although I have not received him properly, as I am still a beginner in this church'. Many Pentecostal-type members said that it was not possible to see immediately who had received the Holy Spirit, but that a person's actions would reveal this fact. Many times they spoke of 'spiritual' graces as being evidence of the Holy Spirit's presence: the ability to love, to feel unity with other believers, to be at peace, to sing and behave joyfully, and so on. Many members said that the Holy Spirit descended on members while they were praying or singing in the church service, and that they would then begin to 'feel' the presence of the Spirit. It was not easy to tell whether someone was 'under the power' of the Spirit; one could tell only by the actions. Some considered that the receiving of the Spirit was tantamount to holy living. One respondent said that she had not yet received the Spirit because she was 'not yet living a straight and holy life'. Some IPC members said that the Holy Spirit is received when a person becomes a member of the church and no longer does wrong things. One member said that their leader Modise was the only one upon whom the Holy Spirit had fallen; further investigation revealed that she thought that Modise *was* the Holy Spirit, as we have seen above. Modise said that the IPC does not practise speaking in tongues and prophesying.

A fear of the 'excesses' that often accompanied the receiving of the Spirit in African churches caused many Western Pentecostal missionaries to suppress the central tenet of their faith concerning the receiving of the Spirit both in teaching and practice. It is necessary for the Holy Spirit to be allowed to work in a

particularly African way. In indigenous Pentecostal-type churches, however, speaking in tongues does not seem to play as prominent a part as it does in Western Pentecostalism, with its emphasis on speaking in tongues as the 'initial evidence'. There are many other Spirit manifestations which receive at least as much prominence in these churches. In African Pentecostal mission and independent churches too, speaking in tongues has usually not been as prominent a feature.

In most cases, speaking in tongues in these churches (when it occurs) represents a genuine manifestation of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit - certainly it is this to the participators. The phenomenon has its origins in American Pentecostalism, and in fact it parallels the experiences of both Western Pentecostalism and the tongues manifestations in the New Testament. To aver otherwise is to make a subjective and unwarranted misinterpretation of the occurrence. Speaking in tongues is a biblical phenomenon that often contributes to the reality of a person's encounter with God through the Holy Spirit. At best, we may consider the African traditional spirit-world to be the fertile ground that prepared the way for the 'coming of the Holy Spirit' to Africa (Anderson 1991:97).

2.2 Pentecostal manifestations

Most of the Pentecostal respondents in the Soshanguve survey believed in typically Pentecostal manifestations: demons were cast out in their churches (82%) and the members spoke in tongues (84%). To the question 'Do you speak in tongues?', the responses were almost evenly divided: 53% said that they did and 47% did not. This phenomenon therefore, although practised more by Pentecostals than by any other Black church group, is not as widespread as it is in 'white' Pentecostalism. Nevertheless, these churches are 'Pentecostal' because they subscribe to the Pentecostal theology of the baptism in the Spirit.

So much of the religious activity in the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches is directly attributed to the working of the Holy Spirit by those participating in that activity. In the ZCC services the various activities of the prophets are directly attributed to the working of the Holy Spirit. He is the one who causes the prophets to behave 'abnormally': jerking, jumping, snorting, and various other contortions of the body. The different revelations given to the prophets come from the Spirit, although we have seen that there is, in a few cases, some confusion regarding the source of this revelation, which is sometimes attributed to the ancestors.

A member of the Zion Apostolic Twelve in Jerusalem Church told us that when the members of her church receive the Spirit during a service and the 'Spirit comes' on them, they can expect one or more of several things to take place: jumping up and down, clapping hands, shouting, falling down, fainting, speaking in unknown tongues, prophesying, dancing, singing and so on - these things, she explained, are uncontrollable, but they signify the presence of the Holy Spirit. The teachings in her church are based entirely on what the Spirit wants people to do. As a result of this presence of the Spirit in the church the people are able to remain in the church service 'from 11 o'clock to 6 o'clock' - and not, she pointed out, like some churches where the people were out at 12 o'clock because the Spirit was not present! Another very sceptical observer described what a minister once did in a church service she attended:

He slid like a snake, and made a lot of noise, jumping around, laying hands on people and prophesying, even beating some people. He laid hands on me, grabbing me and pulling me by the hair, then punched me and said I had evil spirits in me. I did not understand what was happening. Afterwards I was told that I was delivered by this man who was 'under the power of the Spirit' - but I was not sure at all.

I have previously described what I have termed 'pneumatological manifestations' in African indigenous Pentecostal-type churches (Anderson 1991:41-46). In doing so, I assumed that any interpretation of these phenomena would of necessity attempt to understand them as the African participants did: manifestations of the overriding presence of the Spirit of God. As West (1975:188) has pointed out:

One of the central problems is to be able to distinguish FORM from CONTENT: although a modern rite may look substantially the same as a traditional rite, it is not necessarily seen in the same light by participants.

In the light of the fact that no less 'unusual' manifestations of the Holy Spirit were experienced in biblical times (cf Anderson 1991:104-113), we must give the benefit of the doubt to these participants, accepting the manifestations at face value as a genuine response to the working of the Holy Spirit amongst ordinary African people. This is the raw material out of which an authentic African Christian pneumatology can be described. Pneumatology in Africa is enacted at least as much as it is articulated; the enacting of pneumatology is seen in the various and multiplied manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Sometimes there is indeed spurious play acting and manipulation through an alleged 'manifestation of the Spirit' - but Christianity throughout the world is plagued with 'false

prophets' and people who use religious sanctions to enforce their human will. In the African Pentecostal churches themselves there are checks and balances against such manipulation, but they are not always clearly discernible at the time.

Today in the townships there are signs that these typically Pentecostal phenomena are disappearing in some Pentecostal-type indigenous churches, and that the charismatic, prophetic leaders of the past are being replaced by more functional ones. The ZCC, for example, may not now be described as a Pentecostal church in the strict sense of the word and, indeed, would probably not itself subscribe to such a categorisation. Many ZCC members we interviewed did not share fundamental Pentecostal beliefs like the necessity for being 'born again' and the empowering of a believer through Holy Spirit baptism, usually with the 'initial evidence' of speaking in tongues. Although 25% of the 168 ZCC members who were interviewed believed that there was speaking in tongues in their church, 69% did not, and 6% were uncertain. When asked the question 'Have you spoken in tongues?' nearly everyone (96%) said they had not. Similarly, all 37 of the St Engenas ZCC members interviewed said that they had never spoken in tongues. Nevertheless, the ZCC still has what might be characterised as Pentecostal phenomena. Nearly all (95%) of the ZCC members we interviewed said that there were prophets in the church. They all said that there was healing of the sick in the church, and most (85%) said that demons were exorcised there. Evidence of the Holy Spirit's power in the ZCC was believed by members to be seen in the use of supernatural power revealed in healing, exorcism or prophecy. One ZCC respondent in Soshanguve, the church secretary, said that when the Holy Spirit came on people in the services there would be singing and speaking in tongues, and other manifestations like jumping around. A person who manifested in this way was left alone until he gave a message of prophecy, because 'it is evident that he is speaking with the ancestors or with God', he said.

As far as the St John Apostolic church is concerned, members interviewed in Soshanguve considered that exorcism of demons was an important part of the church's activities, and a slight majority (58%) said that there was speaking in tongues in the church. When the members were asked if they themselves had spoken in tongues, however, only one answered in the affirmative. It would therefore appear that speaking in tongues in the church is mainly associated with the prophetic office, and that this church too has to some extent drifted away from Pentecostalism in its stricter, Western sense.

In the IPC, Modise is opposed to speaking in tongues and prophecy, which he says have ceased; thus his church may hardly be called a Pentecostal or even a Pentecostal-type church. Many members did not know of prophecy or speaking in tongues in the church at all. And yet one member expressly told us that she

was a prophet in the church. When the Holy Spirit came upon her she would call a person aside and tell that person what God wanted done. She also said that the ancestors reveal God's will to the people through the prophet. A person full of the Spirit of God, she declared, was able to speak with the ancestors. This woman, however, was probably not typical of IPC members, who have been taught to reject the ancestor cult.

The question was asked: 'Does the Holy Spirit come to church members during church services?' This was followed by a question 'How does he come?' The answers given were varied. For members of some Pentecostal-type churches the Holy Spirit came while members were singing, clapping, dancing or praying. Signs of his presence were jumping, shaking, clapping, falling to the ground, prophesying, the ability to heal, and other signs of his evident power - but seldom speaking in tongues. Some members did not expect unusual or ecstatic manifestations at all. One indigenous Apostolic member said that the presence of the Holy Spirit is seen when the Bible is being preached and the Holy Spirit takes the Word of God to the heart of the listener.

2.3 God's power in the Spirit

Clearly, the Pentecostal churches are founded on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. This is what in their own estimation distinguishes them from other churches. A demonstration of God's power through his 'pervading' Spirit embracing all of life will often convince Africans that God is indeed more powerful than the surrounding evil forces, and therefore is worthy of worship, faith and service. The genuine power of the Holy Spirit, whether through an anointed leader or through the whole congregation, can effectively meet existential needs in the African holistic world view. Without the power of the Spirit, African Christians can easily revert to the religion of their forefathers, which was more 'powerful' than the somewhat sterile, rational Christianity imported to Africa from the West. Africans need to discover in their own milieu that the Christian God is indeed all-powerful, and this omnipotent God manifests his presence through the Holy Spirit working graciously and actively in the church.

The most important contribution of African Pentecostalism to a relevant African theology lies in the 'enacted pneumatology' that is undoubtedly its strongest feature. Theology must be applicable to life as it is experienced, and the pneumatology depicted in African Pentecostalism is a contextual theology which usually remains consistent with the biblical norm. This is a truly dynamic Christian response to the very real dangers in Africa of a revival of traditional spiritualism on the one hand, and the emergence of a syncretism that is true neither to African religion nor to the Christian message, on the other. For these fundamental reasons the pneumatology of African Pentecostalism must be taken

seriously as a relevant African theology. Far from being a bridge back to the 'heathen past', this African pneumatology, when carefully assessed, will be seen to meet existential needs in Africa more effectively than the somewhat impotent and 'foreign' theology that has been imported into this continent from the Western world. In this connection, we must note that African Pentecostalism in its more 'Western' expression in the Pentecostal mission and independent churches may have achieved less contextualisation than have the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. These churches may still have much to learn from their estranged cousins, at least in so far as relevance to African needs is concerned.

The power of the Holy Spirit is the cardinal tenet of African Pentecostalism, the central focus of all the various manifestations and practices being described throughout this study. Earlier and uncritically accepted allegations that this 'power' is an impersonal, mysterious, tangible (and even amoral) force that may be manipulated and controlled have been shown to be largely based on ethnocentric presuppositions without any substance whatever. In the perceptions of the members of Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches, it is the Holy Spirit who controls people, and not the other way around. He is the one who takes the initiative, and who does a sanctifying work in his people so that they desire to live lives that are morally in accordance with the Christian revelation. The traditional African concept of power is in fact so close to the concept of the power of the Spirit revealed in the Bible, that it becomes the fertile ground in which biblical pneumatology is planted and bears fruit in an African context.

Many of our respondents from both Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches believed that they had received this power of the Holy Spirit, with or without speaking in tongues. The evidence of our research points to the fact that although the 'initial evidence' theory was assented to mentally by many of the churches being researched, this theory was seldom practised, especially in the Pentecostal-type churches. Some of these churches, especially the IPC and to a lesser extent the ZCC, have substantially departed from Pentecostal theology in this respect. Even the Pentecostal churches of Western origin did not emphasise this doctrine as much as their white counterparts. The power of the Spirit was not restricted to 'tongues' in these churches, but was found in other tangible and intangible manifestations of his presence. All of these various manifestations, sometimes misunderstood by Western observers, are believed by those participating in them to be confirmation of the pervading Holy Spirit of God, and of genuine responses of African people to his working in the church. Speaking in tongues, prophecy, healing and many other manifestations of the Spirit are taken seriously both by the participants and by the biblical record; they must be taken seriously by those wanting to understand this major expression of African Christianity.

3 PROPHETIC PRACTICES

3.1 The prophetic office

In many African Pentecostal mission and independent Pentecostal churches the office of prophet is not found; indeed, there is active opposition and disdain amongst many Pentecostals for the prophets and their practices in some Pentecostal-type churches. Some Pentecostals consider the Zionist prophet to be nothing more than a revamped traditional diviner. One respondent said that he would never go to prophets because 'they have no relationship with God', and they are 'similar to diviners'. The IPC too is diametrically opposed to prophets. One IPC member said bluntly: 'There are no prophets in our church, because prophets are deceivers. Even if they might prophesy the truth, you will find that they cannot heal you. They will lead you into greater problems and troubles.' This respondent went on to say that there were no prophets in the IPC because Modise, one much greater than any prophet, had come.

Some Pentecostals, however, considered that there **were** prophets in the church, one of the 'ministry gifts' or 'five-fold ministry' of Ephesians 4:11 - apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. 'A prophet is one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the church,' commented a member of the Praise Tabernacle Church, 'although we do not have a specific prophet in our church.' The primary function of the prophet in all types of African Pentecostalism is that of declaring revelation. A St John member said that the prophet was one to whom God revealed 'secrets' to give to the people. The prophet was the person who received a 'word' or wisdom from God and declared it to the people in the church. A member of a Pentecostal mission church thought that a prophet was able to reveal 'God's truth' to people. An AFM member felt that a prophet was a person to whom God had revealed the needs of his children, so that he can help them. The prophet was a person who prays for these people with needs. A member of Praise Tabernacle said that a prophet was the mouthpiece of God who brought God's message to the people, discerning the spirits that were in people and warning of problems that might arise. Some Pentecostals, however, were quick to point out that these prophets were 'not like Zionists'. One Pentecostal woman put it as follows, which is typical of the feeling of most Pentecostals towards Zionist prophets:

I believe that there are two kinds of prophets. The one kind is the prophet who has the Holy Spirit in him. The other kind of prophet is the one that the book of Revelation talks about: the false prophet who will come in the last days. The prophets who have the Holy Spirit do not work for themselves; they work for the Lord.

This was a view repeated to us by several Pentecostal people, and we found it among some Pentecostal-type people as well. A member of the Apostolic Christian Church in Zion said that there were true prophets and false prophets. One woman said that a prophet who is led by the Holy Spirit is the mouthpiece of God. Other prophets who used water and candles, etcetera, did not go to the Bible. Their counsel sometimes resulted in people's lives being destroyed, which could never be from God, she said. The problem with this type of response is that generalisations and stereotypes have been made which in most cases do not apply. The attitude fails to see the real needs which are being met by indigenous church prophets, and that these prophets themselves often do rely on the Holy Spirit and the Bible for their revelations. The difference between the 'two kinds' of prophets may therefore be more of an illusion than a reality.

In most Pentecostal-type churches the prophets are people of immense importance. They are the messengers who hear from God and proclaim his will to people. They are sort of seers, people who have divine power to 'see' the revelations of God pertaining to the complaint of the enquirer, especially sicknesses. Like diviners, they are usually expected to 'see' the complaints before they are uttered by the sufferers. One of the most common answers given by Pentecostal-type church members to the question 'What is a prophet?' was that the prophet is a person who sees what sickness is troubling you, the reason for it, and how it may be healed. One woman had the following expectations of a prophet:

A prophet reveals someone's problems when you go to him. He will be able to tell me deep secrets about my condition when I am sick. I should therefore not tell him what I am suffering from; he must be able to tell me exactly what I am undergoing and give me the remedy to heal the sickness troubling me.

They are healers *par excellence*, the ones to whom the faithful must go when they or their loved ones are sick or afflicted in any other way. Many respondents obviously saw this as the primary function of a prophet: 'The prophet is somebody who helps people when they are sick,' was one response typical of many. Their healing practices are expected to be effective and to actually bring healing to the patients. They are the ones who must pray for and dispense the holy water that is so often used in healing in these churches, and use other symbolic healing objects as the need arises, as we shall see below. They are also people who are expected to give direction and counsel for all kinds of problems. And as we shall see later, prophets in a few indigenous churches are people who are sometimes believed to declare the will of the ancestors.

The prophet is expected to be available to fulfil his prophetic function at any time. Furthermore, in most indigenous Pentecostal-type churches the Holy Spirit will descend in an extraordinary way during church services, so that the prophets are anointed to operate then. They will single out people for prophetic therapy. Their problems will be revealed, and advice given as to what action should or should not be taken. We observed several instances of this procedure. The prophet will usually manifest some sign that the Spirit has taken control; the ZCC prophets we witnessed snorted, cried, whistled, panted, jerked and contorted their bodies in different ways. Some bent over as they walked, wringing their hands behind their backs. Others were completely silent and behaved 'normally'. The people being singled out were pointed to by the prophet, and they then had to follow. Sometimes the prophet clapped his hands together to get someone's attention, and then pointed with the hands together in a praying posture. The status or rank of the person being singled out made little difference; a young unmarried woman can command one of the church leaders to follow her to the prophetic enclosure for counsel, and he must follow, as we observed several times.

In indigenous Pentecostal-type churches prophesying is an essential aspect of the ministry. As Daneel (1988:25) puts it, 'It is the accepted way in which the Holy Spirit reveals His will for a specific situation.' In this sense it forms part of pastoral care, for the many different problematic situations encountered by African people are brought to the prophets for their assistance. They make known the will of God for a particular situation, and thus through the Holy Spirit they help bring relief. In these churches 'it is taken for granted that this form of communication between God and man belongs to the essence of Christianity' (1988:27). A St John member said that the work of the prophet was to declare to people the way that they should live. Prophets therefore often exert a moral restraint on people. One ZCC respondent, for example, told of how a prophet had revealed that he was stealing from his workplace. He would have to stop immediately, or he would land up in prison, he said. He immediately obeyed.

The prophets did not enjoy universal support amongst members of Pentecostal-type churches. Some of the respondents had a problem with those prophets who were selling their wares for financial gain - certainly not a universal practice in indigenous churches. They alluded to the practice of some prophets of charging a fee for a consultation, which in many people's minds put them on a par with the diviners. A member of the Apostolic Christian Church in Zion said that these were 'false prophets'. There were a significant number of people who said that both the prophets and the diviners wasted people's money - if they were sick they should much rather visit medical practitioners, who were the only ones who could really help them. One woman said that when prophets charged people money for a consultation it was tantamount to nullifying the gift they had

received from God. She went on to suggest that a prophet could be used by demons or by God. When a prophet identified someone who was doing you harm you would begin to hate that person, she said. This type of prophecy was destructive and did not come from God. Another woman also alluded to the practice of some prophets of pointing out neighbours who were bewitching you - these prophets were not true prophets, she said. There were a number of respondents who spoke about the objectionable practices among some prophets of 'pointing out witches' - these were regarded as false prophets. One respondent expressed it like this:

False prophets are those who will tell you that so-and-so is trying to bewitch you. This is untrue. A prophet is supposed to pray for you and help you in your condition, and not point fingers at other people.

In fact, we came across a case in point which illustrated the possible harmful effects of this particular prophetic practice. A member of the ZCC told of the day when her daughter was struck on the head by a stone which was thrown by her son. The child was badly hurt. At the time it happened she saw her neighbours, who had been sitting outside, 'quickly go inside'. After going first to a diviner and then to a St John prophet, she was told that they could do nothing to help her. The St John prophet, however, said that she should visit her ZCC relatives, who would take her to the prophets who would help the child. This she did, and the prophets told her that she must not blame her son for what had happened. The son had been controlled by a power which was not from himself, they said. He had been bewitched by the neighbours, who had sent a *tokoloshe* (an evil spirit) which had made him angry. She was therefore not to discipline the son, or shout at him for what had happened. This respondent said that she did not suspect anything at the time, but when the prophets told her this, she remembered her neighbours' actions and knew that they were 'responsible for this work'. One can only surmise that this incident must have caused considerable hard feeling between this woman and her neighbours. It is unlikely that this kind of prophecy by itself can have any therapeutic or counselling value. Had the prophets initiated a process of reconciliation - such as Daneel (1974:307) had observed in Zimbabwe, in which both the afflicted and the ones accused of afflicting were counselled within the church fold - then the prophetic advice may have been the beginning of a truly African solution. Finding the cause of the suffering is very important in this context, and this type of prophetic diagnosis may not always be wrong. The diagnosis may produce a psychological catharsis which may benefit the afflicted in relation to the real fear of witchcraft.

We must also reckon with the fact that those members of indigenous churches who had criticised prophets may have done so for personal reasons, and may therefore have been totally subjective and bigoted in their evaluation, as is often the case. The majority of members of Pentecostal-type churches believed in the essential value of these prophets in meeting human needs which could not be met elsewhere. To some respondents, the character of the prophets is of utmost importance. One respondent said that one must be absolutely sure that the person praying for symbolic healing objects is a pure, straight person, or it may result in misfortune. Our field worker was told by a ZCC prophet that he needed to receive ongoing therapy from a 'good' minister, and not just any minister, to receive healing.

3.2 The nature of prophecy

Amongst Western 'mainline' Pentecostals, prophecy tends to be restricted to 'forthtelling' rather than 'foretelling', to exhortation rather than prediction, despite some notable exceptions mentioned later. In African Pentecostalism, however, both aspects are found. Prophecy in African Pentecostal churches often occurs, although probably not as frequently as in indigenous Pentecostal-type churches. In the Praise Tabernacle (formerly Victory Fellowship) Church in Soshanguve, two examples illustrate the two aspects of prophecy. When the church was meeting in a schoolroom, a prophecy was given by a visiting preacher in which he said that the church would be moving to a big building of their own - this was fulfilled in 1990. This would be regarded as a predictive prophecy. An exhortative prophecy, the more common type, was illustrated by the woman who prophesied that the people should begin tithing their income to the church, as they had not been doing so, and were thereby displeasing God. The prophecy had an immediate effect, and the church offerings increased dramatically. One member of this church said that prophecy had a very important role to play in that danger could be foreseen (predictive prophecy) or mistakes in the church pointed out and corrected (exhortative prophecy). Similarly, another respondent said that prophecy was essential in a church, as a person who could give prophetic messages was able to look into the future and say what God was saying about specific situations.

In most older Western Pentecostal churches, prophecy which is personal or predictive is often avoided, so that Hollenweger (1972:345) speaks of the absence of what he terms 'biblical prophecy' there. This is so in African Pentecostal-type churches, in which prophecy of a personal and predictive nature frequently appears. This is particularly the case where prophetic activity has much to do with helping people overcome their traditional and deep-seated fears of witchcraft and sorcery. In Pentecostal-type and in Pentecostal churches in

seven men were then allowed to return to the main service. Apart from the fact that he was wearing spectacles, Sam was not suffering from any of the ailments 'identified' by the prophet at the time. The other notable fact was that the prophet did not attempt to give reasons for the sicknesses, as so many other prophets do in their healing sessions. He simply named the sicknesses and their remedies. (The apparent 'mistaken' diagnosis will be discussed later.)

I was called for prophetic therapy on two occasions. On the first occasion, a man probably in his fifties dressed in the green uniform approached me, indicating that I was to follow him to the enclosure. He proceeded there grunting, snorting and breathing heavily. When we reached the enclosure, I was given some paper to kneel on, and he started to prophesy. God wanted to bless me, he said, as I had come to the ZCC 'because of some problems'. Ramarumo (the present bishop) had directed me there. I had heart palpitations, he said, for which the recipe was to be sprinkled with blessed water and to drink Joko tea. (I did not have heart palpitations.) At that point we were interrupted by a senior minister who chided the prophet for having called me out of the main church enclosure. We were visitors, he said, and prophesying to visitors had to be authorised by the leaders. Evidently the prophesying in the ZCC is subject to control by the leadership.

On the second occasion Sam Otwang and I were instructed by a senior minister to accompany him to a senior prophet who would be able to help us. We went to a place near the entrance where the prophet, dressed in a business suit, sprinkled us liberally with blessed water in front and behind, and then gave us each some to drink. Then he lit a roll of paper and waved the smoke around each of us, finally placing the burning paper in our cupped hands. These rituals evidently symbolised purification and protection from evil. During this procedure no words were spoken, and we assumed that the praying had taken place beforehand. Once the rituals were over we were instructed to return to our seats. (I will return to our experience of the apparent ineffectiveness of these prophetic rituals at the conclusion to this chapter.)

3.3 Diagnostic prophecy

The spirit world of African traditional thought constructs in its own cosmology the built-in fears and threats that demand a Christian response. The African Christian prophet attempts to give this response, particularly in the healing sessions, when the nature and the cause of the disease are given at the same time. Diagnostic prophetic activity is probably the most common type of prophecy in indigenous Pentecostal-type churches.

Daneel (1974:217-232) gave several examples of Zionist diagnostic prophecies in Zimbabwe, which usually consisted of revealing the cause of illness or abnormality as well as the remedy. The cause was often shown to be a domestic relationship problem or a social conflict. There were sometimes dire consequences for the one who did not follow the prophet's instructions. This also often led to a strengthening of the patient's ties with the church organisation represented by the prophet, an effective recruitment technique (1974:230).

An interesting illustration was provided by a ZCC member in Soshanguve. She had been sick, and on visiting a prophet at Moria, she was told that she would keep her healing provided that she remained in the church for the rest of her life. Her family was being troubled by sorcery and by the *tokoloshe* (an anthropomorphous evil spirit discussed in chapter six). The trouble manifested itself in various ways and at different times. Both the woman and her husband believed themselves to have been poisoned by acquaintances, for they were suffering from stomach ailments described as 'something moving in our stomachs, something eating us from inside'. At night the children were being visited by a *tokoloshe*, and the parents were powerless to do anything about it. They visited the diviners, who told them that they had been bewitched and provided them with *muti*, which did not help them. They then went to the ZCC prophet, who prayed for them. Her husband and she had to drink water blessed by the prophet. Both of them vomited; her husband brought up 'something that looked like a crab' and she brought up 'something like a spider'. The problems with the *tokoloshe* and the stomach ailments then disappeared. On another occasion this respondent's daughter was very ill. The parents went to see the prophet, who told them that the girl had been bewitched by another girl at school. The prophet prayed and gave the girl blessed water and a string to tie around her waist, and she was healed.

It appears that the diagnoses given by the prophets are not always accurate, at least in the ZCC. In my case, I was told that I had heart palpitations. It was unclear whether he was referring to heart disease or to a state of stress, but neither was my condition at the time. The field worker was told that he had pains in the legs, which was also not correct. I was uncertain as to how these prophecies were to be evaluated by church members themselves, although it was clear that they took them seriously. The reaction of members to apparent 'incorrect' prophecies will be discussed below.

3.4 Parallels with traditional divination

Many of our respondents acknowledged the similarities between the prophet in Pentecostal-type churches and the traditional diviner. 'A prophet is a messenger, like a *sangoma* [diviner]' said one. Another said the following:

A prophet is like a diviner. He tells you some secrets and things that are going to happen. His task is like a church security guard. If there is going to be some attack on the church members he will tell you beforehand, and will guard against any spirits that will come in the church.

Another showed this basic similarity when she described how she had once visited a diviner. To this woman, a 'true prophet' was one who could reveal her sickness supernaturally:

He was supposed to tell me what kind of sickness I was suffering from; but to my surprise, the diviner asked me what was troubling me. I then knew that he was not a true prophet. He did not help me at all.

Daneel (1974:224) also pointed out the similarities that exist between prophetic diagnoses and traditional divination, because of which 'the diagnostic prophecies have such an appeal for the afflicted Shona'. The parallels in the liturgy can be seen in the preliminaries, whereby in the warming-up atmosphere of singing, clapping, dancing and stamping a state of trance is sometimes induced. Because the prophecy is seen in terms of an African's own traditional orientation it is very meaningful. Daneel (1974:224-225) pointed out that the difference between the traditional divination and the prophetic diagnosis lay in the 'medium through which the extraordinary knowledge is obtained'. The diviner relied on divinatory slabs, bones or spirits, or some other means, whereas the prophet invoked and spoke on behalf of the Holy Spirit exclusively. The important point was that **both** types of 'divination' concentrated on 'the personal causation of illness', which was the question foremost in an African's mind. The prophet sought to witness to the power of the risen Christ through the Holy Spirit, thus providing a remedy more effective than traditional rites.

To say that the Zionist prophets have simply taken over the function of the traditional diviner is to miss the point, at least in the Zimbabwean churches Daneel studied. Daneel (1974:294) convincingly showed that the prophetic diagnoses and prescriptions given there pointed to confrontation and change rather than to a preserving of the old order:

While the *nganga* [diviner] seeks a solution which accedes to the conditions of the spirits, the prophetic therapy is based upon a belief in the power of the Christian God, which surpasses all other powers.

The prophets 'ultimately emphasize their dependence on the Holy Spirit as the real revelatory agent' (:232). Because of this fundamental difference, any similarities of method between the prophets and the diviners remained superficial.

Despite these findings in Zimbabwe, in some South African indigenous churches (especially in the opinions of the church members) the offices of prophet and diviner do coalesce, and sometimes the prophet is the agent not only of the Holy Spirit but also of the ancestors. It was clear that many members saw the functions of prophet and diviner as interchangeable. One IPC member said that a person who had received 'the ancestor spirit' was able to be either a diviner or a prophet, according to one's choice. A person who was not baptised would become a diviner; through baptism a person could convert the spirit into the spirit of a prophet. This view was repeated to us many times by members of Pentecostal-type churches whom we interviewed, particularly by ZCC members. One ZCC member told us that a prophet has the powers of God or of the ancestors (she saw these powers as the same). A person with these powers could use them to function as a diviner at home, and could use the same powers to prophesy in the church. In both cases the person was a channel of God or of the ancestors, telling people what God or the ancestors wanted them to do. The implication was that the ancestors in fact spoke the word of God to people, and there was no perceived contradiction between the two. Another ZCC member said that a prophet was a 'spirit' in a person which was inherited from his or her ancestors or parents. Not everybody had this spirit; it must be inherited from the parents in order to be available for use.

The view was repeated several times by ZCC respondents. Typical of this was a ZCC member who said that a prophet was a person with a gift received 'from his own ancestors' enabling him to see things and prophesy 'by the spirit'. Similarly, it is believed in many indigenous churches that people may go to a prophet for healing, but fail to receive it because of disobedience of the ancestors' instructions. The prophet then gives the word from the ancestors, telling the patients what they need to do in order to be healed. A childless couple, for example, may have failed to do certain traditional things at their wedding, thus incurring the wrath of the ancestors. The prophet will instruct them to perform the necessary traditional rituals, without which they will continue to be childless. To illustrate this, one ZCC member told us that he was in his living room one day when he heard a voice telling him to look up at the ceiling. As he did so, he saw a vision of his weeping father who was long since deceased. He then went to the prophets to find out what he should do. They advised him to make a ritual killing for his father who was not satisfied with his conduct, because he felt he was being neglected. The prophets in this instance did what any diviner would have done - they played an identical role, at least in

the perception of this ZCC member. Many ZCC members do reject the ancestor cult, and some refer to ancestors as demon spirits. I have not yet come across evidence of **prophetic** confrontation in relation to the ancestors, but this does not mean that such confrontation never takes place in the ZCC. The fact that the majority of ZCC members reject the observance of the ancestor cult probably means that the cult has been confronted by at least some leaders and prophets.

3.5 Prophecy as African therapy

One of the central features of the pneumatology of most Pentecostal-type churches is the practice of prophecy there. Although Pentecostals do not emphasise prophecy as much as Pentecostal-type churches, the basic understanding of prophecy as divine revelation given primarily to meet human needs is the same among all types of African Pentecostals. Prophets are the messengers of God who declare God's revelation to people. The exercise of prophecy in Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches does not differ essentially in the way in which it is understood by the participants themselves. Both exhortative and predictive prophecy, personal and general, are found there. There are sometimes thought to be considerable differences between Pentecostal and indigenous church prophecies, but the perceived differences are mostly superficial and based on presupposition and stereotyped generalisations that do not have theological foundation.

For the members of all these churches, the source of the revelation of the prophets is the Holy Spirit. He is also the one who gives the prophets the power to heal sickness and overcome evil generated by the deep-seated fears and insecurities inherent in the African traditional world view. African prophetic practices must not only be seen to overcome the **results** of evil, they must also answer Africa's question 'Why?', revealing and removing the **cause** of evil. In indigenous Pentecostal-type churches, sometimes the revelation of the cause by itself is sufficient to guarantee the alleviation of the problem, and the supplicant is satisfied. Diagnostic prophecy thus is the most common form of prophecy found in these churches. These revelations by the Holy Spirit become one of the major sources of attraction for outsiders seeking answers to their particularly African problems, an efficient recruitment method. Prophecy in Africa often becomes an extremely effective form of pastoral therapy and counsel, mostly practised in private, a moral corrective and an indispensable facet of the Christian ministry. It can become an expression of care and concern for the needy, and in countless cases, it actually brings relief.

There is a danger that we may too simplistically 'write off' prophetic healing therapy in indigenous churches as a duplicate of traditional divination. The fact

that there are so many parallels between the **forms** of the old traditional practices and those of the new prophetic ones does not mean that the **content** of prophecy is the same as that of traditional divination. That most of the people do not see it as such was illustrated in our research. One woman observed that the prophets do not seek to draw attention to themselves, but to point the sufferers to God, who alone can bring healing. This was the reason why she had received healing through the prophets. The similarities sometimes are the greatest strengths for people seeking meaningful African solutions to their problems. As Daneel (1988:404) has remarked:

Why should the Holy Spirit not inspire people and provide them with insights and solutions within the cultural framework in which they live and conceptualize things? Why should He not take seriously the traditional cause of the malady, which is a reality to both prophet and patient, and deal with it in a manner which both parties understand? Certainly the Holy Spirit enriches and widens the scope of people's thought-world, but He does so through a process of transformation and renewal of the known from within, and not through a negation or elimination which would render the 'good news' incomprehensible.

For many Pentecostal-type church members, therefore, prophetic healing practices represent at the same time a truly Christian and a truly African approach to the problem of pain and suffering. Prophetic revelations in these churches must be taken seriously by anyone seeking to do meaningful theology in Africa.

Having said that, however, there was obviously a great deal of confusion in the minds of some members of indigenous churches when it came to the understanding of prophecy, and this was especially true of some ZCC members. In these cases it was indeed difficult to distinguish between prophecy and divination, or between the Holy Spirit and the ancestors as the source of revelation. To some church members the prophet played an identical role to the traditional diviner in declaring the will of the ancestors. We may not assume that syncretism does not exist, at least in the minds of some members of these churches still steeped in traditional thought-forms and oriented to the African spirit-world.

4 TOWARDS A RELEVANT AFRICAN THEOLOGY

The past three chapters have attempted to give a tentative indication of the enormous contribution that Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches make

towards a contextual theology in Africa. There was no evidence that these churches have carried over the traditional concept of a remote, transcendent God into their Christian faith, or that theology itself and Christology has been superseded by an overemphasis on the Spirit. Rather, there was evidence that most of African Pentecostalism generally acknowledges the Trinity, and confesses a personal God who has come near to us in the person of Jesus Christ, of whom the Holy Spirit bears abundant witness.

African Pentecostalism's theology is predominantly, but certainly not exclusively, a theology of the Spirit, or pneumatology. God manifests his presence through the Holy Spirit working actively in the church and endowing people with various gifts of his grace. These gifts of the Holy Spirit make it possible for a person to have a dynamic and real relationship with God. They provide for the universal need for solutions to life's felt problems. They make Christianity relevant to and practical in all of life, in a way that formal theology cannot do. The presence of the Holy Spirit is demonstrated in a way that rings true in Africa's holistic world, in an enacted and contextualised pneumatology that must encourage Christians both in their strengths and successes and in their weaknesses and failures.

The role of prophets and prophecy in most Pentecostal-type churches is of utmost importance in conceiving of salvation in Africa. In this respect, as revealers of God's will and dispensers of God's power to meet human needs, the African prophets become the agents of salvation in many indigenous churches. The source of their power is usually believed to be the Holy Spirit, who gives them revelations and the ability to overcome many African problems, including sickness and all kinds of evil. This becomes salvation from pain, fear and suffering for many people. Besides this, human error is inevitable in healing practices. I have witnessed many Pentecostal healing services over the past twenty years where sick people have apparently gone away unhealed, and so-called 'miracles' are claimed which eventually prove to be no miracles at all. This human failure does not mean that God's power and ability to heal is thereby negated.

For myself and the field worker, who were not seeking out help from the prophets or anticipating it when it was offered, the description of our participation in the ZCC prophetic healing ceremonies above leaves one important question unanswered. In both our cases the prophetic diagnoses were 'wrong'. Did this mean that this was the norm in these churches, and that the prophets were part of a play-acting that is a gigantic hoax? This conclusion, although 'obvious' and 'logical' from a Western perspective, would be superficial and altogether wrong. Most of the ZCC and other church respondents spoke of tangible help that they had received at the hands of the prophets, and their

belief in the absolute correctness of the prophetic diagnoses. This may be explained by the fact that these people had needs for which they were seeking solutions, and they had faith in the power of God working through the prophets. We did not come across a person complaining about the 'wrongness' of the diagnosis, although a few complained that no diagnosis had been given, or that the prophetic therapy had been unable to help them - these, however, were mostly people who had left the indigenous churches and had joined Pentecostal churches. When I asked ZCC members about our seemingly 'wrong' diagnoses, they explained that the revelations to the prophets did not always concern **present** conditions. Sometimes the prophets would diagnose afflictions that would occur in the future. A person who followed their instructions would avoid these problems. In other words, the prophetic diagnoses are usually taken seriously by those participating in them, and we must do the same to avoid a Western misinterpretation.

CONCLUSION

The challenge of African Pentecostalism

1 THE GROWTH OF AFRICAN PENTECOSTALISM

A study of this nature raises some important questions for missiology, which need to be addressed in conclusion. For example, what does the remarkable growth of African Pentecostal churches and the corresponding decline in membership among the older churches mean to our mission methods? There must be something that African Pentecostalism is 'doing right', and from which we can learn in our ongoing task of proclaiming the gospel in Africa! As Daneel (1987:26) observes:

Since missiology is concerned with the historical process of church growth it needs to pay attention to the historical origin, the expansion and factors that contributed to the origin of the Independent Churches.

As far as historical origins are concerned, African Pentecostalism is essentially of African origin, and has its roots in a marginalised and underprivileged society struggling to find dignity and identity. It expanded initially among oppressed African people who were neglected, misunderstood, and deprived of everything but token leadership by their white Pentecostal 'masters'. These white Pentecostals had apparently ignored biblical concepts like the priesthood of all believers and the equality of all people in Christ. But fundamentally it was the ability of African Pentecostalism to adapt to and fulfil African religious

aspirations that was its main strength. Missiology needs to define what precisely these needs were, and whether the same needs are being met by the church in its mission today. And to what extent have African Pentecostal churches (particularly those without any 'white' influence whatever) contextualised and indigenised Christianity in Africa? With this question comes the complex problem of syncretism - to what extent are these churches genuine and living churches of Jesus Christ, or has the Christian witness been obscured beyond recognition? Daneel (1989b:54) speaks of the way these churches have achieved the 'spontaneous indigenisation of Christianity'. Harold Turner (1979:209) suggests that the African indigenous churches offer solutions to problems that exist in all of Christianity:

The independents ... offer missiology a series of extensive, long-term, unplanned, spontaneous, and fully authentic experiments from which it may secure answers to some of its most difficult questions. This is a unique contribution that we are only beginning to appreciate and use.

One of these missiological questions concerns what symbols found in Western Christianity are retained by indigenous churches, and what symbols are borrowed from traditional religion and culture - and just **why** these symbols are retained whilst others are discarded. Why, for example, is there a preference for adult baptism by immersion, for an abundance of symbolic liturgy (such as the sacramental use of water) and for episcopal leadership in indigenous churches? Why is traditional divination rejected, and why has the prophet so effectively replaced the diviner? Why have some churches rejected the ancestor cult whilst others adopt a certain ambivalence towards it, and still others accommodate it? These questions in turn raise further questions concerning the problem of continuity and discontinuity, the intercultural communication of the Christian gospel, and the encounter between Christianity and another living religion. This study has attempted to give some tentative answers to these and other missiological questions. Of great importance to the proclamation of the gospel in Africa is the pneumatological emphasis (one might even say the pneumatological correction) given by these churches to the mission of the universal church, meeting felt needs in Africa. As Turner (1979:210) observes:

Again it is the independents who help us to see the overriding African concern for spiritual power from a mighty God to overcome all enemies and evils that threaten human life and vitality, hence their extensive ministry of mental and physical healing. This is rather different from the Western preoccupation with atonement for sin and forgiveness of guilt.

This research has shown that African Pentecostalism, of which the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches are its predominant demonstration, has grown in the past thirty years to such an extent that it has become the major force to be reckoned with in South African Christianity. This growth has largely been at the expense of the mission churches, so that the latter are in danger of becoming irrelevant by the next century, just a few years away! It is already a fact that more people in South Africa belong to churches which originated in African initiatives than to churches which originated in European and American missions. In the past thirty-one years the percentage of the total population of people belonging to the older 'mission churches' has more than halved, from 70% in 1960 to 33% in 1991. This factor alone raises disturbing questions about the content and relevance of theological training and the curricula of most theological colleges, seminaries and university faculties in this country. In most of these institutions, African indigenous churches in general and Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches in particular hardly even feature at the present time, either in terms of the content of the curricula or in the theological student intake. The trend towards religious pluralism and relativism in our South African university theological faculties does not make these institutions more relevant to the majority of African Christians in this country. This would seem to be a gross imbalance in a country in which African Pentecostals are rapidly becoming its most significant Christian expression.

Although the Pentecostal mission and independent churches are still a relatively small percentage of the total population, they are rapidly gaining in strength amongst South Africa's black population (having doubled in the past eleven years), and their influence on the total religious scene here outweighs their numbers. The unique contribution of the Pentecostals in the early years of this century to a multitude of African indigenous churches in South Africa, and their common historical, cultural, theological and ecclesiastical roots are facts which are highly significant. The indigenous Pentecostal-type churches have in turn made their own distinct contribution to African theology, to the extent that these churches have developed along quite different lines from the more Western Pentecostal mission and independent churches. A study of this nature is in its essence a study of what happens when Pentecostal pneumatology encounters the traditional spirituality of Africa, and what African people, when left to themselves, do with Pentecostal pneumatology. Many Pentecostal readers may not be very happy with the inclusion of Pentecostal-type churches in a book on pentecostalism, and in fact they may even object to the use of that name for churches which do not themselves consider any affinities with Pentecostals, and do not even call themselves *bazalwane!* But it has been necessary to describe these churches in an attempt to put them in the correct perspective in relation to the Pentecostal movement, and to make a comparison with the Pentecostals themselves. It is hoped that a better mutual understanding will result.

We have seen how that Africans have found in pentecostalism a 'place to be at home' (Welbourn and Ogot 1966). African Pentecostalism has Africanised Christian liturgy in a free and spontaneous way that does not betray its essential Christian character, and has liberated it from the foreignness of European forms. This sympathetic approach to African life and culture, to African fears and uncertainties, and to the African world of spirits and magic, has been a major reason for the attraction of these churches for people still oriented to the traditional thought-world. This is accentuated in a South African black township, where rapid urbanisation and industrialisation have thrown many people into a strange, impersonal, and insecure world in which they are left groping for a sense of belonging. The African Pentecostal churches, with their firm commitment to a cohesive community and their offer of full participation to all, provide substantially for this universal human need. For this reason, among others, they grow even faster in an urban environment than they do in a rural one.

African Pentecostals are among the most committed churchgoers in the townships. They have experienced the living Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit; they have been healed from sickness and delivered from many problems related to the African thought-world; and their lives have been radically changed as a result. This conversion, or 'born again' experience as the *bazalwane* call it, has so transformed their lives that they do not generally have any need for traditional religious practices. Unlike most other church groups, the Pentecostals have almost unanimously rejected the ancestor cult and traditional divination, and they also spurn the use of alcohol and tobacco. This indicates the radical break with the past that their conversion represents. They are aggressive evangelists, adding members to their churches at a rapid rate - often at the expense of other churches, especially the mission churches. They proclaim a holistic salvation that embraces the whole person, includes an entire healing, and is significantly different from the 'salvation of the soul' usually proclaimed by Western missions. This will be discussed further below. Pentecostalism has filled a basic human need for satisfaction in all of life, and not just the 'spiritual' part of it. In Africa it seemed to adapt to traditional African ways more easily than most other types of Christianity, as the indigenous Pentecostal-type churches (in particular) prove. It gave solutions to basic human problems, especially healing from sickness and deliverance from a seemingly malevolent and capricious spirit world. Above all, it offered a mighty baptism of God's power which enabled a person to overcome the threatening world of unpredictable ancestors, spiteful sorcerers and inherently dangerous witchcraft.

Inadequate growth theories both inside and outside the Pentecostal movement failed to recognise that this was essentially a **religious** movement, with religious reasons for its burgeoning strength and growth. African people, like all people

everywhere, have a spiritual hunger which needs to be assuaged, a spiritual vacuum which only a God incarnate in Africa can fill. There are spiritual (or what I have elsewhere called pneumatological) reasons for the popularity of the Pentecostal message in Africa (Anderson 1991:30). And yet, African Pentecostalism purports to provide for more than just the 'spiritual' problems of life. The role of divine healing and exorcism especially, and the receiving of the power of the Holy Spirit, seemed to present a new and vigorous Christianity which offered help to all of life's problems. The 'spirituality' of Pentecostalism was in fact a new and holistic approach to Christianity which appealed more adequately to the African world than the old Christianity had done, and in many respects it was also more satisfying than the old traditional religion had been. Furthermore, African Pentecostalism was more meaningful precisely because it had continued some religious expressions which were also truly African.

2 CONTEXTUALISATION AND SYNCRETISM

Schreier (1985:145) asks whether the African indigenous church movement should be seen as 'the ultimate outcome of contextualization rather than as some aberration'. This he says is one of the 'hard questions' to be faced by 'local theology'. Schreier (1985:150) asks very pertinent questions concerning the relationship between what Westerners too easily write off as 'syncretism' and contextualisation:

If contextualization is about getting to the very heart of the culture, and Christianity is taking its place there, will not the Christianity that emerges look very much like a product of that culture? ... are we going to continue giving cultures the equivalent of an artificial heart - an organ that can do the job the culture needs, but one that will remain forever foreign?

In any case, this study has pointed out that one cannot judge an essentially religious phenomenon (like African Pentecostalism) as if it is in its final, static form. Even that which appears strange to our particular sensitivities, coloured as they are by our theological and cultural presuppositions, may be a dynamic and fluid movement on the way to becoming a truly African expression of the Lordship of Jesus Christ. As Turner (1979:166) has reminded us, 'Any evaluation of the independent churches must begin by recognizing certain ways in which many of them have made a radical departure from pagan worship.' This, he says, amounts to a 'radical breakthrough ... to worship of the one true, living, loving, and all-powerful God of the Christian Scriptures'. One of the central features of many of the African Pentecostal churches described here has

been the rejection of key elements in traditional religion, particularly traditional divination and the ancestor cult. This aspect will be further researched and described in a book to follow this one. Daneel (1987:26) has reminded us that the African indigenous churches teach us 'how the gospel is adapted to or presented in confrontation with existing indigenous customs and values'. He considers the approach of the indigenous churches to traditional religion and culture to be one of the main contributions of these movements to African theology (1990:56). Contextualisation to Daneel is not 'a simplistic adaptation to traditional thought', nor is it 'accommodation in the Roman Catholic sense of the word', but it is rather 'an adaptation that, while displaying parallels with traditional religion, essentially implies a continuing confrontation with and creative transformation of traditional religion and values' (1990:56).

The common roots of Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type indigenous churches, the African style of their worship and liturgy, the holistic Christianity that is evident in their offer of tangible help in this world as well as in the next - all these factors combine to form a uniquely African expression of Christianity that meets needs more substantially than the often sterile Christianity imported from Europe and North America. Pentecostalism as it has been incarnated in Africa is a dynamic, constantly adapting, and vigorously growing phenomenon that is fast becoming one of the major manifestations of Christianity in the world. The one who would wish to understand Christianity in Africa better must reckon with the fact that the Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type church movements are already becoming its most substantial expression. We ignore this at our peril.

The importance of a study of this nature is that it takes seriously the African world view and the Christian response to that world view as found in the 'enacted theology' of the African Pentecostal churches. Pneumatological observations of healing and exorcism, and other manifestations of the Holy Spirit illustrate what Daneel (1990:221) has called 'the relativity, if not futility, of our neat Western theories when confronted, in practice, with the belief systems and stark pastoral realities of Africa'. African Pentecostalism has an 'enacted theology' which is 'a vitally significant component of a developing African Christian theology' (:221). This does not in any way imply that this 'enacted theology' is one primarily focused on a rural world view that is fast disappearing and being displaced by a more secular, urban and Western world view. The fact that the African Pentecostal churches are growing more rapidly in **urban** areas, and that the traditional African world view still predominates in the African cities belies that theory. Most of this research was conducted amongst thoroughly urbanised people.

Any theological reflection that is done in this study has been made with extreme caution and tentativeness. It is certainly not the final word; indeed, it can never

be definitive when the phenomena under discussion are dynamic and under a constant process of change.

3 THE CHALLENGE FOR CHRISTIAN MISSION

If the African Pentecostals are gaining in strength at the expense of the mission churches, then what are the implications of this for mission in Africa generally, and in South Africa in particular? The results of this research raise important questions about the relevance of the faith and life of the mission churches in this country. If their teachings and practices are perceived by people as powerless to meet their everyday, 'this-worldly' felt needs (and sometimes, their 'other-worldly' needs too), then how can they continue with 'business as usual' in the face of such obvious shortcomings? The mission churches are therefore challenged with the need to seriously rethink and reconceive their mission strategy in Africa. We may pontificate about the need to engage in ecumenical comity arrangements and to desist from 'sheep-stealing'; but if the sheep are not receiving satisfying food, they will seek greener pastures! If mission churches are to return to the cutting edge of missions in Africa they will have to address and remedy these shortcomings or else continue to minister to an ever-decreasing membership who are content to practise their Christianity side by side with African traditional religion or, even worse, who have succumbed to a secular society and no longer practise Christianity at all. African Pentecostal churches provide what Turner (1979:19) called 'a salvaging or rescue function' in relation to the mission churches, by 'preventing dissatisfied members from reverting to paganism by providing a recognizably Christian and easily available alternative spiritual home'. This research confirms that the so-called 'mission churches' continue to lose members to the African Pentecostal churches, although the majority of Pentecostal-type church members today are second or third generation Christians. Schreier (1985:151) has remarked as follows:

One cannot ask questions about evangelization, conversion, religion, and the like without calling into question the nature and quality of the identity of the existent Christian community. To resolve the questions about syncretism ... will mean, no doubt, some significant changes in the way of life for those churches who perceive the problem. That ... may be one of the great challenges and gifts that these younger churches can give to their older counterparts.

Daneel (1987:26) puts the challenge for mission churches in another way: 'the "historical churches" can form a vivid picture of the value, mistakes and limitations of their own missionary policy in the past'. He says that the

indigenous churches demonstrate 'the foreignness to the African context of the sober, rationalistic, often dualistically spiritualized approach of Western Christianity'.

In African Pentecostalism, the dichotomy often found in Western forms of Christianity (including pentecostalism) between 'evangelism' and 'social concern' does not exist. African spirituality, as Turner (1979:195) points out, 'concerns the whole man, and therefore the healing of his sicknesses and the prosperity of his family and affairs'. This African holism, a concern for the whole of life and not just the 'spiritual' part of it, is to a great extent a biblical holism, and a dimension that the church needs to rediscover in its mission to the world. At the same time, we must ask ourselves questions about the content of our message. If there is indeed good news in the gospel of Jesus Christ, if we believe that there is 'no other name' by which humankind can be saved, and if we believe in the ability of God through his Spirit to liberate people from every conceivable kind of human problem, whether physical, emotional, mental, social, personal, or any other - then our mission is both to proclaim and to practise this good news. Our mission includes of necessity both the **proclamation** of the gospel and the **demonstration** of its power. The gospel we proclaim involves a message of an all-inclusive salvation from evil in all of its forms as encountered by African people, and the power of this gospel is demonstrated when African people perceive our message to actually work in bringing deliverance to the whole of life as they experience it. The message must also include a strong pneumatology, in which God's salvation is seen in different manifestations of his abiding presence through his Spirit, divine revelations which assure that 'God is there' to help us in every area of need. The African Pentecostal churches correct us missiologically, so that we are urged to seriously reconsider the effectiveness, the content and the relevancy of our mission in Africa. We must be humble enough to learn from the example of African Pentecostalism, which makes full use of African opportunities to proclaim the gospel. Whether at a night vigil, where the whole community has gathered to comfort and be comforted, as we have seen in the previous chapter, or during a church conference celebration of the Eucharist, as described by Daneel in Zimbabwe (1980:107-109), we see African Pentecostals using these and many other occasions to zealously evangelise, resulting in the growth of the church. We must continue both by word and deed the mission of Christ to the world, who described it thus:

The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour (Luke 4:18-19, New International Version).

In order to accomplish this mission, Christ emptied himself and became like those to whom he had been sent. This self-emptying in the incarnation of Christ became a model for those who will complete his mission today. David Barrett (1968:155) said that missions in Africa stopped short of the kind of Christ-like love he describes as 'love as close contact with others involving listening, sharing, sympathizing and sensitive understanding in depth as between equals'. Although he mentions this in the context of the failure of historical (white) missions to Africa, this is still a fundamental need for anyone who would wish to be involved in the mission of Christ to the world. And concerning the African Pentecostal churches, nowhere is this type of love more sorely needed than between those who would better understand them, and those who would be better understood. An infusion of this kind of love will do much towards facilitating ecumenical relationships between the older churches and the younger ones in Africa. In the process, we all will be immeasurably enriched.

Holistic, ecstatic, and experiential religious practices are still found in Pentecostal liturgy throughout the world today, as they were borrowed from the nineteenth-century African American Holiness movement, which in turn had its roots in traditional African religion - the shout, antiphonal singing, simultaneous and spontaneous prayer, dance and motor behaviour - all of which are not European but essentially African practices. Early Pentecostals emphasised the freedom, the equality, the community and the dignity of each person in the sight of God. This included a tacit acceptance of black power, as black people were allowed to emerge in their own right as leaders of an integrated church movement. I believe that the Pentecostal experience of the power of the Spirit can be a unifying factor in a deeply divided society, and the catalyst for the emergence of a new society in which there is justice for all, and hope for a despairing people. But it dare not become an escape mechanism to flee from the harsh realities of South African life today. It needs to liberate us from our prejudice, our arrogance, our isolationism and our ethnocentrism - in short, all our abominable selfishness, and to bring us to the place where God can truly bring His dominion to bear on all facets of life as we experience it - that His kingdom will come, and His will be done in South Africa, as it is done in heaven.

APPENDIX A

Churches encountered in Soshanguve

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHURCHES NAMED 263
(includes churches encountered during later interviews, indicated as zero numbers)

NUMBERS OF CHURCHES OF SPECIFIC TYPES GIVEN IN PARENTHESES AFTER THE HEADINGS

		%
1 PENTECOSTAL MISSION CHURCHES (9)	94	6,0
Apostolic Faith Mission	44	2,8
Assemblies of Christ	3	0,2
Assemblies of God	28	1,8
Christian Assemblies	1	0,1
Full Gospel Church of God	6	0,4
International Assemblies of God	6	0,4
Pentecostal Holiness Church	2	0,2
Pentecostal Protestant Church	1	0,1
United Apostolic Faith Church	3	0,2

		%
2 INDEPENDENT PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES (23)	46	2,9
African Gospel Church	1	0,1
Ark of the Covenant Church	1	0,1
Back to Christ	1	0,1
Bana Ba Modimo	3	0,2
Bethesda Assemblies of God	1	0,1
Body of Christ	1	0,1
Christ Church	1	0,1
Christ's Ambassadors	1	0,1
Christian Fellowship Centre	1	0,1
Christian Revival Centre	0	0,0
Evangelical Gospel Church	1	0,1
Faith and Power Bible Church	1	0,1
Forward in Faith Ministries	1	0,1
Full Gospel Church of Power	1	0,1
Grace Bible Church	1	0,1
His Majesty Church	0	0,0
Hope for Africa Christian Centre	1	0,1
International Gospel Pilots	1	0,1
Life Centre Church	1	0,1
Pentecost Christian Church of God	5	0,3
Praise Tabernacle Church - see Victory Fellowship Church		
Reformed Apostolic Faith Mission Church	5	0,3
Victory Fellowship Church	13	0,8
Word Alive Bible Church	1	0,1
Word Alive Gospel Ministries	3	0,2
		%
3 INDIGENOUS PENTECOSTAL-TYPE CHURCHES (153)	432	32,4
Act Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Adei Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
African Apostolic Church in Zion	2	0,2
African Healing Church	1	0,1
African Native Ndebele Church	1	0,1
Allied Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Alter Days Church	1	0,1
Apostolic Christian Brethren Church	5	0,4
Apostolic Christian Catholic Church	1	0,1
Apostolic Christian Church in Zion	1	0,1

Apostolic Church Nativity	1	0,1
Apostolic Church of Christ	1	0,1
Apostolic Church of God	1	0,1
Apostolic Faith in Zion	1	0,1
Apostolic Five Mission	1	0,1
Apostolic Spiritual Church of SA	1	0,1
Apostolic Zion Baptist Church	0	0,0
Bahlabanedi baJesu Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Bantu Apostolic Church	2	0,2
Bantu Zion Christian Church	1	0,1
Bereska Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Bethesda Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Bethlehem Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Brother Apostolic Church in SA	1	0,1
Catholic Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Catholic Kingdom Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
Christ Jerusalem Church	1	0,1
Christ the Rock Holy Christian Church in Zion of SA	1	0,1
Christian Apostolic Church	2	0,2
Christian Apostolic Church in Zion in SA	5	0,4
Christian Apostolic Healing Church	1	0,1
Christian Apostolic Zion Church	1	0,1
Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
Christian Catholic Apostolic Holy Spirit Church in Zion	2	0,2
Christian Catholic Church of Zion in SA	1	0,1
Christian Church in Zion	9	0,7
Christian City of Zion	0	0,0
Damascus Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Damaseko Church in Zion	1	0,1
Decapolis Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Department Apostolic Church of SA	0	0,0
Ekukhanyeni Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Eleven Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Emmanuel Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Ephesus Apostolic Church	4	0,3
Evangelical Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Faith Mission Jerusalem Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
Free Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Free Christian Apostolic Church in Zion	0	0,0
Free Lights Apostolic Church	2	0,2
Galilee Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion of SA	1	0,1
General Apostolic Church	1	0,1
General Church of New Zion	1	0,1

God's Children Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Halleluja Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Heaven St Paul's Church	1	0,1
Holiness Church of God in Zion	1	0,1
Holy Apostolic Church	2	0,2
Holy Apostolic Church in Zion	4	0,3
Holy Apostolic Epumalanga Church in Zion	1	0,1
Holy Bethel Zion Christian Church in SA	1	0,1
Holy Bethlehem Church of God in Zion	2	0,2
Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
Holy Christ in Zion	1	0,1
Holy Christian Church in Zion	1	0,1
Holy City Christian Church	1	0,1
Holy Pentecostal Church of Christ	1	0,1
Holy Spirit Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Holy Swaziland Apostolic Church	2	0,2
Holy Union Morning Star Church	1	0,1
Holy Zion Apostolic Church of God in SA	1	0,1
Holy Zion Church	0	0,0
Inkanyezi Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Invent Apostolic Church	0	0,0
International Pentecost (Holiness) Church	33	2,6
Isisekelo Sabapostoli	1	0,1
Ituthuko Pentecostal Church	1	0,1
Izithunya Zabapostoli Church	2	0,2
Jerusalem Apostolic Church	5	0,4
Jerusalem in Zion Sabbath Church	1	0,1
Khaya Elisha Apostolic Church in Zion Ekuthuleni	1	0,1
Latter Rain Apostolic Faith Mission of SA	1	0,1
Morning Star Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Mount Transfiguration Holy Apostolic Church of God in SA	1	0,1
National Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Nazareth Apostolic Church	1	0,1
New Apostolic Brethren Church	1	0,1
New Apostolic Church in Galilea	1	0,1
New Apostolic Faith Mission in SA	1	0,1
New Church of God	1	0,1
New Church of God Apostolic Isikhunyane	0	0,0
New City Jerusalem Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
New Congregational Apostolic Church	0	0,0
New General Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
New Jerusalem Church	0	0,0

New Jerusalem Holy Spirit Church	1	0,1
New Life Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
New Methodist Apostolic Church	1	0,1
New Nazareth Christian Church	1	0,1
New Pentecost Church in Zion of SA	0	0,0
New Rambo Apostolic Church	1	0,1
New St Paul Apostolic Church	1	0,1
New Voice Apostolic Church	1	0,1
New Zion Apostolic Church	0	0,0
New Zion Church	1	0,1
Pentecost Church	0	0,0
Pentecostal Church in Zion	0	0,0
Phillippian Apostolic Church in Zion	0	0,0
Revelation and Healing Church of SA	1	0,1
Revelation Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
Rhulani Jerusalem in Zion Church	1	0,1
Saviour Apostolic Church in SA	1	0,1
Sihlahla Semnyezane Apostolic Church	4	0,3
Spiritual Healing Apostolic Church	1	0,1
St Eli Apostolic Faith Mission in RSA	1	0,1
St Engenas Zion Christian Church	30	2,3
St Ezekiel Apostolic Church in Zion	1	0,1
St Francis Apostolic Church	1	0,1
St James Apostolic Evangelical Church Mission	1	0,1
St Job Apostolic Church	1	0,1
St John Apostolic Church / Faith Mission	33	2,6
St John Apostolic Church of Prophecy	0	0,0
St Lukes Apostolic Church	4	0,3
St Matthew Apostolic Christian Church	1	0,1
St Michael and All Angels Church	2	0,2
St Michael Apostolic Church	1	0,1
St Paul Apostolic Church / Faith Mission	6	0,5
St Paul Spiritual Church of God	1	0,1
St Peter Apostolic Church	2	0,2
St Peters African Church	1	0,1
St Peters Church	1	0,1
St Philip Holy Mount Zion Church	1	0,1
St Philips Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Star Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Stone Church	1	0,1
Stone of Rock Church in Zion	1	0,1
Sunlight Apostolic Church	4	0,3
Supporting Apostolic Church	1	0,1

Tsereletso Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Twelve Apostolic Church	15	1,2
United Melchizedek Church	0	0,0
Xhosa Zion Church	0	0,0
Zion Apostolic Church of SA	13	1,0
Zion Apostolic Bapofeti Church of God	0	0,0
Zion Apostolic Church Twelve in Jerusalem	4	0,3
Zion Christian Church	134	10,3
Zion Church of Christ	1	0,1
Zion City Apostolic Church	0	0,0
Zion Rest Bagalatia Apostolic Church	1	0,1
Zion Swaziland Apostolic Church of God in RSA	4	0,3

		%
4 INDIGENOUS ETHIOPIAN-TYPE CHURCHES (43)	130	8,0

African Bethel Church	1	0,1
African Catholic Church	5	0,3
African Church	3	0,2
African Ethiopian Bantu Church	2	0,1
African Gaza Church	2	0,1
African Methodist Church	3	0,2
African Methodist Episcopal Church	8	0,5
African Independent Church	1	0,1
African Orthodox Church	3	0,2
Bantu Church of Christ	3	0,2
Bantu Hethlon Church	5	0,3
Bantu History Church	5	0,3
Bantu Methodist Church	9	0,6
Bantu Sweddish Free Church	1	0,1
Bapedi Lutheran Church	16	1,0
Bavenda Church	2	0,1
Black Reformed Church	3	0,2
Dutch Reformed Ephesus Church	0	0,0
East Hethlon Church	2	0,1
East Holy Church	2	0,1
Eastern Bantu Methodist Church of SA	0	0,0
Ethiopian Catholic Church	0	0,0
Ethiopian Church	5	0,3
Gaza Church/ African Gaza Church	2	0,1
Hethlon Church	5	0,3
Holy African Church	2	0,1

Gereformeerde Kerk	2	0,2
Hervormde Kerk	1	0,1
Holiness Union Church	1	0,1
Methodist Church	50	3,2
Presbyterian Church	18	1,2
Roman Catholic Church	113	7,1
Salvation Army	2	0,2
Swedish Alliance Church	1	0,1
United Congregational Church	0	0,0
Wesleyan Church	2	0,2

7 UNCLASSIFIED CHURCHES AND SECTS (10)	52	3,2
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Apostolic Church	6	0,4
International Order of True Templars	1	0,1
Jehovah's Witnesses	23	1,5
Mission Reformed Church	1	0,1
New Apostolic Church of SA	7	0,5
Old Apostolic Church of Africa	6	0,4
Philadelphia Church	0	0,0
Reformed Christian Church	1	0,1
Seventh Day Adventist Church	6	0,4
Transvaal Union Church	1	0,1
United Church of SA	1	0,1

8 OTHER RELIGIONS (2)	3	0,2
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Bahai Faith	1	0,1
Islam	2	0,1

APPENDIX B

Research Questionnaires

A FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE (ADMINISTERED TO 1633 SOSHANGUVE FAMILIES)

OPENING INTRODUCTION

1 What is the name of your church?

(IF NONE, GO TO QUESTION 10)

2 How often do you attend church services?

2-7x/week	1	1x/week	2	3x/mnth	3	1-9x/year	4	Never	5
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3 Type of church (go to 4 if Mission Church)

3.1 Do your church members wear uniforms?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
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If yes, what colour/s? _____

3.2 Does your church baptise by immersion?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3	Sometimes	4
-----	---	----	---	--------	---	-----------	---

If yes, how many times?

1	2	7	
---	---	---	--

Baptise adults

1	Children	2
---	----------	---

3.3 Does the church have prophets?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.4 Does the church have bishops?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.5 Does the church use drums?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.6 Dancing in services?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.7 Heal the sick?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.8 Ropes/water/ash/staffs, etc?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.9 Cast out demons?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

3.10 Speaking in tongues?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

4.1 Have you ever spoken in tongues?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

4.2 Have you been baptised by immersion?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

5 ATTITUDES TO TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Do the members of your church practise any of the following?

5.1 Sacrifices? God Anstr Both
(if yes, to whom?)

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

5.2 Reverence of the ancestors?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
-----	---	----	---	--------	---

5.3 Consulting diviners?

Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3
Yes	1	No	2	Unsure	3

5.4 Polygamy?

5.5 Beer drinking?

6 Why did you join this church?

7 What are the names and titles of your church leaders?

7.1. local _____ (TITLE) _____ (NAME)

7.2. national _____ (TITLE) _____ (NAME)

8 Where do you meet for services? (MAY BE MORE THAN ONE)

Church building	1	School	2	House	3	Open air	4	Other
-----------------	---	--------	---	-------	---	----------	---	-------

9 Approximately how many members in your local church? _____

10 Give the names of any other church or churches to which you have belonged. (IF NONE, GO TO 12)

11 Why did you leave this church/these churches?

12 PERSONAL PARTICULARS

12.1 Name of Interviewee _____
(OPTIONAL)

12.2 Occupation _____

12.3. Approximate age _____

12.4

MALE	1	FEMALE	2
------	---	--------	---

12.5

Single	1	Married	2	Divorce	3	Widow	4
--------	---	---------	---	---------	---	-------	---

12.6 No in home: Adults _____ dependent children _____

12.7 No attending church: Adults _____ Children _____

12.8

Owner	1	Tenant	2	Squatter	3
-------	---	--------	---	----------	---

12.9 Approximate monthly income _____

12.10 Highest educational standard _____

12.11 Homelanguage _____

12.12 Telephone No _____

12.13 House Address _____

13 Who would you like to see as the President of a new South Africa?

Man- dela	1	De Klerk	2	PAC	3	Other	4	Unsure	5
--------------	---	-------------	---	-----	---	-------	---	--------	---

B SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE (ADMINISTERED TO SELECTED SOSHANGUVE FAMILIES)

1 HOUSE NUMBER?

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

- 2 NAME OF CHURCH?
- 3 NAME OF INTERVIEWEE? (CONFIDENTIAL)
- 4 DO YOU HOLD ANY POSITION IN THE CHURCH? WHAT?
- 5 WHAT CHURCH ACTIVITIES ARE YOU INVOLVED IN?
- 6 TO WHAT CHURCH/ES DID THE FOLLOWING BELONG:
 - (A) YOUR PARENTS?
 - (B) YOUR FATHER'S PARENTS?
 - (C) YOUR MOTHER'S PARENTS?
- 7 DO THE PEOPLE IN THIS HOUSE BELONG TO ANY OTHER CHURCHES? (CHURCH NAME/S)
- 8 WHAT IS YOUR LOCAL MINISTER'S NAME AND ADDRESS?
- 9 WHY DO YOU LIKE BEING IN THIS CHURCH?
- 10 WHY DO YOU GO TO *YOUR* CHURCH, RATHER THAN ANOTHER?

BELIEFS: GENERAL

- 11 WHAT ARE THE MAIN TEACHINGS OR IMPORTANT RULES IN YOUR CHURCH?
- 12 WHO BAPTISES IN THE CHURCH?
- 13 WHERE DO BAPTISMS TAKE PLACE?
- 14 OF WHAT GOOD IS BAPTISM?
- 15 (WHERE APPLICABLE) WHAT IS A PROPHET IN THE CHURCH?
- 16 WHAT DOES HE DO?

EVIL

- 17 WHERE DOES MISFORTUNE COME FROM?
- 18 HOW CAN A CHRISTIAN BE SET FREE FROM TROUBLE?
- 19 HAVE YOU EVER SEEN SOMEONE POSSESSED BY DEMONS? (DESCRIBE)
- 20 HAVE YOU SEEN SOMEONE BEING DELIVERED FROM DEMONS? (DESCRIBE)

SALVATION

- 21 ARE YOU SAVED?
- 22 HOW DO YOU KNOW?
- 23 FROM WHAT ARE YOU SAVED?
- 24 WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE SAVED?

THE HOLY SPIRIT

- 25 DOES THE HOLY SPIRIT COME TO CHURCH MEMBERS DURING SERVICES? HOW?
- 26 HAVE YOU RECEIVED THE HOLY SPIRIT?
- 27 HOW DO YOU KNOW?
- 28 HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT SOMEONE IS UNDER THE POWER OF THE SPIRIT, OR HAS RECEIVED THE SPIRIT?

HEALING

- 29 WHEN YOU OR SOMEONE IN YOUR FAMILY IS SERIOUSLY SICK OR IN TROUBLE, DO YOU CONSULT:
 - (A) A MEDICAL DOCTOR;
 - (B) A DIVINER;
 - (C) A PROPHET OR OTHER CHURCH HEALER;
 - (D) SOMEONE ELSE TO PRAY FOR YOU;
 - (E) PRAY FOR YOURSELF?
- 30 WHAT TYPE OF SICKNESS OR TROUBLE WAS THIS?
- 31 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 32 ARE THERE OTHER TIMES WHEN YOU OR YOUR FAMILY WERE DELIVERED FROM SICKNESS OR TROUBLE?
- 33 HOW WERE YOU DELIVERED?
- 34 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT YOU CAN BE HEALED OR DELIVERED BY THE USE OF SYMBOLIC OBJECTS SUCH AS STAFFS, WATER, BADGES, ROPES, ETC?
- 35 (IF YES) HOW DOES IT HAPPEN?
- 36 HOW ARE PEOPLE HEALED IN THE CHURCH, AND WHEN?

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL BELIEFS

- 37 HAVE YOU EVER VISITED A DIVINER?
- 38 (IF YES) WHY?

- 39 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 40 HAVE YOU OR A FAMILY MEMBER EVER BEEN TROUBLED BY A SORCERER, EVIL SPIRIT OR THOKOLOSHE?
- 41 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 42 WHAT DID YOU OR YOUR FAMILY DO ABOUT THIS?
- 43 WHAT ARE ANCESTORS?
- 44 DO ANCESTORS HAVE POWER TO HELP OR HARM YOU?
- 45 HOW DO THEY MANIFEST THEMSELVES?
- 46 DO WE NEED TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THEM? WHAT?

BURIAL PRACTICES

- 47 WHAT CUSTOMS RELATING TO BURIAL DO YOU OBSERVE?
- 48 WHY DO YOU OBSERVE THEM?

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

- 49 SHOULD THE CHURCH OR ITS MEMBERS INVOLVE ITSELF IN POLITICAL MATTERS?
- 50 WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST URGENT PROBLEM IN OUR COUNTRY NEEDING TO BE SOLVED TODAY?
- 51 WHAT SORT OF GOVERNMENT WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE IN THE FUTURE SOUTH AFRICA?
- 52 WHY?

C THIRD QUESTIONNAIRE (ADMINISTERED TO SELECTED FAMILIES)

1 HOUSE NUMBER?

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

- 2 FULL NAMES OF INTERVIEWEE? (CONFIDENTIAL)
- 3 YEAR OF BIRTH
- 4 NAME OF CHURCH IN FULL
- 5 HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN A MEMBER OF THIS CHURCH?
- 6 DO YOU HOLD ANY OFFICE IN THE CHURCH? WHAT?
- 7 WHAT CHURCH ACTIVITIES ARE YOU INVOLVED IN?
- 8 HOW OFTEN DO YOU ATTEND CHURCH ACTIVITIES?

- 9 TO WHAT CHURCH/ES DID THE FOLLOWING BELONG:
 - (A) YOUR PARENTS?
 - (B) YOUR FATHER'S PARENTS?
 - (C) YOUR MOTHER'S PARENTS?
- 10 DO THE PEOPLE IN THIS HOUSE BELONG TO ANY OTHER CHURCHES? (CHURCH NAME/S)
- 11 WHAT IS YOUR LOCAL MINISTER'S NAME AND ADDRESS?
- 12 WHY DO YOU LIKE BEING IN THIS CHURCH?

EVIL AND MISFORTUNE

- 13 WHERE DOES BAD LUCK (MISFORTUNE) COME FROM?
- 14 HOW CAN A PERSON BE SET FREE FROM ANY KIND OF TROUBLE?
- 15 HAVE YOU EVER SEEN SOMEONE POSSESSED BY DEMONS/EVIL SPIRITS? (DESCRIBE)
- 16 HAVE YOU SEEN SOMEONE BEING DELIVERED FROM DEMONS/EVIL SPIRITS? (DESCRIBE)

THE HOLY SPIRIT

- 17 DOES THE HOLY SPIRIT COME TO CHURCH MEMBERS DURING SERVICES? HOW?
- 18 HAVE YOU RECEIVED THE HOLY SPIRIT?
- 19 HOW DO YOU KNOW?
- 20 DO YOU SPEAK IN TONGUES? HOW OFTEN?
- 21 DO YOU PROPHECY? HOW?
- 22 (WHERE APPLICABLE) WHAT IS A PROPHET IN THE CHURCH?
- 23 WHAT DOES HE DO?
- 24 DO YOU PRAY FOR THE SICK? HOW?

TRADITIONAL DIVINATION AND WITCHCRAFT

- 25 HAVE YOU EVER VISITED A DIVINER?
- 26 (IF YES) WHY?
- 27 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 28 DO YOU BELIEVE THAT TRADITIONAL MEDICINE [MUTHI] CAN HELP YOU?
- 29 HAVE YOU OR A CLOSE FAMILY MEMBER EVER BEEN BEWITCHED?

- 30 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 31 WHAT DID YOU DO ABOUT THIS?
- 32 IS IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO BE BEWITCHED? WHY/WHY NOT?
- 33 HAVE YOU OR A FAMILY MEMBER EVER BEEN TROUBLED BY A SORCERER, EVIL SPIRIT OR TOKOLOSHE?
- 34 WHAT HAPPENED?
- 35 WHAT DID YOU OR YOUR FAMILY DO ABOUT THIS?

THE ANCESTORS

- 36 WHAT ARE ANCESTORS?
- 37 DO ANCESTORS HAVE POWER
 - (A) TO HELP AND/OR PROTECT YOU?
 - (B) TO HARM YOU?
 - (C) TO KILL YOU?
- 38 DO THEY MANIFEST THEMSELVES TO YOU? HOW?
- 39 DO WE NEED TO DO ANYTHING FOR THEM? WHAT?
- 40 DO YOU OR YOUR FAMILY EVER REVERENCE THE ANCESTORS WITH A RITUAL KILLING OR OTHER OFFERING?
- 41 IF YES, HOW OFTEN?
- 42 IF NO TO ABOVE QUESTIONS
 - ARE ANCESTORS 'REAL'? THEN, WHAT ARE THEY?
- 43 DOES ANY PERSON WHO HAS DIED (FAMILY MEMBER, CHURCH LEADER, ETC) HAVE POWER TO HELP YOU OR PROTECT YOU? HOW?

BURIAL PRACTICES

- 44 WHAT CUSTOMS RELATING TO BURIAL DO YOU OBSERVE?
- 45 WHY DO YOU OBSERVE THEM?
- 46 CAN A PERSON BE CONTAMINATED BY CONTACT WITH A CORPSE? HOW?
- 47 IF YES, WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE ABOUT THIS?
- 48 DOES A DECEASED FAMILY MEMBER NEED TO BE WELCOMED BACK TO THE HOME? HOW?
- 49 DO YOU NEED TO ERECT A TOMBSTONE FOR A DECEASED FAMILY MEMBER? WHY/WHY NOT?

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Selected subject index

- AFM (APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION) 7, 20, 21, 31, 66-67, 73, 83
AFRICAN LANGUAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA 4-5, 8, 14, 46
AFRICAN THEOLOGY 48, 94-95, 111, 134, 141
ALCOHOL, ABSTINENCE FROM 18, 56, 57, 69, 139
ANC (AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS) 58, 60, 62, 63
ANCESTORS, ANCESTOR CULT 18, 24, 47, 83, 84, 88-89, 98,
99, 131-132, 139
 and the IPC 33, 40
AOG (ASSEMBLIES OF GOD) 21
APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION (see AFM)
ASSEMBLIES OF GOD (see AOG)
AZUSA STREET 37
BAPTISM 5, 50-53, 100-101, 137
 baptismal regeneration 51, 69
 meaning of 50-53
 sprinkling, infant 7
BAZALWANE 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 17, 68
 meaning of the term 7
BIBLE 29-34, 43, 106, 114
BLACK POWER 49
BLACK THEOLOGY 19
BOTHA, P W 59
BUTHELEZI, MANGOSUTHU 102
CHIKANE, FRANK 61
CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION 52
CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN ZION 17, 69
CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF ZION 51
CHRISTOLOGY 98, 100-108, 134
CHURCHES
 African indigenous churches 8, 9, 14

African Pentecostal churches	5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 42-43
independent Pentecostal churches	5, 6, 14
indigenous Ethiopian-type churches	7, 20, 25
indigenous Pentecostal-type churches	5, 6, 8, 14, 25
independent Baptist churches	7-8
mission churches	6, 8, 9, 25
Pentecostal mission churches	5, 14
terminology	5, 14
types	5-6, 14, 35-36
CONFESION OF SINS	52, 92, 105
in the IPC	47, 52
CONTEXTUALISATION	120, 134, 137, 140-141
CONVERSION	6-7, 139
DE KLERK, F W	58, 59, 60, 63, 64
DEMONS (see also EXORCISM)	88, 92
DIVINERS, TRADITIONAL DIVINATION	20, 47, 72, 75, 85, 88, 122, 129-132, 137, 139
DOWIE, JOHN ALEXANDER	52
EVANGELISM	7, 21, 22, 25-26, 27, 70, 139, 143
EVIL SPIRITS	65, 66, 85-89
EXORCISM	16, 66, 85-88, 119, 140, 141
FORGIVENESS	66
GROWTH	139-140
of Pentecostal churches	19-21
of Pentecostal-type churches	21-25
reasons for	16, 26-29
HATFIELD CHRISTIAN (FORMERLY BAPTIST) CHURCH	2
HEALING	16, 18, 20, 21-25, 27, 71-82, 121, 123, 129, 132-133, 134-135, 139, 140, 141
in the IPC	24-25, 73-75, 81
in the ZCC	71, 72, 78-80, 81
HOLINESS MOVEMENT	5
HOLISM	96, 143
HOLY COMMUNION	53-54, 55, 100-101
HOLY SPIRIT	5, 8, 51, 52, 66, 88, 97, 98, 99, 103-106, 108, 109-121, 123, 124, 133, 134, 140, 141,
baptism of	111, 112, 114-117
gifts of	5
manifestations of	111, 112, 114-120
power of	111-114, 120-121
INCARNATION	144
INDIGENISATION	94-95, 137
INDUSTRIALISATION	139

INKHATA	62
INSTITUTE FOR THEOLOGICAL RESEARCH	3
INTERNATIONAL PENTECOST CHURCH (see IPC)	
IPC	7, 19, 24-25, 30-31, 54, 60, 69, 83, 91, 98-99, 103-106, 107, 108, 119-120, 122
baptism	52-53
church attire	39, 41
conferences	57
preaching	33-34
services	39-40, 45-47
KIMBANGUISM	100, 113
LEKGANYANE	102
Barnabas (Ramurumo)	59, 101, 102, 128
Edward	38, 101, 102
Engenas	25, 71, 72, 101, 102
MAHLANGU, ELIAS	25
MANDELA, NELSON	58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 102
MESSIANISM	100-108
in the IPC	103-106
in the ZCC	100, 101-103, 107-108
MISFORTUNE	65, 82-85
MISSIOLOGY	2, 136, 137
MISSION	142-144
MODISE, FREDERICK	19, 25, 30-31, 33-34, 39, 45-49, 57, 73-75, 83, 91, 92, 98-99, 103-106, 108, 119
MOKGOTLHOA, VICTOR	2
MORIA	39, 54, 57
MOTAUNG, EDWARD	25
MOYA	3, 97, 109
MUSIC	42, 44
PAC	58, 60, 63, 64
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (see PAC)	
PARHAM, CHARLES F	37
PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES (see also CHURCHES)	5, 6, 15
PNEUMATOLOGY	66, 98, 109-135, 138, 143
POLYGAMY, POLYGyny	18-19, 56, 57
PORK, ABSTINENCE FROM	18, 56, 57
PRAISE TABERNACLE CHURCH	2, 21, 55, 122, 126
PRAYER	17, 30, 42, 45
in the IPC	46, 47
PREACHING	31-34
in Pentecostal-type churches	32-34
in Pentecostal churches	31-32, 43

PROPHECY, PROPHET, PROPHETS	24, 44, 56, 66, 71, 72, 76, 86, 88-89, 91, 92, 111, 113, 117-120, 122-135, 137
REFORMED APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION	37
RESEARCH METHODS	3-5, 9-11
ROPES, STRINGS (USED IN HEALING)	77, 86
SABBATH	57
SALVATION	7, 17, 31, 65-71, 91-93, 134, 139, 143
in Pentecostal churches	66-68
in Pentecostal-type churches	68-70
SATAN	17, 83, 85, 91
SERMONS	9, 43
SILO	25, 33-34, 39, 45, 60, 92, 103
SIN	69
SORCERERS, SORCERY	65, 84, 91, 126, 139
SOSHANGUVE	3-5, 9, 26, 61, 63, 64
survey	3, 4, 9-11
SOTERIOLOGY	66, 91-93
SOWETO	61-62
SPIRITUALITY	110, 138, 143
ST ENGENAS ZCC	30, 72, 85, 119
ST JOHN APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION	24, 40, 50, 54, 56, 60, 68, 69, 76-77, 78, 119
church attire	40
baptism	50, 52
services	47-48
use of water	76, 78
ST PAUL APOSTOLIC CHURCH	50
ST PAUL SPIRITUAL CHURCH OF GOD	40, 48, 89
SYNCRETISM	107, 110, 133, 137, 140-142
THEISM, TRADITIONAL AFRICAN	96
THEOLOGICAL TRAINING	138
THEOLOGY	12, 95-96, 97-99, 109-111, 134, 141
in the IPC	99
TOBACCO, ABSTINENCE FROM	18, 56, 57, 70, 139
TOKOLOSHE	20, 45, 86, 90, 129
TONGUES	6, 66, 114-120
initial evidence	114-117
TSHWANE CHRISTIAN MINISTRIES	2, 61
TUTU, DESMOND	61
TYPES, CHURCHES	5-9
UNITED APOSTOLIC FAITH CHURCH	2
URBANISATION	8-9, 139



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