

## REFLECTING ON ZION

*We don't have theology. We dance*

– Bill Moyers

*Africa swallowed the conqueror's music and sang a  
new song of her own*

– Barbara Kingsolver

Missionaries came to black Africa. They brought with them the treasure of the Gospel contained in the earthen vessel of Western Christianity, Christianity being the accumulative heritage of the response of the natives of Europe to the Christian message. The missionaries were generally satisfied to be instrumental in transferring their 'Gospel and culture', cast in the mould to which they added the adjective 'Christian'. Under their direction hundreds of thousands of people became members of the mission churches by accepting Christianity.

Since the last decades of the nineteenth century widespread dissatisfaction has arisen and the black Christians no longer felt at home in the missionaries' churches. They responded in different ways, evidencing alternative understandings of what it meant to be Christian. Some remained in these churches where, in time, African leadership took over, seeking to foster an African identity while valuing their traditional heritage. A large proportion opted to act independently, maintaining the Western ecclesiastical traditions. Others, while regarding themselves as Christians, enacted their faith in the African theatre by founding indigenous churches, which embodied many traditional African features.

Migration was one of the major factors in the spread of these indigenous churches to urban areas. Migrants came to the cities from their homesteads and villages in the rural areas. The characteristic social cohesion of the previous small-scale society where personal relationships prevailed made way for disruption, individualism and impersonality. People were caught up in this maelstrom.

A scene of this massive religious drama on the African stage was performed in the Cape Town region, which itself was witness to the crucial events that

shaped South Africa. In sociological terms Zion presented to thousands of migrants the possibility of recovering and once again experiencing a measure of their former cohesion with its typical face-to-face relationships. There is a social dynamic in which members know what is happening in the homes and lives of fellow members, and in which the isolation of the new urban surroundings is broken.

In terms of religion, the interplay between traditional Xhosa religion, Christianity and modernism, with its predominating secularism and perennial social change, had a decisive influence on the Xhosa in the city. The hundreds of small Zionist churches of the Cape Flats became a segment of those who spontaneously aimed at furthering the Christian faith, this time moulded in the traditional Xhosa culture. In the meantime more conventional churches continued to play their particular missionary role. This implied that both mainline and indigenous churches – despite the gap between them – were all together 'at play in the fields of the Lord'.

The Zionists have a unique way of participating in this 'play': they address the needs of urban people who, in many ways, are still close to traditional Xhosa beliefs, and even to some practices. Zion therefore presents an alternative to the traditional Christian mission to Africa, highlighting elements of the Gospel, which they believe to be part of the biblical message, but which do not feature overtly in the mainline churches.

This book gives a description of the social history of black Christians in Cape Town of which the Zionists are part; it presents a profile of these Zionists in order to come close to who and what they are; it investigates the spirit in Zion in some depth; it explores the Zionist speaking and briefly juxtaposes these findings with those of the previous investigations. What follows is a synthesis of and a reflection on the main findings, relating the local situation to a universal context.

## **Gospel and culture**

In the hustle and bustle of township life it is not difficult for an outsider to identify Zionists: their typical attire and the sound of their characteristic drumbeats make them easily recognisable. Yet, the Zionists' group identity in the sense of the self-perception held in common by a group of people is found on a much more complex level. This identity should not be understood as a fixed or stable quality which cannot change, as is indicated

among other things by respondents' references to 'the Zionists of old' (*amaZiyoni akudala*).

The main features of the Cape Flats Zionists' experience of their faith can be spelt out in terms of their identity. When they refer to themselves as 'We, the Zionists of Cape Town' (*Thina maZiyoni aseKapa*), it is implied that they recognise themselves through certain identity markers: as their language implies, they are Xhosa-speaking with a distinctive cultural heritage; they are also people of a low socio-economic standing, often held in contempt for this very reason; they are former migrants who have settled in the townships of Cape Town but who still oscillate, literally and figuratively, between the city and the Xhosa heartland (*emaXhoseni*); politically they are liberated from the oppression of apartheid, although they have an ambivalent attitude towards the new democratic order; they belong to the churches of the Spirit which is one form of South African Christianity.

On a more personal level, a Zionist will identify himself or herself by such publicly observable conduct as characteristic dressing, worshipping in unique ways, the striving to maintain a high morality and to avoid ill will, a changed attitude to gender issues, and an affinity for traditional Xhosa culture. In the private sphere, self-perception centres on belief in personal salvation through Jesus Christ including the hope of eternal life, the life-giving and life-affirming experiences of the Holy Spirit, the power of persevering prayer and singular forms of prophetism and healing.

The Zionists see themselves as people with changed lives, primarily in respect of religion. In this regard Zion is a powerful metaphor for the holy place established by God, a refuge, a sacred haven of support, a point of new religious orientation to people whose worldview is ever changing and expanding. *Zion displays certain features which not only tie it to, but also separate it from traditional Xhosa religion.* It therefore has for the Xhosa many attractions which are not found in the mainstream churches and some other AICs: a certain spirituality or way of relating to God, animated by a quest for fullness of life and well-being, while struggling with the realities of the physical and spiritual world, in the case of the spiritual world mainly the influence of the ancestors and mystic powers. Here in Zion the members find ways to manage the threats to their lives and well-being and to cope with modern, urban existence.

Zionists' quest for a life of gratifying quality is shared by the traditional Xhosa, as is their explanation of the supernatural and ritual powers that

cause illness, misfortune and untimely death: witchcraft, sorcery and ritual impurity. Yet, the management of these threats has changed significantly: control of these powers through the mediation of the diviner makes way for prophets who place themselves at the disposal of God, depending on the Holy Spirit to ward off the threats. Here a deliberate substitution of traditional Xhosa beliefs and practices takes place, for example the Holy Spirit as agent of diagnostic perception in the prophet as opposed to the diviner's method. The new way, which still caters for the old need, is part of the new haven of belonging.

Even so, with their toleration and adaptation of old beliefs and practices, such as the petition and even bloody sacrifice to the ancestors, the majority of Zionists distance themselves from a minority of their own kind. They likewise differ from most mainline churches and AICs that represent or are closer to conventional Christian traditions.

Nevertheless, these beliefs and practices make Zionist members feel at home, literally and in terms of their worldview: in accordance with their lively consciousness of this worldview, in some cases stronger than in others, various practices, activities and avoidance are part of their normal experience and ministries. In Zion affinity for traditional culture culminates in the management of the conversion of a diviner, the religious specialist in traditional society. Most Zionists consider such a conversion as an advantage since the convert, equipped with spiritual experience, abilities and a sense of being able to communicate with the supernatural powers in an exceptional manner, now becomes a member capable of countering the unseen threats to life.

Many features of traditional Xhosa belief and practice have then been incorporated by the Zionists to give their members the feeling of being 'at home', comforted and protected. The Zionist's identity is maintained and advanced to a great extent when, Sunday after Sunday, members are exposed to the speaking in services of worship. The content of the speaking, in which the Bible as principal Christian text is prominent, attests to their Christian identity, while the characteristics of the speaking confirms their Xhosa self-perception.

The Zionists are Christians *and* Xhosas. Both the Christian Gospel and Xhosa culture are essential elements of their identity. This is not only their main feature but also their chief attraction. In this regard the Zionists of the Cape Flats fit well into the broader picture of many an AIC:

The Independent Churches' real attraction for members and growth derive from their original, creative attempts to relate the good news of the gospel in a meaningful and symbolically intelligible way to the innermost needs of Africa. In doing so they are in a process of and have to a large extent already succeeded in creating truly African *havens of belonging*. (Daneel 1987:101)

If being Christian and Xhosa is the main feature of a Zionist, it is by no means the only one. While the Zionists as Christians have maintained an affinity for traditional culture, embedded in a premodern worldview, they also have arrived and settled in the City of Cape Town, an epitome of modernity. The urban experience is the principal vehicle for change and modernisation in contemporary Africa. Besides the benefits of migration to the city, primarily economic, serious cultural and social disorientation is the result of urbanisation: masses of Africans were and still are compelled to face the dualism of the 'new' modern industrial and commercial world, and the known world of the traditional orientation – each with his or her own ideas, values and worldviews. In many migrants from rural areas this causes mental and ethical schizophrenic symptoms. The winds of social and political change had to be met on the Cape Flats, as elsewhere in Africa.

It is in this regard that the Zionists have exerted themselves to heal disorientated people and to create sheltered corners in an ever-changing urban milieu. The face to face relationships of a small-scale society are maintained in the large-scale urban context. Their presence and activities in the townships provide a way of helping members to manage the realities of a mostly poor and unfriendly city environment. Kiernan (1995:127) uses a descriptive analogy: 'Zionists are creating and extending Christian clearings in what is seen as the social jungle, oases in a moral desert, pockets of social order in the midst of disorder.'

This brings the discussion to the final feature of Zion: their distinctive perception of mission. Any mission in the Cape Flats aimed at significant results will have to present the Gospel in terms of a worldview which resonates with the crucial points of that of potential members, and therefore provides for a spirituality which caters for their felt needs.

Although unconventional, the Zionists share preaching, as 'speaking' and proclamation, as part of their missionary endeavours with the majority of other Christian traditions. They also have in common with some smaller Christian traditions an emphasis on faith healing. Still, their view of healing,

a holistic kind of healing, based on their practice of prophetism, is unique: they believe that through the Holy Spirit prophets have the ability to reveal the basic causes of people's problems. This includes in particular the supernatural influences believed to be at the source of matters such as illness and misfortune, disturbed human relations, suspicion of ill will, abuse of people and drugs and other forms of sociological and psychological pathology which are plentiful in the township communities. According to a female respondent: 'We are sent to certain places and to certain people to find out what their problems are and how to heal. Through this spirituality of the Zion church it fulfils its mission.' Healing is indeed identified as one of the most significant features and methods of Zionist mission.

The Zionists of the Cape Flats therefore spread the Christian Gospel by means of word, example and healing. Their unconventional missionary message is brought in terms of Xhosa culture, traditional as well as changing forms found in the townships of the modern city.

## **Theological evaluation**

### **Church – those who belong to the Lord**

This research project on the Zionists of the Cape Flats entailed more than mere inquisitiveness or scholarly interest in one of Cape Town's many colourful sub-cultures. As stated, the aim of the study was to gain greater insight, to render an account of and to interact with the Zionists' experience of their faith. I am aware that such an attempt at insight and description could continually tend to move between the Scilla of critical Western theological evaluation and the Charybdis of romanticised Zionophilia. Besides, how does one bring the worlds of academia and Zionist praxis together? There is a need, as Horton (1976:158) suggests, 'to find *some* area of discourse in one's own culture which has the same point as the area of alien discourse one is trying to make sense of'. The issue of intercultural communication is here raised.

Zion is obviously viewed and experienced quite differently by insiders than by outsiders, even if the latter are interested in and interact with Zionists on a regular basis. Robert Schreiter discusses the problem of the description and analysis of a culture by a member of that culture, and distinguishes between 'emic' (from the inside) and 'etic' (from the outside) viewpoints. As both have their strengths and problems, it is obvious that the views of insiders and

outsiders are indispensable, while the latter should continue to develop a 'listening heart' (Schreier 1985: 40–41; cf. 61 note 3). I repeat my view that the ideal researcher of the Zionists should be an insider Zionists scholar, who in his or her turn, would represent the academia and the Zionist praxis in a comprehensive and profound manner.

If there is a need to find some area of discourse in one's own culture and the same point in an alien culture, as Horton advises, there is also a need to evaluate one's findings. Assessment of the socio-cultural 'value' of the Cape Flats Zionists in their communities has been presented implicitly and explicitly throughout the foregoing part of this report.

Even so, the present study is undertaken within a missiological theoretical framework and an attempt at theological evaluation is necessary. To offer a full-scale assessment of all aspects of Zionism on the Cape Flats goes beyond the scope of this project. Still, the current findings could at least contribute to a comprehensive assessment. It could promote insight and move beyond generalisations regarding AICs in general and Zionists in particular.

When attempting to assess some of the points that arouse theological interest, I realise that an evaluation from within a Western-oriented theological context has limited value. Yet, I do attempt an evaluation of a few aspects. In this case an indication of my own theological stance as researcher might be of use to some readers. I would describe it as a combination of Reformed-ecumenical-evangelical theology with an ingredient of postmodern theology – all blended in the close proximity of African theologies, including that of Zion.

The striking feature of Christianity world-wide is, according to Lemin Sanneh, its capacity to be translated, first into another language, then into another culture (Elphick 1997:11). In South Africa, this translation has adapted the Christian message to many cultural traditions and social settings. The Gospel has successfully been translated into the Xhosa language, originally by missionaries in collaboration with African converts, later translations being the product of ecumenical and scholarly co-operation.

The translation into Xhosa culture had more diverse results, as translations are bound to have. Zion represents one of these interpretations of the Christian Gospel – a development that is to be welcomed by missiologists.

One of these missiologists, Karel Müller (1998:198), affirms: 'Provided the spirit and message of the gospel laid down and further developed in the (faith) tradition of the church are maintained, each culture ought to have the right to develop its own form and formulation of the faith.'

If the Zionists have not yet fully articulated the formulation of their faith, they certainly have developed their own form of Christianity. They represent a genuine example of a Xhosa indigenisation of Christianity, spontaneously contextualising the Gospel without any deliberate attempt to change the essential meaning of it, and unencumbered by modern scientific thinking. In a world dominated by modernity, the Zionists offer to their members bridges to the traditional Xhosa culture, indigenised and innovative forms of Christianity which imply a rejection of foreign importation.

In this regard *Zion* remains the dominant metaphor of the Zionists' faith. As already mentioned, Allan Anderson indicates the wider applicability of this theme in the African continent: 'The concept of Zion, the new Jerusalem, the holy place that is not in some far-off foreign land at some distant time in the past, but is present here and now, is a prominent theme' (Anderson & Hollenweger 1999:216).

In the light of the data presented by the current project, there can be no doubt that the Zionists of the Cape Flats are Christians who organise themselves as faith communities, in theological language called *churches*. This implies that communities exist which have made a fundamental break with a prime loyalty to their traditional religion. The interviews with Zionist leaders and members as well as their speaking in services indicate that these churches are vibrant, enthusiastic and remarkably active in the townships.

As for the usual functions of a church, I conclude that the leaders and members are generally concerned and eager to fulfil the tasks that they consider their duty. This conclusion, among others, applies to their pastoral and teaching functions, their missionary calling as they see it, living according to their ethos and the attention they pay to issues arising from traditional Xhosa culture. In all these matters, being human, their good intentions are not necessarily met with similar achievement. Still, the recognition by the township communities that they are accepted as churches adds credibility to the fact that they are ready witnesses to the Gospel within the Cape Flats.



## Key issues

Two themes require closer scrutiny: the Zionists' *use of the Bible* and their *spirituality*.

The Bible, the New and Old Testament, is generally regarded as the fundamental document of the Christian faith and self-understanding. In this regard the influence of the Gospel is of paramount importance: 'Indeed, it is a part of the Christian self-understanding that the gospel has properly touched hearers only when they allow it to be master over them and do not, conversely, try to manipulate it' (Waldenfels 1998:83).

I have established that the Zionists extensively use the Bible – an indication that they belong to the Christian tradition that values Scripture so highly. I can well imagine a Zionist appreciating and enjoying the saying that they allow the Gospel 'to be master over them'. The possibility of trying 'to manipulate it' would be met with disbelief. That the Zionists' use of the Bible is often ignorant, fragmented and selective would be conceded, I think, after a short discussion. The Zionists' very freedom and creativity when using the Bible is subject to the same risks of misunderstanding and misinterpretation – and subtle manipulation – to which Christians have been exposed for two millennia. Historical examples, which had great social consequences, abound. I mention only the justification on biblical grounds of the Crusades and the Inquisition in the case of Europe, and of apartheid in South Africa.

Obviously, two wrongs do not make a right. Most Zionists do use the Bible to justify practices that can scarcely be reconciled with the biblical message. The *isihlabelelo* ritual, which I have described elaborately, as well as possible magical interpretations of rituals, are (in the data of the project) the clearest but not the only indications of a trend of compromising the essence of the Christian message: the all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ's sacrifice and the power of his resurrection.

These remarks lead to a discussion of the second theme that deserves further attention: Zionist's spirituality, previously described as the manner in which the Christian way of living, viewed as communion with God and the living up to this relationship in everyday life, is given form in a particular Christian community. In this respect Dirkie Smit (1989:88), who asserts that there is no normative biblical spirituality, writes discerningly. According to him, it is possible that other forms of spirituality which it encounters can influence practices of spirituality within Christianity more profoundly than

the Gospel itself. Throughout the centuries Christians, individuals as well as groups, have been attracted to different forms of spirituality. Such types of practice and experience virtually always provide the filter used to read the Bible. In such cases there is a real possibility that extra-biblical factors become the norm of Christian spirituality.

Given the presuppositions above, Smit argues that Christians are bound to apply a kind of 'hermeneutics of suspicion' in order to try to recognise and evaluate both the non-Christian factors as well as the non-theological factors that affect spirituality. Many of these factors may have a valuable and legitimate role to play in the formation of the Christian faith. Yet, it is quite possible that some of them might, unnoticed and perhaps unconsciously, introduce elements which should be scrutinised in the critical light of the Gospel, the accepted source of the Christian faith (Smit 1989:88).

Smit's ideas on spirituality are especially useful when studying mainstream churches, which normally stand within or have close ties with Western Christianity. These ideas should be heeded by all traditions, including Zionists. However, his insights need to be expanded when considering spirituality in an African context.



A solitary figure actualises her spirituality

Why? This is the case primarily because, as Robin Horton has convincingly shown, patterns of thought in Africa and the West differ significantly. He (1995:3), for example, affirms: 'With its highly secularised worldview and its modernistic mode of thought, the West ... [stands] in spectacular contrast with a spiritual and traditionalistic Africa'. As far as theology is concerned, G C Oosthuizen (1993:100) has argued that no effective and valid evaluation can be done only from within the Western-orientated theological context: 'Although beliefs are not judged by culture but by the theological stance based on interpretation of Scripture no interpretation of the AICs should ignore their traditional religious background which has often more depth than the average western and westernised theologian realizes'.

Simplified and applied to the theme of spirituality, one can say that Smit's concern – representing a broad stream of the Western way of thinking – is with communion with God and how this communion is lived out in everyday life. However, this approach does not take into account African belief in and commerce with a multiplicity of lesser spiritual forces. In the African context, including that of the Xhosa, one would have to widen the scope and affirm that spirituality is in addition to God, likewise concerned with communion with spirits – in particular the ancestral spirits. This is an entity completely absent in Western spirituality but essential to that of Africa in which the spiritual realm underpins reality.

In this regard Andrew Walls has observed the following in his discussion of the mission's legacy to Africa:

missionary Christianity was largely disabled from giving clear guidelines on the matter of the ancestors, since there was no precise equivalent in Western experience either of the ancestors or of the family and kinship systems to which the ancestors belonged ... What is clear is that the ancestors have not gone away; they belong at present to the penumbra of African Christianity. (Walls 1996:194–195)

It is most fortunate that, according to John Mbiti (1998:151), 'spirituality, sensitivity to the spiritual realities' is included in the main issues addressed by African theology today. Hopefully the Zionists' voices will be taken into consideration in this vital theological debate.

Within Zionists' spirituality there is an obvious emphasis on the Holy Spirit. Most likely pneumatology forms the heart of their, as yet unarticulated,

theology. In this field Felix Porsch (1998:189) has identified a serious disadvantage to a person who attempts to evaluate the Zionists' beliefs about the Holy Spirit:

Western philosophical-theological tradition has made it rather difficult to find an approach which would lead to an understanding of that reality which the Bible calls 'spirit' [*ruach/pneuma*] ... In addition, while we do indeed possess a doctrine of the Spirit, we have few if any of those 'Spirit-experiences' which are presupposed in the biblical statements concerning the Spirit. In this regard, non-European peoples may be endowed with much more favourable prerequisites.

I doubt whether the category 'non-European peoples' is appropriate here. Those endowed with 'Spirit-experiences' of the kind described in the Bible are, among others, often found in Pentecostal circles, both among 'non-European peoples', and in the West. In the origins of Zionism in South Africa, aspects of the African spiritual experience had strong links with and was attracted to the spirituality of the white missionaries from the United States and South Africa (cf. Sundkler 1976:14,66). From this affinity new forms of spiritual experience came to the fore, which were manifested in Zion.

Taking this discussion into account, I accept that the Zionists – as in the case of other churches of the Spirit and many Pentecostals – do have an intense sense of divine immediacy, especially in their worship services. The spontaneous liturgy 'with an emphasis on a direct experience of God through his Spirit, results in the possibility of ordinary people being lifted out of their mundane daily experiences into a new realm of ecstasy, aided by the emphasis on speaking in tongues, loud and emotional simultaneous prayer, and joyful singing, clapping, raising hands and dancing in the presence of God' (Anderson & Hollenweger 1999:223).

However, the spontaneity of the Zionists' spirituality could also, as previously indicated, result in adverse outcomes. One is the likelihood of a kind of revelation, claimed to be from God through the Holy Spirit, which is not necessarily linked to what is revealed in Scripture. The lack of any reference to the Bible in the prophecies or interviews on prophecies (as seen in chapter 6) – otherwise so characteristic of the speaking – points in this direction. I have also noted the possibility of the compulsive manipulation of the Holy Spirit despite the normal accentuation on prayer and submission. One even has good reason to believe that in some cases relying on the voice of the Holy Spirit for guidance in essential matters is supplemented by

trusting the voice of the ancestors (through the diviner). Or, using Smit's words, to ask whether the Zionists' practice of spirituality is not in some cases influenced more profoundly by other forms of spirituality which it encounters than by the Gospel itself. In such cases, personal revelation becomes as important or even more important, than biblical revelation.

In this regard Hendricus Berkhof (1979) has reflected on the relation between the Holy Spirit and the human spirit. In the necessary and dominant role of God's Spirit in the perception of revelation, room is left for the activity of the human spirit since it recognises the very aim of the work of the Spirit, namely to bring about a real encounter between God and a human being. In this co-operation and interaction between the Spirit and the spirit, the former is primary and dominant: 'His intention ... is not to displace our spirit, but to awaken it to a new life of its own that continuously interacts with the Spirit. It is not the Spirit who believes in us. We believe, illuminated by the Spirit' (p. 60).

Berkhof warns that a 'blurring of Spirit and spirit' is possible. Still, he believes that the church of Christ is upheld by the confidence 'that the Spirit regularly makes the necessary corrections as well as the final decision, because he knows and points the way' (pp. 96-97). And there are indications in Zion that there is an awareness of such corrections.

## Community affairs

Another area of assessment with which I deal is the Zionists' role and image in the township communities of the Cape Flats. I have already appreciatively sketched the positive side of the coin in which Zion presents a refuge, a home in the often-overwhelming process of urbanisation and modernity and thus contributes significantly to civil society.

Such a positive appraisal includes the Zionists' support and guidance of many thousands of disorientated rural people settling in urban areas since the 1920s, through the darkest days of apartheid and during the post-liberation period of expectation and disappointment; their provision of a measure of social cohesion in an unfriendly and disruptive city milieu; their sustaining people spiritually and psychologically in an ever-changing, and often disruptive, social environment; their presenting some hope and empowerment to manage the hard realities of everyday life in the township and workplace; in summary, their assistance to poor black South Africans 'to

live as liberative life as possible under the press of the macroculture' (Thomas, L 1999:121).

The negative aspects come to the fore especially in the often emotional responses of Zionists (given in chapter 4) concerning the reasons why a certain church does not co-operate with other Zionist churches, and the reasons that cause members to become dissatisfied and to break away from a church and possibly establish a new one. The insiders' views confirm my own observations about the following difficulties: misconduct and laxity regarding money matters as well as marriage and extra-marital relations; style of leadership; dissimilar practices, both trivial and essential, such as misgivings concerning preaching and the use of the Bible; the inclusion or, ironically, exclusion of certain traditional Xhosa practices such as the use of *isiwasho* and the use of the whistle; and personality clashes.

A tremendous amount of energy and time is spent on addressing such issues, energy which could have been spent much more constructively to provide to members tools to deal with modernity and to broaden the churches' witness to urban society beyond the grassroots level of immediate concerns. Besides, these negative elements generate and sustain much caricature, mockery, criticism and holier-than-thou attitudes to the detriment of the image of Zion in the community.

Yet, my overall impression is that the positive role that the Zionists play in the community by far outweighs the negative one. They are undoubtedly part of the alleviation of social disruption and instability in the townships.

## The heart of the matter

A further word on evaluation concerns the finding (arising from the 50 interviews as well as the use of the GTA) that the Zionists of the Cape Flats are not quite homogeneous. The polarity within Zion mainly centres on attitudes toward traditional Xhosa beliefs and practices, above all those that have to do with illness and misfortune. The two poles each see the opposite group as pseudo-Zionists and themselves as authentically Zion. At the one end of the spectrum, represented by the majority, the Zionists who are closer to the Xhosa tradition confess to practice 'a kind of divination which is according to the Bible'. At the other end roughly 20 per cent find – quite apart from what outsider opinion might be – that some beliefs and practices in Zion are highly dubious, even unbiblical and unacceptable. The existence

of this group is an indication that at least a segment of Zion goes beyond the point of too easily identifying traditional Xhosa and Christian beliefs and practices.

These Zionists are closer to universal Christianity. They give one the impression that they are aware of Christian self-understanding, that they are hearers 'properly touched' by the Gospel, not due to their closeness to universal Christianity, but because they allow the Gospel 'to be master over them' (cf. Waldenfels 1998:83), and that without losing their typical Zionist features.

The Gospel has then been 'translated' into the Xhosa culture, as Sanneh implies. To differing degrees Zionist churches have sought a Xhosa identity in continuation with their traditional heritage while definitely discontinuing some traditional practices and beliefs, as their response to the conversion of a diviner illustrates. For the most part 'the spirit and message of the gospel' (Müller 1998:198) have been maintained in the Zionist churches, despite a spirituality and ethos which in many ways are foreign to the development of the faith and tradition of most Western churches. In this very 'foreignness', some of the weaknesses of the Zionists' experiences of their faith, as shown, are to be found. A factor which I have underemphasised in this book is that numerous ordinary members of most mainstream churches seemingly have a spirituality and ethos that come close to that of the Zionists (a factor worthy of further research).

It should by no means be expected that the 'translation' of the Gospel in any culture happens smoothly or conclusively. Any description of the degree of continuity and discontinuity should only be done with careful nuance. Glib statements on the measure to which the Zionists have accepted a new interpretative framework are not helpful. What I do conclude about the Zionists of the Cape Flats is that, while maintaining or adapting indigenous beliefs and forms, in particular in respect of misfortune, they have introduced a message that is in essence new. This message no longer appeals to the ancestors or to impersonal supernatural forces, but has a new focus of spirituality quite clearly identified with the Holy Spirit of God of whom they read in their Bibles. Zionism and traditional Xhosa religion in some ways might be similar in outward form, but are different in essence.

At the end of chapter 5 I suggested that the Zionist churches not only consider themselves to be Christian churches, but are also basically orientated to the Christian tradition in spite of a close affinity to the Xhosa tradition. In the light

of my own research, I agree with Kiernan's general assessment of what the tendency within Zion is: in the blend of Christianity and African religion, one of the syncretic matrices from which all known religions have originated, it is likely that Zionism rather draws 'those born into African religion towards exposure to Christianity, to a greater or lesser degree', than the other way around. 'In effect, Zionism harnesses the distilled spiritual energy of Christianity to respond to modern African needs and channels it through African categories of thought and action, though without denuding it entirely of Christian categories. Thus, there is a retention of some African religious methods and techniques but these draw from a new source of power – the Holy Spirit rather than the ancestral spirits' (Kiernan 1995:122).

This implies that Zionism is a dynamic movement which can in future either develop *away from* or *closer to* universal Christianity, and in the light of the polarity described above, polarise even further.

Any attempt of a theological evaluation of Zionism should take into account that evangelisation which reaches the deepest dimensions of a religion, is a gradual process. Renown African and Western theologians agree: 'It takes many generations for the gospel to germinate and permeate individuals and the community at all levels of language, culture, worldview, social institution and values' (Mbiti 1998:141-142); 'evangelisation is a much more gradual process than was once believed. Elements of the older religion remain for generations, even centuries, although Christianity may have been enthusiastically embraced' (Schreiter 1985:136). A semi-literate bishop of the Cape Flats, quoted earlier, concurs: 'Old habits are to be left little by little and gradually converted through a person's prayer and through those of the church.'

No final missiological formula has been devised that can pretend to describe the nature of the relationship between Gospel and culture appropriately and conclusively. The Zionists are spontaneously sensitive to their cultural context, irrespective of the manner in which outsiders may judge their obedience to the Gospel.

## **A theology of drumbeats?**

The missiological challenge includes the need of all Christian communities to restate the Christian Gospel in ever-new situations. Christians give account of their faith by reinterpreting the meaning of the Gospel from a



specific cultural and historical background: 'those who accept the message in faith and live it in different situations must also be allowed to reflect on it in their different psychological and cultural backgrounds, that is, theologically rework and consequently also formulate it in a different way'. (Müller 1998:201)

People respond positively to the Gospel, they reflect on it and theology is generated, moulded and formulated. Theology is indeed articulated in different ways which give rise to a plurality of theologies, with as starting point the assumption that 'Christian faith expresses itself normatively in the New Testament'. (Berkhof 1979:1)

Although it is often natural that a Christian community has a period of oral theological tradition, sooner or later the necessity arises for a written expression or formulation because of the dangers of abridgement and elaboration. The four versions of the life of Jesus are a prime example of a theological expression. Berkhof has accounted for the vital relationship between oral and written forms of theology:

The Spirit proceeds from Christ to continue and interpret his saving work worldwide. This coming of the Spirit is a new redemptive act, of the same importance as the coming of Christ of which he is the complement and counterpart. The events would remain hanging in mid-air without the interpretative transmission. It is one continuous revelational event. Fixation without interpretive transmission petrifies the faith; interpretive transmission without fixation makes it evaporate. The relation of fixation and interpretive transmission is a particularization of the relation of Word and Spirit. (p. 91)

Though both theologians and lay people can articulate the Christian faith, theology has for many centuries become the domain of professional theologians. In academic circles theology is usually understood as the reflection on God and his involvement in human affairs as well as the systematic formulation of such reflection. In these terms any effort by an outsider to write a theology of the Zionists of the Cape Flats would be merely experimental, if not futile. At best, elements of a Zionist theology can be identified for the sake of a meaningful dialogue between complementary ways of expressing the Christian faith.

The reason for this is that the very way that theology was described above largely reduces it to a rational exercise in which symbolical, ritual and

mystical dimensions, so prominent in Zionism, play a peripheral role. Besides, Xhosa and other African traditional religions, as with the ancient Semitic religion, have what has been described as 'a weak belief structure in the sense that there is little of it, there is little pressure for logical coherence, and a knowledge of it is not the significant criterion for belonging to the group. There is rather a seeking and a feeling after an underlying order of things through myth and ritual without demanding exactitude or finality' (Hodgson 1982:17).

Since all theology is influenced, if not defined, by the context in which it gradually develops, theology is by its very nature dynamic and contextual (Bosch 1991:422–423). This was not fully realised until the contextual theologies began to appear in the 1970s, when prevailing Western theologies proved to be irrelevant to local needs. It became clear that the so-called universal theologies of the Christian tradition which had been presented to, among others, the African Christians, 'were in fact *universalizing* theologies; that is to say, they extended the results of their reflections beyond their own contexts to other settings, usually without an awareness of the rootedness of their theologies within their own contexts ... the Christian Tradition itself might be seen as a series of local theologies' (Schreier 1999:2).

Mbiti (1998:141) distinguishes between three kinds of contextual African theologies: those of the ancient churches of Egypt and Ethiopia, those of what I have called mainstream churches, and those belonging to AICs. All these local expressions, as Pobee (1996) affirms,

represent the dissatisfaction with the theology minted in Europe and appropriated by churches founded from the North. That dissatisfaction is expressed as African theology, or more accurately theologies, which are not just a protest against the North Atlantic captivity of churches and theology but also are an attempt to culture the mystery of God, especially through Jesus Christ, in the African soil and water it with African hands. (p. 54)

Elsewhere Mbiti appropriately applies the issue to the indigenous churches:

Indeed, the AIC movement is very much involved in the shaping of Christian presence and in giving it an African imprint. As yet it has not produced book theology to parallel that of the older *Christentum* nor that of contemporary theology in different parts of the world. But it is not atheological. To the contrary, the AICs are a serious theological factor on

the scene of Christian history. For example, the causes of their existence, the forms of their organisation as individuals and as groups, their spirituality, their liturgical and social life, their healing and pastoral care, and their artistic expressions – all these have deeply theological dimensions. (Barrett & Padwick 1989, Preface)

If the Zionists have not produced book theology, how have they expressed their faith? At an early stage of this publication, I stated the presupposition that the Zionists do have an implicit and incipient theology. I now attempt to verify this presupposition.

Schreier provides a suitable starting point with reference to the field of communication studies. Messages can be formulated and transmitted in various ways: 'For example, the central message of Christianity about the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is formulated and transmitted in words (the Bible, creeds, doctrines, catechisms), in acts (the liturgical drama of Holy Week), and in signs (the cross). Here is where a semiotics of culture can be useful to intercultural communication: messages are not seen as being restricted to verbal or print media' (Schreier 1999:38).

Scholars from different fields of study substantiate this view, applying it among others to AICs. Some two decades ago, Inus Daneel introduced the term 'enactment': 'It is the enactment of the Gospel in day to day living, the translation of the message of liberation in the concrete, visible and physical activities of people in those fields of human experience that really matter, which constitutes credibility and inspires conviction . . . Biblical truth in Africa is experienced as authentic when it is acted out and danced out!' (Daneel 1983:59, 76). He later formulates: 'Whatever our theoretical constructs, the fact is that the *enacted theology* of the African Independent churches is a vitally significant component of a developing African Christian theology' (Daneel 1990:221).

An article written from an Old Testament perspective concludes as follows:

This paper's design is to introduce you to a totally different mode of practising theology and of appropriating the Old Testament in a modern day context as it is practised within African Zionist churches. We may be sceptical about this process, but that is probably so because we do not share the African worldview, or simply because we are so deeply indoctrinated by our Western academic approach. I, however, call

attention to this 'dancing out theology' in African context, because I believe that it is authentic African and in essence biblical. (Van Zyl 1995:436)

James Cochrane (1994:13-14) refers to ordinary Christians who reflect on their faith:

Their reflection may be, and usually is, that of the theologically untrained mind. It may be naive and pre-critical; it may be unsystematic and scattered; it may draw incongruently on a range of symbols, rituals, narratives and ideas which express the encounter with the sacred. In these senses, the theology present in communities of ordinary Christians may be seen as incipient rather than overtly articulated. But it remains nevertheless theology. It is this *incipient theology* which I claim to be the necessary starting point for an authentic contextual theology.

Finally, in his review of emerging African theologies, Tinyiko Maluleke (1997:17) includes theologies of AICs:

The basic proposal of many AIC 'theologians' is that the praxis of these churches must now be regarded not only as the best illustration of African Christianity, but also as 'enacted', 'oral', or 'narrative' African theology – a type of theology which is no less valid than written African theologies, they would add. In this way AICs are adding to and becoming a facet of African theology at one and the same time.

Does such a theology therefore really constitute authentic theology? In the rationalised and verbalised definition of theology of the typical Western approach it certainly does not. In an approach more appreciative of African culture, I presume that a theology that is not articulated can still in a sense be authentic theology, which, as in the case of articulated theology, has its richness and limitations.

Still, to restate Hodgson (1982:17), 'a little pressure for logical coherence' has developed: the formulated form of theology has significant benefits of which the possibilities of theological dialogue (see below) is probably the most important. Irrespective of one's viewpoint, the increase in literacy in the townships will, for the better or the worse, most probably have a decisive influence on the form of Zionist theology, making it more explicit and less incipient (in terms of formulated theology).

From these views I conclude that the Zionists of the Cape Flats, arguably mainly due to a general low level of formal education, do not have a fully-fledged systematic theology in its own right. In spite of this, they do have a vivid and celebrational theology expressed in their worship, preaching, prayers, healing, songs, dancing, symbols and rituals. This is where the notion of a *theology of drumbeats* comes to mind – one enacted quite beside any handbooks, study desks or seminar rooms, let alone computers.

### Seeking ecumenical harmony

Some or other form of theology is indispensable for any church. I assume that as Christian communities develop, as for example the level of literacy in the Cape Flats gradually increases, the need for a written Zionist theology will likely grow. A sound theological base, a relevant *theologia viatorum*, could in the long run be most advantageous to the Zionist churches and to other AICs. The value of such a theology should not depend on its sophistication, but on how it guides God's people to continuous renewal and the meeting of their missionary challenge.

A well-articulated theology has the further value of enabling dialogue between researchers of the various kinds of Christianity in Africa. All the same, scholarly debates are less meaningful to the church than the more vital dialogue, the *ecumenical* one between mainline churches and AICs, as well as between the latter churches themselves.

It might sound naïve to position a *theology of drumbeats* of the Cape Flats Zionists within the ambit of the global setting. However, in principle a theology of Zion is part of the contextual theologies that have become a serious factor in terms of the direction which universal theology has taken. With this in view I broaden the discussion to include Zionist churches and AICs generally and their potential role in the field of ecumenical theology. This is done in agreement with Schreiter's viewpoint: 'Theology stands today between the global and the local . . . there is no "local" any more that is not touched by powerful outside forces. In fact, the local itself increasingly cannot be defined simply in territorial terms. Theology must find ways of embracing both the global and the local if it is to be a faithful and credible voice for belief' (Schreiter 1999:ix).

Can this tremendous gap be bridged in practice? A problem which has come to light in the ecumenical movement seems to be relevant: 'The dominant role

of Euro-American theology in the ecumenical movement and the difficulty of expressing the piety and the theological articulation to be found in churches of the Third World, the result being that discourse and exchange are problematic' (Ritschl 1998:125). Hollenweger (1990:165) elaborates: 'If we choose the propositional terminology and definitions of the West, any third-world theologian would find it difficult to make specific contributions. On the other hand, if we choose the oral, narrative language of the younger churches, the theologians of the West find it difficult to make a contribution.' He proposes as possible solution that theologians and not only missiologists, become bilingual (in the sense of knowing the oral and analytical languages).

The problem goes even deeper than Euro-American theology: Third World mainstream churches often have a dominating role in their turn. The theological articulation of the Zionists of the Cape Flats, for instance, might easily be weighed and found to be too light to qualify as 'real theology'. This is the position in South Africa at the present time with the result that the Zionists, with a few exceptions, practically are excluded from theological debate.

The possibility of such a dialogue should nevertheless not be precluded: 'The realization of ecumenism is, however, not the task of theology as such; rather, living together, building trust, joint action, and joint worship must both *precede* and *follow* any theological activity' (Ritschl 1998:126).

The creation of an atmosphere congenial to ecumenical fellowship on various levels is therefore most necessary. This should happen without having great expectations of an articulated theological debate or that the 'prodigal son' will be desirous to return to the house of the 'waiting father'.

In chapter 4 I attended to the difficulties of sound ecumenical relations amongst Zionists and churches beyond their own kind. Both in this context and on a wider level, problems, of which a major one is the absence of a well-articulated theology, should not lessen the ecumenical imperative. Ecumenically the AICs in Africa at large are in an ambivalent position, as Mbiti indicates: 'They want to shape or find their own identity and to be on their own feet. At the same time many of them recognize that they are part of the Body of Christ. They want to feel, celebrate and foster that belongingness. Yet other churches . . . have not always shown brotherliness and sisterliness towards them' (Barrett & Padwick 1989, Preface).

The attitude of mainstream churches is a decisive factor in which direction Zion develops, further away from or closer to universal Christianity. This

attitude should not be one of reluctant tolerance. Instead, the ecumenical challenge and opportunity should be appreciated and seized: recognition of the validity of new forms of Christian life and a seeking of interaction with the Zionists and other AICs. On the broader level of new religious movements, Wilbert Shenk (1990:199) – noting an important qualification – has observed:

those new religious movements with a Christological orientation are usually reaching out for fraternal relationships and seeking to understand their place in the wider Christian history and tradition. Far from rejecting other Christians, they want to understand and be understood.

As the Zionists of the Cape Flats do have a 'Christological orientation' they should certainly be included in the dialogue.

## **Theological dialogue**

I now attend to some of the main items that should be on the agenda of an imperative theological dialogue.

The first is the rediscovery of neglected theological dimensions. To mention a relevant issue: together with other Pentecostal churches, Zionism has a different point of view than other traditions of the Holy Spirit and the workings of the power of God in the life of the Christian. William Burrows (1996:127) illustrates how theology in the West is lacking in this regard: 'What is needed is a theology of Christian vocation and mission that recognizes the need to develop ears for mystical and spiritual meanings revealed by the events of Calvary and in God's continual suffering in humanity'.

Possibly postmodern theology – admittedly, once again an Euro-American brand – could in future contribute to bridge the gap between such local theologies as Zionism and their global counterparts. In postmodern theology there is a greater openness for non-conceptual ways of knowing, for instance, intuitive and mystical ones, as well as the use of metaphors. Other than modernism, which knows only a reality that is accessible through sensory perception, postmodern thought can provide a framework 'suitable for theological reflection that has to cater for religious needs that include the so-called "fuzzy world" of visions, hopes, beliefs, aspirations, and ecstasy. Postmodernism is an effort to restore the value of human feelings as part of experience' (Herholdt 1998:216; cf. 223, 225).

New perspectives on theology cannot do otherwise than to enhance existing theologies. Obviously Western theologies have their qualities from which other traditions can learn, while the latter, as I have shown in the case of the Zionists, present examples of both theological enrichment and reductionism. Each theological tradition has its distinctive strengths and weaknesses; none is sufficient in itself. Even the most respected theology is provisional. After all, what theologians 'see now is like a dim image in a mirror.'

All Christians are confronted with the 'Gospel and culture' challenge, many of them experiencing the disorienting global-local encounters in a situation called *tiempos mixtos* 'in which the premodern, modern, and the postmodern exists together in the same place' (Schreier 1999:55). The Cape Flats Zionists, in their broad shift from premodernity to modernity, are part of this situation and this calls for a theology relevant for Africa while remaining open to the ecumenical dimensions of the worldwide church. Adrio König emphasises an important aspect of this openness:



A Bible class by candlelight in full session

The gospel is so rich and diversified, the situations in which Christians work so different, and we are all so inclined to justify only our own convictions against all others and to use the Bible as an arsenal against



other Christians and their theologies, that we can only benefit from a more open approach – something of an 'ecumenical' approach if by 'ecumenical' we mean trying to understand the faith in communion with all God's people. (König 1998:25)

A second principal area of theological dialogue that could not only foster ecumenical relations but also, in the longer term, further theological developments, is the effective theological equipment of Zionists. Effective not necessarily in the sense of Western educational models, but in terms of methods of teaching the Bible relevantly to the African context and the educational levels of the learners. Such equipping for their witness and ministries in an increasingly complex society is becoming indispensable.

The fortunate situation in the Cape Flats and generally in South Africa and elsewhere is that many AIC leaders are desirous of better theological training, perhaps because they are aware of their backlog in this regard. In addition there are signs that leaders are increasing their standards of education. A fine example of the realisation of such theological assistance in South Africa is that of a number of AIC leaders who approached the Institute for Contextual Theology in Johannesburg in 1984:

What the AIC leaders were looking for was assistance in articulating and systematising their theology, in order to be able to dialogue with the mainline churches but, more important still, in order to be able to design courses for teaching their own theology to their own members and especially to their ministers and future leaders. (Nolan 1999:8)

Still, theological training is only acceptable to these leaders under certain conditions, as Hans-Werner Gensichen (1993:127–128) has shown in an overview of theological education for AICs in South Africa: education in terms of Western models should not have a decisive role; the training should be clearly related to African spirituality; the dissociation from dependency, the openness to change, the efforts at educational and professional progress which can be observed in AICs, all these factors should be reflected in the theological training.

A third point on the agenda: as is the case of the Zionists as opposed to Xhosa culture, contextual theology does not only effect the ecumenical interaction of churches, but also their witness to the world: 'The postulate of a contextual theology is not to be misunderstood as the denial of the universal claim of Christianity; it means rather the determination to reach all

potential "hearers of the Word" (K Rahner) in the most varied sociocultural situations.' To maintain unity the different forms of theology of different contexts will have to be 'intertranslatable and so mutually intelligible' (Waldenfels 1998:86) – no trifling requirement for such churches as the Zionists.

The invitation to enter a temple and 'to sit on the chair' (for converted people) is one of the symbols of Zionists' missiology – the call of the drumbeat in the wider township is another. As I have illustrated, Zionists have a dynamic and highly successful alternative mission to that of the mainline churches. It would be short-sighted of the latter not to heed the missiological correction Simon Maimela advises:

the mission churches must go back to the drawing boards of missiology in order to rethink and re-conceive the relevant mission strategies in order to deal with and overcome many shortcomings in their ministry which have created dissatisfaction among their African members, leading them to leave those churches in droves to join the African Pentecostal churches. Anything short of that would merely result in self-inflicted wounds which would bleed the mission churches slowly but surely to death (Anderson 1993:ix; cf. 35, 142–143).

For the continued growth of the Christian faith in Africa and worldwide, it is vital that different spiritual and social needs of converts and members be addressed. In this regard Shenk (1990:187) emphasises the missiological dimension: 'The opportunity before missiology is to become the science of the *oikoumene* in the service of the *missio Dei*, on behalf of the whole body, for the salvation of the world. A respectful listening to and learning from these movements will foster development of a more self-critical and positive missiology.'

All the same, the practical missiological challenge draws the discussion to a final point of the theological dialogue: to provide guidelines to churches to address the dehumanising and desperate urban poverty of the Cape Flats and other African cities. In the coming years the continued influx of migrants to Cape Town and their integration with the fairly settled township population will be adding pressures on all inhabitants. In this regard, the Zionists' intensified participation in NGOs and community structures is promising for the future. Joint social action by co-operating churches could lead to the alleviation of the condition of the urban poor and unsettled, signs of hope in an often-dire situation.

What role can Zion play in transforming South Africa? Dirkie Smit investigates how the Bible influences the ethos or the moral world of a particular society such as the 'new South Africa'. He argues that the Bible for centuries affected and shaped the public moral language and imagination of societies in traditionally Christian countries. While this component in Western culture has faded, there are impressive recent instances of combined imaginative and behavioural use of Scripture in the traditions of black preaching in the United States of America. Such use of the Bible provides 'an inexhaustible source of good preaching material', supplying 'the basis for unlimited creativity in the telling of rich and interesting stories' (Smit 1991:58; cf. 56). This description might as well have been that of the speaking of the Zionists of the Cape Flats.

Returning to South Africa, Smit says that the 'imagination and language of different groups of people in South Africa have been influenced by the Bible in diverse ways and often with conflicting results. In a new South Africa it will be the same'. He concludes that, whatever is understood by 'the Bible' or 'the Bible says', the vital question remains: 'Will there be communities, institutions, establishments, reading and using the Bible to inform their own ethos, that will be powerful enough to influence the public ethos in a new South Africa?' (Smit 1991:60, 62). If the communities of Cape Flats Zionists are any measure to go by, the way in which they appropriate the Bible to inform their own ethos, tends to answer the question positively. Whether they, given the fact that they represent only some 17 per cent of all Christians in Cape Town, will be communities powerful enough to influence the public ethos noticeably, remains an open question.

Moving to the wider global perspective, Harold Turner has written imaginatively on the relationship between development and what he calls 'new religious movements' in primal societies of the Third World. I use his insights to reflect briefly on the South African form of such movements, namely the AICs of which the Zionists are the most numerous group, and their possible role in social transformation. In this regard one would naturally have to speak in a generalising way.

Over the last centuries primal societies of the world have had extensive and disturbing encounters with the religions and cultures of the more sophisticated and powerful societies. In these encounters there has been interaction between two kinds of religions: the small and weak primal and the large and strong religions such as the Hindu tradition, Buddhist cultures, Islam and, due to the massive penetration of the modern missionary

movement, Christianity. In this interaction, besides total resistance or complete conversion, 'there has been a vast proliferation of new religious movements that owe something both to their own indigenous traditions and to the new invasive religions' (Turner 1985: 86–87). Tension usually arises between these relatively new religious movements and the two contributing faiths. Located in South Africa this means tension between the AICs over against both African traditional religions and the mainline churches.

Turner contends that three features distinguish the AICs from the African traditional religions: they are distinctly missionary in nature and spread across tribal boundaries; they have an innovative capacity due to a new kind of eschatology; they have the capability to adjust to more developed societies. 'Each of these features ... suggests that we are dealing with new forms of religion highly relevant to the modernisation process' (Turner 1985:88).

The common reaction to the AICs, if they are recognised at all, is often to regard them as simply irrelevant or else as obstacles to real development (the emphasis placed on their 'political acquiescence' during the struggle years in the case of South Africa is a good example). In some respects the AICs or their leaders encourage negative attitudes and sometimes they indeed do hinder development: for instance when they totally reject Western medicine or modern education; when the magical worldview remains and when new rituals are viewed as powers in themselves; excessive discipline or prolonged fasting; conspicuous new forms of consumption (especially attire); high-status lifestyle of leaders; being bound by comprehensive activities of a church deprives NGOs, trade unions and political structures of the support they need (Turner 1985:88–89).

Despite these and other dysfunctional aspects, subtle changes in worldview are still occurring throughout most of the AICs. There are some basic changes that are taking place that seem to be demanded if economic development is to occur, changes that lead to the adoption of new departures. Turner (1985:92–101) discusses them in terms of five transitions:

- The first is a transition from a closed unitary, sacralized cosmos to an open, desacralised system with uncertain interrelations – people are no longer at the mercy of the natural environment, where disasters are liable to interpretation as the will of the spiritual world; people are responsible to God who transcends nature and enters into contingent relations with it. This means that AICs are increasingly absorbing the Bible's desacralising

understanding of the world and entering into a worldview able to encourage and sustain development.

- The second transition is access to power through science and religious faith instead of magic and religious rituals – access to the powers of nature by expanding limited practical knowledge and skills by science and modern technology; and likewise, access to powers of the spirit world not controlled by religious ritual with inherent efficacy, but occurs through personal relationships marked by prayer and faith. This removes restricting new forms of action from the fear that the ensuing progress will arouse the jealousy of others and lead to reprisals by magic, fear that beset progressive individuals in most underdeveloped societies. Members of AICs are much less likely to be frustrated by these fears for they have other spiritual resources and the spirits are no longer believed in or have lost their central position.
- The next transition is the addition of history to myth as a new category in dealing with time. The cyclical present implicit in the old worldview moves in the direction of change towards a linear time perspective that emphasises personal career and historical development. AICs vary in their emphasis on different kinds of eschatology: while a few are millennial, most others are sustained amid the frustrations and confusions of the new Africa by their hopes of the divine blessings that await them. Their eschatology offers a new freedom to deal with the future.
- The fourth is a transition from a closed, unitary, sacral society to an open, plural, secular one. The AICs are helping to achieve in one life span the passage from the former to the latter, a modern, secular state and religiously plural society capable of reaching beyond the limitations of clan, tribe and language toward new national entities. They are part of the transformation from the old to the new, both in societies and in worldviews.
- Finally, a transition in which evil involves moral rather than ritual pollution and is located internally as well as externally. Cultures differ considerably in how they understand evil, where they identify it, and how they deal with it. These variations have important consequences for developmental processes, which imply the removal of a range of evils such as ignorance, sickness, discrimination and poverty. In African traditional religions evil forces that prevent development are regularly viewed as external to the individual or society. The result is that individual and corporate initiative, effort and responsibility without which there can be no development, are undermined. AICs make a major contribution when they help to create a

sense of individual responsibility, which frees people from old fatalisms and fears and helps them to replace the collapsing traditional structures upon which people depended in the past.

All in all, the AICs with their millions of members are making a real contribution to the social and economic development in South Africa and elsewhere on the continent. It is not difficult to find shining examples to demonstrate that new worldviews, work ethics and other changes brought about by them do have tangible economic results. Prime examples have been described such as tree planting in Zimbabwe (cf. Daneel 2001) and small businesses in South Africa (cf. Cross *et al* 1992). Turner, whose arguments I have been applying to the local context, infers: 'Here, in the new religious movements in primal societies, there lies a largely unrecognised but nevertheless ongoing and substantial religious contribution to the problem of a world starkly divided into rich and poor nations' (Turner 1985:108).

Finally, I agree with the conclusion which David Barrett and John Padwick reach when recapitulating the challenge the AICs, and I include the Zionists, present to the ecumenical churches:

[The] challenge [is] not simply to study them or analyse them, nor to presume to evangelise them or convert them or correct them or educate them. It is rather to listen to their aims, hopes and desires ... and in this way try to understand them, to empathize with them and to assist them ... representing the whole Body of Christ. (Barrett & Padwick 1989:52)

One of the speakers in a township of the Cape Flats voiced the Zionists' hopes and desires for the future with the following words that could be interpreted as a prayer to the Lord, or as an ecumenical plea:

*May the Lord be with us. Here are the children, here are the children of Zion. They are many. Here are the children of Zion. We place them in front of you. May the Lord of peace bless us.*

## THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Chapter 2 deals extensively with theoretical aspects of the study. Here I report briefly on the practical side of the research process.

The empirical research was conducted in two main stages. Firstly, the *preparatory stage*: theorising, choosing methods, drawing up a questionnaire and an interview schedule, assistant preparation and publicly paving the way for the project. As for reading, the following authors' writings on AICs in South Africa were especially valuable: A Anderson, J P Kiernan, B A Pauw, B G M Sundkler and M West (see Bibliography for particulars).

For the collection of standardised information a list of 74 questions was drawn up (see Appendix B), translated into the vernacular and tested.

The *implementation stage* followed consisting of three main phases.

### Phase 1

In 1996 I completed the survey with leaders. I administered the questionnaire to 50 respondents, seven of whom were women. The respondents of the survey were leaders of their respective churches, 94 per cent either the founders or current heads or else the heads in the Cape Flats area. While I think it is necessary that both the leaders and the ordinary members should feature in the total research project, I focused on the leaders for this phase. I did this with a few assumptions: the leaders would be able to respond more comprehensively to the formal matters of the survey; the great majority of males hold some or other office, that is, position of leadership, in any case (which is less prominent in the case of females); there is no significant difference in religious behaviour and beliefs respectively of the leaders and the members – at least not as marked as in the mainline churches where the level of education often differs considerably; once the members became aware that their leaders agreed to be interviewed, they would be less reluctant to participate themselves. In the second phase of the project I concentrated on the ordinary members to include their voice in the project. Administering the questionnaire lasted approximately two hours each.

## **Phase 2**

In 1997 I initiated and conducted GTA interviews, attended to analysis, interpretation, repeating the process, as the GTA requires. For the present study semistructured interviews, based on the use of an interview schedule containing a few topics of interest, were initially used for the GTA. This procedure soon led to substantial data, which generated further questions and themes. In the report on this phase (chapter 5) I give a prominent place to the expressions of the respondents themselves in order to provide the reader with the opportunity to evaluate the interpretation of the data.

## **Phase 3**

In 1998 I completed the GTA work and started recording speaking/services. In 1999 I completed recordings and collaborated with a qualified translator to transcribe and translate the Xhosa speaking. The data for the analysis was provided by audio and video tape recordings of speaking at four different types of services: an ordinary service including healing; ordination; marriage; and a service of condolence. This took place during the period October 1998 to September 1999 and altogether 70 speakers performed the speaking. These recordings were transcribed and translated from Xhosa into English, and in the case of the videos, scrutinised. As far as possible follow-up interviews with a few participant members of a particular service were undertaken. As could be expected, transcribing and translation of the text caused a number of problems of which the effort to express the Xhosa idiom in English was probably the most difficult. I was also aware that an outsider, for instance, could scarcely appreciate group specific nuances regarding wisdom and humour. Furthermore, such factors as a person's speaking being inaudible due to low volume, the hubbub or the laughter of the audience and some speakers' idiosyncrasies, sometimes made it impossible to transcribe all that was spoken in a particular service.

Owing to the limitations mentioned above (notwithstanding the use of the video tape recordings which in some cases were most valuable), I regard the results of the third phase as the least conclusive of the various phases of the project. Yet, in spite of the limitations, to reach as much insight as possible it seemed hardly feasible to evade the highly informative subject of Zionist speaking. In a few illustrative instances the Xhosa has been included in the text (of chapter 6) together with the English translation (other than in chapter 5).



In 2000 I paid further attention to the speaking; wrote the concluding chapter of the present manuscript and commenced with the shorter Xhosa version.

As the majority of the respondents were working people and busy with church activities on weekends, I conducted interviews mainly on weekday evenings. This mostly took place after an introduction by a confidant and usually at the homes of the respondents. This ensured that they felt at ease. In a few cases the spouse, family members or church members were present. Only in a single case did it take some time to convince a respondent that the study was bona fide; all others were content and even enjoyed being interviewed and speaking about their religious experience.

All interviews were conducted in isiXhosa. I had the advantage of an experienced Xhosa research assistant who facilitated the discussions. During 1996–1999 I moved around the townships on practically a daily basis which provided much opportunity for observation of daily life, for follow-up enquiries and for attending a variety of church services and other meetings. The security risks in terms of violent elements (criminal, political and the taxi wars) were not to be evaded – as is continually the case with the respondents.

The collecting of data on black Christians in Cape Town history (chapter 3) stretched over the whole period of research.

For a discussion on participatory observation, presuppositions and a few other practical aspects see chapter 2.

## SURVEY: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ZIONIST CHURCH LEADERS

### 1 NAME OF CHURCH

- 1 What is the name of your church?
- 2 What is the meaning of this name?

### 2 THE LEADER

- 1 What is your name and clanname?
- 2 Are you the founder of your church?
- 3 If not, are you related to the founder? (kinship/marriage)
- 4 What is your rank or title?
- 5 How old are you?
- 6 What school standard did you pass?
- 7 Did you have any Bible training? (full-time/part-time/correspondence)
- 8 What is your address?
- 9 What is your telephone number?
- 10 Are you employed? (full-time/part-time/unemployed/retired)
- 11 If you are employed, what kind of work do you do?
- 12 How and when did you become a Christian?
- 13 How and when did you become a Zionist?
- 14 To which previous church(es) did you belong?

### 3 YOUR CHURCH AS ORGANISATION

- 1 What kind of ranks does your leadership have? (archbishop/bishop/president/reverend/deacon/evangelist/steward/elder/preacher/prophet/prayer man-woman/faith healer/other)
- 2 How are they chosen or appointed? (by head/committee/members/other)
- 3 Can a woman fill all of these ranks?
- 4 Do you have a committee of leaders?
- 5 How is this committee chosen?
- 6 Which special interest groups of members do you have? (young men/women/ youth/children/choir/other)
- 7 In which ways do you attract new members?
- 8 In which ways are new members taught?
- 9 How many members does your church have?

#### 4 PLACES

- 1 Where does your church have congregations
  - 1 in Cape Town
  - 2 elsewhere?
- 2 Where do you have church services or meetings? (church building/ school/ house/open air/other)
- 3 Does your church own a church site?

#### 5 PRACTICES

Which of the following practices does your church have?

- 1 Sunday service
- 2 All-night service
- 3 Healing service
- 4 Special service
- 5 Conference
- 6 Other meetings
- 7 Holy Communion at night: How many times per year?
- 8 Baptism in the river or sea
- 9 Blessing of children
- 10 Dancing
- 11 Drums/tambourines/rattles/bells/horns/whistles/other musical instruments
- 12 Ropes/sticks (weapons)
- 13 A menorah/candles
- 14 Special church attire
- 15 *Isiwasho*\*: to purify/to heal/to sanctify
- 16 Speaking in tongues
- 17 Casting out of demons
- 18 *Isihlabelo*\*\*
- 19 Fundraising through fees/offerings/service collections/public collections /donations/*imijikelo*\*\*\*/other
- 20 A bank account
- 21 A treasurer
- 22 Financial reports to a committee/the congregation
- 23 Succession of head of the church by way of a family member
- 24 A certain way of dealing with discipline

#### 6 INTER-CHURCH CO-OPERATION

- 1 Of which association(s) is your church a member?
- 2 What things make your church similar to other Zionist churches?

- 3 Is there anything special that makes your church different from other Zionists churches?
- 4 In which ways do you co-operate with other Zionists? (funerals/visiting services/solving problems/ordination/*imijikelo*/community matters/other)
- 5 Are there reasons why you will not co-operate with a certain Zionist church?
- 6 In which ways do you co-operate with churches that are not Zionists? (funerals/visiting services/solving problems/ordination/*imijikelo*/community matters/other)

## 7 GENERAL

- 1 Which are the three most popular hymns or choruses in your church?
- 2 Which are the three most important rules in your church?
- 3 Which three Bible verses are used most often by your preachers for their sermons?
- 4 Does your church have a written statement of belief?
- 5 Does your church have a manual for services or liturgy book apart from the Bible?
- 6 Does your church have books to help with sermons?
- 7 What is the mission of Zion/For what purpose does the Lord send Zionists among the people?
- 8 What is the essence of Zion?

## 8 HISTORY OF CHURCH

- 1 When was your church founded, by whom and where?
- 2 What were the main circumstances or dissatisfactions?
- 3 When did your church arrive in Cape Town?
- 4 Did township violence that started in 1985 affect your church seriously?
- 5 Do you allow your members to join a political party?
- 6 In which ways did the new South Africa change your means and manner of living?
- 7 Do your members have any community involvement? (street committees/sport clubs/health organisations/clan societies/civics/burial societies/other)
- 8 In which ways are women treated differently among Zionists than they are among unbelievers?

Observations by interviewer:

- 1 Name of township
- 2 Type of house (brick/serviced shack/unserviced shack/other)
- 3 TV (yes/no)
- 4 Fridge (yes/no)
- 5 Telephone (yes/no)
- 6 Number of inhabitants
- 7 Gender of respondent

\* *isiwasho*: the use of a mixture of water with ash, soap, salt etc.

\*\* *isihlabelelo*: ritual stabbing of an animal.

\*\*\* *imijikelo*: fund collections by means of contributions placed on a table while contributors sing and dance in a circle.

## IPHEPHA LEMIBUZO KUBAKHOKELI BEENKONZO ZAMAZIYONI

### 1 IGAMA LENKONZO

- 1 *Yintoni igama lenkonzo yakho na?*
- 2 *Ingaba yintoni na intsingiselo yeli gama?*

### 2 UMKHOKELI

- 1 *Ngubani na igama lakho nesiduko sakho?*
- 2 *Ngaba ungumseki (ifounder) wenkonzo yakho na?*
- 3 *Ukuba akungomseki, uzalana naye njani na? (inzala/usibali)*
- 4 *Sintoni na isihlonipho sakho enkonzweni?*
- 5 *Uneminyaka mingaphi na?*
- 6 *Uphela kubani esikolweni?*
- 7 *Ngaba ufundisiwe ngeBhayibhile na? (maxa onke/inxenye yexesha/ ngembhalelwano/enye)*
- 8 *Ithini na iadlesi yakho?*
- 9 *Ithini na ifoni yakho?*
- 10 *Uyaphangela na? (maxa onke/inxenye yexesha/hayi/ukuphumla)*
- 11 *Ukuba uthi 'ewe' ngumsebenzi onjani na?*
- 12 *Waba ngumKrestu kanjani na, nini na?*
- 13 *Waba ngumZiyoni kanjani na, nini na?*
- 14 *Wakhonza kweyiphi na iinkonzo okanye iicawe ngaphambili?*

### 3 INKONZO YAKHO NJENGOLUNGISELELO

- 1 *Ninabo bunkokeli buni na enkonzweni? (archbhisophu/bhisophu/umongameli/umfundisi/umdikoni/umvangeli/igosa/umdala/umshumayeli/umprofeti/umthandazeli/umphilisi/omnye)*
- 2 *Banyulwa kanjani na? (yintloko/yikomiti/ngamalungu/ngenye indlela)*
- 3 *Ingaba umama unako ukungena kuyo yonke le migangatho na?*
- 4 *Ninawo ikomiti yabakhokeli na?*
- 5 *Le komiti iqokelelwa kanjani na?*
- 6 *Ngawaphi amaqela eninawo enkonzweni na? (amadodana/amakosikazi/ulutsha/abantwana/ikwayari/elinye)*
- 7 *Nibatsalela kanjani na abantu enkonzweni njengamalungu amatsha?*
- 8 *Amalungu amatsha afundiswa ngayiphi na indlela?*
- 9 *Inkonzo yenu ingakanani na?*

### 4 IINDAWO

- 1 *Inkonzo zenu zinamabandla ndawoni*
  - 1 *eKapa*
  - 2 *kwezinye iindawo?*
- 2 *Amabandla enu ahlanganela phi na? (kwisakhiwo senkozo/esikolweni/endlwini/ngaphandle/enye)*
- 3 *Inkonzo yenu inomhlaba (isite) na?*

### 5 IZIQHELO

*Inkonzo yenu ineziqhelo ezilandelayo zini na?*

- 1 *inkonzo ka-11*
- 2 *umlaliso*
- 3 *inkonzo yokuphilisa*
- 4 *inkonzo eyodwa*
- 5 *ingqungquthela*
- 6 *ezinye iintlanganiso*
- 7 *umthendeleko ebusuku: kangaphi ngonyaka*
- 8 *ubhaptizo emlanjeni/elwandle*
- 9 *ukusikelela iintsana/abantwana*
- 10 *ukujikeleza*
- 11 *amagubu/iikhenkceza/iinkatshaza/iintsimbi/amaphondo/iimpempe/ ezinye izikhali*
- 12 *intambo/iintonga (izikhali)*
- 13 *amakhandlela*

- 14 izambatho ezizodwa
- 15 isiwasho (sokuhlambulula/sokuphilisa/sokuncwalisa)
- 16 ukuthetha ngeelwimi
- 17 ukukhupha iidemoni
- 18 isihlabelelo
- 19 unyuso lwengxowa-mali (imirhumo/iminikelo/inkongozelo yenkonzo/ingqokelela/izipho/umjikelo/ezinye)
- 20 iakhawunti yebanki
- 21 unondyebo
- 22 ingxelo yemali (kwikomiti/ebandleni)
- 23 ukulandela kwentloko ngokungenisa inzala
- 24 inkqubo yengqeqesho

#### 6 UKUSEBENZISANA KWEENKONZO NEECAWE

- 1 Inkonzo yakho ililungu lemibutho mini na?
- 2 Zeziphi ezo zinto enkonzweni yakho ezifana nezinye iinkonzo zamaZiyoni?
- 3 Ngaba ikhona into eyodwa eyahlula inkonzo yakho nezinye iinkonzo zamaZiyoni na?
- 4 Nisebenzisana namanye amaZiyoni ngayiphi na iindlela? (kwizifihlo/ukutyelela inkonzo/ukunceda ngeengxaki/ukuthambisa/emjikelelweni/imicimbi yoluntu/ezinye)
- 5 Zikhona izizathu ezibangela okokuba ungasebenzisani nenkonzo ethile yamaZiyoni na?
- 6 Nisebenzisana neenkonzo okanye iicawe ezingomaZiyoni ngayiphi na iindlela? (emfihlweni/ukutyelela inkonzo/ukunceda ngeengxaki/ukuthambisa/emjikelelweni/imicimbi yoluntu/ezinye)

#### 7 IZINTO EZIJIKELELE ENKONZWENI

- 1 Ngamaculo namakorasi amathathu mani athandwa enkonzweni yakho?
- 2 Yimigaqo emithathu mini abalulekileyo enkonzweni yenu?
- 3 Ziivesi ezinthathu zini na ezithandwa ukusetyenziswa ngabashumayeli benu ezintshumayelweni zabo?
- 4 Ngaba inkonzo yakho inaso isivumo sokholo esibhaliweyo na?
- 5 Ngaba inkonzo yakho inencwadi yesikhokelo ngaphandle kwe-Bhayibhile na?
- 6 Ngaba inkonzo yakho ineencwadi ezancedisa iintshumayelo na?

- 7 *Buthini na ubuthunywa bamaZiyoni/INKosi ithumela amaZiyoni eluntwini ngayiphi na injongo?*
- 8 *Yintoni umongo wobuZiyoni na?*

#### 8 IMBALI YENKONZO

- 1 *Inkonzo yasekwa nini na, ngubani na, ndawoni na?*
- 2 *Yayiyintoni na imeko okanye ukunganeliseki eyabangela ukuba isekwe le nkonzo?*
- 3 *Inkonzo yakho yafika eKapa nini na?*
- 4 *Ngaba uqhanqhalazo (violence) lwe-township ukususela ngowe-1985 lwachukumisa inkonzo yakho kakhulu na?*
- 5 *Uyawavumela amalungu akho ukuba abe ngamalungu amaqela opolitiki na?*
- 6 *Zingaba zikhona iinguqu empilweni nasentlalweni yakho kulo mZantsi-Afrika omtsha na?*
- 7 *Ngaba amalungu enu athatha inxaxheba kwizinto zentlalontle na? (ikomiti yesitrato/isports-club/umbutho wempilo/umbutho wesiduko/umbutho wabahlali/umbutho womngcwabo/ezinye)*
- 8 *Yintoni na umahluko kwindlela aphathwa ngayo umntu obhinqileyo phakathi kwamaZiyoni nabantu abangakholwayo?*



## MOST POPULAR SONGS

The numbers in brackets indicate the frequency of the songs chosen by the respondents; no indication implies once only.

- Akukho gama limbi* – There is no other name
- Apha emhlabeni ndingumhambi* – Here on earth I am a pilgrim
- Ayikho indlela ehamba apho uthanda khona* – There is no road that goes precisely where you like it to go
- Balapho abangcwele* – There the holy ones are present
- Bawo osezulwini* – Father in heaven
- Bawo, ndingumtwana wakho* – Father, I am your child
- Bawo, siyakudumisa* – Father, we laud you
- Bulelani kuYehova* (3) – Give thanks to the Lord
- Dumisani uYehova* – Praise the Lord
- Ezulwini kuwe, Bawo* – In heaven with you, Father
- Hlala nathi Nkosi, ilanga litshonile* – Abide with us, Lord, while the sun is setting
- Hosana enyangweni* (9) – Hosanna in the highest
- Hosana! Makabongwe lowo uzayo* (2) – Hosanna! May He who comes be praised
- Hosana! Malibongwe* – Hosanna! His name be praised
- INdumiso 121* – Psalm 121
- INdumiso 137:1-9* – Psalm 137:1-9
- INdumiso 82* – Psalm 82
- IZiyoni yingwe emabala-bala* (2) – Zion is a leopard with many spots
- Izulu wolingena ngokulisebenzela* – You will enter heaven by working for it  
Jesus never fails
- Kubo bonke othixo* – Among all gods
- Langa lomphefumlo wam* – Sun of my soul
- Limnandi iVangeli* (2) – The Gospel is pleasant

*Lizalis' idinga lakho* (8) – Fulfil your promise

*Lukhangela kuwe* – Your people look to you for help

*Masibulele kuYesu* (7) – Let us thank Jesus

*Mazithi iingqondo zethu simbonge uYehova* – Let our minds speak and we praise Jehovah

*Mna ndinoYesu wam* (2) – I have my Jesus

*Ndibizeleni abazali bam* – Call my parents for me

*Ndikhangele ngobubele, o Nkosi yam* – Behold me with benevolence, o my Lord

*Ndikhokele, o Yehova* – Guide me, o Lord

*Ndinendawo yam yokuthandaza* – I have my place of prayer

*Ndinike amehlo ndikhangele* (3) – Grant me eyes to behold

*Ndithembele kuBawo* – I rely upon (our) Father

*Ndoba nawe eParadesi* – I shall be with you in Paradise

*Ngokwedinga lakhe* – According to his promise

*Ningabo kumjikelo* – You are those people at the circle dancing

*Nithini? Noyana phezulu?* (3) – What do you say? Are you going to heaven?

*Njengebhadi libadula* (3) – As the springbuck roams about

*Njengexhama lisentlango* – As the hartebeest in the desert

*Njengoko ndinjalo, Nkosi* – Just as I am, Lord

*Nkosi, sihlangene* (10) – Lord, we have gathered

*Noba kunyuka noba kuyehla, sizobambelela esiphambanweni* – Whether an ascent or a descent, we will cling to the cross

*Phezu komhlaba ngamazwe ngamazwe* – Many nations inhabit the earth

Praise the Lord, Hallelujah Amen

*Sinelizwi likaThixo* – We have the Word of God

*Siyabonga, Amen* – We give praise, Amen

*Siyabulela* – We give thanks

*Siyakudumisa Nkosi yamaKhosi* – We praise you, Lord of Lords

*Siyamlandela uYesu nokuba sesiya phi na* – We follow Jesus wherever we go

*Somlandela somlandel' uYesu* (7) – We will follow, we will follow Jesus

*Thina sinethemba elinjengawe* – You are our hope

- Thixo akunangqaleko* (16) – God, you have no hidden enmity
- Thixo uluthando, unobubele* – God, you are love, you have benevolence
- Unabantu bakho Thixo* – God, you have your people
- Unalo na itikiti lokungena ezulwini?* – Do you have a ticket to enter heaven?
- Usizi nalu lumi lodwa* – Sorrow is unequaled
- UYesu emnqamlezweni* – Jesus on the cross
- UYesu unamandla Amen Amen Nkosi yam* – Jesus has power, Amen, Amen,  
my Lord
- UYesu waba likhaya* – Jesus became our home
- UYesu wayenza ngabom le ndaba yokufihla intliziyo* – Jesus concealed the  
heart on purpose
- Uzuko kuThixo enyangweni* – Glory to God in the highest
- Wakrazulwa ngenxa yami* (9) – He was torn apart on my behalf
- Wazithwal' izono zethu* (3) – He bore our sins
- Wenjenje uThixo (UYohane 3:16)* – For God so loved the world
- Xa athe wabonakala thina sofana naye* – When He appears we will resemble  
him
- Yerusalem ikhaya lam endilithandayo* (3) – Jerusalem, my home which I  
love
- Yesu, wena ungumhlobo* (4) – Jesus, you are a friend
- YiKanana (x4) engunaphakade* – This is eternal Canaan
- Yinqaba umzi wethu thina* (2) – This city of ours is a stronghold
- Yiza mmeli wam* – Come, my Redeemer
- Zion City

Total: 150 songs listed (3 from each respondent), 72 different songs.

## APPENDIX D

### MOST POPULAR SERMON TEXTS

#### *Old Testament*

Genesis 1:1 3:13 23:30 28:20 45:15

Exodus 3:5 20 20:1 20:1,8,14 20:12

Deuteronomy 27:25

Ruth 1:16-17

1 Kings 6:7

2 Kings 2:9

Job 14:14

Psalms 1:1 1:1-3 1:3 2:10-12 15:1 15:1 15:1-5 23:1 23:1 23:1 23:4 24 24:1  
40:14 50:15 87:2 90:1 95:1 99:1 100:1-4 118:6,24 121:1 125:1-5 127:1

Proverbs 6:6

Isaiah 2:2 53:1-5 55:1 59:20 60:1-2

Jeremiah 6:16 13:1

Daniel 6:13-15

Amos 8:11

Nahum 1:7

Zechariah 6:13

Malachi 3:17 7:7

Old Testament total 53

#### *New Testament*

Matthew 5:1-14 5:4 5:8 5:8 5:11 5:13 5:13 5:13 5:14 7:7 7:7 11:25 11:28  
11:28 11:28 11:28-30 14:29 28:16 28:18 28:19-21

Mark 3:1 4:21

Luke 11:1 11:1-4 11:4 12:35 15:12 15:17-18 18:36 24:44-47

John 3:1 3:14 5:5 5:39 6:6-8 14:1 14:1 14:1 14:15 14:15 14:15 14:15 14:18  
15:1 15:1 15:1 15:1 15:1 15:1 15:1 15:1-3 15:1-3 15:16 17:21-23 21:1-  
4 21:15

Gospels total 56

Acts 2:12 2:37 5:1 7:34 7:35 25:11 26:17

Romans 5:1sq 11:26 12:1 12:18 13:11

1 Corinthians 3:10 13:1

Galatians 3:1sq 5 5:1 5:1

Ephesians 4:1 4:4 6:16

Philippians 4:12  
Colossians 3:1  
Titus 2:1  
Hebrews 4:1 11:2 11:20 11:24 12:10 12:14 12:22-24  
James 1:5 1:12  
1 Peter 2:4-7 5:5-9  
Revelation 7:13-17 17:19 22:17

Remaining New Testament total 38

Total 147

(The three choices that are lacking are explained by the fact that one respondent could not come to a decision.)

## NAMES OF AICs (INCLUDING ZIONISTS) OF THE CAPE FLATS

All definite articles at the beginning of names have been omitted for the sake of easier identification. The list, which is by no means complete, contains 369 names of churches of which some 247 or 67 per cent are Zionist. It should be noted that the list could be misleading in the sense that there are many, perhaps the majority of churches, that are not mentioned. In a few cases there might be duplication seeing that members do not always use the complete names. In spite of all efforts to confirm the information, it is possible that a few of the churches listed below no longer exist or have changed their names. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a church is Zionist without having the word 'Zion' in its name.

- Advent Holy Church in Zion of South Africa
- Advent Holy Church of Zion
- Africa Gospel
- African Antioch Church in Zion
- African Apostolic Asiria Church in Zion
- African Apostolic Church in Zion
- African Baptist Church in Zion
- African Christ Baptist
- African Church in Zion
- African Congregational Church
- African Ethiopian Baptist Church
- African Evangelist Church
- African Faith Mission\*
- African Faith Mission Apostolic Zion Church
- African Free Zion Church
- African Gospel Church
- African Holy Church of Christ
- African Holy Baptist Church in Zion of South Africa

African Immanuel Apostolic Church in Zion of Africa  
African Immanuel Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
African Methodist Episcopal Church  
African Mission Methodist Church of Africa  
African Native Mission Church  
African Orthodox Church  
African Revelation Church in Southern Africa  
African The First Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
African Unity Church in Zion of South Africa  
All Nation Apostolic Church in South Africa  
Alvern Church  
Apostolic African Zion Church United of RSA  
Apostolic Church of God in Zion  
Apostolic Church in Christ\*  
Apostolic Church in Zion  
Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
Apostolic Church of South Africa  
Apostolic Faith Assembly\*  
Apostolic Faith Assembly Church of Africa\*  
Apostolic Faith Mission  
Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa the Voice of Zion  
Apostolic Free Melita\*  
Apostolic Nazareth Church in Zion  
Apostolic Nazareth Galatians\*  
Aramateya Zion Christian  
Aseriya\*  
Assemblies of God (Bhengu)  
Back to God Ministry  
Bantu Apostolic Church in Zion  
Bantu Baptist Church  
Bantu Christian Asiria Church in Zion of South Africa  
Bantu Christian Asiria Church of South Africa

Bantu Methodist Church (Donkey Church)  
Bantu Presbyterian Church  
Bantu Reform Church  
Baptist Church  
Baptist Pentecostal Church of South Africa  
Betel Apostolic Church  
Beteshayida Zion Church  
Betesyda in Jerusalem  
Bethel Assembly of God Church in Zion of South Africa  
Bethesda Zion Apostolic Church  
Bethlehem Apostolic Church in Zion  
Bethsaida Zion Mission Church in South Africa  
Betelehem Apostolic Church  
Bhabhilon Christian Church\*  
Blue and White Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
Bonani Apostolic Church in Zion  
Brothers Apostolic Church in Zion  
Calvary Apostolic Church in Zion  
Cape Holy Christian Apostolic Church in Zion  
Catholic Christian Church\*  
Catholic Christian Church in Zion  
Cefron Mission Church in Zion  
Celestial Church of Christ  
Christ Gospel Church  
Christ Gospel of Miracles Church  
Christian Alpha Omega Church in Zion  
Christian Apostolic Church in Zion  
Christian Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
Christian Church of Christ  
Christian Church of Power in Zion  
Christian Evangelist Apostolic\*  
Christian Fellowship Faith



Christian Fellowship in Zion  
 Christian Fellowship Mission  
 Christian Mission of Africa  
 Christian Movement Apostolic Church of South Africa Ekulungeni  
 Christian Prophecy Church\*  
 Church Apostolic in Zion  
 Church Apostolic in Zion of Africa  
 Church of Christ  
 Church of Christ AD 30  
 Church of Christ Holy Catholic in Zion  
 Church of Christ Republic of South Africa  
 Church of God and Saints of Christ  
 Church of Jesus  
 Church of Prophets No ...\*  
 Church of the Holy City\*  
 Citizen Church of Christ\*  
 Colliassian Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Collosian Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Colosian Apostolic Church\*  
 Commamation Church in Zion  
 Communion Church of Africa  
 Continue Spirit Church\*  
 Continue Spirit Church in Zion  
 Corner Stone Catholic\*  
 Cornerstone Catholic Zion Church  
 Cusian Church of the Republic of South Africa  
 Damasco Apostolic Church of Zion in South Africa  
 Disciples of Christ  
 Dreaming of Jacob Church in Zion  
 Echibini eKuthuleni Faith Healing Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Ekuphileni Methodist Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Ekuphumleni United Church in Zion of South Africa

Ekuphumleni Zion Church of South Africa  
Ekuthuleni Faith Healing Church in Zion of South Africa  
Elim Church in Zion  
Emanuel Zion Apostolic Church in Southern Africa  
Emause Apostolic Church\*  
Emmanuel Christian Church  
Emthandazweni Zion Church of Zion  
Engena's Zion Christian Church  
Enoni Salem Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion  
Enoni Salem Church\*  
Ephata Zion Faith Apostolic Church  
Ethiopia Kush Church  
Ethiopian Baptist Church  
Ethiopian Charismatic Church  
Ethiopian Church of Africa  
Ethiopian Church of Cush  
Ethiopian Church of South Africa  
Ethiopian Orthodox Church  
Evangelist Apostolic Assembly Church in Zion  
Evangelist Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
Eyopha in Zion Church  
Faith Apostolic Church\*  
Faith Apostolic Prophets  
Faith Mission Apostolic Church  
Father Masango's St John's Apostolic Faith Mission  
Fellowship Union Apostle Church  
Fenike Apostolic Church in Zion  
First African Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
First Apostolic Church in Zion  
First Born Christian Church  
First Emmanuel Apostolic Church in Zion  
First Emmanuel Zion Church of South Africa

First No 1 Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Flowers Church of Christ\*  
 Foundation Zion Apostolic Church  
 Four Square Gospel Church\*  
 Free Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Free Beteshayida\*  
 Free Bethesda Zion Faith Apostolic Church  
 Free Bethesida Zion Apostolic  
 Free Damasko Congregation\*  
 Free Glory Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Free Gospel Bethesda Zion Church Ichibi  
 Free Jerusalem Church in Zion  
 Free Silowa Church in Zion  
 Free Zion Catholic Church in Zion  
 Free Zion Catholic Church of South Africa  
 Full African Christian Church in Zion  
 Full Pamphilia Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Full Penticoste Apostolic\*  
 General Zion Church of Apostles of God in South Africa  
 Glory Bantu Christian Church in Zion  
 Good Hope Revival Centre  
 Good Shepherd Apostolic\*  
 Gospel Ambassadors  
 Gospel Ambassadors of Christ Crusade  
 Gospel Assemblies in Christ of South Africa  
 Gospel Assembly Mission Church  
 Gospel Church of Power  
 Hambanathi Seventh Day Adventist Church  
 Healing General Bethesda Church in Zion  
 High Mountain Stone Apostolic Church of South Africa\*  
 Holiest Spiritual Zion Church of RSA  
 Holy Apostolic Christian

Holy Apostolic Church\*  
 Holy Apostolic Church in Christ  
 Holy Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy Christian Advent Church  
 Holy Christian Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy Church of Christ  
 Holy Church of God Sabata  
 Holy Church of God Sabbath  
 Holy Nation Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Holy Nazareth Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy New Zion Church  
 Holy Pentecoste Apostolic\*  
 Holy Smirna Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Holy Spiritual Nazareth Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy United Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Holy United Church of Christ  
 Holy Zion Bantu Church  
 Ibandla Bethlehem Apostolic Church in Zion  
 IBandla Labafundi  
 IBandla labaFundi  
 IBandla lamaNazaretha  
 IBandla likaKrestu  
 Immanuel Christian Church\*  
 Immanuel Christian Church in Zion  
 Independent Methodist Church  
 Independent Methodist Church in Africa  
 International Pentecost Church  
 Israel Zion  
 IThemba loBizo eZiyoni  
 Izenzo Zabaphostile\*  
 IZion Umzi kaThixo

Jerusalem Church in South Africa\*  
 Jordan Church in Zion  
 Jordana Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Kenana Zionist Movement  
 Khushe Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Korinte Church in Zion  
 Lawudike Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Lendlu yeNgwevu\*  
 Liso LoMoya Apostle Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Lizwi Christian Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
 Lukhanyiso Church in Zion  
 Lukhanyiso Zion Apostolic Church  
 Macedonia Apostolic Church\*  
 Macedonian Baptist Mission Church\*  
 Macedonian Penticostal\*  
 Mkos Healing Church in Cape Town  
 Maroon Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Medium Zionist Church  
 Melita Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Meribha Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa  
 Messia Apostolic Church of Zion in South Africa  
 Moria Church in Zion  
 Mount Olive Tabernacle Pentecostal  
 Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church  
 Mountain Stone Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Mzimba Presbyterian Church  
 Nafetalian Zion Apostolic Church  
 National Baptist Church of South Africa  
 National Gospel Assembly  
 Nazareth Apostolic Church\*  
 Nazareth Apostolic Church in Zion  
 Nazareth Baptist Church

New African Apostolic Mission Church of South Africa  
New American Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Apostolic Church  
New Apostolic Church of Transkei\*  
New Apostolic Faith Mission\*  
New Apostolic R.S.A. Faith Church  
New Assyria Apostolic\*  
New Babilon Methodist Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Black Zion Church in South Africa  
New Bretheren Christians\*  
New Brethren Christian Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Catholic Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Christ in Zion  
New Christian Catholics\*  
New Church of Peace in Zion of South Africa  
New Foundation of God in Zion  
New Holiest Nazareth Zion Apostolic Church of RSA  
New Gospel Mission Assemblies of South Africa  
New Holiest Zion Church in South Africa  
New Holy Apostolic Jerusalem Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Israel Zion Apostolic Church  
New Jerusalem in Zion  
New Jerusalem Voice  
New Jordan Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Moria Apostolic Church  
New Naserete  
New Nation Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
New Nation Apostolic Church of God\*  
New Nefetali Zion Apostolic Church of God  
New Pentecostal Christ Zion Church  
New Pentecoste in Zion  
New St John's Apostolic Church of Prophets

New Salvation Apostolic Church\*  
No 1 Holy Apostolic Jerusalem Church in Zion of South Africa  
No 1 Holy Jerusalem\*  
No 1 Lubabalo Commonation Jerusalem Church of Zion  
No One Holy Apostolic\*  
Old Apostolic Church of Africa  
Old Beteshayida Zion Church  
Old Christ Gospel Church of Miracles  
Old Christian Morning\*  
Order of Ethiopia  
Paradise Voice of Prophecy Church\*  
Peniel Zion Apostolic Church  
Pentecost Church of Emmanuel in Zion of South Africa  
Pentecostal Protestant Church  
Penticostal Baptist Church\*  
Philadelphia Church in Zion  
Power Disciple Church of Christ  
Presbyterian Church of Africa  
Redeemer of St John's Apostolic Church  
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Sabbath Rest Advent Church  
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Silowa Apostolic Church in Zion  
Sivuyile National Baptist Church  
Smirna Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
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Spiritual Healing Zion Church  
Spiritual Zionist Church  
Spolding Church\*  
St Engenas Zion Christian Church  
St John's Apostolic Church\*  
St John's Apostolic Faith Mission  
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Sunlight Church\*  
Talented Apostolic Church in Zion  
Tesalonica Church of God in Zion South Africa  
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The Apostolic Faith  
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Third General Bethsaida Church of Zion in South Africa  
Topiya  
Transkei Church of Christ\*  
Trinity Apostolic Church in Zion  
True Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
Twelve Zion Faith Apostolic Church of South Africa



Union Combination Zion Church  
 United Apostolic Church  
 United Christian Church in Zion  
 United Church in Zion  
 United Congregational Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa  
 United Ethiopian Church of Africa  
 United Ethiopian Church of South Africa  
 United Gospel Healing Church  
 United Methodist Church in South Africa  
 United Nation Church of Christ in South Africa  
 United National Church of Christ in South Africa  
 United Thiopian Church of Africa  
 Unity Christian Church in Zion  
 Voice of Christian Catholic Church of South Africa  
 Welcome Back to Jesus Ministries  
 Witness Church in Zion  
 Zion Apostolic Church of Christ Transkei  
 Zion Bethel Church in Zion  
 Zion Christian Church  
 Zion City Apostolic Church  
 Zion City Apostolic Church of South Africa  
 Zion Jerusalem Church  
 Zion Messia General Faith  
 Zion Messia General Faith Church of Christ  
 Zion Methodist Church of South Africa  
 Zion New Jerusalem Church of South Africa  
 Zion Reform Apostolic Church of South Africa  
 Zion Reform Church  
 Zion Thembaletu Prophet  
 Zion Umzi kaThixo  
 Zionist Christian Church

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