

**TEXT AND CONTEXT : THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD
IN SELECTED AFRICAN INDIGENOUS CHURCHES**

BY

SYDNEY WILSON DUMISANI DUBE


Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
in the
Department of Orality-Literacy Studies
University of Natal

1992

This work is dedicated
to the memory of my mother
PHIKANI CLARINE DUBE
(uMaKhuzwayo)
whose departure left a void
in our lives

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own composition and a record of my own work. To my knowledge it has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. All assistance with the gathering and analysis of data has been mentioned in the acknowledgements. The sources of my information have been specifically acknowledged by means of references, footnotes and bibliography and all quotations have been marked by quotation marks or indentations.



.....
S.W. DUMISANI DUBE

DECEMBER 1992

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to several friends, colleagues and institutions who made it possible for me to undertake this study. I wish to express my very sincere gratitude for the help which made this dissertation possible:

To Professor E.R. Sienaert for his early encouragement.

To Professor G.C. Oosthuizen who not only showed keen interest in this study, but who was always available to give advice.

To Professor A.B. Mazibuko with whom I shared a lot of my excitement and frustrations regarding this study. He was also very helpful in suggesting literature which proved to be very helpful in the development of this study.

To Professor J.P. Kiernan, who became my study supervisor, for the many valuable suggestions he made and for his on-going assistance and insights, for the mature and intelligent discussions that we had during the course of this study, and also for his persuasive counselling which I found valuable during the analysis of the data on which the study is based.

To Professor M.C. Kitshoff and the management of the Research Unit for the New Religious Movements and

Independent Churches (NERMIC) for the financial support which facilitated the collection of data for this study.

To all the church leaders, the preachers, the congregations and friends in the African indigenous churches who not only gave me permission to do research among them, but who also gave of their time, encouragement and support that facilitated the gathering and the analysis of data on which this dissertation is based.

To my immediate family and my extended family for affording me an opportunity to undertake this study and particularly for 'tolerating' my long absences when I was busy collecting and analyzing the data on which this work is based.

I am aware that this dissertation is very much better for all the help that I received, but at the same time I accept any shortcomings which may still exist, as being mine alone.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
DECLARATION	(ii)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	(iii)
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	(viii)
ABSTRACT	(ix)
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE	12
2.1 Perspectives on analytical approaches to oral forms	12
2.1.1 The ethnological tradition	13
2.1.1.1 Evolutionism	13
2.1.1.2 Functionalism	16
2.1.2 The cognitionist tradition	17
2.1.2.1 Psychoanalysis	17
2.1.2.2 Symbolism	17
2.1.3 The taxonomist tradition	18
2.1.3.1 Diffusionism	18
2.1.3.2 Formalism	19
2.1.4 The structuralist approach	20
2.1.5 The qualitative approach	20
2.1.6 The performance approach	21
2.1.6.1 Orality	23
2.1.6.2 The characteristics of orality	24
2.1.6.3 Oral discourse and oratory	25
2.1.6.4 Performance	26
2.2 Ethnographic studies on new religious movements	27
2.2.1 The study of "separatist" churches	27
2.2.2 Literature emanating from the works of anthropologists	30

CHAPTER	PAGE
2.2.3 Literature emanating from the works of missionaries and theologians	31
2.2.4 Literature on area studies	32
2.3 Summary	34
3. THE ORGANISATION OF THE STUDIED AFRICAN INDIGENOUS CHURCHES AND FIELDWORK AMONG THEM	36
3.1 The organisation of the African indigenous churches	37
3.1.1 The Nazareth Baptist Church	37
3.1.2 The Christ's Apostles Church	42
3.1.3 The African Apostolic Church of Zion	46
3.2 Fieldwork among the African indigenous churches	50
4. THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SERMON	54
4.1 The notion of "text"	55
4.2 The use of written sources	57
4.3 The use of oral tradition as a frame of reference for sermon preparation	65
4.4 The use of orally transmitted church history	71
4.5 The use of the existential context of the congregation in the preparation of a sermon	72
5. THE STANDARD SHAPE OF THE SERMON	78
5.1 The introduction	78
5.2 The conclusion	84
5.3 The application of sermons to people's lives	87
6. THE STRUCTURALIST FORM OF THE SERMON	93
7. THE PERFORMANCE ASPECT OF THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD	109
7.1 Preaching and public oratory	110
7.2 The preacher's craft and style	111
7.3 The participative audience	123

CHAPTER		PAGE
8.	CONCLUSION: TEXT AND CONTEXT	135
APPENDICES:	1. Extract from Preacher Job's sermon text	142
	2. Extract from Deacon Luke's sermon text	149
	3. Extract from Archbishop Moses' sermon text	154
	4. Interview schedule with Church Leaders	160
	SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	163

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

	PAGE
TABLE 1: How the two Testaments were used in the 3 churches	64
TABLE 2: Narrative analysis	98
FIGURE 1: Seating arrangement: Church A	42
FIGURE 2: Seating arrangement: Church B	45
FIGURE 3: Seating arrangement: Church C	49

**TEXT AND CONTEXT : THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD
IN SELECTED AFRICAN INDIGENOUS CHURCHES**

**BY
SYDNEY WILSON DUMISANI DUBE**

ABSTRACT

The dissertation focuses on preaching in the context of selected African indigenous churches. The aim of the study was to explore sermon texts as a genre of oral communication. The gathering of data was guided by the hypothesis that the sermons that are preached in the African indigenous churches are composed orally and communicated orally.

Three church groups were identified for the purposes of this study. Although the intention, at the planning stage of the study, was to study a mixture of Ethiopian, Zionist and Messianic-type churches, practical considerations and also because of socio-political factors, the study was limited to church groups of the Zionist and Messianic types.

The research was carried out through the method of participant-observation of services of worship, extended interviews with church leaders, preachers and congregants and also through the use of audio cassette recordings during nine months of field work in Edendale in Pietermaritzburg, Port Durnford near Mtunzimi and Ndabayakhe near Empangeni.

A central finding of the study is that in the African indigenous churches a sermon is prepared and has a form (structure). The structure of the sermon is that of an oral text. The oral

texture of the sermon is influenced by the following contexts: an oral tradition; the Bible which is a written source with a repertoire of texts' church tradition which is orally transmitted; and the life setting and experience of the congregants. It was also found that the sermon text is presented as a 'performance' involving both the preacher and a live, active, close audience.

The study concludes that the communication of the sermon is influenced by the structural form of the sermon text, the ability of the preacher to use literary products and visual resources, and also by the participation of the audience.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of new religious movements has been associated with the interaction between different cultures. Turner (1977: 39) defines new religious movements as:

.... [arising] in the course of interaction of a tribal or primal society and its religion with one or more powerful or sophisticated cultures and its major religion, involving some substantial departure from the classical religious traditions of both the contributing cultures, in order to find renewal by reworking the original traditions into a different religious system.

The above definition suggests that the African indigenous churches developed as a result of the interaction between the host culture with its African traditional religion and the invasive Western culture with its Christian religion. Turner (1974) argues that culture contact per se is not enough to produce a new religious experience. The first generation African converts found themselves faced with a decisive choice. The response of the first generation African converts is ably captured by Achebe (1960:53).

... She was a devout woman, but Obi used to wonder whether, left to herself, she would not have preferred telling her children the folk stories that her mother had told her. In fact she used to tell her eldest daughters stories. But that was before Obi was born. She stopped because her husband forbade her to do so.

'We are not heathens', he had said. 'Stories like that are not for the people of the church'.

And Hannah had stopped telling her children folk-stories. She was loyal to her husband and to her new faith ... Hannah had grown up when they ceased to be 'people of nothing' - and joined the 'people of the church'. Such was the confidence of the early Christians that they called others 'the people of nothing' or sometimes, when they felt more charitable, 'the people of the world'. (my emphasis).

The passage cited here suggests that when the Africans were converted they had to forego some of their traditional heritage e.g. the telling of folk-stories. Secondly, the positions they obtained in the new faith (Hannah's husband was a catechist) made them to be a powerful instrument of directing and controlling the life of faith of their own people. Thirdly, conversion to Christianity meant an adjustment of loyalties. In the traditional society Hannah would have been loyal to the extended family and to the traditions of the society. Fourthly, there was a clearly perceived distinction between the converts and the non-converts. The new status which the converts perceived for themselves meant that they had taken a decisive step to break with the past.

According to Turner (1974) the 'initial mass and enthusiastic response to Christianity' which was accompanied by 'a dramatic rejection of tribal religion' and culture was short-lived. Subsequent experience and the fact that later generations experienced disappointments with Christianity led to disillusionment. Christianity and the Western medicine for instance, failed to cure the many illnesses and psychic disorders which were associated with traditional culture. The most important reason for the reaction to Christianity and the reason

which led to the emergence of the new religious movements is conveyed by Turner (1974: 699).

When second generation Christians, who lacked the psychological rewards of intimate relationships with missionaries and the dramatic break from the past enjoyed by their fathers, discovered that they had only the administrative and financial responsibilities of church membership as replacements, they turned to their own churches with more immediate spiritual rewards ...

The new churches that emerged therefore were new in two respects (cf Turner, 1977). They emerged after interaction between the cultures. Their form and their content was new when compared to the contributing religions that were involved in the encounters.

This study seeks to show that in the encounter that has been introduced above, there was interaction at another level viz. at the level of communication. The host culture was characterised by oral traditional whilst the invasive culture brought literacy with it. This study seeks to focus on the relationship between orality and literacy with regard to the communication of the religion that emerged after the encounter.

The perspective that underpins this study is that the African (indigenous) culture was moulded within an oral traditional context, while the settler culture brought with it the printed text and the literate tradition. The study argues that worship in the African indigenous churches, when studied carefully, shows evidence of a re-integration process, where the oral and the literate elements are made meaningful.

The study focuses on preaching or the ministry of the word as an arena where the interface between orality and literacy could be observed and analyzed. The discussions that follow in the subsequent chapters are based on a recognition that preaching belongs to the more general class of public oratory. Preaching is a form of public speaking where a sermon on a religious topic or a text of scripture is delivered. The present study seeks to show how within the African context, the oral-orientation of the African preacher contextualises the preaching tradition.

Take It is the objective of this study to draw attention to preaching in the African indigenous churches as a valuable resource which provides evidence relating to the origin, the development and the continuity of some of the African indigenous churches. At the same time preaching involves the communication of the beliefs and the doctrines of some of the African indigenous churches.

Three perspectives govern the approach to this study. In the first place there is the context within which preaching takes place. Internally this context comprises the community of believers with all that they bring to the service of worship. Externally there are the socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-political and other environmental underpinnings which confront them as individuals and as families or as communities. Both the internal and external factors impinge on the ministry of the word.

The second perspective with which this study is approached relates to the communication of the message. The message is

relayed by means of a spoken text. The question that the study seeks to answer relates to the framing, the composition as well as the transmission of the text. T

{ The third perspective which undergirds our approach to this study is that the communication of sermons is a "performance" in front of a live audience. The main principle that the study seeks to highlight is the fact that in the African indigenous churches preaching is a participatory activity which involves the preacher as a performer and the congregation as a participatory audience or active party.

x Since this dissertation focuses on the ministry of the word in the African indigenous churches it is advisable to locate these churches as a religious typology within the larger family of new religious movements. By locating the African indigenous churches within the new religious movements we shall, at the same time, be clarifying why the term African indigenous churches will be preferred for this study. T

Sundkler (1961:52-53) suggests three terminologies for the South African religious movements. Ethiopian church movements are those that seceded from white mission churches for racial reasons. The second type, according to Sundkler, is the Zionist churches. Zionist churches claim to emanate from Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The term "Zion", however, came to South African churches via the United States of America. Thirdly, there are the messianic churches. The messianic churches believe in a messiah who is in the midst of the people. The messiah's mission

is believed to be that of ushering in an era of prosperity and tranquillity.

Turner (1979) reaffirmed Sundkler's terminology for defining the South African new religious movements. Turner, however, found that Sundkler's terminology could not be extended to cover the other movements in the other parts of Africa. For Turner it was necessary to define the African new religious phenomena as comprising modern African Christian movements. Turner, therefore, concluded that the African phenomena belonged to the more general category of Independent Churches.

Independent churches, as a religious typology are defined by means of the religious causes which were responsible for the emergence of these movements. The religious causes of the independent church movements are discussed by Sundkler (1961), Barrett (1968) and Turner (1979). It was Turner (1979) who saw independent movements as a universal phenomenon which belonged to the category of new religious movements.

Whilst the concept African independent churches has had very wide acceptance and extensive use regarding the study of the South African phenomenon, recent developments have begun to challenge the concept. Makhubu (1988) provides us with an "insider's" understanding of the African new religious movements. He defines African religious movements from a position of a practitioner who understands these movements from personal experience:

The title indigenous churches is better since it tries to demonstrate that these churches originate from the

people themselves ... The word independent is unsatisfactory ... By using indigenous as an adjective we hope to educate our people who they are ... (Makhubu, 1988:1,2).

African religious scholars e.g. Mbiti (1986) have now accepted the term indigenous movements in preference to the term African independent churches. The members of the African indigenous churches who attend the conferences which are organised by NERMIC (Research Unit for the Study of New Religious Movements and Indigenous Churches) find the term "independent" as an adjective to be unsatisfactory. My own communications with two scholars viz G.C. Oosthuizen and B.A. Mazibuko has revealed that the term "independent" is not only rejected by the people, but it does not explain adequately the African religious typology.

In this study the preference for the title African indigenous churches will not merely be due to deference to what Makhubu says, but also because this study advances an argument that there is a native, and inherent context which shapes the ministry of the word within these churches. The church movements which are the focus of this study stem from what Walls (1976) calls 'a reflection on the Word of God which is in tune with the real lives of the people'.

The theology of the African indigenous churches, the way it is shaped, the manner in which it is acted upon and communicated can be appreciated fully if what Gunkel, as cited by Koch (1969:27), calls a setting in life is taken seriously. The point I am arguing here is effectively stated by Koch (1969:27):

The regulations and needs of a particular sphere of existence determine and form the respective manners of speech and writing ... even in primitive times material was shaped and handed down orally by people generally, so that these forms correspond with the regularly recurring events and needs of a particular way of life, out of which literacy types arose naturally.

I have quoted Koch here because I want to argue that the African indigenous churches emerged from a setting in life. This setting in life shapes, not only the design of the message when the word of God is communicated, but it also shapes the manner in which it is communicated as well as the manner in which it is received.

For the purpose of this study the African indigenous churches have been identified as a context for examining the interface between oral traditional and those elements which were brought by the new culture of the written text i.e. the Bible. The African indigenous churches continue to attract people. Even those who were born into the African religious movements are not quick to turn against them even when they become literate. This is particularly true of the Nazareth Baptist Church whose membership is predominantly illiterate.

⧫ The African indigenous churches which are the focus of this study represent two types of religious movements which are classified by Sundkler (1961:52-53). The Nazareth Baptist Church could be classified under Sundkler's messianic churches. The Christ's Apostles and the African Apostolic Church in Zion could be classified under Sundkler's Zionist churches.

This dissertation is divided into several chapters. In Chapter 2 I discuss the literature which has been reviewed as part of this study. The first category is a review of the literature on approaches to oral forms. A section of the literature reviewed in the first category will provide an analytical framework for the research data. The second category of literature is a review of the ethnographic works relating to the new religious movements. In reviewing the literature in the second category the aim is to find out the extent to which preaching in the African indigenous churches has been studied.

Chapter 3 discusses the context within which the study was carried out. The chapter introduces the church groups which were identified for this study. A discussion of the organisation of the studied churches is made in this chapter. This chapter also gives details relating to the collection of data.

In Chapter 4 I discuss the sermon. In this chapter, in particular I discuss how the preachers in the African independent churches frame their sermons and also the extent to which they use the Bible, their oral heritage and the setting in life of their churches in shaping the sermons.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I focus on the shape and the form of the sermon. In Chapter 5 the discussion centres around the sermon outline which includes the sermon introduction, the sermon conclusion and the application of the sermon. In Chapter 6 the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged is discussed.

Chapter 7 deals with the performative aspect of the ministry of the word. In Chapter 8 I conclude by examining the extent to which the ministry of the word incorporates and is influenced by oral orientation in the African indigenous churches.

It remains to be said, however, that a study of this nature has certain limitations. Only three church groups were observed and studied intensively for the purposes of this study. Since the phenomenon of African indigenous churches is enormous and since these movements are increasing rapidly, the sample cannot claim to be adequately representative of the dynamics that obtain in these movements. It was not possible to extend the research to include groups from the Ethiopian type. It should also be conceded that the conduct of worship differs from church to church. The samplings were further limited by the fact that some groups were not accessible to the study of this nature.

A further limitation that should be noted is that the study purports to focus on preaching which is actualised in performance. Although a tape recorder was used in the collection of data, the use of this tool had its own limitations. Although the preacher's voice was captured by means of the audio-tape, his facial expression, gestures and movements as well as the reaction of the congregation were all excluded. In the transcription and the translation of the sermons also the power and the soul of the original presentations could not be adequately captured. It is sufficient to reiterate here, however, that I did observe the sermons on which this study is based.

It is common practice in the African indigenous churches to organise different services of worship throughout the week. Each service has a specific focus and a specific context. This study, however, was not extended to cover all the regular services of worship in the sample. Evening services and mid-week services, for instance, were not adequately covered by the present study. This was partly due to the time constraints as well as the socio-political factors which made travel at night to be unsafe.

In spite of the limitations which have been cited above this study is based on carefully executed empirical research, an extensive review of literature, an intensive interaction with the leadership and membership of the African indigenous churches. In addition, field notes were discussed with several people who have done a lot of research on African indigenous churches. Consequently this study is a breakthrough in an area which has hitherto not been adequately treated. The findings which are reported here should, therefore, be seen as a valuable contribution to original scholarship in the context of orality-literacy studies.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A large corpus of literature has provided insights which have made this study possible. Two types of literature are surveyed in this study. The first type could be classified into two broad categories. One category provides a historical perspective and indicates the watermarks in the development of approaches to oral forms. The second category of the first type of literature focuses on the literature that analyses the performance nature of oral literature. The literature of the first type is surveyed with a view to identifying analytical approaches that are relevant to and applicable to the present study.

The second type of literature that is surveyed in this chapter focuses on the ethnographic studies relating to the new religious movements and the African indigenous churches in particular. The objective of surveying the second type of literature is to explore the extent to which the studies presented in the literature have focused on preaching in the African indigenous churches. The survey of this literature is approached with a hypothesis that the ethnographic studies which have been done on African indigenous churches have not adequately focused on preaching.

2.1 Perspectives on analytical approaches to oral forms

Dorson (1968) traces the history of the approaches to oral forms from antiquity. According to Dorson the interest in antiquity

was on the history of customs. To that end a descriptive method was used on folklore collections. A systematic approach to earlier studies of folklore is provided by Okpewho (1983). Okpewho's survey suggests that there were three major traditions of scholarship that focused on the oral narrative, viz the ethnological tradition, the cognitivist tradition and the taxonomist tradition. For the purposes of this study the three traditions which are suggested by Okpewho will be used.

2.1.1 The ethnological tradition

Okpewho (1983:1) defines the ethnological tradition as:

... that line of enquiry concerned primarily with the nature of human society in terms of forms and ends of social activity.

Consequently, the ethnological tradition concerned itself with a comparative study of data from individual societies with a view to making conclusions about man as a cultural being. Under this ethnological tradition Okpewho lists the Evolutionist school and the functionalist school.

2.1.1.1 Evolutionism

According to Dorson (1968) and Okpewho (1983) it was Charles Darwin's ideas about the origins and the survival of biological species that inspired the evolutionists. The evolutionists began to see in traditional tales 'the remnants of man's earlier world view as well as man's ideas about himself and his environment'.

Okpewho (1983:2) suggests that the evolutionist approach crystallised in three forms viz, euhemerism, solarism and naturalism. Euhemerism which flourished in the history of religion the tales of a historic kind "had to do with antecedent historical personalities and their experiences". The euhemerism approach was represented by Herbert Spencer and Sir James George Frazer.

The solarist approach saw the sun, the moon and other heavenly bodies behind every tale. The solarist approach according to Dorson (1968) and Okpewho (1983) is closely associated with Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm and Friederich Max Müller. The Grimm brothers propounded a "hypothesis of a common Aryan origins for the Indo-European languages and mythologies". The solarists believed that the basis of Western culture had been transported through emigrations from India. The result of those migrations was that the original contents of the myths was lost and survived only in mythical statements which could not be understood. The solarists, however, believed that a method of psychological analysis could be used to reconstruct the myths.

According to Okpewho (1983:3) the solarist zeal gave way to naturalism. Naturalism was closely associated with Frazer. According to Dorson (1968) and Okpewho (1983) Frazer's The Golden Bough led Frazer to arrive at the conclusion that the Egyptian god Osiris was first a god of corn before he became a solar spirit. Frazer's contribution resides in that he believed in the development of cultural entities as well as in the evolution of tales in regions remote from each other.

The 'survivals' approach benefitted from collections that emanated from the colonies. Books were written on these collections. From the African scene a number of collections resulted in significant publications. According to Okpewho (1983:5) the writers showed interest in the origins and saw the collected tales as accounting for something. There was also a tendency among the writers to see a development trend from fiction to fact (history) with regards to the collected tales. Some of the works that are mentioned by Dorson (1968) as resulting from folklore publications include the following: "African native literature, proverbs, tales, fables and historical fragments in Kanuri and Bornu languages" published by the Church Missionary House in London in 1854; "Reynard the fox in South Africa", published by W.H.I. Bleek in 1864; "Nursery tales, traditions and history of the Zulus in their own words, with a translation into English, and notes", published by Callaway in 1868.

The evolutionist approach emphasised the relationship between fieldwork collectors and the theorists. The approach wanted to prove that there were cultural survivals that pointed to missing links in the stages of development of human cultures. For the purposes of this study it is important to reiterate here that the theorists did not engage in fieldwork and their conclusions, therefore, were not based on empirical observation. Whilst they were able to handle the text, they could only speculate on the context.

2.1.1.2 **Functionalism**

Functionalism saw culture in terms of related forms. These related forms could be used to explain social organisation, cultural thought and creative activity (see Okpewho, 1983:20). The work of the functionalists showed evidence of active engagement in fieldwork. The functionalists sought to examine the network of needs in a given society with a view to explaining how a given network of needs sustained the social system.

Among the main representatives of this school, according to Dorson (1968) and Okpewho (1983) were Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. Malinowski's "Argonauts of the Western Pacific" (1922) was a major contribution in the field of functionalism. Okpewho (1983:22) suggests that Malinowski concluded that tales are known by everybody in a society and, therefore, serve as a charter for proper conduct. In the tales, there are ground rules of behaviour which have been preserved. Once myth serves as a charter it stands to reason that "there must be a version of it that is pure and canonical which survives corruption and manipulation by chroniclers" (Okpewho, 1983:22). Malinowski argued that a myth will be best known in a locality where it canon will be retained. In "Myth in Primitive Psychology" (1926) Malinowski suggested that in a myth of origin one could find information that could be used in the reconstruction of a history of a people.

The functionalist approach, however, overlooked the reality of change. Malinowski later realised this and he, therefore, would

later concern himself with the dynamics of culture change. It was, however, the followers of Malinowski e.g. Leach, Firth and Durkheim who, whilst accepting that a tale gives a picture of society of the tale's origin, nevertheless took the issue of social change seriously. In their approach they came to the conclusion that tales "may not be a reflection of the social structure as of organisational pressures within the social structure" (Okpewho, 1983:24 quoting Raymond Firth).

2.1.2 The cognitionist tradition

The cognitionist tradition developed in two strands viz the psychoanalysis strand and the symbolism strand.

2.1.2.1 Psychoanalysis

The development of the psychoanalysis approach is associated with Freud and Jung. Jung developed the depth psychology concept and applied this to folklore in his "Introduction to Science of Mythology" (1951). The depth psychology showed a racialistic bias and was, therefore, rejected and could not be successfully used for the African context.

2.1.2.2 Symbolism

Closely related to the psychoanalysis approach is the symbolism approach. According to Okpewho (1983:37) it was Cassirer who explored the symbol as the nucleus of all culture. For Cassirer the myth and language are basic to man's mental reconstruction of the world of things. In his "Language and Myth" which was

translated by S. Langer (1953) Cassirer suggests that the myth making mind "transforms the spiritual dawn which takes place with the advent of language into a objective fact". For Cassirer the mythic figures reflect social reality. The upshot of the contribution of symbolism is that it reasserted the integrity of the traditional intelligence.

2.1.3 The taxonomist tradition

According to Okpewho (1983:1) the taxonomist tradition suggested that a tale could be analysed with a view to finding out units of ideas which construct it. Such an analysis could reveal the relations into which the units of the tale fit. Two major approaches are identified in the taxonomist tradition.

2.1.3.1 Diffusionism

The diffusionists were collectors who collected and compared tale types and motifs with a view to establishing how the elements of culture spread from one locality to another. Dorson (1968) makes reference to Daniel Crowley who edited "African Folklore in the new world" in 1977. The diffusionists developed a system of classification into which tales could be fitted. They used the tale-type index as a tool which facilitated the mapping out of culture areas. A culture area was seen as possessing a cluster of specific traits. Through the use of the culture area concept the diffusionists hoped to identify and to follow the movement of tale traditions and their components. Okpewho (1983:20) evaluates the contribution of the diffusionists with regard to African oral forms as follows:

... In so far as it explores the historical links between societies and inspires a people with a sense of their roots, this approach could be said to be of tremendous service. ... It may even be said that the identification of motifs is a valuable tool for recognising the cultural propensities of various peoples ...

2.1.3.2 Formalism

The formalism approach is closely identified with Vladimir Propp. Propp's work "Morphology of the folktale" (1968) suggests that a tale has motifs (i.e. functions) which form a special relationship in the plot of the tale. Consequently an analysis of a tale supposes the establishment of an abstract grammar of relationships. Propp's work and especially the manner in which it has been adapted for application to the African and Zulu folktale is of significance for this study. Reference to this will be made in later chapters. It is sufficient to note here that Dundes adapted Propp's theory for application to the African folktales. The analysis of African folktales which resulted from the adaptation of Propp's theory focused on the text, i.e. the words on paper, the texture i.e. the literary features of the folktale, and the context, i.e. the extra-textural features of the folktale. Among the people who further adapted Propp's theory for such application to African folktales we mention the following (Oosthuizen, 1977; Cope, 1978; Canonici, 1985):

The three traditions which have been outlined above, viz the ethnological, the cognitionist and the taxomist suggest two things regarding approaches to culture. Some of the trends discussed above e.g. evolutionism, psychoanalysis and diffusion

see culture in terms of ideas. The other trends viz functionalism, symbolism and formalism see culture in terms of related forms. The position of the structuralist approach should be seen against the background of the traditions outlined above. According to Okpewho (1983: 266) the structuralist approach should be afforded a central position because it was influenced by the premise of a common frame of human understanding.

2.1.4 The structuralist approach

The development of the structuralist approach is associated with Lévi Strauss. According to Okpewho (1983:39) Lévi-Strauss's approach to the study of myth was based on structural linguistics. Lévi-Strauss, as suggested by Okpewho, assumed that myth is like language with units which have meaning only in relation to one another. The units which form a myth were referred to as mythemes. Lévi-Strauss saw myth as "operating at a level which transcends consideration of style and idiom" (Okpewho, 1983:39). Lévi-Strauss also saw the myth as a cultural device for resolving contradictions in a culture's view of reality. According to Okpewho (1983:41) Lévi-Strauss based his study of myth on three sources, viz linguistics, ethnography and music.

2.1.5 The qualitative approach

✓ After a detailed examination of the different approaches to the study of the oral narrative Okpewho (1983) concluded that the different approaches had their unique shortcomings. Consequently Okpewho suggested the qualitative approach. The objective of the

qualitative approach would be to qualify every tale on the basis of a scientific "recognition of the relative weights of fact and fiction in the tale concerned". The need for the qualitative approach was prompted by a recognition that in a tale the aesthetic "remained the ultimate irreducible element" (Okpewho, 1983:71). Through the qualitative approach myth would be analysed as literature with attributes pertaining to aesthetics and imagination.

2.1.6 The performance approach

Closely related to the qualitative approach is the performance approach which is emphasised by Groenewald (1991). The point of departure for the performance approach is the context. Malinowski (1926) was the first to propound that "the text without context is lifeless". Groenewald (1991: 24) suggests that:

... a performance is basically a communicative act; it functions as an "instrument" for the sending/receiving of ... messages ... a performance is ... the substrate for the assertion/revision of values/practices ...

From the above quotation it emerges that in the performance approach we are concerned with the historical experience of a group of people. At the same time the performance event suggests a dynamic relationship between a number of parts which constitute the event.

Bauman (1978:11) defines the scope of performance as:

... a mode of spoken verbal communication [which] consists in the assumption of responsibilities to an audience for a display of communicative competence.

The above definition underscores the important functions which accompany a performative act; viz, reflection, entertainment as well as the aesthetic function. It should be noted that performance also involves metacommunications, i.e. special codes, figurative language, parallelism, special paralinguistic features, formulae, appeal to tradition and a disclaimer of performance (Bauman, 1978:16).

Central to the performance approach is the performer whose responsibility is that of displaying artistic ability. The performer should be skilful, innovative and knowledgeable about the tradition which he uses as his frame of reference.

The performance approach is relevant for the present study. The ministry of the word is a human act the objects of which are the text and the context. The preaching event in the African indigenous churches is realised in interaction and relationships. It is the contention of this study that the performance approach could be used in the analysis of the dynamics of the preaching event.

This study recognises that the literature which has a bearing on the performance approach could be grouped under several headings:

2.1.6.1 Orality

The contextualisation of language and speech is appreciated better against the background of oral tradition. Mbiti (1977:96-97) suggests that oral literature is the historical and geographic shadow of a people. The idea which is highlighted by Mbiti's suggestion is that oral literature is part of a tradition which goes beyond verbal communication. For Mbiti all aspects of human knowledge are disseminated orally in oral communities.

Nielsen (1965) argues that oral tradition plays an essential role in the cultural life of oral cultures. He suggests that this important role of oral tradition stems from the fact that those aspects of cultural life which are always wedded to tradition e.g. cult and religion, tend to be immune to technical improvements (Nielsen, 1965:24). According to Nielsen (1965:30), however, oral tradition is resilience since it belongs to the people who are the ones who reinforce it and who also serve as an element of control.

Walker (1979:2,3,4), writing from an Afro-American experience suggests two points which are relevant for this study. In the first instance Afro-American worship developed out of the peculiar social history of the community. In the second place Afro-American church life had music as its point of departure. Walker argues that singing preceded preaching and praying. Taken together music, preaching and praying, they point to the continuation of oral tradition. Consequently Walker (1979:29) defines oral tradition as:

... the transmission by word of mouth through ceremony, song, drum and folk wisdom of mores, customs and religious rites of African peoples that persisted through the Atlantic slave trade and influenced the worship forms and patterns of Afro-Americans ...

From Walker's definition of oral tradition it is obvious that what is involved in oral tradition relates to the transmission of the "contents of the mind", and the thought patterns of a group of people.

Botha (1990) argues that orality is a condition that exists by virtue of communication. He further argues that in an oral society there is a concept of collective memory. The notion of the collective memory suggests that the actualization of oral communication involves performance. For the purpose of this study there is merit in the suggestion that the performer of an oral piece is more involved in an actual social situation than a literary writer (cf Finnegan, 1970:12).

2.1.6.2 The characteristics of orality

Ong (1982) lists a number of characteristics which distinguish orally-based thought and expression. For Ong words are both power and action (1982:31,32). At the same time thought processes are formulaic since,

... every word and every concept conveyed in a word is a kind of formula, a fixed way of processing data of experience, determining the way experience and reflection are intellectually organised, and acting as a mnemonic device of sorts ... (Ong, 1982:36).

Lord (1987) further developed the characteristics of orality which were introduced by Ong and he also discussed the applicability of these characteristics to oral literature. The following summarises the characteristics which are discussed by Lord (1987): oral thought is additive; it is aggregative, it shows evidence of redundancy of expression; it is conservative; tradition is a living and dynamic process which finds expression in improvisation rather than in memorisation.

2.1.6.3 Oral discourse and oratory

Lasswell, et al., (1949) discovered that during the Middle Ages oral communication resided in treatises devoted to sermons. Language was used either as a political tool or an ecclesiastical tool for gaining power and also to effect control. In the work of Lasswell et al., there is a notion that language involves attention and comprehension (Lasswell, et al., 1949:22). At the same time communication has its purport and style. In a communication event words are arranged so that the user is identified and the human beings are bound together (Lasswell, et al., 1949:13,28,29).

Bloch (1975) in an introduction to a collection of essays on political language argues that there is a correlation between the type of political oratory and the type of political system. The essays which Bloch edited distinguished between formalised language and informal language discourses. The social effect of formalised language and speech is the reinforcement of traditional authority and at the same time it leads to unity as

a social consequence. The thread of thought that runs through all the essays in Bloch's collection is the notion of the relationship between the language user, the communication and the objects of the communication.

A suggestion that is relevant to this study is made by Bloch. For Bloch the formalisation of speech leads to stylised forms of communication which could either be polite, respectful, holy, etc. At the same time Block (1975:20), quoting Malinowski, argues that language is meaningful in the context of a ritual situation.

2.1.6.4 Performance

Finnegan (1970: 2ff) when relating Orality to performance suggests several characteristics that highlight the status and the quality of orality:

- (i) orality is dependent on the performer who composes it on a specific occasion;
- (ii) there is a relationship between delivery and the event;
- (iii) gestures are used e.g. the tone, facial expression, etc. When the gestures are used they enhance the performance quality of orality;
- (iv) the performer of oral compositions exploits and uses visual resources e.g. face to face settings;

- (v) the performer uses certain literary products, e.g. ideophones, dialogue, etc. This is done with a view to reaching the audience and also to solicit audience participation.

2.2 Ethnographic studies on new religious movements

The ethnographic literature on studies relating to new religious movements is presented here in two broad categories. The first category which identifies three types of scholarship focuses specifically on the study of the independent churches in South Africa. The second category of literature focuses on studies on African independent churches as well as of Black churches in Britain.

2.2.1 The study of "separatist" churches

The earliest attention paid to African indigenous churches was from the missionaries who were threatened by the "break-aways" from their congregations. The missionary concern was shared by the government which felt threatened by the emergence of the Ethiopian movement. Consequently prior to 1948 the studies were either derogatory or they considered the African independent churches as anomalous.

Sundkler's pioneering work in 1948, which was revised in 1961, was the first major treatment of African indigenous churches in South Africa (Barrett, 1968:40). In "Bantu prophets in South Africa" (1961) and later in "Zulu Zion" (1976), Sundkler revealed a large field of religion which did not have anything to do with

missionaries. In both these works Sundkler refers to preaching only in passing.

Sundkler's works should be judged against the background of the themes that were prevalent at the time when he wrote his works. The dominant theme up to the turn of the century was that African indigenous churches emerged as a reaction to white domination and control (cf Schutte, 1973; Pretorius, 1983).

Martin (1964) considered the interface between the Biblical concept of messianism and messianism in Southern Africa. Her case studies covered religious movements in Namibia, Botswana and South Africa. With particular reference to Zionist movement in South Africa, Martin argued that the Holy Scriptures do not occupy a central place as the case would be in most mission churches (Martin, 1964:117). Martin's attitude suggests that if any preaching took place in the messianic movement she studied, the purpose was to justify the messianic beliefs of the movement and the Bible truths would be manipulated to reaffirm the movements' messianic orientation.

Oosthuizen (1967) studied the hymns of the Nazareth Baptist church. In his study, Oosthuizen devotes the whole chapter to the preaching of the word in the Narazeth Baptist church. Oosthuizen (1967:104) concluded that the word that is preached is the word of Shembe. The word what is preached stands in the service of Shembe.

It is not clear how Oosthuizen defines preaching. Whilst it is true that the hymns he analysed are a form of communication, they cannot, however, be explained as preaching. Oosthuizen's work does not refer to preaching as understood in this study viz the delivery of a homily based or a sacred text.

In another general work Oosthuizen (1968) considered the problems of communicating the gospel in Africa. He came to the conclusion that Christianity was first communicated to Africans in a foreign idiom because, "Africa had no Paul" Oosthuizen (1968:235).

The issues that Oosthuizen (1968) raised were an indication of how non-Africans saw the work of the African indigenous churches. Whilst these non-African scholars were in a position to study healing and other aspects of worship, the fact remains, however, that they did not have the necessary tools e.g. language, to study the ministry of the word effectively.

Oosthuizen's work (1967, 1968) introduced another theme to the interest in the study of the African indigenous churches, i.e. adaptation to urban living. This theme was actively pursued by the anthropologists.

2.2.2 Literature emanating from the works of Anthropologists

Among the anthropologists who have focused their attention and interest to the study of African indigenous churches the name of Kiernan deserves to be mentioned. It should be noted here that the approach of the Anthropologists to the African indigenous church movements was undergirded by the notion that these movements were an exercise in adapting to socio-cultural change.

Kiernan's numerous articles on Zionist ritual and healing are found in several journals. These articles are spread over a long time span which goes back to 1974. It was in 1990 that these articles were put together in one volume, "The production and management of therapeutic power in Zionist churches within a Zulu city". In this volume Kiernan refers to preaching in the context of the division of roles between men and woman and how the authority structure and internal social control find expression in preaching where men play a leading role (Kiernan, 1990(a): 92,93).

In an article which appeared in the "Journal of Religion in Africa" in 1990 Kiernan discusses the use of song as word and action in the Zionist discourse. This article discusses the Zionist hymn by examining, among other things, the thematic content of the hymns. Kiernan also raises the question of the consistency of the verbal and the musical meaning of the hymn.

The theme of adaption to urban living was taken up by West (1975). West studied over 900 Zionist churches in Soweto. In his work (West, 1975) there are only three places where reference to the sermons is made. The main thing that West says about the sermon the Zionist churches that he studied is that it is text-based (Bible); the preachers do not use any other book when they prepare their sermons; and the duration of the sermon is short.

2.2.3 Literature emanating from the works of missionaries and theologians

The major objective of the approaches of missionaries and theologians was that of getting a better understanding of the African indigenous churches so that they could be in a position to propagate the gospel. They saw these movements as a challenge to their missionary work. Consequently the initial attitude of rejection and denigration gave way to accommodation.

Among the missionary theologians who showed interest in the African indigenous churches were Beyerhaus (n.d.), Nussbaum (1984), Becker (1975) and Daniel (1980, 1983). There was a general agreement that the African indigenous churches had identified their niche which consisted in a form of worship which was suited to the African world view and also the needs of the Africans who wanted to adjust to a changing socio-cultural environment.

2.2.4 Literature on area studies

Apart from the studies which dealt exclusively with the South African scenario, there are area studies that focused on the African indigenous churches. Andersson (1958) considered the messianic movements in the Congo. What was noticeable in this work is that the terminology was incoherent. Although Andersson attempted a serious study of the Kimbangu church, very little attention was paid to the ministry of the word.

Hayward (1963) in his "African independent church movements" focused on prophet-healing churches as compared to Ethiopian church movements. Whilst Hayward's approach was in the first place a minority interest, it had a social dimension interest. Consequently no attention was paid to preaching.

Baëta's (1962) work deals with prophetic movements in Ghana. Whilst this work provides information on the life and the faith of the movements that were studied, it does not pay attention to preaching. The work, however, traces the development and the thrust of the prophetic movements in Ghana. Since Baëta's work was a pioneer study in the area the work did not give attention to the question of the maintenance of the movements through preaching and the communication of the gospel.

Turner's two volumes on the "African independent church" discuss the Church of the Lord (Aladura). Both volumes appeared in 1967. The first volume focuses on the history of the church whilst the second volume discusses the life and faith of the Church of the

Lord (Aladura). It is in the latter volume (where Turner discusses worship and the litany. In an essay in "Religious innovation in Africa" (1979: 235-244), Turner discusses preaching, sermon texts and the use of the Bible in the Church of the Lord (Aladura).

Turner's contribution regarding preaching derives from the method he used for analysing the sermon texts that were used for preaching in the Church of the Lord (Turner, 1979:237). At the same time Turner suggested possible questions that threw light on the ministry of the word (Turner, 1979:239). Turner's discussion of the litany could be effectively used to study how liturgical material is developed in an African idiom (Turner, 1979:246).

Martin (1971) discusses "Kimbangu and his church". The whole book focuses on Simon Kimbangu, the establishment of the church, and the context in which church adherents practise their faith. Very little attention is paid in the book to preaching and worship and the use of the scriptures is mentioned in passing.

A book which has recently been published and which has relevance for this study was developed within the context of Black church movements in Britain. This book is written by Gerloff and it is published under the title: "A plea for Black British theologies: the Black church movement in Britain and its transatlantic cultural and theological interaction" (1992).

In her book Gerloff suggests that African Christianity as a whole has roots in African culture. African culture, according to

Gerloff, has a high residual orality. A relevant hermeneutic method would unravel the nature of communication within the movements which show tendencies of residual orality. Gerloff's work alludes to the fact that Africans used a different interpretation of Biblical imagery. There is a suggestion also that Biblical texts were contextualised in dreams, visions, narratives, parables, songs, rhythms, ecstasies, glossolalia and healing of self and society (Gerloff, 1992:12). The preachers and their audiences, according to Gerloff, are not bookish. This statement suggests affinity between the African indigenous churches and the early church where, Gerloff (1992:12) maintains:

... the medium of communication was the story and not the statement, the song and not the script, the testimony and not the argument, the action and not the definition, the creative community and not the rational treatise of an individual.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter different approaches to oral form, from antiquity to modern times, were surveyed. The literature focusing on these approaches was introduced. The shortcomings of the different approaches were noted. The structural approach with its focus on the morphology of the text was found to be relevant for the analysis of the internal structure of the sermon which is discussed in the chapters that follows. At the same time the performance approach with its emphasis on communication and performance has been identified for use where the discussion of the actualization of the sermon is made in Chapter 7.

A wide range of literature focusing on studies of African indigenous churches was also reviewed in this chapter. In spite of the interest shown by different scholars on the African indigenous churches in particular and the new religious movements in general, preaching has been ignored in these studies. This study therefore is a pioneering work in an area which has been neglected.

CHAPTER 3**THE ORGANISATION OF THE STUDIED AFRICAN INDIGENOUS CHURCHES
AND FIELDWORK AMONG THEM**

In the previous Chapter I made a survey of two types of literature. The first type of literature that was surveyed focused on approaches to oral form. The theoretical insights which were developed in some of the approaches to oral form will be used in later chapters. The second type of literature that was surveyed in the previous chapter focused on ethnographic studies which sketched the interest of different groups of scholars regarding the African indigenous churches. The survey of the ethnographic literature on African new religious movements in general and the African indigenous churches in particular, served to indicate not only the interest shown by different scholars but also the fact that the African indigenous churches are a field of study that may be approached from various angles.

In this chapter I begin with a discussion of the organisation of the three indigenous churches that were identified and observed for the purposes of this study. I pay attention, particularly, to the history of each group, the worship patterns of each group and the place of preaching in the service of worship of each group. The objective of the discussion that I begin with is to establish the context within which preaching takes place. This discussion is followed by a detailed account on how I conducted the field work on which this study is based. The presentation of the conduct of field work is aimed at indicating that what is

analysed in the chapters that follow as well as the conclusions arrived at are all based on empirical research, archival research and guidance from the study supervisor.

3.1 The organisation of the African indigenous churches

When this study was planned five African indigenous churches were identified for an in-depth observation. All of them were located in the Edendale Valley in Pietermaritzburg. However, due to the fluidity of the socio-political situation, especially in the upper reaches of the Edendale Valley, it became difficult to continue with the original plan. The fieldwork sample ended up with three African indigenous churches which were located in two different geographic areas. The Christ's Apostles Church worships at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Plessislaer in Edendale; the Nazareth Baptist church worships at Hlalanathi Temple in Ndabayakhe reserve in Empangeni; and the African Apostolic Church in Zion worships in "Emabhawuzeni" in Port Durnford near Mtunzini.

3.1.1 The Nazareth Baptist Church

This church was founded by Isaiah Shembe in about 1911. The headquarters of the church are in Inanda near Durban. A dispute that occurred in the late 1970s over succession divided the church into two factions; one group retaining the original settlement, Ekuphakameni, as their headquarters under Rev. Londa Shembe who was assassinated in 1989. The second group which was led by Rev. Amos Shembe, established themselves several

kilometres inland at a place known as Matabetule. It is this latter group that has a satellite temple at Ndabayakhe reserve.

In spite of the succession disputes that have plagued the church the founder's family (Shembe) occupies a central place in the church and in the leadership of the church. All over the country where Shembe carried out his mission there are congregations. Such congregations are structured in such a way that services of worship are managed by local leadership under normal circumstances. In July and January, however, all the believers meet together for specified festivals.

The popularity of the July and January festivals has led the Nazarites to accept that theirs is a special kind of church. These festivals are a window on the life of faith in the church. Consequently visitors come in great numbers to observe and to make recordings of these festivities. This has made the use of secondary orality in the church to be an accepted thing. The recording of the proceedings in audio cassettes, video tapes or by means of still photography, is very popular among the congregants. This development was useful, not only in gaining entry into the church, but also in facilitating the recording of the sermons without any trouble.

The church's titular head is Rev. Amos Shembe. The church hierarchy includes ministers, evangelists, preachers and leaders. The categories of minister, evangelist and preacher are all male-dominated. The women's highest leadership position is that of a group leader (umkhokheli). In the case of unmarried women and

maiden's the leadership is exercised by the umphathi wezintombi (leader of the ladies).

At local level the church is organised around a temple. The temple is normally an open-air holy spot at the place of a recognised leader. The temple is led by a preacher (umshumayeli) except where there are other high-ranking officials who reside in the neighbourhood.

For the purpose of this study the Ndabayakhe Temple, just outside Empangeni, was made the major focus. Ndabayakhe is fast becoming a peri-urban settlement, which has lost much of its original rural character. Traditionally Ndabayakhe is a ward under the chieftainship of Chief Zungu. Most of those who attend services of worship in the Ndabayakhe Temple were born and brought up around Empangeni. Mr --, now an elderly man, is the umshumayeli (preacher) who is in charge of the Ndabayakhe Temple.

There are different types of worship where recourse to the Bible and the sermon is made. The women meet every Thursday afternoon for their prayer meeting. The women's leader (umkhokheli) is responsible for the management of such services. In these services it is the umkhokheli (women's leader) who takes the lead in opening the service. An opportunity is, however, given to other women to "witness". The women also have "u fourteen". This service takes place on the night of the 13th of each month. It is an all-night service which is opened by the umkhokheli (women's leader). At this service the women are also given an opportunity for witnessing.

The men have their all male service on the night of the 22nd of each month. It is the preacher who opens the service. The believers get an opportunity for witnessing. The boys and the young men join together with the men in the "twenty three" service. The girls and the maidens, however, attend "u twenty five" i.e. an all-night service which commences on the night of the 24th of each month.

This study, however, focused on the service of worship which is held on the Sabbath day. The Sabbath is observed on Saturdays. In practice the believers meet three times on a Saturday. They meet for "Vukanathi". i.e. the morning prayer; then they meet for the main Sabbath service, and they also meet for the "Lalanathi" i.e. the evening service. At the Ndabayakhe Temple, however, "Vukanathi" is not a temple event. Similarly "Lalanathi" is also not a temple event. The main Sabbath service which starts at 13h00 and continues until about 16h00 is well attended, except when it rains.

It is the umshumayeli (preacher) who has the responsibility for arranging a preacher for each service. This is done when those who are eligible to preach arrive before the commencement of the service of worship. There is no evidence of a prescribed preaching plan. Neither did I find any evidence of an almanac with a prescribed lectionary.

Whilst the church does not have a formal training programme for ministers, evangelists and preachers, there is a very clear understanding as to who is eligible to become a preacher.

According to one preacher it is Shembe who calls people to preach. It was suggested also that Shembe provides such persons with guidance in a "spiritual class". Further investigation revealed that the Shembe referred to here is the spirit of Isaiah Shembe. Apart from the call to preach, preachers are married men who have had a long association with the church.

The Sabbath service starts off with a hymn. This hymn is found in the "Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha" (sacred songs of the Nazarites) on pages 15 and 16. The hymn is followed by a litany which is read from the "Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha" (sacred songs of the Nazarites) on pages 16-23. Another hymn may be sung before the scriptures are read. Alternatively the preacher introduces his sermon and then leads in the singing of a hymn before the scriptures are read. It is common for elderly preachers to request young men from the congregation to read the scriptures for them. The homily then follows. The service ends with the pronouncement of the benediction. ✓ NB

Since the manner in which the congregation sits provides the context for the preaching event it would be advisable to illustrate how the congregation is arranged in the temple. The diagram below explains the sitting positions of the different groups of people that attend services in the temple.

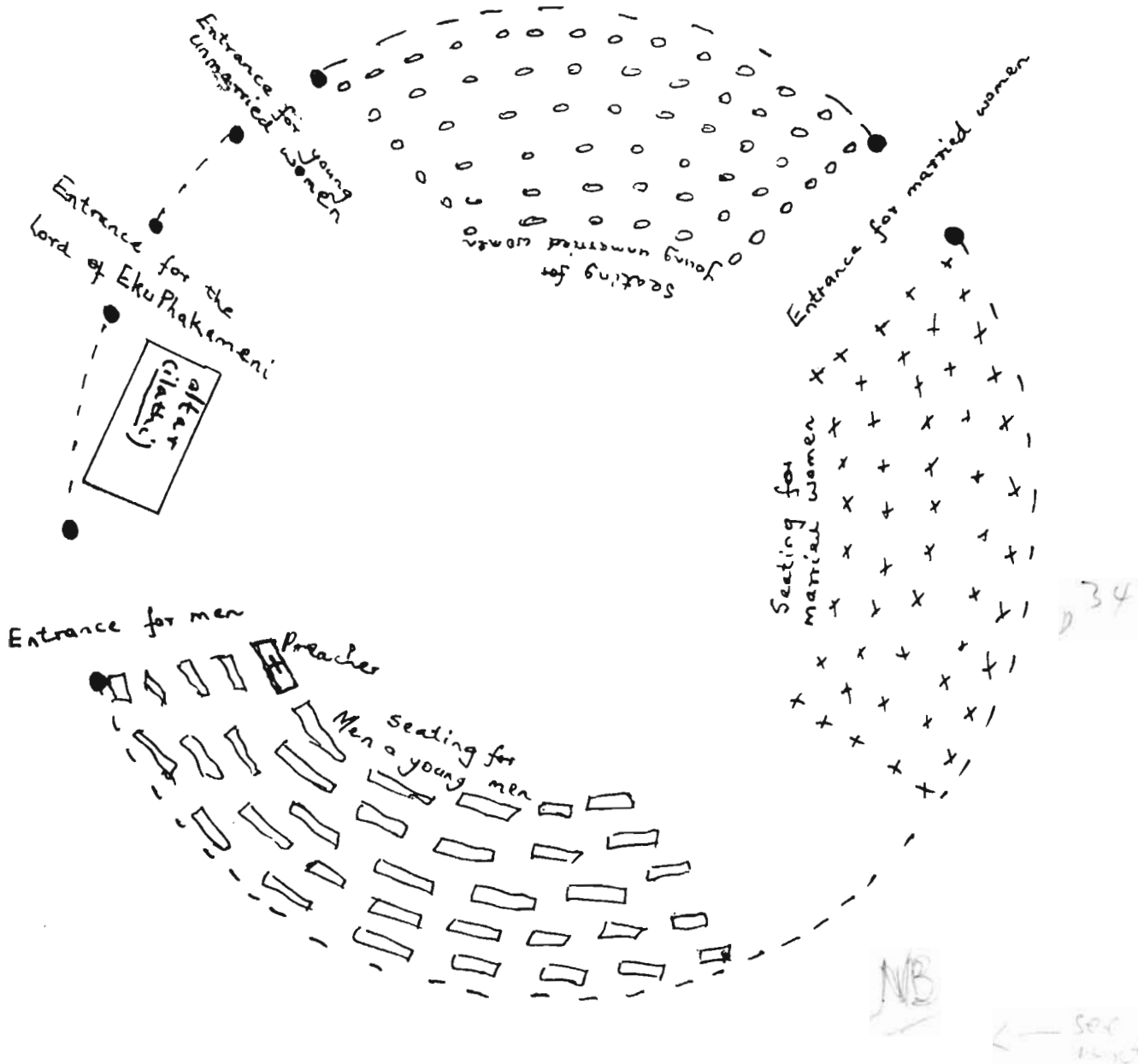


Figure 1: Seating arrangement: Church A.

3.1.2 The Christ's Apostles Church

The Christ's Apostles Church which is the focus of this study was founded towards the end of 1990 by Rev. Y Z. The church was registered in Pretoria at the beginning of 1992. Although the church has "societies" all over Natal the headquarters of the church are in Enqabeni on the upper reaches of the Edendale Valley where Rev. Y Z is based. At the time of the research on

which this study is based the church claimed a total membership of three thousand five hundred (3 500).

Establishing a rapport with the church was not a difficult undertaking. The staff of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre were contacted first. Through their help contact with Rev. H B of the Edendale circuit was established. This was followed by an initial visit to the church on a Sunday morning where I was introduced to the congregation. In response to that I explained the reasons why I had interest in observing the services of worship of the church.

The whole church is organised into circuits. Each circuit, of which Edendale is one, consists of societies. The Edendale circuit has the following societies: Plessislaer, Hopewell, Azalea, and Hammarsdale. Rev. H B is the resident Minister for the Edendale circuit. He reports to Rev. Y Z who is the president of the church. Rev. Y Z Nene shares his work with seven ministers. The affairs of the church are handled by a management committee which consists of ministers and lay persons.

Hierarchically the church has a structure consisting of the president, the ministers, the elders, the deacons, the preachers and the leaders. At the time when the study was done the church did not have any female ministers or female elders, or female deacons or female preachers. All the Sunday services that were observed were led by men and the preachers were all males.

Although this study focuses on the Sunday service of worship, there are, however, other services of worship where the Bible is used and where preaching takes place. The women, for instance, observe Thursday as a day of prayer. It is the minister's wife who takes the lead on such occasions. These services give the women an opportunity for "witnessing". There are prayer services which are conducted in members' homes and houses. It is usually the elders, the deacons and the leaders who organise the programmes for such prayer meetings. There are also all-night revival services which are led by the amadodana (men's guild). Here again "witnessing" is open to the whole membership of the church. The youth also organise their prayer services in which the youth leaders take the lead. Here also the members are free to "witness" once the service has been opened.

The Sunday service of worship which is the focus of this study starts at 11h00. The resident minister arranges a preaching plan. Although he is present at all the Sunday services, he normally does not preach except on the holy communion day which is observed one Sunday a month. The responsibility for preaching falls on the elders, the deacons and the preachers.

By the time the service starts at 11h00 the believers would have gone to the nearby Umsunduzi River for ritual cleansing. This is particularly important for the "prayer-persons" and those who went to be prayed for. The service commences with a hymn which is taken from the "Amagama okuhlabelela" (hymns for singing). Extempore prayers follow thereafter. The Lord's prayer is then sung. Another hymn follows before a passage is read from the

Bible. The preacher for the day reads from the Bible, usually two or three verses. A homily is then delivered. The homily is usually short, lasting for thirty minutes on the average. Church notices are read after the homily. Praying for the people then follows and this lasts until about 16h30.

The manner in which the congregation sits in the service of worship provides the context for the ministry of the word. Following is an illustration of how the congregants sit in the service of worship.

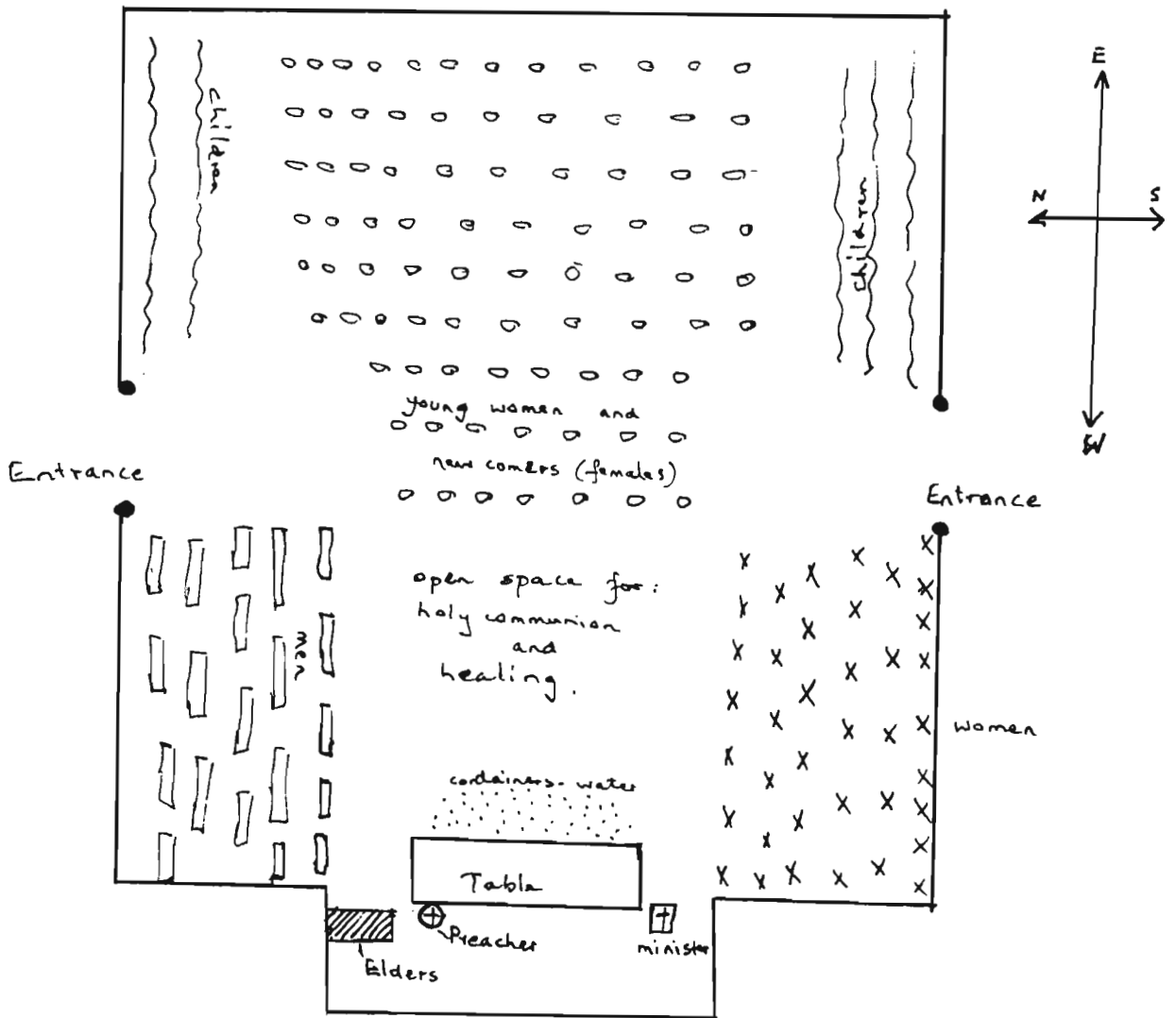


Figure 2: Seating arrangement: Church B

3.1.3 The African Apostolic Church in Zion

The African Apostolic Church in Zion traces its origin to 1972 when there was a cessation in the Emgonyameni Apostolic Church in Zion. The latter was founded by Archbishop Manyathi who died during the time when this study was in progress. Information obtained from those who were interviewed suggested that Manyathi's call to religious leadership occurred almost at the same time as that of Isaiah Shembe. Although Manyathi and Shembe are believed to have started off together, their missions, however, were different. Shembe's emphasis was on hebraistic outlook and practices whilst Manyathi's was pentecostal.

A leading figure in Manyathi's church was Bishop E N from the Port Durnford area. When there were differences of opinion between Manyathi and E N on the interpretation of the Bible and on the implementation of the teaching of the Bible there occurred a split in the church. As a result of the split E N left the headquarters of the church in Mevamhlophe outside Empangeni and established himself as an Archbishop of the African Apostolic Church in Zion. This church has, at present, several branches throughout Natal.

Hierarchically the African Apostolic Church in Zion has Archbishop E N as its titular head. He is assisted by an assistant Bishop (ingameli [umongameli]). There are several ministers who are in charge of different congregations. The main congregation in Port Durnford has three ministers who work with the ingameli (assistant bishop) and the Archbishop.

The church has an order of evangelists. Each congregation has at least an evangelist who serves it. Evangelists are appointed by the Archbishop and the congregation on the basis of seniority and ability to carry out evangelical work. Below the evangelists are preachers. Among the qualifications for this position is married life. Each congregation is under the management of a steward (gosa) who is a "caretaker" and an administrative figure. There are also prayer persons (abathandazi) and leaders for the different formations, viz. women, young men, youth and children.

The Port Durnford congregation which is the focus of this study arranges services of worship as follows: on Wednesdays and Fridays there are evening services and on Sundays the services take place in the afternoon. In addition to these regular services there are revival services which are organised on Saturday evenings. These are all-night services which are not necessarily held in the church building. The youth meet every day between six and six thirty in the evening for their service of worship. Similarly the women meet on Thursday afternoon for their prayer services.

Of interest here is the Sunday service of worship. The information that was obtained through observation and interviews suggests that the order of service for an ordinary Sunday service follows a particular order. After an opening hymn a cleansing ritual (ukuhlambuluka/inhlambuluko) takes place. This provides the congregants with an opportunity to prepare themselves for prayer. In the inhlambuluko ritual each participant mentions those things which might have disturbed his/her spiritual well-

being. At the same time people are given an opportunity to raise those things for which they require assistance with prayer. My informants insisted that this inhlambuluko is not compulsory. At the same time they suggested that prayer becomes difficult if people are holding back undeclared concerns.

Inhlambuluko is followed by a hymn which calls everybody to prayer. The Port Durnford congregation uses the hymn: "Sondelani masivume, simudumise ..." (come nearer, let us sing together, let us praise him. ...). The hymn is followed by extempore prayer where the whole congregation takes part. During prayer the spirit reveals the needs of the different persons in the congregation for which prayers are required. Extempore prayer is, therefore, followed by prayers for those whose needs have been made known either through their own petitions or through the intervention of the spirit.

After prayers either a hymn is sung or the choir provides a musical item. This is followed by the recitation of the Apostles creed. On all the occasions I attended the service, the Apostles Creed was led by a young person. After the Apostles creed the Master of Ceremonies makes a brief introduction or requests the preacher for the day to "open the word". The information I obtained suggests that the church does not have a preaching plan where preachers are appointed in advance. My informants insisted that the person who "opens the word" is revealed by the spirit during the opening prayer. Alternatively a person who feels that he/she has been sent by the spirit with a special message will ask for an opportunity to "open the word".

The "opening of the word", according to the information I gathered, is not confined to the Archbishop, assistant bishop, the ministers or the evangelists and preachers. Virtually everybody can "open the word". Once the word has been opened, and if time allows for it, the congregants are given an opportunity for "witnessing". Here again the freedom which one observed suggests that there is a belief in the ministry of all believers.

My observation suggests that there is a definite pattern which is observed in the arrangement of sitting positions in the African Apostolic Church in Zion. The congregation has a fairly large church building on the premises of Archbishop E N's homestead. Inside the church building the congregants who attend the Sunday service of worship are usually seated in the manner which is illustrated below.

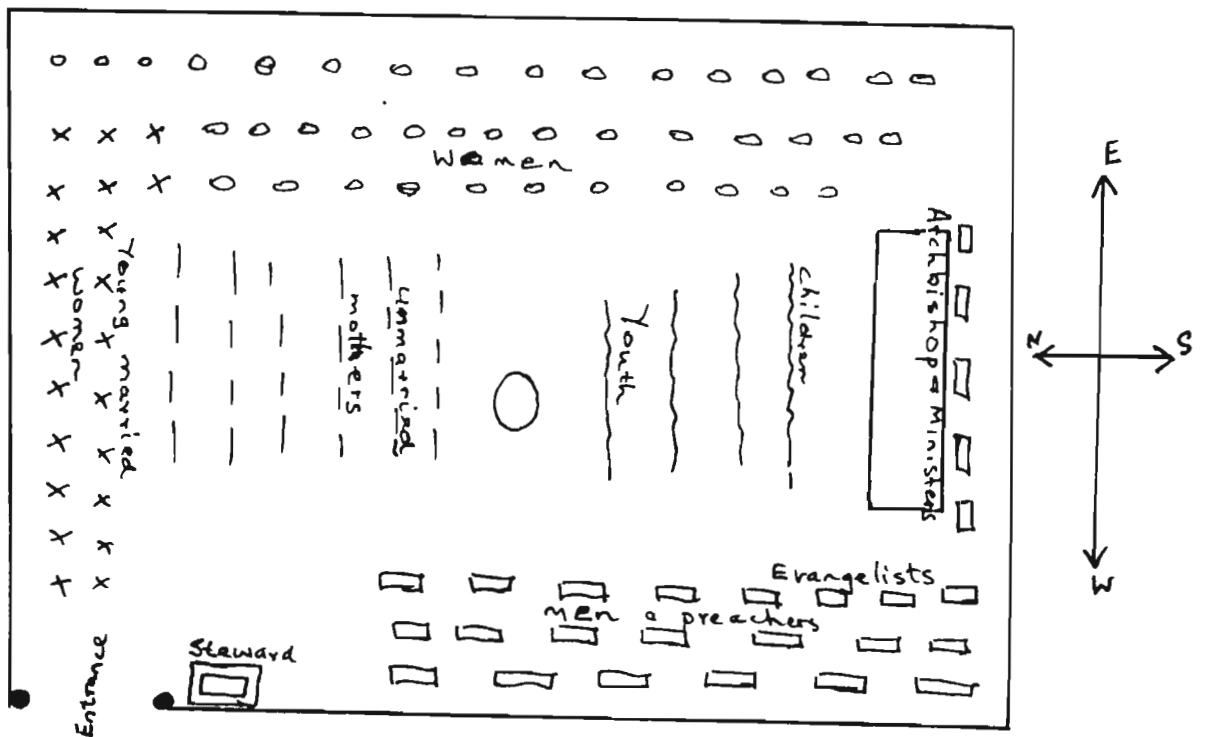


Figure 3: Seating arrangement: Church C.

The above figure gives an indication of how the different groups of worshippers occupy the church building. The table from where the preacher preaches is situated on the south end of the church building. The "dignitaries" viz. the Archbishop and the ministers occupy the south end of the church building. The senior women occupy the east end of the church building. The men, the preachers and the evangelists occupy the west end of the church building. The junior married women occupy the north end of the church building. In front of the junior married women sit all unmarried mothers and in front of the latter sit the children. The entrance to the church building is situated to the north west. The entire seating arrangement provides for a face to face communication.

3.2 Fieldwork among the African indigenous churches

The approach and style which provided insights for this study were drawn from cultural anthropology. The major perspective underpinning my approach to this study has been the notion that the rituals of the African indigenous churches devolved and developed from an oral tradition background. The use of the cultural anthropology approach in this study was not simply meant to help in describing the sermons or the ministry of the word, but to link the ministry of the word to a broader background of oral tradition.

When fieldwork was planned three areas were identified for the initial focus. First, there was the need to observe the services

of worship. Second, there was the need to procure permission for making audio cassette recordings of the services of worship and of the sermons in particular. Third, there was the need to interview the preachers and members of the congregation as a follow up on the observations.

Three research instruments eventually proved to be useful in the collection of data, viz that of participant-observation, that of recording the sermons on audio-cassette and that of interviewing. The three research instruments were used whilst observing three African indigenous churches between March and November 1992. During this period over thirty (30) separate services of worship were attended. During the course of fieldwork six (6) church leaders were interviewed. At the same time five (5) preachers were interviewed and ten (10) worshippers from three different church groups were interviewed. A structured questionnaire was used as the basic outline for interviews.

The process of establishing a rapport with each group was a protracted one. This involved meeting with the leader of each group and giving an explanation of the research objectives. This was followed by an initial attendance at services of worship and the general introduction where I was personally introduced and the purpose of my presence explained by the leader of each group. After the introduction the researcher was given an opportunity to greet the congregation and to restate his intentions. The fact that three congregations were observed simultaneously meant that attendance at services of worship was not always regular. What

was useful, however, was the fact that the services of the Nazareth Baptist Church were attended on a Saturday.

The major focus for observations in all groups was the relationship between the text, the preacher and the audience. Observations paid attention to the way the sermon was structured, the manner in which the Bible or any other ecclesiastical book was used, the craft of the preacher and the participation of the audience.

After I had commenced with the field work, I discovered that it was possible to engage the believers in informal interviews especially on our way to and from church when we travelled together. At the same time one minister and a few believers were fascinated by the audio recording of their services of worship. They would visit my place of work regularly to listen to their services of worship. In that way it became possible to make follow up interviews.

The outcome of the fieldwork was the recording of thirty (30) sermons on audio cassette. The sermons were transcribed and translated in English. The sermon transcriptions, together with the field notes and data collected through observation and interviews were discussed with the study supervisor at meetings which were held regularly during the course of this study. These regular meetings with the study supervisor as well as the comments of the colleagues at the Research Unit for New Religious Movements and Independent Churches (NERMIC) proved to be useful devices for the analysis of data. The study supervisor's comments

and suggestions were also a great help in the presentation of the findings in this study.

In this chapter I have introduced the three African indigenous churches that I observed for the purposes of this study. The focus of the discussion was on how the services of worship were organised. The picture that emerged from the discussions presented in this chapter provides a context within which the ministry of the word took place. As part of the discussions in this chapter I also explained how I conducted fieldwork. I also indicated that the outcome of the fieldwork was the recording of thirty sermons and the collection of data as well as the preparation of field notes, which were discussed with the study supervisor. In the chapters that follow I shall discuss the analysis of data obtained from field work. I shall focus on the preparation and the framework of the sermon, the shape of the sermon, form of the sermon and the performance aspect of the sermon.

CHAPTER 4

THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SERMON

In the previous chapter I presented the three African indigenous churches which were observed for the purposes of this study. In presenting those African indigenous churches I also gave an account of how fieldwork was conducted. I also indicated that the outcome of the fieldwork was, among other things, the recording of thirty sermons.

Beginning with this chapter and continuing in the next three chapters, I shall focus on the analysis of preaching in the African indigenous churches. The analysis will deal with the preparation and the framework of the sermon, the shape of the sermon, the form of the sermon and the communication of the sermon.

In this chapter I discuss the preparation and the framework of the sermon. The discussion will focus on the sources which are used by the preacher in the preparation of his sermon. First, the use of the Bible and other written texts will be discussed as a source and a frame of reference from which sermons emerge.

Second, oral tradition will be discussed as a heritage that has continued in the African indigenous churches and which is, therefore, another source and a background against which the preachers design their sermons. Third, the settings in life of the worshippers will be discussed as a further source from where the preacher draws material, inspiration and direction when he prepares and designs his sermon.

In order to facilitate the discussions envisaged in this chapter, a method which will facilitate easy reference to the churches and the preachers has been adopted. The preference for the method referred to here is meant to ensure confidentiality. The Nazareth Baptist Church will be referred to as Church A. The Christ's Apostles Church will be called Church B. The African Apostolic Church in Zion will be called Church C. At the same time fictitious names will be used to refer to the preachers whose sermons are analysed in this and the following chapters. All English Bible references, unless indicated, are from "The Living Bible".

During the course of this study it was discovered that there were several occasions where preaching was used in services of worship. It was, therefore, decided that the observations on which this study is based be limited to certain services of worship. For Church A the occasion where the preaching event was observed and studied was the Sabbath service which takes place on Saturdays. For Church B and also for Church C the occasion where the preaching event was observed and studied was the Sunday service.

4.1 The notion of "text"

Reference to the notion of "text" is inescapable in a discussion that is aimed at finding out as to how a sermon is prepared in a religious tradition that is predominantly oral in orientation. According to Illich, in Olson and Torrance (1991: 35), "text" is derived from Latin. In the Latin context "text" means "textured".

Illich suggests that in its Latin context the term "text" is rarely used for the composition of well arranged sentences. Olson, in Olson and Torrance (1991: 157, 158), on the other hand, maintains that it is possible to speak of a "spoken text". For Olson a spoken "text" is possible in context. The possibility of a spoken "text" in context derives from the fact that there is a listener who receives that text in a particular way. This, therefore, makes a spoken text to be meaningful in a given context.

For Feldman, in Olson and Torrance (1991:47ff), oral cultures do "fix" texts by oral means and such texts are subject to talk and interpretation. Finnegan, in Sienaert, *et al* (1991: 3) argues that the notion of a "text" should not be seen as a neutral concept. Instead it should be seen as a process. For that matter attention should be paid to the way texts are shaped and also to the processes that are responsible for the eventual format which the text assumes. The dictionary meaning of "text" suggests, among other things, that a text is a subject or a theme for composition or argument.

In the discussions that are contained in this study three uses of the word "text" are kept in mind. In the first place the word "text" is taken to mean "written discourse" e.g. a verse or passage of scripture forming the subject of a sermon. In the second place the word "text" is understood to mean a spoken text e.g. a sermon. Thirdly, there is an orally transmitted text e.g. oral tradition. Sermons which are orally and spontaneously composed belong to the category of spoken texts.

This study has revealed that the sermons in the African indigenous churches, as spoken texts, derive from several sources. These sources influence the oral texture of the sermons. First there is the Bible, a printed text which serves as a repertoire of texts which are available to the preacher in the preparation of his sermon. Second, there is oral tradition which is the "cultural heritage" of the church. Third there is a church history which is orally transmitted. Fourthly there is the life setting and the experience of the members of the congregation. It is from this rich field that the preacher draws inspiration and finds a frame of reference for his sermon. Using his individual style the preacher then develops a message (text) which he communicates to the worshippers.

4.2 The use of written sources

The point of departure for the African indigenous churches is the use of written scriptures as a major frame of reference for the preparation of sermons and for the communication of those sermons. As a source, the Bible has inspired the development of other written texts e.g. the hymn book and the book of liturgy and prayers. The Bible and the hymns, whether written or unwritten, feature prominently in the preparation of the sermon text.

Church A uses the Bible and the Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha (the sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites). The Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha (sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites) was compiled by Rev J G Shembe. As a written text, the Izihlabelelo Zama

Nazaretha (sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites) contains the hymns that were composed by Isaiah Shembe (the founder of the church) as well as those that were composed by Ref J G Shembe. The hymns in the Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha (sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites) are prefaced with litanies which are used in different services of worship. These litanies have been developed from passages taken from the Bible. The passages from the Bible and the hymns from Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha (sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites) are valuable sources which help the preachers when they design their sermons.

In spite of the generally accepted belief that the majority of the believers in Church A are illiterate, this study found that almost 80% of the people attending any service of worship carry Bibles and hymn books. Those who were interviewed suggested that apart from the carrying of the Bible and the hymn book being required behaviour, the worshippers attach particular significance to the contents of these texts. Two preachers who were interviewed and whose educational attainment is an equivalent of four years' schooling (Standard II) suggested to me that when they go to the headquarters of the church in January and in July and also on Saturdays wherever they are they find a lot of time to read the Bible and to listen to what God Jehovah and the God of Ekuphakameni demand of the worshippers. This study also discovered that the Bible and the hymn book are not provided by the church, but are bought by individual members. The significance of the hymn book lies in that it contains litanies for daily prayers which the worshippers are expected to follow.

In Church B the Bible was found to be a major source for the preparation of sermon texts. In the services that I attended and observed, however, I discovered that the carrying of Bibles to the service of worship was not a common thing among the worshippers. The minister, the elders and some deacons and preachers, however, brought their Bibles and used them in church.

Although the Amagama okuhlabelela (lit. the words for singing) is a prescribed hymn book that is used in Church B, this study revealed that less than 30% of the worshippers carry the hymn book to the services of worship. Most of the worshippers sang from memory. It was significant to note also that the singing of hymns from the hymn book was not accompanied by the dancing, the handclapping and the enthusiasm with which the unwritten choruses were sung. In Church B too this study found that the preacher's choice of hymns was based on his sermon and the message he wanted to communicate. The sermon was, however, punctuated by the singing of the choruses as it will be shown in the chapters that follow.

In Church C the carrying of the Bible and the use thereof in the service of worship was confined to a small number of people. Such people were the ministers, the evangelists, the preachers and a few young people. Those who were interviewed suggested that it was out of bad practice that people did not bring their hymn books and Bibles to church. On being interviewed further they conceded that some members of the congregation were poor and could, therefore, not afford to buy hymn books and Bibles.

This study revealed that in Church C some of the young people were often asked by the preachers to read passages from the Bible. These passages were usually indicated and cited by the preacher from memory. A good example is that of Archbishop Moses who came to a service of worship without any reading glasses and he could, therefore, not read from the Bible. What he did was to cite a passage from the Bible and asked a member of the congregation to read that passage.

Apart from the Bible which was used in Church C the study revealed that two kinds of hymn books are prescribed for use in the services of worship. The two hymn books are the Icilongo levangeli (lit. the bugle of evangelism), and the Amagama okuhlabelela (lit. the words for singing). The carrying of and the use of these texts in church was limited. Hymns and choruses were sung from memory. The hymns, the choruses and the Bible were found to be a source on which the preacher based his sermon.

Mbiti (1986:54) writing about the role of hymns in the worship of African indigenous churches contends that the hymns reflect Bible knowledge and teaching as well as theological views which are sung and danced. Mbiti's observation underscores the importance of the Bible as a source for designing sermon texts.

According to Achtemeier (1990:15-19) the Bible was compiled from oral accounts of what people could recall of their heritage and experiences. The African indigenous churches, however, came across the Bible in its printed format in which it had assumed a permanent and fixed character.

Nee (1971:22) reiterating the emphasis made by Dennett (1968:68) suggests that the principle of incarnation underpins the Bible. As a result of incarnation God's word assumed a human dimension. In this sense man utters God's word and this word regulates human affairs. The "word" is incarnate, and it is inscribed in a fixed literary "corpus". Yet this "word" is meant to be spoken and proclaimed instead of being locked away among dead letters.

This study revealed that the use of the Bible could be identified in a number of instances where the design and the preparation of sermon texts was done. The preachers who were interviewed in all the church groups were emphatic that they read the Bible regularly. The regular reading of the Bible prepared them for preaching and provided them with a frame of reference for moulding their sermon themes (texts). Those who were interviewed suggested that they had no problem deciding on Bible passages that they could use because they had a large repertoire of Bible verses and passages to which they could refer, and which they kept in their memories. During the course of the observation on which this study is based several preachers announced Bible readings from memory and they also cited verses and passages from the Bible with ease.

During the service of worship the preacher would either read the Bible himself or request a member of the congregation to read the passage on his behalf. The common practice among the elderly preachers in Church A was for the preacher to announce a Bible passage and then to request somebody else to read. When a reader read on behalf of the preacher, the latter either repeated the

passage word for word after the reader using a loud and raised voice, or explained the passage as it was read. Preach Hope of Church A, for example, asked a young person to read from Jeremiah 17:12-13. The result was that the Bible text was presented as follows:

READER: The place of our holy house	Indawo yendlu yethu engcwele
PREACHER: It says the place of our holy house	Lithi indawo yendlu yethu engcwele
READER: It is a seat of royalty	Iyisihlalo sobukhosi
PREACHER: It is a seat of royalty	Iyisihlalo sobukhosi
READER: Even in the highest glory	Nasenkazimulweni ephakemeyo
PREACHER: We have the highest glory	Sinenkazimulo ephakemeyo
READER: Oh hope of Israel	O themba lika Israel
PREACHER: He who is the hope of Israel	Oyilithemba lika Israel
READER: Jehovah	Jehovah
PREACHER: It is Jehovah	u Jehovah
READER: All those who leave you	Bonke abakushiyayo
PREACHER: All those who leave you	Bonke abakushiyayo
READER: They will be disappointed	Bayakujabha
PREACHER: They will be disappointed.	Bayakujabha

Amen!

Amen!

When the example which was cited above was presented it was the reader who had the Bible and read from it. The preacher did not read from the Bible he followed on what the reader was reading and put emphasis wherever he deemed necessary. The point I want to make here is that the Bible passage was in the preacher's mind

when he was called upon to preach. He had used it in his preparation either on the day of the sermon, or he had it in his memory for ready reference. What cannot be doubted is that the preacher knew that there was a passage of this nature. It is also clear that the preacher could apply the passage to the theme of his sermon which focused on Shembe as the Lord of Lords and God who had arrived on earth long long ago. The above illustration also demonstrates how the preacher proclaimed the "word" that was locked up in dead letters and used a tone and a rhythm that encouraged an interaction between the preacher and the congregation.

The Bible themes provide the African indigenous churches with imagery which is interpreted in African idiom and then developed into hymns and choruses (Gunner, 1989:183). This study discovered that the hymns and choruses were used extensively during the preaching event.

The choice of the Bible passages for preparing and fixing (designing) sermon texts varied from church to church and from preacher to preacher. Whilst the general tendency was that of reading verses from a chapter there was also a tendency to pick out just one verse from a chapter. Nowhere was it ever observed where the whole chapter was read out in a service of worship. The table below illustrates how the two Testaments were used in the three church groups.

TABLE 1: How the two Testaments were used in the 3 churches

CHURCH	PREACHER	CATEGORY	OLD TESTAMENT	NEW TESTAMENT
A	Micah	Preacher	Exod. 7:1; Gen. 2.21	
A	Isaac	Preacher	Hymn 242	
A	Hope	Preacher	Jer. 17:12	Rev. 21:1ff Matt. 11:1-6 Acts. 3
A	Noah	Evangelist		
A	Job	Preacher	I Kings 21	Heb. 13:17; I Cor. 1:27 II Cor. 11:6; Acts 17:26
A	Dan	Minister	Isaiah 30 Deut. 6:6 Bk of Wis. 22:6	II Tim. 3:4
A	Ezekiel ¹	Evangelist		
A	Joshua	Evangelist	Isaiah 43:1-13	
A	Abel	Preacher		John. 12:49 Luke. 16:19-31 II Cor. 3:2; 2:15 John. 17:27
A	Luke	Preacher		John 14:12-17 Eph. 6:10-13
A	Daniel	Preacher		Rom. 10: 1-5
B	Matthew	Preacher		Luke. 23:55-56
B	Mark	Preacher		Matt. 24:42-44
B	Peter	Minister		Matt. 24:42-44 Jude 1:17-20
B	Luke	Elder		
B	John	Deacon	Psalms 51:2-3	John. 7:39-41
B	Paul	Elder	Amos 8:11-14	Jude 1:17-20
B	Phillip	Deacon		Acts 4:34-37
C	Moses	Archbishop		Phil. 3:1ff
C	Aaron	Minister	Ex. 20:7 Num. 8:1:3-4	Matt. 6:11,12,13 Acts 4:12
C	Levi	Preacher		Matt. 22:1-6 II Cor. 5:17-18
C	David	Preacher	Job 2:1ff	
C	Samson	Preacher	Gen. 1:4-31	

1

Evangelist Ezekiel of Church A based his sermon on a hymn. Throughout his homily he did not make reference to the Bible. The focus of the homily was the divinity of Shembe.

The above analysis shows that in Church A and Church C there was a balanced choice of texts from both the Old Testament and the New Testament when sermon texts were prepared. In Church A there was one incident when a preacher developed his homily from a hymn which is found in the Izihlabelelo Zama Nazaretha (the sacred songs/hymns of the Nazarites). The Church B sermons that were recorded were drawn mainly from the New Testament. Out of ten sermons which were based on ten texts from the Bible, only two sermons were based on Old Testament texts. Preacher Paul preached on the famine of the word and based his homily on Amos 8:11-14.

The written sources e.g. the Bible, the hymn books are a valuable source on which the preachers base their sermons. The written sources are texts in their own right. What the preacher does is to use his individual style to "incorporate" the written sources into a process of composition which starts long before the presentation of the homily and becomes an on-going process of construction during the preaching event. For that matter what the preacher communicates in preaching bears the preacher's individuality.

4.3 The use of oral tradition as a frame of reference for sermon preparation

That orality is an important dimension of the ministry of the word in the churches that were observed for the purposes of this study cannot be overstated. The worship activities and patterns of the African indigenous churches that were studied and

particularly the conduct of preaching are all moulded on oral tradition. In order to appreciate the role of oral tradition in the preparation and the shaping of the sermons it would be advisable to consider the characteristics of oral tradition.

Havelock, and also Pattanayah, in Olson and Torrance (1991) provide several characteristics of orality. First the orally transmitted text is fixed through memorisation. The preachers in the studied churches used several literary products in order to facilitate oral composition whilst at the same time ensuring that the composition was fixed in memory. A detailed discussion regarding the use of literary products as devices for oral tradition and also to facilitate memorisation will follow in Chapter 7 where the preacher as a medium of communicating the word will be discussed.

The second characteristic of oral tradition that is suggested by both Havelock and Pattanayah in Olson and Torrance (1991) is that the texts are used in traditionally designed institutions e.g. ritual and orational contexts. The African indigenous churches provide a context both of ritual and oratory. The worshippers gather on a Sabbath or on a Sunday to perform their religious activities. As part of this event oratory is made a central focus. In Church A the morning Sabbath homily take about an hour whilst the afternoon homily takes about two hours. In Church B between half an hour and forty five minutes is set aside for the homily. In Church C about an hour and a half is used for the ministry of the word. The whole ritual context also includes healing.

This study revealed that in Church C in particular, where healing and the praying for the needs of the congregation takes place before preaching, there is a recognised link between healing and the homily. The link takes place at different levels. On the one level it is during the healing session that the visions and prophecies are revealed. According to my informants when some people fail to "cleanse themselves" (ukuhlambuluka) when the service begins, they are revealed by the spirit to the prayer people (abathandazi) during the healing session. Their continued failure to hlambuluka (be cleansed) is believed to have a negative effect on the processes that go on during the service. At another level, according to my informants, it is only after people have been healed (subjected themselves to prayers for healing) that they can be in a position to hear God's word and to communicate with God. This is how those who were interviewed in Church C explained the rationale for placing the healing session before preaching.

My experience with Church B was that there was no clearly recognised link between preaching and healing. Although the benediction was not pronounced immediately after the homily and at the beginning of the healing session the worshippers are free to leave at any time during the course of the healing session which normally goes on for four to four and a half hours. In Church A there were two occasions where healing sessions were held after preaching.

The third characteristic of oral tradition that is discussed by both Havelock and Pattanayah in Olson and Torrance (1991) is that

there are methods and procedures which ensure that the members are "trained" in the use of the texts. There are also ways of talking about and also of explaining oral tradition texts. In the churches that were studied there was a system of ministers, evangelists, elders, deacons, preachers and even Archbishops. The availability of the positions mentioned here suggests that there is a method of "training" those who are charged with the responsibility of attending to the ministry of the word.

Ong (1982), Rosenberg (1987) and Denny (1991), in their analyses of oral thought emphasise the distinctive features of oral thought. Oral thought is said to be additive, allowing each piece of information equal weight so that such information serves as a context for the other. The common conjunction that was found to be widely used in the sermons that were recorded is "because" (ngoba) e.g.

I have lost my father. Because he did not believe that this church could help him - the Lord bless you - because he felt that to abandon his ancestors might not help him. The Lord be with you. Because after a long time, his days were drawing to an end, it was then that he wished that I should take him and bring him to this church. The Lord be with you. He did not reach this church. Because he did not believe in something he could not see. Because he would see these only and believed that if a person left you on earth they would return to look after you. The Lord bless you.

Ngishonelwe ubaba. Ngoba wayengakholwa ukuthi lelibandla lingamsiza - Inkosi inibusise - ngoba ukushiya abakubo abangasekho kwakungemsize. Inkosi ibe nani. Ngoba emva kwseikhathi eside izinsuku zakhe zascziya ekupheleni wase efisa ukuba ngimlethe kulelibandla. Inkosi ibe nani. Akafikanga kulelibandla. Ngoba wayebona lokhu kuphela wayekholwa ukuthi uma umuntu ehamba emhlabeni wayezobuya azokubheka. Inkosi inibusise.

The above illustration is an extract from Deacon John's sermon. He used Jude 1:17-20 as a written text on which to base his sermon. The focus of his sermon was on "following Jesus in spite of the scoffers".

In the illustration quoted above the preacher used the conjunction "because" (ngoba). This had the effect of establishing causal links that integrated the narrative. Whilst these causal links do not imply real causality, they are, however, used as a stock device to give continuity and cohesion to oral expression. The links are all of equal value.

Another important characteristic of oral thought, according to Ong (1982), Rosenberg (1987) and Denny (1991) is that the story line of the narrative is embedded in the communal values of the audience. Consequently communication elicits emotional identification which is shared by the audience and this also serves as a vehicle for the memorisation of moral values. This study revealed that all the church groups that were studied used the preaching event as a forum and a communal context for public education. The preachers in Church A recounted incidents of the healing intervention of Shembe. By doing that they taught the congregants to accept their dependence on Shembe. Deacon John of Church B whose sermon was cited earlier, used a text from Jude 1:17-20 to exhort the congregants to follow Jesus just as the disciples did when he ignored the scoffers. Archbishop Moses of Church C used Philippians 3:1ff to remind his congregation about the changes that happened to Paul on his conversion. The preacher then appealed to his congregation:

Today's service of worship says to you, is there anything filthy that you have thrown away. It might just happen that there is nothing you have identified as filthy and, therefore, thrown away. Amen!

* * * * *

. . . What do you throw away if you do not abandon your lies? What have you thrown away if you have not thrown away your grudges and jealousy? . . .

In the above example, the sermon is used as a medium for public education and also for appealing for personal "reformation". The tone and the manner of addressing communal concerns is specific, direct and pointed.

The endemic violence that was prevalent during the time when this study was undertaken formed the situational context within which preaching took place. Preaching is situational when it is embedded in a pertinent situation. Consequently the preachers in all three church groups addressed the issue of politics in their sermons. An appeal was made in the sermons for the congregations to be apolitical, i.e. the congregations were educated to a common understanding of political interventions as being morally reprehensible and, therefore, to be avoided. The sermons communicated orthodoxy, i.e. the need for the worshippers to think carefully and also to behave correctly under conditions of great uncertainty.

Of great significance in an oral situation is the face to face context of interaction. The seating arrangements and the position of the preacher vis-a-vis the congregation were presented in Chapter 3. The face to face seating arrangement which was observed in all three church groups provides for a proper setting

5

NB

for an oral discourse where the preacher uses visual resources e.g. gestures, facial expression, etc. as aids to effective communication.

4.4 The use of orally transmitted church history

In the African indigenous churches, the history of the church is taken seriously. The concern for the orally transmitted history of the church points, among other things, to the uniqueness of the church and the role of the church in the religious tradition of the community.

The preachers in Church A, for example, illustrated their homilies with narratives that made reference to important events in the history of the church. Preacher Hope of Church A used the following narrative of church history in one of his sermons:

When Shembe wanted to conduct baptism in Xhosa country, he said, "my children here there is a drought, but how am I going to baptise people because Jehovah has sent me here to baptise people. Gagane of Gombela (Shembe) went outside and found the winds dry. He then called the Nhlalisuthi (regiment) and ordered them to dig where he showed them. He said "dig here my children. You will remove six rocks (stones). When you reach the seventh one, water will burst, therefore, you must be careful. When my father and I made the foundation of the earth we put these rocks here".

Ngenkathi uShembe efuna ukubhabhadisa abantu ema Xhoseni, wathi, "hawu bantabami lomisile, kodwa ngizobhabhadisa kanjani abantu ngoba uJehova ungithume lapha ukuzobhabhadisa abantu uGagane LukaGombela lwaphumela phandle lwathola imimoya yomile. Wayesebiza inhlalisuthi esethi ayimbe la ekhombe khona. Wathi, "yimbani lapha bantabami. Niyokhipha amatshe ayisithupha. Uma nifika kwelesikhombisa, kuzoqhuma amanzi, ngakho-ke anoqaphela. Ngenkathi sisekela umhlaba sinobaba sabeka lamatshe lapha.

The stones were dug out. If you happen to go to Gospela (name of a place) you will see those stones if they are shown to you. There is now a Lutheran building because he said they should be taken there and white-washed. When we reached the seventh stone a river burst and it was filled with water. The son of Mayekisa baptised the people.
Amen!

Amatshe embiwa. Uma ungaya eGospela uyowabona lamatshe uma bekukhombisa.

Manje kunendlu yaseLuthela ngoba wathi kufanele ahanjiswe khona apendwe abe abe mhlophe. Sathi uma sifika etsheni lesikhombisa kwaqhuma umfula wagcwala amanzi. Umfo kaMayekisa wabhabhadisa abantu.
Amen!

The above is an example of a narrative with the history of Church A. Narratives similar to this one are orally transmitted and as such they reside in the "collective memory" of the worshippers. Such narratives become a valuable frame of reference in sermon preparation.

Rev. Aaron of Church C, on the other hand, preached on forgiveness. He developed his sermon on experiences of forgiveness which were not only known to the members of the church, but were a personal experience for the Archbishop of the church and one which the preacher himself had personally witnessed.

4.5 The use of the existential context of the congregation in the preparation of a sermon

When the preachers prepare their sermons they draw also from the existential situation of their congregations. Mbiti (1986:53, 54) argues that the contemporary life of the congregation figures

prominently in preaching e.g. the example cited previously relating to everyday violence.

Rev. Aaron of Church C identified the need for forgiveness as an existential situation for his congregation. His homily was downright personal in its appeal:

In other words mother . . .
 here is a girl who was a
 prostitute. Alleluia!
 Alleluia! She was a
 prostitute over there. You
 know this girl she came
 from . . . Now this girl
 has accepted Christ! Now
 this girl has accepted
 Christ; but because you are
 in charge in church now
 before you preach you begin
 by saying even here in
 church there are
 prostitutes. Amen! You
 say this referring to that
 person who confessed her
 sins and the whole thing
 remained with you.
 Alleluia!
 Amen!

Ngemanye amazwi mama . . .
 Nansi intombazane
 eyayindinda. Alleluya!
 Alleluya! Wayendinda
 laphaya. Niyayazi
 lentombazena ivela . . .
 Manje lentombazana
 seyemukela uKristu! Manje
 kodwa ngoba wena uphetho
 ebandleni manje ngaphambi
 kokuba ushumayeke uqale uthi
 nalapha enkonzweni bakhona
 onondindwa. Amen! Ukusho
 lokho uqonde lomuntu
 osewavuma izono zakhe yonke
 into yasala kuwe. Alleluya!
 Amen!

In the example cited above the preacher raises a pertinent social issue viz. prostitution. One of the contributory factors being unemployment. The preacher's concern which underpins his homily is the need for forgiveness for people who confess their sins and turn to Jesus. Society, however, does not forgive easily, and their forgiveness does not obliterate past sin. The preacher pleads for forgiveness, acceptance and the forgetting of the past.

In a different context Deacon Phillip of Church B preached his sermon a week after a member of the congregation had died in a train accident. The preacher used Acts 4:34-37 for a textual reference when he prepared his sermon. The theme of the sermon was mutual support, sharing and solidarity. Referring to the death that had occurred the preacher said:

Now brethren, as we meet here we are aware of the situation these days and especially that of this past week. I shall just put it. When things happen God has chosen one among us. The Lord be with you. Amen! I am sure that some of the brethren know about this. The Lord bless you. Amen!

Manje bazalwana njengoba sihlangene lapha-nje siyasazi isimo esikhona, ikakhulukazi esalelisonto eledlule. Ngizokubeka-nje lokho. Uma izinto zenzeka uNkulunkulu ukhethile omunye phakathi kwethu. Inkosi ibe nani. Amen! Ngineqiniso ukuthi abanye abazalwane bayazi ngalokhu. Inkosi inibusise. Amen!

The example cited above is an illustration of how the death of a member of the congregation provided the material on which the preacher developed his homily. For the whole congregation the tragedy was a painful experience, particularly because the dead member was on his way home from a church service when he met with an accident that cost his life.

In traditional communities the bereaved family is given moral support by the neighbours and relatives. The same experience is common as an existential situation among the members of Church C. The preachers use the existential situation in their sermons which is meant to appeal for unity, solidarity, pulling together and support for the leadership of the congregation.

Reference was made earlier to violence as an aspect of the setting in life of the congregation which was used by the

preachers in the preparation of their sermons. We cite here Preacher Job's sermon which was preached on a Saturday a week after the Inkatha Freedom Party had held a rally at the Princess Magogo stadium in Kwa Mashu to commemorate Shaka's day. Preacher Job is a preacher in Church A.

Just listen here let me tell you. If you should find yourself calling us to go to a certain gathering of Inkatha. Right! You are aware that here in Ekuphakameni there are those who are Inkatha, there are those who are ANC, there are those who are AZAPO, there are those who are SACP depending on their preference. When you are calling us to a particular organisation now that there are so many VIPs² here; there are highly educated people. There are lawyers, there are medical practitioners, there are all kinds of people. Some of these people are ANC, when you have called us to an Inkatha gathering, right we shall go there. When these other people write a letter³ requesting Mandela to come to some place in this neighbourhood will you be there to lead us there? You are the one who would have brought them together over there. Would you still be prepared to lead us to where we are called by this letter which shall have been written by those who are learned. You will have to lead us there.

Ake ulalela la ngikutshele. Uma uzithola usibiza uthi asiye embizweni yeNkatha. Kulungile! Uyazi yini ukuthi la Ekuphakameni kukhona abayiNkatha, kukhona abayi ANC, kukhona abayi AZAPO, kukhona abayi SACP, kuya ngokubona kwabo. Uma wena ususibizela enhlanganweni ethile, manje ngoba kunabantu ababalulekile kangaka lapha; kunabantu abafunde kakhulu. Kunabameli, kunodokotela, kukhona yonke inhlobo yabantu. Abanye balababantu bayi ANC. Uma ususibizela embizweni yeNkatha, kulungile sizoya. Uma lababantu abanye sebebhala incwadi bebiza uMandela ukuba eze kwenye indawo khona lapha uyobakhona ukusihola siye lapho? Uwena oyobe ubahlanganise lapho. Uyokwazi yini ukusihola usise lapho lencwadi yezifundiswa isibizela khona. Uyosihola usise lapho?

-
2. The members of some African indigenous churches, e.g. the Zionists, are illiterate and poor.
 3. Note that the writing of letters and ANC membership are associated with the educated members of the Church.

After that Sunday when you shall have led us to a political gathering the Nazarites will never have freedom of movement in the township and elsewhere. It will be said here - are those who are such and such. Why? Because of your failure to make a distinction . . .

Emva kwalelosonto oyobe usihole saya ngalo embizweni yepolitiki amaNazaretha awasayuphinde ahambe ngokukhululeka elokishini nakwezinye izindawo. Kuyothiwa nabalaba abawukuthi nokuthi. Ngani? Ngoba awehlukanisi ...

In the text cited above the preacher uses the second person "You" to refer to the leader and initiator of politicisation in the church. The preacher's concern is understandable because a number of tribal chiefs from all over Natal and Zululand worship in Ekuphakameni. There is also a commonly-held belief that most of the tribal chiefs are supported by or are members of Inkatha.

The other matter that comes out of the above situation is the value that the preacher places on "freedom of movement". Those who were interviewed argued that since the members of the church are found all over the country they would require freedom of movement so that they could attend services of worship. At the same time they place great value on freedom of worship i.e. "space" for worship where people would not be forced to become involved in politics.

In this chapter the notion of text was discussed. It emerged that for the purposes of this study the sermon would result from an interface between the written text, the oral text and the orally transmitted text. The sermon, however, is communicated as a

spoken text. Several sources were cited as the frame of reference for the preparation of the sermon. The preacher is the medium for the communication of the sermon. In the next chapter we shall consider how the "scaffolding" for the sermon is made.

CHAPTER 5

THE STANDARD SHAPE OF THE SERMON

In the previous chapter we established that a sermon is prepared. For that matter a sermon is structured. We also established that a sermon has the structure of an oral text. We considered the sources that influence the oral texture of the sermon. Our observation was that different sources set the broad parameters of a sermon within which a preacher forges a distinctive definitive structure of his own.

In this chapter I discuss the skeleton or the framing of a sermon. The concept skeleton is used in this study to refer to the frame of the sermon or the shape of the sermon. What we want to focus on in this chapter is the manner in which the sermon is "outlined" or shaped. Our observation on which this study is based revealed that in all the church groups that were studied the sermons adopted a format which provided for an introduction, a conclusion and an application of the instruction or teaching of the sermon. The manner in which the different parts of the sermon were handled, however, varied from church to church and from preacher to preacher.

5.1 The introduction

Three methods of introducing the sermon were identified. First, the preacher chose and introduced an appropriate hymn or chorus whose lyrics served to introduce the homily. In the second instance the introduction consisted of a description of a known

occurrence either in contemporary experience or something that had passed into church tradition. The majority of the preachers, however, began with the reading of the scriptures and the introduction that followed was based on the contents of the scriptural passage which had been read.

Preacher Micah of Church A was preaching on a windy Sabbath day, and because the temple was in the open air and the congregation experienced the wind he had the following to say:

I am sorry. The wind also as it blows is of heaven; it blows where it likes. Perhaps after this wind we shall again see something good since there is drought; it does not rain. But the word of the Lord says the wind blows where it likes but it does not know where it comes from.

Ngiyadabuka. Nomoya nawo njengoba uvunguza uvela ezulwini. Uphephetha lapha uthanda khona. Mhlawumbe emva kwalomoya sizobona futhi izinto ezinhle njengoba kunesomiso lingani. Kodwa izwi lenkosi lithi umoya uphephetha lapha uthanda khona kodwa awazi lapho uwela khona.

In the example cited above the preacher draws from the combined common experience of the wind and the drought and combines this common experience with the authority of God's word. The effect of an introduction similar to the one cited here is for the preacher to begin his sermon from where the people are.

The tendency for the preachers was to use the introduction to launch their sermons from a platform of shared and common-place knowledge. This was confirmed in the sermon of Elder Paul of Church B who read Amos 8:11-14 and then went on to say:

These words are not familiar to the bretheren; they are not familiar to me as well ... I am not a person who usually talks about unfamiliar words ... It has become our practice to read familiar words.

Lamazwi awejwayelekile kwbazalwana; awejwayelekile nakimi ... Angiyena umuntu ovame ukukhuluma ngamazwi angejwayelekile. ... Sekuwumkhuba wethu ukufunda amazwi ejwayelekile ...

The preacher whose introduction is cited here suggests that the sermon begins on familiar ground. The objective of beginning from shared and common-place knowledge as well as on familiar ground is to secure the foundation of the sermon and to ensure that there is consensus. Shared and common-place knowledge and familiar ground also ensure that the beginning is beyond negotiation or dispute. The upshot of such an introduction is the establishment of the authority of the preacher.

An unfamiliar feature was the presence of a "master of ceremonies" in Church C services of worship. It was the responsibility of the master of ceremonies to dispense with the worship preliminaries, e.g. announcing the hymns and choruses to be sung, making announcements, introducing the person assigned to open the word for the day, etc. The "master of ceremonies" used to be one of the ministers.

Those who were interviewed found that the presence of a "master of ceremonies" was essential for several reasons. My observation confirmed the reasons which I got from those who were interviewed. First, it is an accepted practice in Church C that any member of the congregation can open the word. The person who opens the word is "revealed" during the introductory or opening

prayer. It was the "master of ceremonies" who announced the person who would open the word. The "master of ceremonies" assures that interaction in the service of worship goes on. This he did by starting hymns and choruses and by taking the lead in the singing. In the second place when there were visitors, it was the "master of ceremonies" who introduced them to the congregation. Thirdly, when the congregation was given an opportunity to testify, it was the "master of ceremonies" who controlled the proceedings.

In Church B and in Church C "opening the word" has a special meaning. The idea is that the word "speaks for itself". All that the preacher should do is to open it. Testimonies were often centred on common texts. The person who preached first merely opened the word and provided, therefore, an opportunity for the others to testify. The notion of "opening the word" results in the giving of anthropomorphic status to Bible texts.

In a service of worship where Rev. Obed of Church C was a "master of ceremonies" and Rev. Aaron was assigned to preach, Rev. Obed made this preface:

Beloved, the main thing is that we should now get ready to receive the minister who is going to preach to us and give us the word of the Lord. We should open our ears to listen to the word of God because the main thing that is required is to obey. In everything one should listen carefully to God's word because time has run out. For a long time preaching has been done. Eh, it has always been explained that the one on the roof should not come down to fetch his belongings; the one in the fields should not return to take his garment; even the one who is holding a plough should hold on and look ahead and never look back ...

... When the word of God is read would you spare a moment for God. I am, therefore, going to hand over to the minister who will give us the word of God.

Bathandwa, into enkulu ukuba manje silungele ukwamukela umfundisi ozosishumayeza asinike izwi lenkosi. Kufanele sivule izindlebe zethu silalele izwi lenkosi ngoba into enkulu edingekayo ukuhlonipha. Kuyoyonke into umuntu kufanele alalelisisa izwi lika-Nkulunkulu ngoba isikhathi sesiphelile. Sekushunyayelwe isikhathi eside. Eh, kuchaziwe ukuthi ophezu kwendlu akayukwehla ukuzothatha okwakhe; osemasimini akangabuyi ukuzothatha ingubo yakhe; nalowo obambe igeja akabambelele njalo abheke phambili angabheki emuva ...

... Uma kufundwa izwi likaNkulunkulu ngicela uthathe umzuzu uwunikeze uNkulunkulu. Ngakhoke ngizonikezela kumfundisi ozosinika izwi likaNkulunkulu.

The example cited above suggests that the "master of ceremonies" provided a preface and an exhortation that gave an additional force to the preacher's introduction which, in the example cited above, was a biblical passage. The prefatory remarks of the "master of ceremonies" highlight the place of oratory in the context of the congregation. The purpose of oratory will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The other significance that I attach to the prefatory remarks similar to those cited above is the fact that the remarks emphasise the oral orientation and the oral character of the preacher and the congregation. Personal communication and person

to person contact are a quality of orality. The prefatory remarks as cited above gave additional force to the Bible passage and to the sermon that followed. The "master of ceremonies" in the above citation clearly appealed for unity of purpose.

This study revealed that 70% (21) of the studied sermons had a preface that was made before the Bible was read. This observation suggests that the coming together of the worshippers for a service of worship provides an opportunity for those leading the service to select an issue from what they perceive as the communal concerns that affect the worshippers.

In 30% (9) of the studied sermons the preacher began by reading from the Bible without any preface. This usually followed an opening hymn or prayer which included the Lords Prayer (all groups), the Apostles' Creed (Church C) or another hymn. The preacher would first announce the Bible passage to be read and then he or another member of the congregation read the Bible passage.

The preachers who were interviewed said that the passages they read were "revealed to them". Two preachers in Church C suggested that the passages had been "revealed" to them during the course of the week preceding the Sundays on which they preached. One informant suggested that when the person who is to open the word is "revealed" the revelation of the scripture passage to be used is simultaneously revealed. The idea of the "revelation" of the Bible passage that is used in a service of

worship is in opposition to the preacher's admission of preparation of the sermons (cf Kiernan, 1976: 346-347).

5.2 The conclusion

This study revealed that the sermons have a conclusion which reinforces the message of the sermon. The conclusion is usually brief. Preacher Noah of Church A concluded his sermon on the subject of the divinity of Shembe, which he based on Matt. 11:1-6, as follows:

"In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, that is Shembe, stand up and go." A-a-men! Tell us who is going to challenge you because you have cited this from the scriptures. What is bad is for you to talk with your mouth without any knowledge of him. I know you do not know where Shembe is written in the Bible. Only when a person challenges you then you start saying ...[stammering]. The people are now saying that the Nazarites carry a stick with which to hit people ... You say, "I am going to hit you: Shembe is God". Do not do that. Open the scriptures. Shembe is written because Shembe is written.

"Egameni lika Jesu Kristu waseNazaretha, sukuma uhambe. A a men! Ake usitshela ubani ongakuphikisa ngoba usho okusemibhalweni. Into embi ukuba wena ukhulume ngomlomo ungenalo ulwazi lwakhe. Ngiyazi ukuthi awazi ukuthi uShembe ubhalwephi eBhayibheleni. Uma umuntu ekubuza ube usuqala uthi ... [ungingiza]. Abantu manje bathi AmaNazaretha aphatha induku ashaya ngayo abantu ... Uthi, "Ngizokushaya: uShembe uNkulunkulu". Musa ukwenza lokho. Vula imibhalo. uShembe ubhaliwe ngoba uShembe ubhaliwe.

In the example that I have cited here there are several things that the preacher summarises in his conclusion: (a) Shembe is God; (b) Adequate information about Shembe is necessary for convincing people about the divinity of Shembe; (c) The source of knowledge about Shembe is the scriptures; (d) A thorough

knowledge of "what the Bible says about Shembe is necessary for an unassailably proclamation of the divinity of Shembe".

In the passage cited above the preacher emphasised the authority of the written scriptures as a basis for the proclamation of the works of Shembe. The value of reading is emphasised in spite of the fact that the majority of the worshippers are believed to be illiterate traditionalists. The ability to read and the knowledge of the scriptures become a new "weapon" for the defence of communally held values and beliefs. In that case the ability to read and the knowledge of the scriptures replace the use of the stick as an instrument for defence.

Elder Paul of Church B concluded his sermon on the need to "reside in Jesus so that there would be no hunger for his word", (Amos 8:11-14) as follows:

Let us rise to the Lord
brethren. Let us not fear
death. But let us rise to
God brethren. Let us not be
afraid of death. But let us
rise to God. Our fear of
death is caused by our
concern that we might not
rise. The Lord be with you.
We might not rise on the
other side. God bless you.

Asivukele kuNkulunku
bazalwana. Asingesabi ukufa.
Kodwa asivukele kuNkulunkulu.
Asingesabi ukufa. Kodwa
asivukele kuNkulunkulu.
Ukwesaba kwethu ukufa
kwenziwa ukwesaba ukuthi
singeke sivuke. Inkosi ibe
nani. Sesaba ukuthi angeke
sivuke ngale. Inkosi
inibusise.

These are the words, brethren
with which I plead with God
because it is my desire to be
in His care and also that I
should hold on until the last
days.

Yilamazwi, bazalwana engicela
kuNkulunkulu ngawo.
Kuyisifiso sami ukuba
ngiphathwe nguye futhi
ngibambele kuze kube izinsuku
zokugcina.

The above conclusion reinforces the basic message of Church B viz that the believers are not of the world, they should live in Christ. The consequences of being "not of the world" is "death" i.e. life that is deprived of all the excitement. The preacher suggests, however, that those who are in Christ should not fear death because they shall rise from death.

Arch-bishop Moses of Church C concluded his sermon which was based on Philippians, 3:1 ff and in which he appeals to the worshippers to differentiate what is proper for the Christians from what is not proper, as follows:

Yet Jesus, brethren, did not come for the lust of the people; or for their lies. He came to make the people to be glorified in him so that we could be wrapped up in his holiness, understanding, obedience, goodness, patience; it was not meant that we should cover ourselves with those things which are used by the people, as the word says watch out. The Lord bless you. Amen.

Kodwa uJesu bazalwana akezanga ezinkanukweni zabantu, emangeni abo. Weza ukuze bakhazimuliswe kuye sembathiswe ubungcwele bakhe, ukuqonda, ukulalela, ukulunga, ukubekezela; hayi ukwembatha lezozinto ezisetshenziswa ngabantu, njengoba lithi izwi qaphelani. Inkosi inibusise. Amen.

In the conclusion cited above the preacher reinforced the basic teaching of Church C i.e. the Christians should transform the world. When the believers triumph over the lust of the flesh they overcome the world and glorify Christ.

5.3 The application of sermons to people's lives

When this study was planned it was assumed that the skeleton of the sermon would include an exegesis. My understanding of exegesis suggests an exploration of the inherent sense of the meaning of a passage. In order to arrive at the inherent meaning of the passage it would be necessary to delve into the background of the passage e.g. the authorship, the context that prompted the writing of the passage, etc.

This study revealed, however, that the preaching in the churches that were observed did not involve any exegesis. Our observation was that scripture passages were simply applied to the worshippers' daily lives. In other words, this study revealed that the injunctions of the Bible were applied to everyday life. Alternatively the Bible injunctions were used to reinforce the beliefs of the church.

Arch-bishop Moses of Church C preached on what Paul said about his conversion (Philippians 3:1ff). The preacher's message was aimed at calling upon the worshippers to throw away those things that they once considered worthwhile e.g. belief in the ancestors and belief in the use of magic. The preacher applied his message to a situation that he had observed:

We once went to a minister's house. A horn hung from the ceiling inside the house. We asked the minister [our host] to report the service to his ancestors because it was obvious that all his affairs were first reported to the 'old ones' of his house. Amen. We went to this man's house; it is not far from here ... There was this big horn which had beads that moved inside it. We said kneel fellow and talk to them. I heard different tongues which I have never heard before: "hari, hari, kuri, hari, kuri, hari, kuri ...!" I was surprised and I said, "... people I have never seen this thing..." I then said we go through very difficult places. Today God helped us and told us to come here. We entered and we saw ... inside a believer's house, mind you ... these then are what Jesus calls the wicked men. They want to cut you and make their mark on your flesh.

Sake saya emzini womunye umfundisi. Kwakunophondo okwalulenga emshayweni ngaphakathi endlini. Sathi umfundisi [esize kwakhe] akabike inkonzo kwabakubo "abadala" ngoba kwakubonakala ukuthi izinto zakhe ziqale zibikwe "kwabadala" bakulomuzi. Amen! Saya kulomuzi; awukude nalapha ... kwakukhona loluphondo olukhulu olwalunobuhlalu phakathi obabunyakaza. Sathi guqa ndoda ukhulume nabo. Ngezwa izilimi ezehlukene engingakaze ngizizwe: "hari, hari; kuri, hari; kuri, hari, kuri ...!" Ngamangala, ngathi, "... hai bantu angikaze ngikubone lokhu. ..." Ngase ngithi sidlula ezindaweni ezinzima. Namhlanje uNkulunkulu usisizile wathi asize lapha. Sangena sabona ... phakathi endlini yekholwa belu ... Yibo laba uJesu athi izisebenzi ezimbi. Bafuna ukunisika benze uphawu lwabo enyameni yenu.

In the above example the preacher contextualised Paul's message to a contemporary personal experience. The preacher related the Bible text to what was happening among some church leaders.

In another sermon in Church B Preacher John whose Bible text was from Jude 1:17-20 the application of his sermon was related to the manner in which those who followed Jesus were scoffed at:

It is like that among us brethren; we who believe and who follow Jesus. When we are in the company of non-believers we deny that which we do. When we attend feasts (parties); when we say we do not eat this and that you often see people nudging one another and saying what is he/she trying to tell us ...

Kunjalo nakithi bazalwana; thina esikholwayo esingabalandeli baka Jesu. Uma siphakathi kwabantu abangakholwa siyakuphika lokho esikwenzayo. Uma siye emadilini (imisebenzi) uma sithi asikudli lokhu nalokhuya uye ubone abantu beqhwebana bethi uzama ukusitshela ukuthini ...

What the preacher is saying in the example cited here is that the time suggested in Jude 1:17-20 has come: "... in the last times there would come these scoffers ...". The message of the preacher's sermon emphasises Jude's appeal: "But you ... must build up your lives ever more strongly upon the foundations of your faith ..." The preacher's appeal is addressed to the people who understand and some of whom have been scoffed at because of their faith. The effect of the appeal is the encouragement of a life based on faith, and also the inculcation of a God-fearing life.

In Church A preacher Noah referred to a contemporary incident to emphasise the divinity of Shembe:

... yesterday Bishop ... came from America. He was at Ebuhleni in July ... He said I am surprised that the people here are wanting to go overseas. As I am here some people have come to me requesting that I should take them with me. He says I asked them what they wanted overseas leaving God because this is God. He says the people of Africa are not aware; they do not recognise God who is among them ...

... I asked him who is God - I wanted to make sure so that I could choose the Lord. He said it is Shembe ... He is God; no other God would ever appear ...

... izolo kufike uBishop ... evela e Melika. Wayelapha eBuhleni ngo July ... Wathi ngiyamangala ukuthi abantu lapha bafuna ukuya phesheya. Njengoba ngila abanye beze kimi bezocela ukuba ngihambe nabo. Uthi ngababuza ukuthi bayofunani phesheya beshiya uNkulunkulu ngoba nangu uNkulunkulu. uthi abantu base Africa ababoni; abambomi uNkulunkulu ophakathi kwabo.

... Ngambuza ngathi ubani uNkulunkulu - ngangifuna ukuqiniseka ukuze ngikhethe inkosi. Wathi uShembe ... UnguNkulunkulu; akekho omunye uNkulunkulu oyophinde avele.

We have a situation here where an incident that took place and which was known to most of the worshippers i.e. the visit of an American bishop, was used to emphasise the contextualisation of the Biblical truths. The example cited above gave additional legitimacy to the application of the truths that were read from the Bible.

In their messages the preachers whose sermons were observed did not attach any significance to the Biblical symbolism. There was a literal interpretation of the Biblical passages. The literal interpretation of the Bible passages enabled the preachers to substitute their experiences for those of the Biblical characters e.g. it was Shembe to whom John the Baptist sent his disciples to find out if he was the messiah; and the first Christians in the

early church were "Christ's Apostles" i.e. the forerunners of Church B.

The study also discovered that the Bible was literally seen as the word of God. The people who were interviewed were emphatic in their belief that the Bible is God's word and that it came directly from God. When those who were interviewed were pressed on this, the response was not very clear except that some people argued that God gave everything to Moses to write down, whilst others felt that the New Testament was written under the guidance of Jesus.

The tendency which was observed among the preachers whose sermons were studied was to let the Bible passage "speak" to the listeners e.g. "Exodus says ..." (U Eksodusi uthi ...); "Luke says ..." (Uthi uLuka ...); "Genesis says ..." (uGenesisi uthi ...). The preacher merely facilitated the "speaking" of the Bible passage. The upshot of such a tendency was the deification and the personification of Bible passages. The anthropomorphic status that was given to the Bible passages was an equivalent of 'the Spirit tells us ...'. According to belief, the presumption is that God is speaking in these instances.

In the application of the message of the sermon the study found that the preachers use illustrations e.g. narratives to emphasise the truths which are read from the scriptures. Such a practice was found to be very popular among Church A preachers. In the next chapter attention will be given to the linguistic form of

narratives that are used for the purpose of illustrating Bible truths.

In this chapter we concerned ourselves with the framing of the sermon. Our conclusion is that the preachers in the churches that were observed presented sermons which were framed so that each sermon had an introduction, a conclusion and an application. In the next chapter we shall consider the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged.

CHAPTER 6**THE STRUCTURALIST FORM OF THE SERMON**

In Chapter 5 it was recognised that the sermon is shaped in such a way that it has an outline. The sermon outline, however, develops around the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged. At closer scrutiny the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged reveals the message of the sermon.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged. In order to achieve the objective of this chapter narratives in the sermons will be identified for the purpose of analysing them. In order to arrive at a relevant method of analysis some line of discussion of the theory of narrative analysis will be made. That will be followed by the selection of a narrative in one sermon from the observed churches. The narrative shall then be analysed in order to arrive at its message.

Andersson (1968: 74) maintains that the aim of a sermon is to evangelise and instruct so that the believers are empowered to fulfil satisfactorily their mission in the world. This study revealed that the preaching event is an opportunity for teaching. This study revealed also that through preaching the church passes on its beliefs, its philosophy and its practices. The passing on of the traditions of the church is made possible by the fact that the worshippers are made to be emotionally involved with the preacher in the preaching event. Preachers made use of narratives

to secure the emotional involvement of all those who participated in the preaching event. Narratives, as texts, have an immanent structure which is revealed through analysis.

Calloud (1976: 3, 4) suggests that "the analysis of narrative begins with a text that may be readable and yet hides the rules of the game. It ends when a system or an immanent structure is brought to light". When narrative is analysed it emerges that a text has units that can be classified, the rules for the combination of units and "meaning effects". In structural analysis the focus is on the morpho-syntactic structures.

According to Diaz (n.d.: 206) to be structural the text system should be relational. The suggestion here is that everything in the text should be defined in terms of relation. The relational status of the units of the text are revealed when a text is considered in terms of its morphology. The relational status of the units of the text and the participation in an endless network of correlations suggests that something happens in the text. According to Diaz (n.d.: 207) logical operations take place in the text and these logical operations are revealed through analysis.

Diaz (n.d.: 207) discusses the "pre-visioning" of a text which takes place after reading it. This results in the establishment of the "meaning" of the text. The establishment of the meaning of a text is made possible by the use of what Calloud (1976: 12) calls the "lexies" i.e. the units of reading. Diaz (n.d.: 208)

suggests that the next stage after the establishment of meaning is that of expanding the condensed sections of the text as well as that of converting statements into their active form. The result would be the identification of actors and processes and also what is happening in the text.

Calloud (1976: 14) refers to canonic narrative statements i.e. "the minimal formal framework in which the basic elements of the narrative grammar can be manifested and interrelated". Diaz (n.d.: 209) suggests that canonic statements could be seen as "a model and generator of a great number of concrete linguistic statements". Consequently actors can be reduced to "actorial roles" and processes can be reduced to functions and qualifications (Diaz n.d.: 211). According to Calloud (1976: 20) the reduction of processes and actors results in the establishment of constants i.e. classes and "residues". The availability of the constants makes possible the interpretation of modalities and transformations (cf Calloud, 1976:21).

After identifying the canonic statements, Calloud (1976) goes on to identify the canonic syntagms. Canonic syntagms are made possible by the fact that narrative statements form a chain on the basis of relations that are predetermined by the rules of combination. (Diaz n.d.: 213) refers to the following syntagms: contractual syntagms, dysfunctional syntagms and performancial syntagms. (Diaz n.d.: 214) suggests that Propp's "villany" belongs to the performancial syntagm. Diaz (n.d.: 214), citing Greima's reinterpretation of Propp's analysis of Russian folktales suggests that there was a recognition on the part of

Greima that the Russian folktales "were built on the paradigm of three sequences of three syntagms" mentioned here. Consequently Diaz argues that Greima described each sequence as a "test". Three "tests" were, therefore, identified viz. the "qualifying test for the communication of vigour", the "main test for the communication of value" and the "clarifying test for the communication of the message".

Calloud's approach to narrative analysis, therefore, recognised that within narrative there are three types of syntagms. Since these syntagms constitute a narrative they are described by (Diaz n.d.: 214) as:

the establishment of the problem within the problematic, the organising to deal with the matter, the resolution of the matter.

In narrative analysis it becomes necessary, therefore, to look for the occurrence of performancial syntagms in succession and in hierarchy (Diaz n.d.: 215). At the same time the actors in the narrative are further generalised into "actants". According to Calloud (1976: 26) it is essential to deconstruct the natural and holistic character of the actor in order to reveal the relational truths.

The method of analysing Zulu folktales has been adapted from Propp's (1968) theory of analysing the Russian folktale. Propp developed concepts which are used in the analysis of folktales. In the first place "functions" refer to the "constant, basic components of a narrative". Function "defines" an act of a character and its significance for the course of action. In

narratives "functions" have sequences. In the second place there is a "move" i.e. a complete story. A story, according to Propp, can have several moves.

Canonici (1985: 120), drawing insights from the research of Oosthuizen (1977) and Cope (1978), came up with a model that is applicable to Zulu folktales. Propp's (1968) model was found to be inappropriate for application to the Zulu folktales because of cultural considerations and also because of differences in linguistic patterns (Canonici, 1988: 4).

The use of narratives in some of the sermons that were studied suggests that the method of narrative analysis could be used to reveal the linguistic patterns as well as the message of the sermons. Canonici (1985; 1988) developed a system of functions, sequences and moves that are applicable to the analysis of the sermons that were examined for the purposes of this study. The applicability of Canonici's model is illustrated below. A narrative to which Canonici's model is applied is taken from Preacher Noah's sermon. Preacher Noah of Church A based his sermon on Matthew 11:1-6. The sermon narrative is analysed according to the sequences and functions which Canonici found applicable to Zulu folktales:¹

¹. The frequency of narratives in the sermons was as follows:

Church A, 58 narratives in 12 sermon texts;
 Church B, 1 narrative in 10 sermon texts;
 Church C, 4 narratives in 8 sermon texts.

TABLE 2: Narrative analysis

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
Lack	1. INITIAL SITUATION On this particular day [Shembe] did not retire into the house then at - . He simply entered the house, prayed and returned to stand by the door.	58	1	4
	2. LACK I touched the minister and said ... "Does it mean that we shall not get time to sit down and eat. Aren't we going to put up our tents?" [Shembe] then shouted: "--, where are the people. I can't see them: where are the people?"	58	1	4
	3. LACK LIQUIDATED Incidentally there was something he was sensing. He did not want to make it obvious and say where is the person I am expecting. ... Some people emerged from the gate of the trees ...	58	-	2

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
OBEDIENCE /VIOLENCE	4. ABSENTISM There appeared people carrying a "stiff women", -- ... The woman said no there are no people: the only people are ourselves. We have brought this woman who has been ill for a long time and she has spent a long time in hospital ... there she has just been keeping to one place and waiting for death ..."	58	1	4
	5. INTERDICTION/COMMAND "Yes you have brought her here now to the Lord". "Yes", they replied, "We have brought her to the Lord". (Shembe asked saying) "What is this you are bringing to me?" We said, "It is a human being father".	46	1	2
	6. VIOLATION There at EMseleni was a man from Johannesburg who had arrived with evangelist -. His surname was ... This man had been sent to find out what Shembe was doing. This man had told evangelist - and said, "You see you people are not well. Your heads are not well at all. You follow a person. I want to go and find out what he does. Why do you follow him: what does he have?	48	1	2

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
CHASE	7. CONSEQUENCE The hairy-faced one said bring her over here. She was made to lie down next to the hairy-faced one. He said bring her closer. She was brought closer. "Bring those crutches here". They were brought to him ...	58	1	4
	8. VILLAINY - the great spy is there watching. He was watching. He wanted to see clearly. She had opened his eyes wide (evangelist) has not told us anything - (evangelist) is quiet. I suspect he was praying saying my God help and let - see.	58	-	4
	9. FLIGHT The hairy-faced one then said, "leave her alone, pick up everything" ... "Get away all of you".	58	-	4
	10. PURSUIT He then said, "You listen here. Today you are going to stand up". He then said to her: "Listen here, today you are going to stand up". He then said to her: "Listen here, today you are going t stand up. You say you have been to all the hospitals!" She responded in a faitn hoarse voice, "Father, yes father". He then said, "Today you have reached the end; you are going to stand up".	58	1	4

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
	<p>11. CAPTURE</p> <p>Likewise he said to her, "You rise up today. Hey you stand up. Stand up! ... Now you stand up!" ... She stood up straight. A a men. The hairy-faced one remained quiet ... he smiled. He smiled. There is a place, I don't know if the people who usually go there noticed it. His suppressed smile is the winding of the spirit. He picks up the connections, it is like a current. He receives the connections from the owners. They are in tune with him ... She stood up. He then said listen now, you may go.</p>	8	-	3
	<p>12. DELAY/PLOY</p> <p>The Lord, the Sun, one day says this there at Ekuphakameni ... He quietly looked at us one day. I want to warn you there. He then said one day ... "Hey Nazarites, this dagga you smoke is going to be finished ... He looked at us with contempt. After looking at us he said to us: "Hey you, this dagga that you smoke is going to be finished". We said the father says that there is someone who smokes dagga. He said: "It is going to be finished. I can see you smoke".</p>	27	-	1
	<p>13. ESCAPE/RESCUE</p> <p>- (she) went. They threw away the water. She was now walking on her own.</p>	58	-	4

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
CONTRARY RESULT/ FALSE FRIEND- SHIP/ TRICKSTER FALSE FRIEND- SHIP	14. CHALLENGE	46	1	2
	She said I want to go to the tents and fetch the water myself			
	15. DECEIT/VIOLATION	20	-	3
	16. DECEPTION/FRAUD	20	-	1
	17. DEFEAT/DISCOVERY	58	-	4
	She went there and fetched the water. She returned carrying the water in her own hands. She came.			
	18. GLOAT	20	1	1
	19 TRIUMPH/BOAST	58	-	-
	She returned walking jubilantly saying, "It is I my Lord. Is this myself! What is happening to me?"			
	RETURN	20. UNRECOGNISED ARRIVAL	50	-
At that time - (the spy) just gaped. He gaped for a long time. When he started he came back. He went and stood near the table. He stood at attention ...				
	21. HERO'S RECOGNITION	58	-	4
(The spy) then said, "Lord of lords," he began, "my presence here ... Lord of lords ..." People should note what (the spy) did. (He) said, "Lord of Lords, I saw you; you have discovered me because as I stand here I have been here to spy on you".				

SEQUENCES	FUNCTIONS	FREQUENCY IN SERMONS		
		CHURCH		
		A	B	C
VILLAIN'S END	22. VILLAIN EXPOSED (The spy) said, "I saw everything about you. You are God who cannot be disturbed".	58	-	3
REWARD	23. VILLAIN PUNISHED (The spy) stood at the table with a gesture of respect. 24. REWARD What is it that troubles us? What is it that troubles us and causes us to choke up and also to waver? Where do we get lost because our affair is right? It is this that troubled John. It was Shembe who was surrounded by the people there. A a men.	50	-	3

In presenting the example that has been cited above Canonici's sequences and functions were followed closely. The analysis which has been made above shows the extent to which Canonici's sequences had functions are applicable to a narrative that formed part of one of the sermons that were recorded. At the same time the presentation made here indicates the frequency with which the various sequences and functions appear in the rest of the sermons that were recorded.

From the example analysed above there is the heroic creation which has a specific role in the church concerned. The "hero" of the narrative is the focus of the preaching and as such he becomes a "trickster". According to Roberts (1989: 221):

... the terms trickster and badman are not value judgements but rather descriptions of folk heroes whose characteristic behaviours have historically and traditionally served as models of and for behaviour.

The centrality of the "hero" in the narrative has the effect of "firing the imagination" of the worshippers and the result is the emotional involvement through which the preacher's sermon and its message are brought home to the worshippers.

The sermon text that has been analysed above suggests another dimension regarding the focus of control in Church A. Shembe is undoubtedly the focal point of beliefs and rituals. Consequently in the minds of the worshippers his position is that of a god. In the text which is analysed above it was Shembe who was healing people and who was surrounded by the people. Ma- (sick woman) is an extension of that society that Jesus (Shembe) healed. The effect of the sermon text is to encourage the worshippers to focus on Shembe as the centre of the ideal community.

In spite of the fact that the available sermons from Church B do not readily lend themselves to the Canonici model of analysis, there is nonetheless, a very clear message that runs through those sermons. Whilst the church is conscious of "being in the world", the teaching of the church, however, seeks to encourage the worshippers to know that they are "not of the world". For the

Church B worshippers it is a question of living and working in response to the demands of this life, but at the same time the worshippers are ready for the time when they will leave this world. This message is ably conveyed in the sermon of Preacher Mark of Church B who based his sermon on Matthew 24: 42-44:

The word says he prepared because you do not know the day when your Lord will return. It says a person would be prepared. Even when the world goes this way and that way; even when things happen in front of our eyes; it says you should be prepared ... He does not address himself to everybody in the world. The word addresses itself to the Church of Christ (Christ's Apostles). This is addressed to the church that agreed that it now follows the Lord the forgiver.

... This is the word he has sent me to preach. May it happen that when our Lord returns we might be out of violence in which we are now involved. Let us not be forced out of the gospel by the violence and let us not find ourselves saying the toyi toyi.

Lithi izwi lindani ngoba anisazi isikhathi/usuku inkosi eyobuya ngalo. Lithi umuntu kufanele alunge. Noma umhlaba uya ngapha nangapha; noma izinto zenzeka phambi kwamehlo ethu; lithi kufanele ulinde. Akasho kubo bonke abantu emhlabeni. Izwi likhuluma nebandla lika Krestu (Christ's Apostles). Lokhu kubhekiswe ebandleni elavuma ukuthi manje selilandela inkosi umthetheleli.

... Yilo leli izwi angithume ukuthi ngilishumaye. Sengathi uma inkosi yethu ibuya singabe siphumile odlameni esikulo manje. Asingakhishwa udlame evangelini (gospel) sizithole sesisho i toyi toyi. ✓

From the text cited above the preacher conveys very clearly what is expected of the Church B worshippers. The "word" and the Bible passage are very specific with regard to their thrust, they are meant for those who "agreed to follow the Lord the forgiver". This message is rooted in what might be called the "Magna Carta" of the church. Preacher John of Church B conveyed this notion in

his sermon which was based on Jude 1: 17-20, and which contained a "communicable charisma" (Cf Gerloff, 1991: 208). In the Book of Jude this "communicable charisma" is put as follows:

... remember what the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ told you, ...

But you, dear friends, must build up your lives ever more strongly upon the foundations of your holy faith, learning to pray in power and strength of the Holy Spirit (Jude 1: 17, 20).

The idea which is expressed in the passage cited here underpinned the preparation and the communication of the sermons of the preachers in Church B. In the sermons that were studied there is no use of narratives like in Church A.

The message in Church C is contained in prophetic preaching. The prophetic preaching of Church C challenges the worshippers to put up with whatever comes their way. The message suggests that through collective effort and co-operation the believers would be able to withstand the pressure of human nature and also that of the world. The theme that is basic to Church C preaching is: "With divine help we shall overcome". The central message of Church C is conveyed in Rev. Aaron's preaching. In a sermon based on Matthew 6: 12 he had the following to say:

You might be a wonderful preacher brother; your preaching might move people and move the mountains and the cliffs. You might help the people by giving them money, and support them with many things; or you might be highly educated; but if your heart is devoid of forgiveness, God will not let you escape punishment ...

The Archbishop, full of the spirit says, "Hey, I forgive you. God called my son through you". ... All of us, the ministers, as well as - were there sitting under the tree ... Amen. "But God wanted to take him in this manner". Amen!

Or a person coming to a faithful pastor to ask for forgiveness ...

Ungaba umshumayeli obalulekile mzalwana; ukushumayela kwakho kunganyakazisa abantu, nezintaba namawa. Ungasiza abantu, ngokubapha imali, ubaxhase ngezinto eziningi; noma ungafunda kakhulu; kodwa umu inhliziyo yakho ingenayo intethelelo, uNkulunkulu akayikukuyeka ukukujezisa ... U-Archbishop, egcwele umoya, uthi, "Hey ngiyakuthethelela. UNkulunkulu ubize indodana yami ngawe. "... Sonke thina befundisi no - sasikhona sihlezi lapha phansi kwesihlahla ... Amen. "Kodwa uNkulunkulu ubefuna ukumthatha ngalendlela." Amen!

O umuntu eze kumfundisi othembekile ezocela intethelelo ...

In the example cited here the preacher was downright challenging in his interaction with the congregation. The use of people's names and the constant reference to incidences affecting the worshippers indicated intimate and close relationship. At the same time the strong tone and the consistency of the preacher's warning against failure to forgive indicated the prophetic nature of the message.

In Church C narratives were used as part of the sermons. The narratives, however, related events that were still known to most of the worshippers. The use of narratives in Church C was, however, not as extensive as in Church A. One is led to conclude that the method of the oral tradition narrative is widely used by

the Church A preachers and in that Church the method has the effect of helping the worshippers to acknowledge not only their dependence on Shembe, but also the divinity of Shembe.

In this chapter, the internal form of the sermons was discussed. A structural analysis model was used to reveal the scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts of the sermon are arranged. From the structuralist analysis of the sermon it emerged that each sermon conveys a message. The nature and the design of the message depend on the over-arching beliefs, philosophy and practices of each church group; and in each church group these varied from preacher to preacher. The discussions, however, revealed the basic message of each of the church groups that were identified for the purpose of this study. It now remains to be seen how the preacher and the congregation interact during the preaching moment. The presentation of the sermon by the preacher and the response of the congregation will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7**THE PERFORMANCE ASPECT OF THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD**

In the previous chapter we saw that the sermon has a skeleton or a framework which is a scaffolding upon which the linguistic parts are arranged. The ministry of the word, however, reaches a climax in a performance context. Abbey (MCMLXXIII:85) argues that when the words are forged into a message embodied in a convincing person the result is a powerful medium. Consequently in preaching the personality of the preacher interacts with a live congregation who, themselves, participate actively in the preaching event. The interaction between the preacher and the congregation establishes a context where a sermon is presented and a response is generated.

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the extent to which the ministry of the word in the African indigenous church finds expression in performance. In order to achieve the objective of this chapter it will be advisable to begin by focusing on the relationship between preaching and public oratory. The second aspect that will be dealt with in this chapter focuses on the preacher's delivery techniques. The third section of this chapter will deal with the participatory role of the congregation and especially the extent to which the response of the congregation facilitates the actualization of preaching.

7.1 Preaching and public oratory

That preaching in the African indigenous churches is an oral discourse cannot be overstated. Through language and other supportive techniques e.g. gestures, the preacher sets the tone and provides direction in a preaching situation (cf. Lasswell, et al., 1949:34,4). Whilst the Bible and the religious position of the preacher are important in establishing the authority of what the preacher communicates, it is the language that is an important vehicle for that which is communicated. The manner in which the preacher uses language says a lot about his personality as Lasswell et al, (1949:5) observe:

... the status of our personality as a whole is involved in a flow of verbal deference from the environment ...

The dictionary meaning of oratory puts emphasis on eloquence in speaking. Oratory finds expression in the context of an audience. Lasswell (1949) and Bloch (1975) are in agreement that oratory serves certain specific purposes one of which is that of exercising power or that of changing the thinking and the activity of the audience. Firth (1975) adds that oratory has to do with relationship among people where choices are challenged and implemented by coercion.

Firth's (1975) classification of oratory has special relevance for the ministry of the word in the African indigenous churches. When oratory reinforces, in moral terms, what is already known, it is homiletic. The homiletic nature of preaching was revealed in the sermons of the preachers of Church A in particular. When

oratory puts feeling into the spoken word it is expressive. The expressive nature of oratory was revealed, for example, when Rev. Aaron of Church C gave an account of the situation when Archbishop X lost his son in a bus accident. In spite of the loss and the hurt the Archbishop decided to forgive the person who had been driving the bus that cost the life of the Archbishop's son. Oratory is persuasive when it induces action. The best examples of persuasive preaching could be found in Church B where Deacon Phillip persuaded the congregation to pull together and also in Church C when Rev. Aaron persuaded the congregation to learn to forgive. Otherwise most of the sermons that were recorded revealed the informative nature of oratory in that they dealt with the beliefs, the philosophy and the practices of the different church groups. At the same time the sermons focused on pronouncements on matters of collective responsibility and community policy.

7.2 The preacher's craft and style

The basic argument in this study is that preaching in the African indigenous churches belongs to the genre of oral literature. Mutswairo (1978:83), basing his argument on Finnegan (1970:1) defines oral literature as being:

... transmitted orally by a performer to a live audience forming an integral part of its rendition as a creative work of art whose existence is a produce and a function of time.

The preachers whose sermons were studied and analysed qualify for the definition of performer. The sermons were the preachers' own improvisations and compositions. For the sermons to appeal to

the listeners, however, each preacher used creativity in the delivery of the sermons. According to Finnegan (1970:3) creative work resides in the performer's:

... expressiveness of tone, gesture, facial expression, dramatic use of pause and rhythm, the interplay of passion, dignity, or humour, receptivity to the reactions of the audience ...

This study revealed that the preachers whose sermons were recorded composed their sermons spontaneously and did not use any notes in the presentation of their sermons.¹ This observation is of great significance because the preachers who were interviewed, with the exception of the ministers, were emphatic in that they did not have an opportunity to compose their sermons in advance. Some of them were only "appointed" to preach at the services where they delivered sermons.

The spontaneous composition of the sermon, and particularly the fact that sermons were not based on any notes make the sermon texts to end up as "winged words". It is, however, the context i.e. the congregation that makes the spoken word to have lasting value. In the context of the congregation the sermon text finds meaning, relevance and permanence. For this to happen the preacher employs delivery techniques.

Frazier and Lincoln (1974:24) writing from the Afro-American religious experience argue that the preacher's effectivity

¹ Rosenberg (1970) arrived at the same conclusion after studying "field-testing", A.B. Lord's hypotheses. Rosenberg's article: "The formulaic quality of spontaneous sermons", provided valuable insights for the present study.

resided in his ability and capacity to dramatise the stories of the Bible as well as to interpret the characters and incidents of the Bible in terms of the experience of the congregation.

In the African indigenous churches that were identified for the purposes of this study the preachers did not only dramatise the stories of the Bible, but they also interpreted the Bible characters and Bible incidents in terms of the experiences of their own congregations. Preacher Micah of Church A, for instance, preached on the divinity of Shembe "who was there before the creation".

If you are left alone because you insist that Adam was the first to be created, you do not even dream as to who slaughtered and flayed those skins. Today we are made aware that it was Shembe, Amen.

When Shembe mentions this he says, "It was I who created him my children. I was when I was this and that, until when I had become that, I became that. I was there when you killed Jesus Christ the Son of Heaven." Shembe says, "you were killing me".

Uma usele wedwa ngoba uphikelela ukuthi uAdamu wadalwa kuqala, awuphuphi nakuphupha ukuthi ubani owahlaba wahlinza lezosi khumba. Namhlanje siyatshelwa ukuthi uShembe. Amen.

Uma uShembe esho lokhu uthi, "Bantabami, ngamdala mina. Ngangikhona ngisabizwa ngokuthi ngingukuthi, kwaze kwathi sengingukuthi ngaze ngawukuthi. Ngangikhona mhla nibulala uJesu Kristu inDodana Yasezulwini". UShembe uthi "nanibulala mina".

The text cited above indicates that for the Church A congregants Shembe is the beginning of all things. He created Adam. The incident when Adam and Eve covered themselves with skins was overseen by Shembe. It was Shembe who skinned those animals whose skins were used - because he had been there before

creation. As the "Son of Heaven" he was crucified and was raised again. In the experience of the worshippers he is God.

Frazier and Lincoln support the idea that preachers are "called" through personal religious experience. During the course of this study it was discovered through listening to personal testimonies and also through extended interviews that the decision to join the church concerned and to preach was as a result of being "called". The testimonies relating the "callings", however, fall outside the scope of the present study. It is sufficient to point out here that the extended interviews mentioned here were not extended to the ordinary memberships of Church C who, according to practice, are allowed to "open the word" as well. The writer is convinced, however, that the very fact that they joined Church C, a Zionist Church, is in itself a "calling" through religious experience.

In an article entitled, "The formulaic quality of spontaneous sermons" Rosenberg (1970) discusses the vital elements of oral composition which were revealed also in the present study. According to Rosenberg the sermons which are orally composed have the following characteristics: they are presented in a chanting tone, they maintain a consistent meter, they are characterised by repetition, they use a formulaic style and they use different types of memorised formulas.

This study revealed that the preachers whose sermons were studied presented their sermons in a loud, half-singing voices. Consequently some parts of the sermon in most cases, came across

as if praise poetry was being presented. Preacher Micah of Church A, for instance had the following to say:

I feel sorry for those who doubt that Shembe is God. I feel sorry for those who did not know, that Shembe is God. The word says the cowards are doubtful; they are afraid; They say it is better to go back to go and die there. But we are looking for the way home; even if it passes through danger.
A-a-men!.

Ngiyabadabukela labo abangabaza ukuthi uShembe unguNkulunkulu. Ngiyadabuka nalabo abebengazi ukuthi uShembe unguNkulunkulu. Izwi lithi amagwala ayanqikaza; ayesaba: athi kungcono sibuyele emuva siyofela khona. Kodwa thina sifuna indlela eya ekhaya: noma idlula engozini.
A-a-men!.

The Lord of Lords Gagane has helped us. He says I have gone my children. He has gone to heaven.

Inkosi yamakhosi uGagane usisizile. Uthi ngihambile bantabami. Uhambe waya eZulwini.

The text cited here was orally communicated in a rhythmic style. The "A-a-men" that concluded the first part was a spontaneous reaction of the worshippers. The preacher's reference to Shembe as "Lord of Lords" and also as Gagane had the effect of accentuating the preacher's poetic style.

In the African indigenous churches the sermons were presented in a style that maintained a consistent meter. Rev. Aaron's (Church C) sermon is an example, we cite here:

This service is not a closed service. Amen!
But it is an open service. Allelulia. Amen!
It is because there are organisations where you are told this gathering is closed. Amen!
It is not everybody who is allowed to talk.
But this service is open to everybody ...

Lenkonzo akusinkonzo evalakile. Amen!
Kodwa inkonzo evulekile. Allelulia. Amen!
Kwenziwa ngoba kinezinhlango lapho utshelwa khona ukuthi lombuthano uvalekile. Amen!
Akusiwana wonke umuntu ovumeleke ukukhuluma.
Kodwa lenkonzo ivulelwe yinoma ubani ...

In the above example the preacher used short statements to establish and to maintain the meter. He further reinforced his consistent meter by means of "stalls" e.g. "Amen", and "Alleluia".

Another important characteristic which was revealed in the study of the sermons of the preachers in the African independent churches is repetition. In a sermon preached by Elder Paul of Church B the following incidents of repetition were recorded in a sermon of one hundred and ninety seven lines (197 lines):

God bless you = 20 times

The Lord be with you = 64 times

This study revealed also that in the composition of their sermons the preachers used a formulanic style. Rosenberg (1970), quoting Parry's definition maintains that the formulaic style consists of:

... a group of words which is regularly employed under the same material conditions to express a given essential idea.

The following passage is taken from Evangelist Joshua's (Church A) sermon. The passage illustrates how Evangelist Joshua used a formulaic style in his sermon. The formulaic constructions are indicated by underlining them:

I am personally grateful beloved of heaven. I know what the Lord is doing and what he has done. But what use is such knowledge. Let me find out from you. What does the Lord do to heal us, we who are lame, blind, crippled? Is it not meant to help us to believe that our leader is he who he is? Amen. It is an invitation to you to see that the one who is in front of you is the one. It is expected then that now that you have seen you should do something. Do you obey his word? . . . Children of heaven, there are so many of Shembe's works . . . mind you here are the works in front of you which bear witness to who he is and that you have seen him . . .

Ngizibongela bathandwa basezulwini. Ngizazi ukuthi inkosi yenzani nokuthi yenzeni. Kodwa ukwazi lokho kusiza ngani. Ake ngibuze kini. Yenzani inkosi ukusiphilisa, thina esizishosha, esiyizimpumpethe, esikhubazekile? Akwenzelwa yini ukuze sikholwe ukuthi umholi wethu unguye onguye. Amen. Yisimeno kuwe ukuthi ubone kuthi lo ophambi kwakho uyena yena. Kulindeleke ukuthi manje ngoba usubonile kubekhona okwenzayo. Uyalilalela izwi lakhe? . . . Bantwana basezulwini miningi imisebenzi kaShembe . . . Phela nansi imisebenzi phambi kwenu okuyiyona ifakaza ukuthi ungubani nokuthi nimbonile . . .

The essential idea in the above text is the lordship of Shembe. The preacher conveys this essential idea by making reference to the privilege of knowing Shembe; Shembe's healing activities; the leadership of Shembe and his works. All these examples point to the divinity of Shembe, who according to the Bible text that the preacher cited is the one to whom John the Baptist sent his disciples, and John's disciples found him healing people.

Rosenberg suggests that memorised formulae include "stalls". This study revealed that there are "stalls" which serve to stimulate the congregation. The following "stalls" were found to be widely used by the preachers to stimulate their congregation:

Au children of the Lord.
 Good children of heaven.
 God is mysterious.
 Just listen let me tell you.
 Let me ask you a question

Au bantwana benkosi.
 Bantwana abahle baseZulumi.
 UNkulunkulu uyingqaba.
 Ake ulalele ngikutshele.
 Ake ngikubuze umbuzo.

This study revealed that "stalls" could be used also to provide the preacher with a pause so that he could reorder his thoughts or make a transition from one thought to the other. The "stalls" which were used for this purpose included the following:

Are you still there bretheren?
 Peace bretheren.
 The Lord be with you.
 Amen bretheren.

Nisekhona bazalwana?
 Ukuthula bazalwana.
 Inkosi ibe nani.
 Amen bazalwana.

Okpewho (1979:143) mentions what he calls the formulaic alert. The purpose of the formulaic alert is to "alert the listener's attention to detail". In his sermon Preacher Job of Church A begins with the following words: "There is a story I like ...". In another instance he says: "One day the Lord of Ekuphakameni said ...". On the other hand Rev. Aaron of Church C had the following to say: "my Bible says ...".

According to Rosenberg (1970) some formulas are used for furthering the narrative. This study revealed that the formula which was commonly used in the sermons for furthering the narrative was: "After that ..." and "In other words ...".

The use of functional phrases as a method of establishing "a pattern of characters calling and responding to one another and

therefore, initiating a dialogue between them" is discussed by Okpewho (1979:141). Rev. Aaron of Church C used functional phrases in his sermon on forgiveness where he wanted to convey the dialogue between the Archbishop and the person who had killed the Archbishop's son in a bus accident:

One day Archbishop X was visited by the people who had killed his son in a bus accident. Amen! A young man said, "Yes indeed, the boy fell from the bus that I was driving". Amen! "I did not notice that he had fallen. I drove for a long distance ..."

Ngelinye ilanga abantu ababebulale indodana ka Archbishop X engpzeni yebhasi beza kuye. Amen! Insizwa yanthi, "Yebo, impela umfana uwe ebhasini ebengiyishayela". Amen! "Angibonango ukuthi uwile. Ngahamba banga elide ..."

Oh a person coming to a faithful pastor to ask for forgiveness ... he said, "I forgive you; I don't want any money. I do not want anything." This person asked saying, "Is there nothing else father which I might give you or support you with; or should I give you a beast". The pastor said, "no that would amount to buying him".

... umuntu eze kumfundisi othembekile ezocela intethelelo ... Wathi, "Ngiyakuthethelela; angifuni mali. Angifuni lutho". "Lomuntu wabuza wathi, "akukho yini okunye baba enginakunika kona noma engingakuxhasa ngakho; noma ngikunike inkomo". Wathi umfundisi, "cha lokho kungasho ukuthi ngiyamthenga".

The effect of the functional phrases in this passage is to make the narrative to be alive. Consequently it is an effective device to capture the attention of the listeners. The listeners imagination is activated so that they anticipate the subsequent words of dialogue as the narrative continues. At the same time the use of functional phrases leads to the emotional involvement of the listeners because they identify with the characters in the narrative.

The preacher's delivery techniques are underpinned by the fact that the presentation of an orally and spontaneously composed

sermon is a performance. Consequently this study revealed that the actual presentation of the sermon entailed an emotional involvement of both the preacher and the congregation. In order to achieve an emotional involvement of the preacher and the congregation the preachers whose sermons were observed used gestures, facial expression, vocal expression and they also controlled the tone of their voices. The outcome was the creation of an emotional situation during the preaching moment. The preachers in Church B and Church C were uninhibited even in their movements. Movements were, however, restricted among the preachers of Church A because the practice is for the preacher to kneel and not to stand on his feet when he delivers a homily.

The visual resources which the preachers employed in the delivery of their sermons were made possible by the face to face context which served to create an appropriate mood for the occasion. At the same time the preacher's creativity was used to further the emotional involvement of both the preacher and the audience (cf. Obiechina, 1967:151). The preachers' creativity was closely associated with the preachers' verbalisation processes (cf Rosenberg, 1970). Even where the printed text was used some preachers would use their creativity to impose their own rhythm and meter on the printed text e.g. Preacher Job of Church A asked a young preacher to read a Biblical passage for him. After each line preacher Job would repeat what the reader had said. In most cases preacher Job would use creativity and verbalisation processes to make additions to the read text. The text that reached the congregation was coloured with Preacher Job's edition

and additions, rhythm and meter. The text which is quoted below is taken from II Corinthians: 11:6;

READER: I am a poor speaker

PREACHER: If I am, hey, If I am just a poor speaker

READER: At least I know what I am talking about

PREACHER: At least I know what I am talking about.

READER: As I think you realise by now

PREACHER; As I think you realise by now

READER: For we have proved it again and again.

PREACHER: For we have proved it again and again.

This "double reading" which was accompanied by additional verbal processes e.g. reading aloud, voice changes, etc. was observed only in Church A. I did not come across it in the other two groups. The "double reading" method had the effect of ensuring that the preacher remained in control of the proceedings. He placed his individual stamp on what the reader read from the Bible.

This study revealed that the preachers extended their creativity to cover what Rosenberg (1970) calls the use of anaphoric passages. The deliberate repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of new ideas had a dramatic effect on the audience. The use of the anaphoric passages also helped the preachers to "formulate the future context" at the time when what had already

been said was recalled. Creativity was also extended to different kinds of verbal nuances e.g. exclamations, ideophones and phonological echoes (cf. Ekpewho, 1979:220-224).

It was, however, the preacher's tendency to weave his personality into that of "his character" that had a considerable dramatic effect on creating an appropriate emotional involvement of both the preacher and the audience. Preacher Isaac of Church A, for example, identified himself with Shembe in a sermon he preached which was based on hymn 242 (Izihlabelelo ZamaNazeratha i.e. sacred songs hymns of the Nazarites).

Just before the Lord left he came and asked me just one word in my sleep. He asked as to who had named the child "Velaphi". (I had named him "Velaphi" ... because I had never imagined that I could ever beget a child and the people scoffed at me). The good Lord of Ekuphakameni took the child away. On my visit to Ekuphakameni he inquired as to when did the child die. I responded that it was then a month since he had died. He said: "He was not yours, yours is coming ..." I begot Sondaba ... and people say she is a marvel to look at. I am not just talking about her good looks, I mean her body. It is because she was given to me by Shembe ..."

The preacher whose sermon is cited above appealed for hope to prevail among the worshippers. He then cited a hopeless situation which once faced him. First he was childless, and then when he eventually begot a son the son died. The preacher identified the death of his child with the Lord of Ekuphakameni. In spite of his misery and hurt he found comfort in that: "the good Lord of Ekuphakameni took the child". The preacher's surviving daughter "was a marvel to look at because she was a gift from the good Lord". When the preacher lost another child

"... one child died because the God of Ekuphakameni said I am removing from what is my own". Under normal circumstances the preacher would be characterised by emotional and psychic problems, but his belief in the good Lord of Ekuphakameni and his hope that the good will triumph over the bad made him to identify with the good Lord of Ekuphakameni, who himself had experienced a lot of hardship.

In the final analysis the success of the preachers whose sermons were studied should also be sought in the role they play as the repository of their churches' wisdom and philosophy. This was very clear whether you were listening to the sermon of the preachers in Church A, in Church B or in Church C. All of them enveloped in their message, an instruction relating to the practices, the beliefs and the canon of faith relating to their respective church groups.

7.3 The participative audience

It is in the context of a live congregation that a sermon is actualised. Firth (1975) suggests that the congregation, as an audience, consists of listeners, acceptors, hearers and followers. Finnegan (1970:10) emphasises the fact that in an oral composition which is composed spontaneously the audience becomes an essential part. The extent and the success of the performer's composition depends on the listeners' reactions.

The context within which the sermon was preached in the studied African indigenous churches was introduced in Chapter 3. In that

chapter the seating arrangements in each of the three church groups were graphically presented. From the diagrams which were provided in Chapter 3 it is obvious that the seating pattern provides for a face to face engagement.

Our contention is that the seating arrangement does not only provide for a face to face engagement but it also creates a situation where the preacher is set "up against" the audience. In the Church A Temple there is limited space and, therefore, there is an absence of space between the preacher and the worshippers. That is also true of Church B where on several occasions I observed Rev. X "picking up" a handkerchief from his wife who sat on the women's side of the church. The exchange was done without any disturbance to the continuity of the service. The exchange emphasised the reality of the touching distance, and the fact that the preacher was almost surrounded by the worshippers. A similar pattern of setting the preacher "up against" the worshippers was also observed in Church C where the worshippers filled up the church hall every Sunday.

According to Finnegan (1970:10) the face to face seating arrangement in oral tradition provides not only for a face to face confrontation, but also for active participation. A pattern of identity results from a face to face seating arrangement. Consequently the preacher, in the observed African indigenous churches, identified with the worshippers and vice versa (Finnegan, 1970:10).

In all the church groups which were studied the centrality of preaching was demonstrated by the position of the platform from where the word was communicated. In Church A the central position is occupied by the elevated platform (ilathi) from where the lord of Ekuphakameni, when he is present, delivers his homily. Otherwise the preacher kneels on the men's side of the temple and delivers his homily facing the congregation. In Church B the preacher stands on one side of the table which is placed in a central position in front of the congregation. A similar pattern, i.e. of the preacher standing at the table which is centrally placed in front of the congregation, is adopted in Church C. The effect of this arrangement is that the preachers have eye contact with their congregation. The congregations are also brought into visual contact with the gestures, the dress, etc. which the preacher uses to help in the communication of his message.

Rosenberg (1970) argues that the quality of the congregation has a great effect on the sermon. This happens because the congregation influences the preacher's timing, his involvement in the service and the length of his sermon. Rev. Aaron of Church C for example who preached several sermons which were recorded presented sermons of different quality and different length. On one occasion he was returning from the funeral of one of the founders of the church when he preached a sermon of 180 lines. When he was interviewed about the audience on this particular occasion he argued that a number of people had been absent from the service and the singing was of low quality and it did not, therefore, adequately elevate his spirit. On another occasion,

however, he preached a sermon of 446 lines. On that occasion he was the most senior person, from an ecclesiastical point of view, since the Archbishop was absent because of ill-health. The church building was full. The church choir was present and the singing was of a very high quality. The active involvement of the congregation was evident throughout the duration of the service.

Another reaction of the congregation was observed in Church B. Preacher Mark of Church B presented his sermon of 105 lines. It was a short sermon on a difficult text: Matt.24:42-44, "the return of Jesus". During the course of the sermon there was very little reaction from the congregation. At the end of the sermon the Rev. Peter stood up and preached a sermon of 105 lines on the same text. When the minister was interviewed about the practice of having two preachers to preach on the same day at the same service he responded that, that only happens if there was enough time, otherwise it was not the usual practice.

On another occasion Preacher John's sermon (Church B) which was based on Jude 1:17-20 and which consisted of 182 lines was interrupted seven times when the congregation started choruses and a few people were seen to be possessed by the spirit. At the end of the sermon which had been punctuated by a lot of activity in the church building, the minister stood up to preach a sermon of 112 lines. Incidentally his homily was interrupted only once by a chorus which he started himself.

The two examples of sermons and congregation reaction which have been quoted above illustrate that the purpose of the sermon is realised with the help of a participative congregation. On the one hand passive listening is an indictment on the preacher and his message (cf. Kiernan, 1990(b):202). On the other hand active singing and interruption could disturb the moments of emotional intensity when the "spirit of God" is said to be active. In the sense that is described here the congregation, as listeners, becomes an element of control (cf. Finnegan, 1970:30). Consequently the minister realised where the message might have been lost on both occasions and he stood up to correct that situation.

Okpewho (1979:212) describes "a sense of moment" in an oral composition and performance i.e. when a recognisable technical or structural device is used to create awareness of significant moments in the performance. In the church groups which were studied the audiences were able to pick this up from the sermon presentations. The result was that the congregations would respond. It often happened when the preacher made a well presented detail. In Church A for instance, the normal response was Amen! Uyingcwele! (Amen. He is holy!). This was usually uttered after a preacher had emphasised the triumphs of Shembe and the things that accounted for the divinity of Shembe. Otherwise in Church B and Church C the congregations would recognise the preachers' excellence by throwing out phrases like 'Amen', 'Alleluia' and also by making grunts.

Rosenberg (1970) suggests that generally speaking the congregation sings, hums, yells and joins in the service as it chooses. This study revealed that the participation of the congregation as it is discussed by Rosenberg has the effect of punctuating the main themes or narratives in a sermon and also the main verses or stanzas or performance are thus demarcated.

The use of music during the preaching moment attracted my attention during the course of this study. In Church A the preacher started the hymns himself. In Church B the women introduced the choruses that interrupted the sermons. In Church C the preachers which were observed for the purposes of this study started the choruses themselves. Whatever the source of the hymn or chorus that interrupted the flow of the sermon we found that it led to the participation of the whole congregation.

Kiernan (1990(b): 196) argues that song can "introduce other business" in the context of Zionist congregations. Kiernan contends that:

The hymn is not introduced as part of a preplanned programme but is interpolated as a performative act into the free-flowing discussive performance of the meeting as a whole.

The present study discovered that Kiernan's observations were applicable to the groups that were observed. The music was found to serve the purposes that Kiernan (1990(b): 203) mentions, viz:

... to instruct and to edify; to stitch into an unbroken whole the multi activities of a service; to generate enthusiasm, to promote dialogue and ensure the continuity of non-contentious discourse; and ... to stave off silence and stillness.

In Church A, when a hymn was sung in the course of a sermon the whole hymn, and not just a verse or two, was sung. This practice is more like that of the "Apostles" which is cited by Kiernan (1990(b)) as studies by Jules-Rosette. My observation was that the hymns that were sung during preaching in Church A were introduced by and led by the preachers themselves. It was obvious, therefore, that the hymns reinforced the preachers' themes. Preacher Hope of Church A, for example, was preaching on the need for the children of the Nazarites to be taught obedience and also the need for them to wear appropriate dress when they attended services of worship, when he reinforced his sermon with the following hymn (only one verse is given here for illustration purposes):

Give me father	Ngiphe baba
Ears that are open	Izindlebe ezivulekile
So that I might listen to your	Ukulizwa izwi lakho.
word.	

Preacher Hope of Church A had been preaching on one theme i.e. the effects of a Nazarite's decision to leave the church to go and form another church and when he wanted to change over to a new theme he started a hymn. The next theme focused on Shembe and how he was called to establish the Nazareth Baptist Church. The hymn that Preacher Hope used began as follows (the first verse only is used here for illustration purposes):

I am longing for the vineyard
 I shall end up bidding
 farewell;
 Many will accompany me
 By loving Jehovah.

Mina ngikhumbula esivinini.
 Ngogcina ngivalelise;
 Abaningi bayongiphelekezela
 Ngokumthanda uJehova.

Refrain:

It is so good at our home
 Where we are going
 The beautiful gold and
 silver
 Does not compare

Kuhle kangaka ekhaya lethu
 Lapha siyakhona
 Igolide nesiliva elihle
 Alithathi lutho.

The hymn captured the new theme that the preacher was embarking upon. The Nazareth Baptist Church is compared to a vineyard. The interest of the people in the new church could lead to them showing love for Jehovah. The refrain puts emphasis on the value attached to the new faith. The lyrics of the song provide for a transition from one 'imagination' to another. The very singing also provides a bridge from one theme to another.

In Church B and Church C the music also served to draw the attention of the preacher to some "disturbances". The disturbances or "other business included the latecomers, and the need to attend to those who were possessed by the spirit during the course of preaching. The music which was introduced by the congregation to draw the preacher's attention to "other business" usually cut short the preacher's thoughts and affected the flow of communication e.g. Preacher Mark was busy preaching as follows when there was an interruption from the congregation:

But beloved as I stand before you, you do not know me. I, too am a follower in church. I too go about doing what is being done. I too go about doing what should be done. The Lord bless you. But you do not know how deep is the faith in my heart. You do not know what my heart is thinking and what I wish about God. The Lord bless you. Beloved faith is difficult because faith ...

Interruption: Music: My spirit is troubled
My spirit is troubled.

My spirit is troubled.
My spirit is troubled.

When the music stopped the preacher continued with his homily. He did not go back to continue with the statement he left incomplete when he was interrupted. He had to reorganise his thoughts. That necessitated resorting to a formula which he had developed in the course of the sermon. This is what he said:

They followed Jesus but the others did not go they did not agree. The Lord of Peace bless you ...

There was again another interruption: A woman from the congregation became excited, moved from her seat towards the table, all the time saying:

What is this fear for, fear, fear?	Ngolwani loluvalo, uvalo, uvalo?
What is this, what is this, what is this?	Yini le, yini le, yini le?
Hi, hi hi!	Hhi, hhi, hhi!

Amid the pandemonium that ensued another woman from the congregation started a chorus:

My spirit is troubled
My spirit is mourning

Wakhathazeka umoya wami.
Uyalila umoya wami.

The singing and the other disturbances "intruded" on the preachers thoughts. The tempo of delivering his homily which he had acquired before the interruptions was lost. He had to reorganise his thoughts, his theme and his approach to theme after the interruptions. On the other hand the pandemonium created an opportunity for the prayer people (abathandazi) and the minister to attend to those who had been seized by the Spirit.

The reason why I have dwelt on this incident is to show that the intervention of the congregation can mean several things. In this particular case there was no "meeting ground" between some members of the congregation and what the preacher was saying. Instead the "Spirit" was working and revealing things to at least one member of the congregation. There was no evidence that this working of the spirit was triggered off by the sermon. The homily had, therefore, to be shelved for a moment whilst attention was paid to that member who was possessed.

Music usually does not take into account the preacher's rhythm and meter. Consequently in the example quoted above when the preacher resumed after the incident his theme was different from the one he had been grappling with before the incident. The members of the congregation who were interviewed suggested that the "Spirit" is free to work and is not necessarily experienced in response to a homily.

In Church B in particular where women were not assigned preaching responsibilities during the services which were observed, it was the women who started the choruses. The singing of the choruses involved dancing and the clapping of hands. I found the use of choruses to provide the women with an avenue not only for participation, but also for exercising control in an activity which was dominated by the men. In one sermon where the preacher chose to speak very strongly about the failure of the men to support one another and also to support the minister it was the introduction of choruses by the women that reduced "tension" that characterised the discourse. The sermon to which reference is made here consisted of 232 lines which were interrupted eight times by means of choruses. The reaction of the congregation which was expressed in the singing of choruses was an indication of conflict and impatience.

In this chapter I have considered the performance aspect of the ministry of the word in the African indigenous churches. The discussions throughout this chapter have highlighted the conviction that preaching in the African indigenous churches is orally and spontaneously composed. The presentation of the sermons is orally done. The preacher, therefore, uses oratory techniques in his preaching. The conclusion arrived at was that the sermon serves to pass on the wisdom, the beliefs and the practices of the churches concerned. In that sense for the sermon is a tool for establishing authority. For any sermon to be meaningful there must be a participative congregation. The congregation provides for a lively vocal partner in verbal exchanges.

Now that we have considered the framing of the sermon, the shape of the sermon, the form of the sermon and how the sermon is made meaningful we should end this study by drawing conclusions. The next chapter will then focus on the conclusions which could be drawn from this study.

CHAPTER 8**CONCLUSION: TEXT AND CONTEXT**

The aim of this study was to explore sermon texts as a genre of oral communication in the context of selected African indigenous churches. The sermons on which this study was based were observed and recorded in the context of the "main" services of worship. This study was approached with two perspectives, viz. that preaching in the African indigenous churches occupies an important place in the service of worship, and that the sermon text is orally composed and orally communicated. In this chapter I present the main conclusions which emanated from this study.

This study revealed that the different aspects of the liturgy used in a service of worship complement one another. In all the church groups that were studied prayer precedes preaching. In Church B and in Church C extempore prayers were observed before the ministry of the word. In Church A prayers which are prescribed and recorded in the Izihlalelelo were used before preaching. Our conclusion was that the prayers that preceded preaching had a definite contribution to the holistic approach to the service of worship.

It was in the opening prayers that the worshippers made their petitions. Consequently the opening prayer established a common ground and a unity of purpose which provided the preacher with insights which he developed in his homily later. For the worshippers the opening prayers provided an opportunity for an affirmation of their faith. The prayers served, therefore, as a

preparation for the ministry of the word, both for the preacher and for the congregants. In Church C in particular, it was during the opening prayer that the person who would preach was revealed. For the preacher it was during the opening prayer that the biblical text to be used for the sermon was revealed. The 'Word' that is opened by the preacher then becomes an outcome of collective responsibility.

During prayer time the congregations indicated their needs and the illnesses that required to be attended to. In Church C a healing session followed immediately after the opening prayer. The effect of this prayer was that of removing all "human concerns" and illnesses that might affect the ministry of the word. The healing session, therefore, freed the people and made them ready to receive the word of God. In Church B the healing session took place after preaching. In this case the ministry of the word served as a preparation for healing, particularly because many people who came to be prayed over were the people who wanted to join the congregation. Preaching served as an induction to the church and prepared the newcomers for their induction into the church. In Church A healing sessions were not regular. On two occasions where these took place, the praying over the sick took place after the ministry of the word. There again preaching served as a preparation for healing.

This study revealed that the context in which the ministry of the word finds expression in the African indigenous churches is multifaceted. There is the oral tradition which informs and shapes the sermon text. The narrative tradition which is

characteristic of oral discourse, the use of literary products are some of the features which characterised preaching. These were found to be a heritage from cultural tradition. At the same time the Bible provided the source for the sacred text on which preaching was based. For that reason the use of the Bible and the Christian tradition of the New Testament (Church B and Church C for example) distinguished preaching from public oratory.

Preaching took place in the context of a religious meeting where there was a live, active, close audience. Our conclusion is that preaching is not a one-way affair but an event where there is a live interaction. At the same time preaching is not an end in itself. It is meant to achieve certain aims, e.g. instruction in the philosophy and practices of the church, and also to direct the behaviour of the worshippers.

Preaching addressed the experiential situation or the social environment of the worshippers. In all three church groups that were studied the issue of violence which was current was addressed by the preachers. At the same time, the social needs which were picked up during the opening prayer became a context for preaching. Our conclusion is that preaching focuses on both the spiritual level and the existential level of the life of the worshipper.

This study revealed that the concept of "text" in the African indigenous churches has at least the following implication: the written text i.e. the Bible and other printed texts; the spoken text, e.g. the sermon; and the orally-transmitted text, e.g.

church tradition. Our conclusion is that there was an interaction of the three notions of 'text' where the notions complemented one another.

One of the issues raised by this study was that the sermon analysis provided two very different kinds of sermon 'forms', i.e. a 'structuralist' form and a 'performative' form. It is our contention that further research would be necessary to establish how these two sermon forms could be related to each other. Our present position is that these sermon forms operate under a unified framework.

Church A sermons were characterised by a 'structuralist' format, i.e. a 'conscious', latent, and beneath the surface of the text' format. Consequently performance in Church A was restricted and "directed" as it were, by the preacher. The preacher led in the singing of the hymns. If there was need to paraphrase the Bible text, it was the preacher who took the lead. The performance of the congregation was restricted to verbal responses and the singing of the hymns that were led by the preacher. The preacher relied on his rich repertoire of narratives on the church tradition to keep his audience actively involved.

In the 'performative' sermons of Church B and Church C the approach suggested a conscious gloss or elaboration upon the textual surface. The preachers' expositions were short, compared to those of Church A. At the same time there was a noticeable incident of repetition. The sermons were punctuated by choruses which emanated from the congregation, e.g. in Church B, while in

Church C there were a few narratives that were found in the sermons. In Church B there was one incident of a narrative that was recorded in one sermon. Our conclusion is that in a 'performative' form of sermon oratory that is a heritage of oral tradition has been refined over the years to meet with the needs of the congregation. Whilst all the sermons that were studied were preached by males, the "introduction of other business" through choruses in Church B was initiated by the females.

A further question relates to the freedom that the preachers or the congregations have to do their own thing or to renegotiate entrenched oral tradition. Our observation was that the 'structuralist' form of sermon tended to restrict the preachers and the congregations. The preachers in Church A, for example, knelt when they presented their sermons. This is an 'improvement' on the oral tradition practice of sitting down when relating a tale. We saw the Church A position as a sign of respect, which, however, restricted the gestures and the movement of the preacher. The congregation also sat on mats when they listened to the sermons. They knelt when they sang. We found these to have a restrictive effect on performance.

The preachers who presented the 'performative' form of sermon appeared to have renegotiated oral tradition in several ways. Their sermon presentations were characterised by movements. In Church C there was even a "master of ceremonies" who "controlled" the proceedings. The punctuation of the sermons by means of choruses involved the congregations singing, moving up and down, clapping their hands and in Church C there was also the beating

of the drum. On several preaching occasions, even in Church B, female members of the congregation became "possessed" during the singing. Our conclusion is that the 'performative' form of the sermon allows both the preacher and the congregants to be free to express their emotional involvement without any restrictions imposed by the sermon form.

Whilst the preachers who preached the 'structuralist form' of sermons and those that preached the 'performative' form of sermons incorporated the experiential situation of the congregations, it is our contention, however, that the extent to which the sermons convey novel messages in changing times or convey the messages that are timeless like the vehicle (structure) that conveys them would require further research. It is sufficient to note here that the sermons that have a structuralist form have the effect of ensuring that the messages of the sermons are retained in the memories of the listeners. On the other hand the performative form of sermon encouraged the worshippers to "sing and dance" the manner in which they experience the messages of the sermons.

For a study of this nature to be possible it became necessary to move from one discipline to the other. Among the disciplines that were tapped in the course of this study the following could be mentioned: language and linguistics, orality and literacy, music, religion and theology, social anthropology, sociology and psychology. The tools for analyzing the sermon texts were borrowed from one or the other of the disciplines mentioned here.

The conclusion we want to draw is that the sermons of the African indigenous churches are a rich field of study which lends itself to an interdisciplinary approach. The present study has merely scratched the surface. Further research could throw light on several things, e.g. oral composition, issues relating to orality as well as oral communication.

APPENDIX 1

EXTRACT FROM PREACHER JOB'S SERMON TEXT

SERMON: CHURCH A

Reader : Hebrews 13:17. Obey your spiritual leaders
 Preacher : Obey your spiritual leaders
 Reader : And be willing to do what they say
 Preacher : And be willing to do what they say
 Reader : For their work is to watch over your souls
 Preacher : Thank you. Because they are the ones who watch
 over your souls. Let the Lord be thanked. Amen!

One day the lord of Ekuphakameni said you should obey very much the spiritual leaders of this church because they carry faith and they know what it is. That is what he said. He said that.

On Sunday when I left here. I had come here by bus. We were in the dance and we did everything here as it is supposed to be. When I went back to KwaMashu, when I reached home six young men arrived. These young men say "Yes". I said. "Yes". These young men said: "Would you tell us in your Nazarites congregation what is really happening/where do you belong?" I said, "Why do you ask?" These young men said, "We heard the sound of your horn at the station." I trembled as if I was porridge and I thought here I am going to be killed. I am going to be killed because of people who had been forewarned. Mine then, because I am clear in my mind, was to say to them, "Listen here, let me tell you. If

you have children as a man they do not all obey you. Are you still there, believers?" Amen! Shembe told us long ago that we should leave political organisations alone. He said that on Mnt. Nhlankakazi. Were you not there? He said he did not want these things because they cause the killing of people.

Just listen here, let me tell you. If you should find yourself calling us to go to a certain gathering of Inkatha. Right! Are you aware that here in Ekuphakameni there are those who are Inkatha here, there are those who are ANC, there are those who are AZAPO, there are those who are SACP depending on their differences. When you have called us to a particular organisation now that there are so many VIPs here; there are highly educated people. There are lawyers, there are medical practitioners, there are all kinds of people. Some of those people are ANC. When you have called us to an Inkatha gathering, right, we shall go there. When these other people write a letter requesting Mandela to come to some place in this neighbourhood, will you be there to lead us there? You are the one who would have brought them together over there. Would you still be prepared to lead us to where we are called by this letter which has been written by those who are learned? You will have to lead us there; you are kidding!

After that Sunday when you shall have led us to a political gathering the Nazarites will never have freedom of movement in the township and elsewhere. It will be said, here are these who are such and such. Why? Because you fail to make a distinction. The Book of Hebrews 5:14 says but solid spiritual food is for the

spiritual grown-ups who have learned to distinguish right from wrong. Are you still there? "Amen!" I suggest that we should organise ourselves as Nazarites. "Amen!"

Just listen to me, let me explain this to you. I want to tell you what happens to a person who likes bad habits. There are three animals; a tortoise, a pig and a leopard. Do you know how the leopard got its beautiful spots? Just listen to me. You see when a tortoise moves it is hollow on the upper side. Are you aware of that? "Amen!" Should it happen that it is turned upside down, it can't turn over again. It will remain like that until it dies. A leopard then found a tortoise lying on its back after it had been assaulted by a pig. The pig turned the tortoise upside down. The pig left the tortoise struggling, moving its feet like this. Then the leopard came. The tortoise has been left lying so badly! The leopard assisted the tortoise to regain its standing position. The tortoise said: "You have helped me, I was going to die. Do this - stand over here, I want to move around you in a circle so that you may develop beautiful spots." The leopard waited. The tortoise moved around the leopard in a circle and in the process, said: "Be beautiful because your deeds are good. Be beautiful because of your deeds". Three times! The leopard then developed these spots which you see. That is why the leopard is the ceremonial dress of chiefs. Are you still there? "Amen!" Listen here, if you have used a leopard hide we realise that you are well to do, if you are not a chief. It is because the leopard is an animal which has good deeds.

The leopard then went to the other animals. He came across the pig who said, "Haw, why are you so beautiful?" He replied: "Oh, I was made so by the tortoise". The pig said, "Yes". The pig then said, "I am going there too." The pig had forgotten what it had done to the tortoise because people forget.

The pig went straight to the tortoise. The tortoise inquired if he could be of any help. The pig said, "I request you to make me to look like the leopard as well." "Are you asking me?" "Are you asking me?" "What do you mean!" "Yes", said the pig. The tortoise said, "Stand here. I am not going to say anything audible. I shall say it quietly". The tortoise was wanting to say, "Be ugly". The tortoise then moved around the pig in a circle, saying, "Be ugly, just as your deeds are bad". Three times. After that the tortoise said, "Go now, you are beautiful". The pig started off and after a short distance his mouth started to protrude. Haw, this is strange. But the pig did not take notice. He thought his mouth was just swollen. When he met the other animals they asked, "What is happening now, why are you getting so fat?" "Au", replied the pig, "it is the tortoise who made me like this, he made me beautiful". They said, "Au, he has finished you". The pig went back to look for the tortoise in the mud with its nose. Are you still there, Nazarites? "Amen!" Be Shembe's beautiful vineyard all the time.

The book I Corinthians 1:27 says: "Instead, God has deliberately chosen to use ideas the world considers foolish and of little worth in order to shame those people considered by the world as wise and great." Are you still there? Amen! Shembe is a

nonentity if you observe him, whereas he is great in heaven. Amen. He has authority. He plays position number five in heaven. He is number 5.

Just listen here. In Eshowe town the residents are English speakers. The English who live there build a wonderful house for Shembe. Do you know that? They said, "We are making this house an offering to you because you are the father of souls. We request you to remember us when we pass from this world." They gave J.G. a house. That is where he lived.

The people said, "Au, it is strange, it does not always happen that you can own a house here. He wanted to compare himself with God. Here is Shembe for whom you have built a house." The whites said, "You are a fool". They said, "Listen here, you are our shoe for treading on bottles. Is it not true that you learned about Jesus from other people?" He trembled like porridge. He ended up being taken to Ceza. Let Jehova be thanked. Amen. For so many years he thought he was Shembe's equal. Shembe is over-sized. Amen! No deacon will ever be his equal. Amen. No no no.

Evangelist -- who sits over there spoke one day and said, "On this throne of the Lord no-one will ever sit". He was serious. I was present. That word made me very happy. Why? Shembe is high. The book of Matthew 5:20 says, "... unless your goodness is greater than that of the Pharisees and other Jewish leaders, you can't get into the Kingdom of Heaven at all". Amen!

Shembe is a strange person. In my area - there is my preacher -- who comes from Khangela - I am going to return to him. I always dream in my sleep. I dream as if I am at Khangela. This is a funny thing. Preacher -- has recently buried a -- girl, Esther --. The girl was born in a home of traditionalists, the --, in --. After a long time - I was born in Khangela where I grew up, where we are settled now is a new establishment. I did my Sunday School under -- over there. Are you still there? "Amen!" No wonder I am so bright! I did my Sunday School under him. I was young. When this girl began to lose her sight his people brought her to the Lord. The Lord was in Khangela. Her traditionalist relatives said to the Lord: "We have brought this our child, she is ill, she has lost her sight". J.G. Shembe, the submarine, the broad one, he says ... "He is holy". He says: "You people keep many pigs and dogs. The girl's angel - she has eyes which can see beyond the ordinary." Shembe said, "You people keep a lot of pigs and dogs. This girl's angel does not like these animals which you keep, that is why she is losing her sight. Leave her here at the place of God, she is going to regain her sight. I shall tell you when to take her away".

Esther -- then remained. She received her sight. When she could see, her traditionalist relatives stole her and took her home without having disposed of the pigs and the dogs. When she got home she lost her sight again. After a long time the lord "*ukhakhayi lwezinkomo zakithi eMkhayideni*" returned. When he arrived they returned with this lady. The lord says, "Yes, where does this girl come from now?" They said, "She comes from home". "Haw", the lord said, "but she was able to see". They said,

"Yes". "You removed her without my permission?" Do not ever direct Shembe, my people. Nevertheless the Lord said because you are stiff-headed, you do not obey, I am not going to restore her sight". He sent her to go and get a hoe and go and weed the beans in the garden. They asked, "How can a blind person cultivate beans". It was said, "Haw, she is going to do it". A child led her to the garden. She made wonders when she worked there. It was because God had given instructions.

Just listen here - I am able to see but I damage the bean plants when I cultivate, but not this girl. When she returned in the evening she was given a prayer book and she was called upon to lead the evening prayer. Haw, this is strange. "How come Lord, she is blind?" "Hey read you!" Up to the time of her death in old age - she was buried by preacher --, she could read all the prayers without any difficulty. Is that not true, preacher? I am talking about God who is in the world. No human can perform these things.

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACT FROM DEACON LUKE'S SERMON

SERMON: CHURCH B

The word we are going to get brethren is there in the work of the Acts, Acts Chapter 4. We shall read from verse 34 and end at verse 37. Now here we want to find out clearly what God was saying to the Apostles after Jesus had finished advising them, it was left to them to perform. It was up to them to do after they had received the Holy Spirit, it was left to them to do. The Lord bless you We ourselves should also make things to happen. Amen. It reads like this:

All the believers were of one heart and mind, and no-one felt that what he owned was his own, everyone was sharing. And Apostles preached powerful sermons about the resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and there was warm fellowship among all the believers, and no poverty ... for all who owned land or houses sold them and brought the money to the Apostles to give to others in need.

For instance, there was Joseph (the one the apostles nicknamed 'Barry the Preacher'! He was of the tribe of Levi, from the island of Cyprus). He was one of those who sold a field he owned and brought the money to the apostles for distribution to those in need. (Acts 4: 34-37.

The Lord bless you. We have heard now that during that time the apostles put together all what they owned. The Lord bless you. Those in need received by faith. The Lord be with you. The Lord be with you. Now brethren, I shall start from as far back as God says I should go to direct exhortation. The Lord be with you. Amen.

Now brethren, as we meet here we are aware of the situation these days and especially that of this past week. I shall just put that across. When things happen God has chosen one among us. The Lord be with you. Amen. I am sure that some of the brethren know about this. The Lord bless you. Amen.

Now that God has chosen among us it happened that the father who leads, no, the minister here in front of us, was in a difficult situation seeing that he was at work on these days. The Lord bless you. When this thing happened, and especially because it was at the beginning of the week it became difficult to inform one another so that everybody would know what was taking place, what was happening. The Lord bless you. Amen.

Now to me it dawns anew. I began to see differently and it became clear to me that this is what sometimes happens when we have allowed a distance between ourselves and our minister. When he stands there alone and we also stand over there and say let him do it because he is the leader of the congregation. The Lord bless you. Amen. Now it occurs to me that I should also regard myself ... The Lord be with you ... as a person who is our ministers' concern. You are also our ministers concern, each one of us is our minister's concern. Anything that happens to the congregation is our minister's concern. The Lord bless you. Now I find no-one standing over there, we are spectators to what has happened. The Lord bless you. I felt sorry to see our minister as if he was an orphan. The Lord bless you. There was no-one to share with him in everything that was happening to him. The Lord bless you on this day.

Under the tragic of asking for oneness and that we should share I plead with each brother to remove from his heart that it will be father -- who happens to be a deacon in this church, who will get closer to our minister. Or perhaps it should be father -- who will get closer to the minister, Father -- should go and find out from the minister as to what problems he has. The Lord bless you. But I plead that each male person, whenever they get time even if it is very short, should go to the minister to find out as to what help he needs. Each one should share so that we could all share equally without failure. In that way we shall guard against letting our minister carry alone the concerns of this congregation. The Lord bless you. Amen.

I ask of you men that we should pull together. From this day I request that whenever each one gets an opportunity should give himself some time to visit the minister not because there is a meeting but so as to find out how he feels. It should not happen that our minister should be alone in attending to what he is informed happened at such and such a place. It might happen that he would not find you at home when he needs you. Peace brethren.

Most of the time we concern ourselves with the problems that face us directly. We are concerned with our own problems. We are occupied with our own family but we forget where we were saved. The Lord bless you. Amen. Let us remember where we came from. The Lord bless you. Amen. Let us recall who are those who struggled for our sake. The lord be with you. Now I plead with you brethren each of you irrespective of who they are, every male

person should stand up and visit our minister. A congregation is a congregation because of men. The Lord be with you. Amen.

We learn when the word of God exhorts us, it particularly mentions the men that they were the ones with whom Jesus travelled, even the problems he encountered he would have them with these men because they were close to him. The Lord bless you. Now let us also get closer ...

Chorus:	Phakathi, phakathi	Inside, inside
	Phakathi kamsebenzi wami	Inside my work

Peace to brethren. The Lord bless you. Amen. Now you will see that I dwell on this subject of exhortation it is because I know that to start with we are just beginning to start moving forward. Now when an aeroplane takes off, may it take off with all of us. The Lord bless you. Let everybody offer themselves now to the work of God. The Lord be with you.

Chorus:	Phakathi phakathi	Inside inside
	Phakathi kamsebenzi wami	Inside my work

The Lord be with you brethren. Amen. Peter said to Jesus I shall die where you die Lord. The Lord be with you. Do we also say that from today we shall also die where this Father will die. The Lord bless you. Amen. The Lord be with you. We need to offer ourselves as men. Offering yourselves to the church does not just end with the acceptance of Jesus. You need to continue offering yourself even for the things that you see happening. The Lord bless you. Where there is need to offer yourself do so wholeheartedly. The Lord be with you.

Let it not happen that our minister reaches a point where when he assesses issues that he will arrive at decisions which might not satisfy you. The Lord bless you. The Lord be with you. Amen. They won't satisfy you because you do not get closer and find out how he feels and get an opportunity to make your own suggestions. The Lord bless you brethren. The Lord be with you. Amen.

Now I plead with you brethren that from this day inside each one of us something must touch us and remind us that there is somebody who struggled whilst you were still going in faith. He was troubled on your behalf until you realised that you were also a member of the congregation. Check how you perform in God's church. Find out the needs of this church which is led by this our father. What are its needs? Find out from the minister. He will tell you where the heavy burden is. Find out where you might help, so that you might make your contribution as well. Do not be a spectator. The Lord bless you.

APPENDIX 3

EXTRACT FROM ARCHBISHOP MOSES' SERMON TEXT

(CHURCH C)

SERMON: CHURCH C

Now what he says here brethren it is about this thing brethren. When you are ill and if you go to a medicine man, he will say, "Let me make incisions on your flesh so that the medicine can enter properly". One man said one day, when he was talking about rubbing medicines, "Our intention is to ensure that our mark is made." We were just seated and talking about medicines at home. He said the intention is to leave our mark. He said I would not like to die without having a mark on you. He died at about that time over there at --. He said, "I have made a mark on --". He said, "I am now waiting to enter this big house of -- so that I can leave her with a mark". I looked at this man. Do you know him? You will continue with your faith but we should have our own mark. It is to say we are known here.

Now when Paul talks about this worship he says, "Watch out for those who cut the flesh and watch out for the dogs". And what else? The wicked men as well. The worship that Paul is referring to here has workers even in the church. You see, these beehive huts used to be at the homesteads of medicine men only. But today they are found among the believers. Go then and investigate them.

We once went into a minister's house. A horn hung from the ceiling inside the house. We told him to report the service to his forebears because it was obvious that all his affairs were first reported to the old ones of his house. Amen! We entered this man's house, it is not far from here. It can be pointed by the finger. There was this big horn which had beads which were moving inside it. We said, "Kneel man and talk to --". I heard different tongues which I had never heard before: "Hari, hari, kuri, hari, kuri, hari, kuri". I was surprised and I said, "Hai, people, I have never seen this thing. Even when this person wants to swallow me I shall not be aware. Now they talked and talked and went away. A minister from Gobandlovu knelt also, and he also said, "Kuri, kuri, kuri, kuri!" I said then we passed very difficult places. Today you helped us and told us to go there. We entered and we saw. Amen brethren! Amen! Inside believers' houses, mind you. In church we dress up like this. This is as a result of prophecy. These then are what Jesus calls the wicked men. What do they do to you? They want to cut you and make their mark on you.

When Paul talks like this it is because what happened to him was mysterious. Amen, brethren. It was when he met Jesus. In the day he saw the greatness of Jesus. On the day he saw the mysteries. What he was holding and when he had he says he found it turning into worthlessness. He says he saw it resembling dust which was good to be thrown away; it was worthless in comparison to Jesus who he had met. He says the greatness of Jesus turned all my action into something filthy to be thrown away. I threw it away.

Today's service of worship says to you, is there anything which is filthy which you have thrown away? It might just happen that there is nothing you have seen as filthy and, therefore, thrown away. Amen! Thank you, I have a cold. I contracted it in the North. They are bewitching me in the North. My image might be remaining there, I don't know. They might have taken my image and kept it over there. I do not know. Each time I cough even my voice is rising:

Chorus: Kwamnandi ukukholwa
Ye ye ye kweze kwamnandi ukukholwa

Ref. Ukukholwa, ukukholwa
Kwaze kwamnandi ukukholwa.

(It is so nice to believe
Ye ye ye It is so nice to believe.

Ref. To believe, to believe
It is so nice to believe.

Aleluya! Amen. Now there remains a gap between you and I that is how does one see the greatness of knowing God in you. What do you put down? What do you abandon? It is what the greatness of meeting Jesus made everything to be worthless. What do you abandon if you have not abandoned jealousy? What have you abandoned if you have not abandoned lies? What have you abandoned if you have not abandoned the grudge? What have you abandoned if you have not abandoned causing conflict? To know Jesus is to discard the old person and its ways and it is to cover the new person. Be exemplary in your ways and in your actions. What have you discarded?

Today's service of worship says, just like Paul, discard things. A young man once said you cannot enjoy the gospel if you have not done - what, hé? He explained this talk in what he was saying, saying that you won't appreciate the gospel if you mix it with other things. Amen. He was not just referring only to some persons. He was referring to everybody. He was saying even you who preach, if you still mix the gospel you won't enjoy it. It is essential that a person - young, old and whatever, should understand that because of God's spirit they have been created as a new body which should discard and remove the old body.

Today if you have not removed; today even if you might go on preaching as long as you have not discarded, he whose likeness you have taken says in Colossians 3:5, "Away then with sinful earthly things ... have nothing to do with sexual sin, impurity, lust and shameful desires, ...". If you say this on your own you should do away with this because it should be removed. Today is the day when Christians should remove. It should be good to you to say things are happening whilst as an aside there are people you are destroying. What are you saying about Jesus because he is everywhere; he has no vale, he has no shadowy spot, he resides in light, he is the light of life.

Even if he can talk ill of him. Even if I might talk ill of him. Even if you might talk ill of him. But I am saying this person is God's temple whom you are talking about. That is why God's gospel says the Kingdom of Heaven will be taken by the prostitutes and not you. It is because it is Godly in its construction; it is made in God's colour. He took out and did

everything. Therefore the Kingdom will be removed from you and given to the prostitutes. Amen.

It is because you took God's Kingdom and made it the politics of speaking ill of others, hatred and grudges. We are talking about prostitution because it is easy to observe. Even hatred is easy to observe and drunkenness is easy to observe. There is the problem, it is inside the heart. In Mark 15 it is said that which soils a person comes from within. It is not the way he dresses up that soils him; it is not the way he talks that soils him, but it is his meditations. Let him who lives be thanked. Amen!

When Christ has come, get dressed, get dressed. What is it that we should wear, brethren! What is it that we should put on? Put on love which is the perfect binder. Amen, brethren. Now when it is said that love is a binder for perfection it is because the Colossians 3 says that tenderhearted mercy and kindness to others, suffering quietly and patiently are a perfect binder resulting from love.

Love does not bind worthless things, brethren. A person will never go and bind art in a rope instead of binding firewood to make a fire. Would you explain clearly, would you carry dirt? What should you pick up? Love gathers the real things which are required. Pick up love which is a binder for perfection. It is the same love that made Paul turn against everything and he found himself ready for anything. Are ready to accept that anything be

done to you? Why are you so stiff-headed? Why do you continue with your stubbornness if you accept Christ? Amen, brethren!

Paul is accepting. He is saying, Lord, what do you want me to do? Aleluya. Amen! He says, I have made you a carrier for my word. Aleluya. They were afraid of him, even Annanais would not go near him. But as a result of the word which says he was prepared he is a container for my word he removed his arrogance. Amen! The work of a peacock. Amen, brethren. Amen, it is finished. It is finished. It is necessary that a Christian should finish it. He needs to receive the glory of God.

What does the music say, brethren? It says it is good to be a believer. Why? We are converted. Hear brethren, it is because you and I should repent. It does not matter that I stand and preach. But Paul, a sound prophet, says let us make a covenant with God first. It is because the God with whom we make a covenant is a rock. Hau, how come! He is a different form. He even says in Revelation he is the pillar of the temple, anyone who holds onto him will never fall. Even when temptation comes he will not fall because he has made him a pillar. Just like him he won't fall, he resembles him in words and deeds.

APPENDIX 4**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH CHURCH LEADERS,
PREACHERS AND CONGREGANTS****1. PERSONAL DATA**

- 1.1 What is the name of the church which you attend?
- 1.2 For how long have you been a member of the church?
- 1.3 How did you come to join the church?
- 1.4 What is your position in the church?
- 1.5 How do church members (or non-church persons) refer to yourself?
- 1.6 What role(s) do you play in the organisation of your church?

2. ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH

- 2.1 How often are services of worship organised in your church say in a week?
- 2.2 Where do services of worship normally take place?
- 2.3 Who is responsible for the organisation of the different services of worship?
- 2.4 What are the aspects of a service of worship?
- 2.5 Which aspect is the most important to you (to other people)?
- 2.6 How is time allocated for the different aspects of a service of worship?

- 2.7 What leadership categories do you have in your church? What are their responsibilities?
- 2.8 How is seating arranged in a service of worship? Does this have any significance?

3. **PREACHING**

- 3.1 How are the ranks of preachers organised in your church?
- 3.2 How are preachers prepared for their preaching responsibilities?
- 3.3 Is it normal to have more than one person preaching in a service of worship?
- 3.4 How are preachers appointed? How are they assigned their responsibilities?
- 3.5 What is involved in the preparation of a sermon? How much time do you take to prepare yourself to preach?
- 3.6 How long is your normal sermon?
- 3.7 What sources do you use in the preparation of your sermons?
- 3.8 How do you relate your preaching to the written texts of the Bible, the church hymn book, etc.
- 3.9 How much liberty do you have as a preacher? To what extent are you bound by the text?
- 3.10 How do you obtain the text that you use in your preaching?
- 3.11 Where does the sacredness of your text come from?

- 3.12 What does the "Spirit" do with regard to the relation of the text, God, and the congregation?
- 3.13 What is the relationship between prayer, healing and preaching?

4. AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION

- 4.1 Is it normal for the congregation to interrupt preaching with music? How do you explain this?
- 4.2 What happens to you during preaching? Why do you start singing; keep on repeating "Amen!", "He is holy!", etc.?
- 4.3 To what extent is preaching helpful to you as a person?
- 4.4 When you stand up to give a testimony what is it that prompts you to stand up?
- 4.5 How much time do you spend reading your own Bible?

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbey, M.R. Communication in pulpit and parish. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press MCMLXXIII 1973.
- Achtemeier, P.J. Omne verbum sonat: the New Testament and the oral environment of late Western antiquity. Journal of Biblical Literature, 109 1990 3-27.
- Andersson, E. Churches at the grass-roots. London: Lutherworth Press 1968.
- Baëta, C.G. Prophetism in Ghana: a study of some 'spiritual' churches. London: SCM Press 1962.
- Barrett, D. Schism and renewal in Africa: an analysis of six thousand contemporary religious movements. Nairobi: Oxford University Press 1968.
- Bauman, R. Verbal art as performance. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers 1978.
- Becken, H.J. Relevant theology for Africa. Report on a consultation of the missiological institute at Lutheran theological college. Mapumulo: Lutheran Publishing House, 1973 12-21.
- Beyerhaus, P. The African independent church movement as missionary challenge. Our approach to the independent church movement. Mapumulo: Missiological Institute n.d.
- Bloch, M. Introduction. In Bloch, M. (ed). Political language and oratory in traditional society. London: Academic Press 1975 4-28.
- Botha, P. Mute manuscripts: analysing a neglected aspect of ancient communication. Theologia Evangelica 23, 1990 35-47.

- Browne, R.E.C. The ministry of the word. London: SCM, 1958.
- Calloud, J. Structural analysis of narrative. Translated by Daniel Patte. Philadelphia: Fortress 1976.
- Canonici, N.N. CLS Nyembezi's use of the traditional Zulu folktales in his Igoda series of school readers. University of Natal, M.A. dissertation 1985.
- Canonici, N.N. The morphology of Zulu folktales. In Nkabinde, A.C. (ed). Anthology of articles on African linguistics and literature: a festschrift to CLS Nyembezi. Johannesburg: Lexicon 1988 1-21.
- Chartier, M.R. Preaching as communication: an interpersonal perspective. Nashville: Abington 1981.
- Cope, T. Towards an appreciation of Zulu folktales as literary art. In Argyle, J. and Preston-Whyte, E. (eds). Social system and tradition in Southern Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press 1978 183-205.
- Daneel, M. The missionary outreach of African independent churches. Missionalia 8 (3) 1980 105-120.
- Dennett, H. Christian communications in a changing world. London: Victory Press 1968.
- Denny, J.P. Rational thought in oral culture and literate decontextualization. In Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (eds). Literacy and orality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991.
- Diaz, H.N. A definitive edition and analysis of the Tjakova myth of the Vakavango. University of Cape Towh PhD Thesis (n.d.)
- Dillon-Malone, C.M. the Korsten Basketmakers. Manchester: Manchester University Press for Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia 1978.

Dorson, R.M. The British folklorists. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1968.

Dundes, A. The study of folklore. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall 1965.

Feldman, C.F. Oral metalogue. In Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (eds). Literacy and orality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991.

Finnegan, R. Oral literature in Africa. Nairobi: Oxford University Press 1970.

1979
Finnegan, R. Oral poetry: its nature, significance and social context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979.

Summary
1991 }
Finnegan, R. Problems in the fixing of "oral texts": some reflections on the researcher's role in innovation and consolidation. Sienaert, E.R. Bell, A.N. and Lewis, M. Oral tradition and innovation: new wine in old bottles? Durban: University of Natal oral documentation and research centre 1991 1-23.

Firth, R. Speech-making and authority in Tikopia. In Bloch, M. (ed). Political language and oratory in traditional society. London: Academic Press 1975 29-43.

Frazier, E.F. and Lincoln, C.E. The Negro church in America: The Black church since Frazier. New York: Schocken Books 1974.

Gerloff, R.I.H. A plea for British Black theologies: the Black church movement in Britain in its transatlantic cultural and theological interaction. Vol. I and Vol. II. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 1992.

Graham, W.A. Beyond the written word: oral aspects of scripture in the history of religion. Cambridge: CUP 1987.

- Groenewald, H.C. Approaches to oral forms: for students of the Master's Degree in Orality-literacy studies. Durban: University of Natal 1991 Memo 29 pp.
- Gunner, E. The word, the book and the Zulu church of Nazareth. In Whitaker, R.A. and Sienaert, E.R. (eds). Oral tradition and literacy: changing visions of the world 1986 179-188.
- Havelock, E. The oral-literate equation: a formular for the modern mind. In Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (eds). Literacy and orality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991 11-27.
- Hayward, V.E.W. African independent church movements. London: Edinburgh House Press 1963.
- Illich, I. A plea for research of lay literacy. In Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (eds). Literacy and orality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991 28-46.
- Kiernan, J.P.(a) The production and management of therapeutic power in Zionist churches within a Zulu city. Edwin Mellen Press 1990.
- Kiernan, J.P.(b) The canticles of Zion: song as word and action in Zulu Zionist discourse. Journal of religion in Africa XX (2) 1990 188-204.
- Killinger, J. Fundamentals of preaching. London: SCM Press 1985.
- Koch, K. The growth of the biblical tradition: the form-critical method. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1969.
- Lasswell, H.D. Leites, N. and Associates. Language of politics. Massachusetts: MIT Press 1949.

- Lord, A.B. Characteristics of orality. Oral Traditions 2 (1) 1987 54-72.
- Makhubu, P. Who are the independent churches? Johannesburg: Skotaville 1988.
- Malinowski, B. Myth in primitive psychology. New York: Norton 1926.
- Martin, M-L. The Biblical concept of messianism and messianism in Southern Africa. Morija: Sesuto Book Depot 1964.
- Martin, M-L. Kimbangu: An African prophet and his church. Oxford: Blackwell 1975.
- Mbiti, J.S. African oral literature, Frestac 1977 96-97.
- Mbiti, J.S. Bible and theology in African Christianity, Nairobi: Oxford University Press 1986.
- McLaughlin, R.W. Communication for the church. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House 1968.
- Morgan, G.C. The ministry of the word. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House 1970.
- Mutswairo, S.M. Oral literature in Zimbabwe: an analytico - interpretive approach. Howard University Ph.D. dissertation 1978.
- Ndiokwere, N.I. Prophecy and revelation: the role of prophets in the independent African churches and Biblical tradition. London: S.P.C.K 1981.
- Nee, W. The ministry of the word. New York: Christian Fellowship Publishers, Inc 1971.
- Nielsen, E. Oral tradition, a modern problem in Old Testament introduction. London: SCM (Studies in Biblical theology) 1955.

- Nussbaum, S. Rethinking animal sacrifice: a response to some Sotho-independent churches. Missionalia 12 (2) 1984.
- Obiechina, E.N. Transition from oral to literacy tradition. Presence Africaine 63 1967 140-161.
- Okpewho, I. The epic in Africa. New York: Columbia University Press 1979.
- Okpewho, I. Myth in Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983.
- Olson, D.R. and Torrance, N. (eds). Literacy and orality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991.
- Ong, W.J. Orality and literacy: the technologizing of the word. London and New York: Routledge 1982.
- Oosthuizen, G.C. The theology of a South African messiah: an analysis of the hymnal of "The church of the Nazarites". Oekumenische Studien 8. Leiden: E.J. Brill 1967.
- Oosthuizen, G.C. Post-christianity in Africa: a theological and anthropological study. London: Hurst 1968.
- Oosthuizen, M. A study of the structure of the Zulu folktales with special reference to the Stuart collection. Durban: University of Natal M.A. Thesis 1977.
- Pretorius, H.L. Historical trends in Transkeian Zionism. Missionalia 11 (3) 1983.
- Propp, V. Morphology of the folktale. Austin: University of Texas Press 1968.
- Roberts, J.W. From trickster to badman: the Black folk hero in slavery and freedom. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1989.
- Rosenberg, B.A. The formulaic quality of spontaneous sermons. Journal of American folklore 83 1970 3-20.

- Schutte, G. Die politische funktion religiöser bewegungen in Südlichen Afrika. Zeitschrift für Evangelische Eehik 17 (1) 1973.
- Sundkler, B. Bantu prophets in South Africa. London: Oxford University Press 1961.
- Sundkler, B. Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists. London: Oxford University Press 1976.
- Thomas, L.L. Kronenfeld, J.Z. and Kronenfeld, D.B. Asdiwal crumbles: a critique of Levi-Straussian myth analysis. American Anthropologist 3 1976 147-173.
- Turner, H.W. African independent church, Vol. I: History of an African independent church: the church of the Lord (Aladura). Oxford: Clarendon Press 1967.
- Turner, H.W. A new field in the history of religions. Religion: Journal of religion and religions 1 (1) 1971 15-23.
- Turner, H.W. Tribal religious movements new. Encyclopedia Britannica 1974 Vol. 18, 697-705.
- Turner, H.W. The primal religions of the world and their study in Hayes, V.C. (ed). Australian essays in world religions. Bedford Park: Australian Association for the study of religions 1977 27-37.
- Turner, H.W. Religious innovation in Africa. Boston: G.K. Hale & Co 1979.
- Walker, W. The soul of Black worship. New York: MLK Press 1984.
- Walls, A.F. Africa's place in Christian history. In Pobee, J.S. (ed). Religion in a pluralistic society. Leiden: E.J. Brill 1976 180-189.

West, M. Bishops and prophets in a Black City: African independent churches in Soweto, Johannesburg. Cape Town: David Phillip 1975.